AUTONOMY AS SELF-PROVISIONING:

EVERYDAY PRACTICES AND EDIBLE REVOLUTIONS

IN THE ALGARVE, PORTUGAL

By

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Abstract

This thesis interrogates the topology of provisioning of a small-scale, degrowth farming community in the Algarve Region, Portugal. Framed as a dissociation from capitalism and mainstream society, Casa do Burro's stated aim is 'autonomy as self-provisioning' and the farm self-supplies vegetables, fruits and dairy products. Chapter 1 considers what drives residents to live this exterior by interrogating the will to autonomy. This will transpires as relationally necessitated in comparison with the alienation and repression of the 'outside world'. Chapter 2 investigates the translation of this will into non-monetary provisioning practices – domestic production and the reliance on a social network. The production and sharing of food emerge as crucial as they constitute and reaffirm relations of solidarity and sociality. Chapter 3 considers the inevitable gap between autonomy as an ideal and the factual achievements by analysing the conflicts in monetary exchanges. By investigating what makes certain transgressions permissible, the self-legitimizing character of the autonomy ideology is uncovered and its lacing together of tensions extrapolated. Ideology is revealed as the cement that produces social equilibrium and the appearance of integrity. Despite many inconsistencies and contradictions, the conclusion reflects on the messy, contingent nature of the transition towards autonomy as largely successful and offers insights on the replicability and durability of this project's approach in other localities.

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Contents

Introduction

Contemporary life is characterized by a rapid pace in social, ecological and economic change, to a level unprecedented in the history of humanity and much of it entirely unsustainable. Consumed with information and the demands of "modern life" - jobs, houses, cars, consumer gadgets - our species finds itself utterly incapable of critically interrogating or even comprehending the reality of our existence. In one year, we consume more non-renewable resources than we did in five centuries of antiquity while in the same year, over 30million people die of vaccine-preventable diseases (WHO, 2011). In such circumstances, one would assume the primary undertakings of social scientists to be in comprehending and criticizing these changes, and subsequently considering the values and steps necessary for alternative directions. Yet such critical scholarship is yet largely absent, for how can one hope to ascertain any comprehension of a globalized world that is apparently postindustrial, postmodern, postcolonial and postcapitalist; technocratic, consumerist and imperial all at once?

The difficulty of critical scholarship is additionally compounded by theorists' inability to agree on a definition for viable alternatives. On the contrary, we find not theorists and intellectuals, but 'ordinary people' voicing criticism across the world. Organized in inspirational transnational movements, networks, initiatives and campaigns, non-intellectuals and non-theorists are challenging global injustices and inequalities at almost every point of their emergence. Combating a variety of issues - from the commodification of land, resources and knowledge and ecological destruction to indigenous rights, corporatism and climate change - these movements are demanding not merely solidarity and justice, but try and work towards radical alternatives that are at the same time global and local, anti-capitalist, anti-colonial and anti-imperial. In doing so, these movements are contesting and redefining the very nature of the social, economic and ecological changes they address.

Critical theorists and scholars have been busy here, exploring how and in what ways politically active groups are successful at intervening and developing radical alternatives (Leitner et al,. 2008; Chatterton and Pickerill. 2010, Juris, 2008). This research is motivated by one such alternative. An area often overlooked in the concern with global movements is the specific practices of groups living, producing and reproducing some alternity in the everyday. In particular, Gibson-Graham's aim to map the existing alternatives to and within "life under neoliberal capitalism", despite it "having attained the status of certainty in the social imaginary" (2006: xxvii), has motivated me. Because capitalism and the reality it produces and sustains are generally accepted as non-negotiable givens, the spaces in which capitalism is contested and contravened – "the spaces where it is *not*" (GG: xxviii) - need to be theorized and explored in order to enable them to grow and sustain themselves.

What motivated this research is also a story of growing – growing food, community and autonomy; as my informants would say: growing life. The objective of this thesis is to provide a detailed case study of an alternative to life under capitalism: the story of a community called Casa do Burro (CdB), located at the south-western most edge of Europe in the Algarve, Portugal[1]. CdB came into existence when several German *Aussteiger*[2] squatted a piece of land in one of the fertile valleys of the southern-western Algarve and began rearing livestock and farming the land to grow their own food. Today (in 2013), 11 years after the first members of the community came to Portugal and 8 years after the founding of the farm, the community is self-supportive in its vegetable, fruit, water and energy consumption. It consists of a vegetable and fruit garden down in the valley, where 35 milk-goats are also kept, as well as the housing location on top of a nearby hill. The houses are self-built clay and wood structures containing common rooms and kitchens, with eight caravans arranged

[1] For an in-depth discussion of the community, its members and their living arrangement, see Appendix A

[2] Aussteiger: a german term adopted into the local lingo that signifies someone having left behind society or dropped out of it, but not necessarily living abroad; an escapist.

circularly around the central fireplace and sleeping the 6 to 8 permanent community members as well as any number of working volunteers, who find out about CdB via the WWOOF program[3]. Locked between tall trees and higher hills and accessible only by a 20minute drive on sandy dirt tracks, the community's self-perception as a refuge from the world attains spatial significance.

CdB' stated aim is "autonomy as self-provisioning" and appears simple enough: grow food, be able to feed yourself and thus disengage from the dependency and alienation of life under capitalism. To achieve this, the community organizes in a variety of ways for the procuring of goods and services that make autonomy possible and I interrogate this socio-economic and spatial arrangement. But as Gibson-Graham reminds us, the implications run much deeper. This is not merely a narrative of a few people farming the land, but a story of resistance: of people refusing and dissociating from the nihilism and complacency inherent in accepting as givens economic globalism, party politics and capitalism and instead reclaiming control over their own livelihoods. It's the story of people deliberately trying to make their world small again, so as to achieve meaningful change within it.

My concern is with this very alternative, how it motivates, imagines and sustains itself as an outside to capitalism and mainstream society in the everyday. Initially, this research's objective was to map the means and ways by which CdB organizes itself for the procuring of goods and services that make self-sufficiency possible. During fieldwork, I focused on two constitutive elements: autonomy as a political ideal and future outcome; and provisioning as the on-going, economic practice motivated by this ideal and designated to yield it. Because CdB is small-scale, both in geographical area and members, the anthropological approach chosen to interrogate its economic practices is provisioning (Narotzky, 2012). As will be extrapolated below, the importance of provisioning is found in

[3] WWOOF: World Wide Opportunities On Organic Farms – an online platform with national representations in over 40 countries that aims to connect organic farms with people willing to volunteer at them in return for food and board: www.wwoofinternational.org

its integration of all elements on the commodity chain, from production and distribution to consumption. In a project where productive and consumptive units conflate because the producers of a good are also its most likely consumers, neither the Marxist analysis of production determining social relations, nor the recent focus on consumption as constituting identities seems appropriate. Provisioning instead, is capable of accounting for all the avenues sought to procure the goods and services necessary for survival: domestic production, reciprocity, barter and exchange and finally, the market.

I divide apart provisioning as a practice and autonomy as a doctrine analytically, in order to make sense of the multitude of complex processes, ideas, practices, livelihoods and identities perpetually interweaving and intertwining at all stages on the drive towards autonomy. This complex of autonomy, much like the "witches brew" of Development Li (2009) analyses, seems to form a cohesive and ostensibly functional whole, but on second glance transpires as tension-ridden and contradictory. Realising that total autonomy is impossible and returns to the market for provisioning become habitual, draws attention to the inevitable gap between what is attempted and what is accomplished. I seek to understand the persistent rationale and subsequent mechanism at work by which people engaged in a necessarily contradictory living situation strive to retain meaning and identity and the effects of this struggle. I will argue therefore, that "the will to autonomy", despite its shortcomings and contradictions, needs to be taken seriously in its own right.

My contribution lies in taking seriously this will and its apparent persistence. In the spaces of "autonomous geographies" (Springer, 2012), we can see "futures in the present", where people express and live contradictory realities despite and nevertheless beyond capitalism and mainstream society. Examining literature on autonomous geographies and anarchist organizations, it becomes obvious that detailed case studies on how these projects sustain their survival day by day are as yet largely absent. Unlike the case studies of social

movements, therefore no grand ideals are considered – instead, I will argue that it is precisely through the everyday practices of farming and exchanging that meaning is given to autonomy and subjects find identity and belonging. As such, this work can reveal avenues and possibilities applicable to wider contexts and similar attempts at contestation and dissociation. As my informants say "If we can do this, then everyone else can, too".

Attempting to do justice to the complexity and multitude of opinions, identities, and perso-political motivations encountered in the field, this thesis does not follow one single, coherent theoretical framework. Doing so implies flattening experience and reality for the sake of coherence. Painfully aware of the privilege in what Sadie Plant impressively illustrates as "authored, authorized, authoritative – any piece of writing is its own mainstream" (1997: 9), my objective is not to condemn, dismiss the efforts of those involved or deconstruct to the level of irrelevance. Rather, I attempt to make sense of the encountered reality in its own right, that is, from the positionality of an engaged activist and academic in-becoming, whose in-depth engagement with the community, alternative living styles and academic theorizations of them has fostered the ability to analytically and critically reflect on encountered phenomena. Because all knowledge claims are produced in political context[4] (Hale, 1998), I conceive of myself as a critical participant *and* activist scholar, rather than an atomistic academic.

I begin with a brief discussion of the methods used to generate the data for this project, and follow it up with a succinct review of some of the recent relevant literature. The first chapter

[4] For a more thorough discussion of Activist Scholarship, see Hale, C. (1998), from whom I extract a quote here: "All knowledge claims are produced in a political context; notions of objectivity that ignore or deny these facilitating conditions take on a de facto political positioning of their own, made more blatant and unavoidable by the very disavowal. Further, if we consider the full spectrum of affiliations that the word political entails, we find politics in academe at every turn as high-level professors shuttle back and forth between the university and government or private sector pursuits. Nevertheless, graduate students and junior faculty members are regularly warned against putting scholarship in the service of struggles for social justice ("Welcome, come in, and please leave your politics at the door"), on the grounds that, however worthy, such a combination deprives the work of complexity, compromises its methodological rigor, and, for these reasons, puts career advancement at risk (...) Research and political engagement can be mutually enriching"

asks what drives residents, by exploring how the need for autonomy is legitimized politically and philosophically in relation to the outside world. The next chapter considers the way autonomy is translated into the topology of provisioning, that is, the means and ways by which the community organizes itself for the procuring and production of the means to survival. Theorizing domestic production and the wider network of trust and favours, I show how the production and sharing of food emerge as defining themes. Not only do they make autonomy feasible, but the attribute of production and consumption being shared and reciprocal contributes to social cohesion and the maintenance of solidarity. The third chapter interrogates the gap between the will to autonomy and its factual accomplishments by considering the conflict between money and no-money exchanges. Far from delineating strict guidelines or a hardwiring for provisioning practices, autonomy is in practice deployed and adapted in order to respond to the continuous changability that "living in the forest" and depending on a community brings. After a brief elaboration on the informal economy and its relationship to reclaiming economic self-determination, I discuss transgressions to the autonomy ideal. Through investigating what makes certain transgressions permissible while others are not, I uncover the self-legitimizing character of the autonomy ideology and its lacing together of seemingly irreconcilable differences. By way of conclusion, I reflect on the messy and contingent nature of the transition towards autonomy in face of the inability to escape capitalism altogether, and the replicability and durability of CdB's approach.

Methodology

The purpose of this section is to detail qualitative research methods used to generate the data for this thesis. After reporting briefly how I came to be in the community in the first place, I elaborate on the on the subjects I interacted with during my fieldwork and the ethnographic

routines I underwent. The different interviewing and research techniques used during the research part of my stay at CdB will be elaborated and coding strategies mentioned.

As I indicate in the introduction, I lived and worked at Casa do Burro, located in the Algarve Region, Portugal for a total 5 months in the year prior to returning there for fieldwork. I thus entered the field with a detailed set of questions geared towards the community, its members and practices. Being known to and engaging friendly relationships with all six permanent community members meant that access to the field was straightforward and the settling in period was short. In the total 29 days spent at CdB, my official status was that of a volunteer, but my work hours were adjusted to make time for reflection and writing in the field. My role can best be described as an active participant-observer, or by what Scheper-Hughes terms an "engaged participant" (2009). Because the labour routines and expectations of living at CdB were known to me, fieldwork in the traditional sense of "living in the field" (2009: 14) began literally the moment I arrived.

The research encounter was deliberately inclusive to the extent that the design was aligned with the wider concerns of participatory action-based research (PAR) (Kindon et al, 2006; Cameron & Gibson, 2005). I attempted including the community into the design of the methodology and respond to their needs for representation, if any. Being open about the purpose of my stay and focus of my topics also meant that subjects freely decided which community and group process to include me in. As such, I found myself excluded from first-hand participation some of the more conflictual decision-making processes, having to rely on later recounts of them instead.

I went into the field with the objective of exploring the topology of provisioning at CdB, the resulting attempt at self-providing and the intersection of these practices with moral or ideological formations. Questions investigated included core notions of self-sufficiency and self-providing; the translation of ideas into practices; paths for provisioning of goods that

could not be self-provided; and the tensions, conflicts and boundaries of this socio-economic arrangement. My objective was also to understand the wider social network within the geographical area, that luso-teutonic exclave that is the Campo[5] area, and it's role in the provisioning strategies of the community. Therefore, particular attention was paid to the instances where the Campo network manifests and gets together: Barao Market, joint festivites and dinners, pooled-child care arrangements and the like. In these cases, I broadened the investigative and analytical lens to include non-residents (many of whom I knew from previous visits as well), deliberately engaging in informal, but guided talks and attending the relevant events.

Within CdB, I conducted formal, in-depth life story interviews with all permanent community members, which predominantly revolved around their decisions to move to Portugal, the farm and community and the troubles experienced with it. Using approaches based on Grounded Theory, this first set of interviews was recorded and transcribed, allowing me to uncover recurrent and overarching themes that subjects agreed on. Establishing these topics through triangulation then led to a refining of the research questions, and a renewed cycle of more focussed data collection. Another set of formal, more focussed interviews resulted. Next to this formal set-up, living and working with residents and volunteers meant continuous engagement and observation day by day. Many of the themes and questions I explored during the interviews first arose in informal, open-ended chats and conversations while gardening, cooking, driving, horse-riding or following any other of the collective chores that structure the daily routine at CdB. Equally, I benefited massively from the communal dinners and lunches – the only occasion where the whole community comes together – and

[5] Campo: term used by the inhabitants of CdB and surrounding area to describe the nature reserve they inhabit. Located in the municipalities of Vila do Bispo and Aljezur, Algarve, Portugal; official administrative status subject to change. For a thorough description of the geographical location of Casa do Burro and the area that surrounds it, see the map and explanations in Appendix A.

the discussions launched during them frequently initiated more in-depth and directed conversations at a later time.

Upon returning from the research, interview transcripts were coded using at Atlas TI software, which revealed a more intricate set of connections between themes that became categories for interpretation and analysis. Of the total 23 hours of recorded interviews, passages for quoting were selected according to their representation of more general themes and patterns. Equally, the anecdotes recounting practices are only one example among many instances during which similar behaviour was observed, so that they can be viewed as representative of the larger whole.

The most severe shortcoming of this research design was certainly the limited time I spent in the community to do research. With average fieldwork periods beginning somewhere around six months, my 29-day stay can hardly compare. Even with the previous periods spent at CdB, participating for longer this time could have particularly contributed to my, as yet only tentative, appreciation of Barao Market, as well as the wider community of the Campo. Another major constraint is found in the protectiveness subjects transpired to exhibit over their decision-making and conflictual processes. Although none of this material found its way into this paper, the struggle of trying to gain access might have been mitigated had I lived longer in the community and proven to be a valuable asset in mediating tensions, a role I used to partly perform at previous stays. I am unsure as to whether the reason I was excluded this time derives from me openly positioning as a researcher, or is due to my long absence, but am convinced that a longer stay could only have improved my work.

Literature Review

Before presenting a detailed description and analysis of my case, I review a number of anthropological and sociological works concerning the significant conceptual themes and frameworks. Examining literature on autonomous geographies and anarchist organizations, it becomes immediately obvious that detailed case studies on how supposed "autonomous" projects sustain their survival day by day are as yet largely absent in the literature. Since my aim is to alleviate this shortcoming in the case of CdB by discussing their provisioning practices, I supplement the review on anarchist scholarship by considering various works on agriculture, provisioning and the different paths self-supplying can take. Lastly, I also present a number of authors who interrogate the integration of ideology and practice, which opens up avenues for the critique I wish to offer.

With the recent "craze" regarding the academic study of autonomuous and alter-globalization movements, the literature on these has extended tremendously. Widely noted was for example, Maeckelbergh's (2009) *The Will of the Many,* which investigates protest movements for their conflation of means and ends into a unified goal in the present, what she terms prefiguration. Chatterton (2006; 2010), as well as the Trapese Collective (2011) utilize this concept to study social centres and anarchist groups in the UK. In an article theorizing these examples, Springer (2012) describes "autonomous geographies, that is, spaces in which alternative imaginations of citizenship are practiced and affinities […] voluntarily assembled in opposition to and free from the presence of sovereign violence, predetermined norms, and assigned categories of belonging" (1607). Therein, we can discern the role to be played by ethnography and anthropology. Graeber (2004) and Katsiaficas (2004), drawing on Kropotkin's mutual aid (1927), further substantiate this investigation by arguing that studies of autonomous movements must analyse how these uproot and concomitantly redefine concepts of anarchist self-legislation, self-determination, identity, citizenship and belonging.

There are, as yet, few works ethnographizing specific case studies of real world, lived autonomous geographies. Particularly relevant to this case are Pickerill's works on various Low Impact Developments (LIDs) in the UK. LIDs are "a form of living where houses are built from recycled, local and natural products, and livelihoods are made in sustainable ways from the land, so that they have a low visual impact, are often small scale and create a direct link between their occupants, their needs and waste" (2009: 1516). As such, these projects are alike CdB, also because they employ approaches that challenge the "fundamentals of house building, pricing and emphasize community participation and self-determination over the existing planning system" (479). In a similar vein, Cattnaeo and Gavalda (2010) discuss self-sufficient rural-urban (ruruban) squats in the hills of Barcelona as "economic alternatives focussing on degrowth as a strategy and hence actively working towards not producing any surplus value" (23). What links these two studies is their taking seriously the possibility of an exterior to capitalist processes of accumulation and their analysis of how the two ideals, economic practice and moral reasoning behind it, work together to create and maintain that alternative long-term.

Yet neither of the two studies considers how the people inhabiting those spaces organize and plan for sustaining their livelihoods in the everyday. Theorizing the historically situated and locally specific avenues available to individuals for the procuring of goods and services necessary for survival, provisioning is an approach to studying the economic organization of groups and individuals. It epitomizes the complex process in which the economic relations of production, distribution, appropriation and consumption are linked together in a unified framework for analysis and can thus compensate the above shortcoming. Its main theorist, Narotzky (2012) categorizes four provisioning paths: market, state, community and domestic group, with the first being the only representative of the conventional commercial channel. The other three paths are instead conceived of as sharing

and pooling systems among individuals (or groups) embedded in long term reciprocal relationships.

Provisioning systems are in a dialectic relationship with the community whose sustenance they structure: they condition and enable the construction of meaning and identity (see also Gudeman 2012; Pine 2002), play a role in social differentiation and contribute to the equilibrial reproduction of a particular social and economic system, while simultaneously themselves produced by this system. As individuals have limited choice in the provisioning paths they choose and no paths dominate the others, Narotzky advocates, it is most useful to conceive of individuals as "social actors enmeshed in systems of provisioning" (2012: 82). The importance of interrogating provisioning as the entirety of economic processes within a specific area is further underlined by Fine (2002) and Carrier (2012) in arguing the necessity to transcend "the Marxist obsession with production and modern fetishization of consumption to emphasize the integration of all aspect of the commodity chain" (Fine, 2002: 83).

Specific provisioning paths and the means and routes of exchange within them have been theorized in singularity by a variety of scholars and I replicate a few seminal examples here. In light of Europe's recent socio-political upheaval spearheaded by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent economic integration of vast areas into the capitalist market system, particularly present in current debates are discussions among scholars in postsocialist studies. Notably, Gudeman (2012) and Davis (2000) theorize the relationship between exchange and social distance, while Kaneff (2002) explores the intricate connection between markets, identity and morality in post-socialist Bulgaria. She concludes that "identities, often expressed through market participation, are laden with moral undertones that are rooted in ideologically valued forms of production made meaningful by the political-economic context" (47). Similarly, in a large part of the literature, trust in market and reciprocal relations emerges as a common thread, tying individuals to one another (Gudemann, 2012, Humphrey,

2002). Returning to the overarching concept of provisioning, Narotzky argues that in non-commercial economic encounters, as well as in some market systems, control over the systems of exchange is produced via networks of trust. "Based on first hand knowledge of nature and origin of the good or service and of the person distributing it at that stage" (1997: 195), the wider social network of friendship and acquaintance emerges as crucial in determining the politics of responsibility, accountability and ethics of a provisioning system (see also Lomnitz and Scheinbaum's (2012) study on trust in the informal economy). Simmel, too theorizes trust as a central component of social solidarity and the cement used to produce cohesion within the social networks that compose the structure of society (1964: 318).

Another central theme in post-socialist studies and economic anthropology concerns the uses of money. In provisioning, money is many utilized within the provisioning path of the market. Hart (1986), drawing on Polanyi (1957), defines two different "monies" (1986: 640): Token money denotes purchasing power and is valued for its representation of society and state. Commodity money on the other hand is "the real thing" (640), lending precision to trade due to its ability to objectify, represent and homogenize "qualitative distinctions in quantitative abstractions" (Simmel, 1903: no page numbers). State-issued currency is by Simmel defined as an impersonal, individuating medium with the capacity to abstract value. It is in combining the token and commodity aspects of money, as being both secure because issued by state authority and objectifying because impersonal, that we find the peculiarity of modern "general purpose money" (Hart, 2012: 175). Commodity money, "the economists side of the coin" (Hart, 2012: 171), has three immediate uses that Gilbert (2005) drawing on Bohannan (1959) elaborates: it is a) a means of exchange; b) a mode of payment and c) a standard of value.

Derivative of this definition however, it would appear that items other than Euro coins can fulfil the objective of a currency. This possibility is further accentuated by Zelizer in her

seminal *The Social Meaning of Money* (1994), reminding us that "money is an intrinsic part of all social realities" (4) and that "people everywhere personalize money, bending it to their own purposes through a variety of social instruments" (32). She describes, among others, the practice of earmarking, that is the setting aside of special purpose money for specific uses, as well as the other "currencies" people employ if state issued currency is scarce. Echoing Zelizer, Gilbert (ibid) hence reconceptualises money as a symbolic reference, a social system and a material practice, the three of which are inseparable and mutually constitutive in the present. In *Markets and Moralities* (2002), Humphrey and Mandel draw on much of this theory, discussing the various uses of money in post-socialist contexts and describing both the shame and pride that subjects, whose main adult-life has been conditioned by market-rejection, experience when handling currencies.

Bringing all the above together in a unified framework for analysis, Narotzky ultimately reveals provisioning and the means utilized for it as structuring and restructuring social relations and creating social differentiation among individuals as they interact at various stages of the provisioning chain (2012: 89). This links provisioning systems with questions of power and identity, conditioned by concerns over access, ability and availability. Putting these analytical aspects of the provisioning approach into conversation can reveal "a regionally integrated topography of food provisioning" (84), operating within a particular social, cultural, economic and ideological structure. As such, provisioning systems essentially emerge as locally specific collective networks of embedded social relations and ideological arrangements, by use of which individuals and groups integrated in them organize themselves for the procuring of necessities. "Each path of provisioning is forged through complex network of social relationships that branch at the points where certain options become impossible or improbable for certain social actors […] and tensions and power are concentrated" (Narotzky, 2012: 83).

At CdB, conflicts emerge mainly when no other avenue than a monetary encounter is available to procure an item or service. In stark opposition to the community's autonomy ideals, relationally justified against and beyond capitalism, traditional commercial encounters are prime sources for conflict. Analysing the role that ideological arrangements play in glossing over these conflicts hence becomes paramount when interrogating the mediation between money and no-money provisioning paths. Before developing a critique of the uses to which the autonomy ideology is put at CdB, it is vital to problematize the notion of ideology itself. Here Slavoj Zizek's dissemination in *Mapping Ideology* (1994) is useful to extrapolate the inherent complexity of the concept of ideology and its intricate interweaving with material manifestations.

Exploring the conceptual relationship between ideology and truth, Zizek asserts first that any ideology promises a utopia upon its completion, yet this utopia is not premised on truth content, but on "the way this content (of an ideological statement) is related to the subjective position implied by its own process of enunciation" (1994: 8). Put more simply, the content and promise of ideology - whether true of false sui genesis – emerge as ideological, only when used in social domination (to exploit or gain power over) in a non-transparent way, that is, if the domination or exploitation they enable remain concealed to those who ascribe to or follow that very ideology. In this way, the power of ideology as well as the starting point for developing a critique of it, is constituted in our accepting the potential truth of ideological statements - rather than refuse the concept tout court – and then, premised on this truth, interrogate the kinds of actions that ideological formations render acceptable and why.

In this interpretation, ideology appears to acquire an agency of its own that Zizek rebuttals by pointing out that ideology "on its simplest axis of meaning denotes a complex of ideas, theories, convictions, beliefs and argumentative procedures" (9) that in turn signify and work to "convince us of a certain truth". We are then, "in ideological space proper only if the

legitimizing logic of ideology remains concealed" (9). This 'ideology as doctrine' develops agency only if materially substantiated and exercised in "practices, rituals and institutions, such as the Althusserian Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA)" (11). This materiality in turn, "stands for the very mechanisms that generate it" (12), because the ritual's performance is itself generative of an ideological foundation. It is then, when ideology ceases to exist only *in itself* – in the complex of ideas, etc that form doctrine – and begins working *for itself* - through material externalization in rituals and practices – that it attains a power and agency *in and for itself*. In short, it is only when the complex set of ideas that constitutes 'ideology as a doctrine' is substantiated with rituals and practices constituting 'ideology as materiality', that it becomes self-producing.

In summary, provisioning as a practice and autonomy as an ideology will be interrogated by use of the above concepts and theories as intertwining and mutually constitutive. Many authors in the volume echo this trinity of ideology (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1991) and take it as a starting point from which to investigate the practices ideology renders permissible, as well as that legitimizinxg relationship itself. Realising the capacity of ideology to obfuscate existent conflicts and tensions by producing and reproducing itself in ideas and practices pre-emptively legitimatized then also allows me to develop critique of this integration.

Chapter 1: Autonomy as Lived Anarchy

If this [Casa do Burro as a project] is activism and I'm not saying it is, then the point for me is not opposition. It's not just saying "stop, I'm not participating in your bullshit"... I don't want to constantly waste my energy chaining myself to something, squatting some place somewhere or breaking something.. I want to create… build something that has the potential to push the old shit out of business. That's the point of this.

Lotte

Dani: "What do you mean political? I don't need politics or politicians in my life, thank you very much. Political, what does that even mean? It's like feminism. All these people running around claiming to be feminists – thinking they're militant because they hold up banners, scream and let everyone know what they think. It's pointless, just like politics; I'm not political and I'm not a feminist."
Markus: "But the basic idea of feminism is that men and women are supposed to be equal, and I agree with that, so I would say I'm a feminist."
Dani: "Sure. I can call myself a feminist and "believe" (sketches quotation marks with her fingers) that, too. But the point is: if you want men and women to be equal, then behave like they are! I mean, these militant feminists always say that they're just as good as men. But why do they need to say that all the time, when they can just do the same things men do and prove it like that! It's like.. you only shout about and don't do anything to make what you want happen come true. ... it's like they're trying to use words to elevate themselves above men in talking and then they whine that the bag is too heavy for them to carry... just like politicians talk and talk and what's the result? – nothing."

Dani & Markus; Dinner Table Discussion

The above quotes, extracted respectively from an interview with Lotte and a conversation between Dani and Markus, serve to introduce the discussion on the conception of autonomy. The community's stated aim is to "become and live as autonomously as possible", and in the following, I dissect what is meant by this autonomy. At first glance to "become and live as

autonomous as possible" seems to have deep political imbrications, especially when considering what the CdB wants to be autonomous from. Yet the above quotes also serve to remind us of the thoroughly negative tainting the term "political" has at CDB, due to its association with the idleness and complacency of politicians and established channels of voicing opinions. In the following, I show that residents' refusal to be thought of as political actors or activists can not be read as a lack of understanding of their actions. Instead, it attests to the intricate connection between autonomy and its attaining meaning through daily practice. Behind the refusal of politics, then, stands an altogether more complex drive for autonomy as a space where there is no distinction between what one believes in and how one acts upon it, so that discursively legitimizing one's actions becomes redundant as they speak for themselves.

These "politics of emergence" (Maeckelbergh, 2009: 23) in turn, are not overburdened with detail or entirely theoretically sound, precisely because they are informed by and at the same time inform practices that are themselves not necessarily coherent but spontaneously and strategically modifiable. By way of example, when asked how they would define themselves, most residents refused flat categories of "punk" or "hippie", instead articulating an altogether more complex set of multiple, messy identities, constantly made and remade through practices and new influences. Despite this, taking seriously the will to autonomy enables interrogating its translation into the practices of provisioning. As Narotzky reminds us, "topologies of provisioning operate within a particular ideological structure" (2012: 82). Autonomy, as framed by CdB in relational opposition to "the other bullshit", becomes more grounded, quite literally, as the community strives to self-provide, while simultaneously, growing one's own food allows reclaiming the agency and independence associated with inhabiting "an alternative".

1.1 Theorizing autonomy

Conventionally employed, the term autonomy is commonly associated with the social atomism of a liberal tradition interpretation, evoking the conception of sovereign individuals making rational economic or lifestyle choices (Nedelsky, 2009). Beyond this autarkic conception, the other uses of the term carry in themselves the complexity of the issue at hand, employing autonomy to denote respectively or in conjunction the freedom from external control or influence, the right to self-government and the capacity to act in accordance with one's own morality[6]. Feminist revivals of the term (Nedelsky, 1989) have striven to reclaim autonomy from its liberal trap however, emphasizing instead the three constitutive elements of self-determination, self-legislation and freedom from interference by theorizing the regional, local or otherwise geographically bounded autonomy of specific groups. Echoing the absurdity of conceiving of individuals in isolation, anarchist scholarship too has theorized autonomy mainly as a group's capacity to self-organize outside the conventions and norms set up by politics, law or society.

Enquiring into the particularities of how "living autonomously" is understood at CdB, I discovered these three constitutive elements of autonomy to be present at CdB as well. Any discussion of autonomy was opened by residents asserting their desire to determine, free from the influence of others, the terms of their social and collective existence as well as their economic organization. This self-determination ranges in scope from the appearance of the houses, buildings and caravans, as well as people to the way these people interact and engage one another and what rules and norms they choose to follow or not. Linguistically, this will is most commonly phrased in terms of "finding our own ways" (of interacting, speaking,

[6] The Trapese Collective's Definition of Autonomy: Stemming from the Greek, meaning 'self-legislation', autonomy is a belief system that values freedom from external authority. This can occur at the individual and collective level. Autonomy has widespread use for many contemporary social movements trying to manage their own lives and communities (2007)

thinking or doing), or "making our own rules and laws", thus reminding us of the intricate connection between self-determination and self-legislation.

Discursively evoked as frequently as self-legislation, residents referred to all those things they wanted to be autonomous from. Ranging in scope from dress codes and insurance policies to wage labour and consumerism, the various rejections can be categorized into three broad groups: anti-capitalism, anti-authoritarianism and societal norms and expectations. Autonomy here surfaces as relationally conceived, defined against what it excludes in equal measure to what it involves. Echoing what I explained above, it is important to remember that these oppositions do not necessarily rest on academically/politically established interpretations of social organization and power but derive instead from residents' lived experienced and personal perceptions. As a result, the categories employed to define autonomy are often messy and theoretically inconcise, reminiscent of collective social constructs emergent from peculiar experiences of social reality.

With all the community members coming from Western Europe, it is unsurprising that the social, institutional and economic arrangements they turn against are perceived as universal. The anthropological gaze however allows us to uncover this social reality as encompassing a specific historical and spatial location, that of European Modernity (Mignolo, 2011)[7]. The social atomism that residents refer to as "alienating loneliness", as well as the institutional, statist and economic relations they reject, thus emerge as integrated into a wider politico-legal and economic structure. While residents may not be able to name this as Modernity, their assertions that "all these things correlate and belong together" (Norman) can be read as an appreciation of this interconnectedness.

[7] This location – the "modern/colonial world system" in Mignolo's terms – also denotes specific concepts of and relations between subjectivity, citizenship and belonging, and "is linked to capitalist forms of economic organization, rationalized as the logical expansion of universal reason and scientific truth" (Mignolo, 2000: …).

b) "Finding our own ways"

Every resident holds his or her own set or rejections and elaborates reasons for these. For example, those who used to be engaged with the anti-facist subculture mainly discuss the police, the prison system and state repression. While those who used to hold steady jobs in urban centres refer to consumerism and the trap of modernity as always wanting more hence needing to work more, as well as their rejection of the principle of working for someone else and hence not being one's own master. The most recurrent theme used to extrapolate the need for mental, physical and ideological distance from mainstream society is also found in an interview with Tamy, a former nurse and the newest resident of CDB, during which I enquired about her recent visit to her parent's hometown.

> "It's in the middle of that concrete and plastic society, full of plastic people who wake up every morning to go to work, hate their jobs, their lives, their husbands and wives. And, horribly, I was one of them, standing in the ER night and day, being so numbed down that I would laugh when someone died of a freak accident and we weren't able to save. Nothing would shock me then, news of bombs falling on kids in Afghanistan or that guy dying under my very hands. It's sick, that's what it is… I had to get out of there. Now when I go back, all I see is a sick society full of sick people and I just want to go back to living in my forest with people who actually care… living like that; you have to become a machine. Naturally it makes you *kaputt*".

"*Kaputt*"[8] is the term of choice for most members to explain the effect of the destructive forces that structure life in modernity and under capitalism. *Kaputt* denotes not only destroying physical health by inhabiting air and light polluted cities and "slaving away to further the riches of an unknown master" (Norman), but also the frustration and depression that such a lifestyle seems to inevitably inflict upon the mind and the alienation it perpetuates among human equals. Repeatedly, residents referred to the lifestyle in urbanized settings as a vicious cycle or trap with no escape. Lotte terms it "the capitalism and consumerist lifestyle one gets stuck in and then struggles to get out of" (INT I: 23.04.13). The obvious solution to

[8] German; adjective for "broken beyond repair" or "torn apart"

these rejections then, is the attempt to escape the situations that produce them and "become one's own master" (Norman). Tamy narrates it most succinctly:

> "I would a thousand times rather wake up at 6 every morning to herd a bunch of smelly, stinky goats, or shovel pig manure around all day, than ever set foot in that hospital ever again! This, sure it's hard work, but it's free. I choose to do it!" (INT2: 26.4.13).

Opposed to these vicious traps and exploitative relations then, stands "living in the forest", that is, a life that is self-determined and free because it consists of daily contributing to producing the conditions of one's own freedom. Hard work is accepted precisely because it is enables self-determination.

> "Out here, sure it's hard, but… […] it contributes to my own well being, like, immediately. I go plant tomatoes today and sure my back will ache tomorrow, but in a month I can have delicious tomato sauce pasta. And if I really don't want to do it today, it'll be tomorrow. No one can tell me differently, 'cause I'm my own agent and it's my well-being at stake here." (Nürni, INT III: 22/04).

As this quote extrapolates, the immediacy of the here and the now are embraced and celebrated "as the most emancipatory spatio-temporal dimension, precisely because it is the location and moment in which we actually live our lives" (Springer, 2012: 1610).

What appears to tie individuals together beyond their shared oppositions then, is the collective desire to use these rejections as a basis from which to challenge and resist the status quo by imagining, developing and sustaining radical alternatives. What might be conceived as the flat resistance of activists, such as demonstrations or riots, here emerges as overtly simplistic. Like Lotte explains in the quote above, instead of fostering militant activism, the rejections in CdB speak to a different understanding of resistance: one that prioritizes praxis over theory, action over words, production over disruption and multi-facettedness over simple solutions. In short, rejection and resistance invoke the will to imagine, create and inhabit an alternative, evident in the provisioning strategies followed within the community as well as

their drive to self-legislate. As such, residents are using everyday practices to build hoped-for futures in the present.

This alternative seems to mainly take the form of solidarity and trust among a community of people in the everyday. One example is the drive to rely on people to provide security rather than institutions of the state. During one heated debate that began as a rant about yoga students, Dani noted

> I don't believe in the security of a piece of paper, like insurance Policies.. I don't need a retirement plan – I might not even be alive when it comes to claiming that money! If anything, I believe in nature; nature and people - they're all the security I need.

The differentiation between institutionalized trust that builds on "a piece of paper a company gives in return for money" (Tamy, below), and the trust in other people and the security they provide simply by being there, is here extrapolated.

While residents engage in deconstructive discussions on what I have revealed to be Modernity therefore, the main reason for dispelling these structural forces is found in their compromising the individual and collective capacity to act in accordance with one's own morality or that of the group. It is precisely because the laws, norms and behaviours of the mainstream are located firmly outside the immediate or even remote control of the group that these forces need to not merely be escaped, but dispelled and replaced. Autonomy as self-legislation in CdB is then driven by the will to discover one's own notions of right and wrong and subsequently build laws and rules on this morality. Likely, these notions are not laid down in books of law and the use of the phrase "finding our own ways" to describe this process implies that one does not necessarily know what those rules and laws are to begin with. "Finding" furthermore permits openness to the idea that law can have various inspirations, ranging from collective meaning-making processes to spiritual experiences and interpretations of nature. It is furthermore a recognition of the fact that people "come into

being in a social context that is literally constitutive of them" (Nedelsky, 1989: 8), so that when the social context changes, likely the rules and norms operational within it will, too.

Self-legislation thus means redevising new rules of engagement, norms, or laws and permissible interactions in the place of those that were previously rejected. The difference that makes these laws acceptable and adherible where formalized legal norms are not, lies in the form: At CdB, too, exist commands that constrain and to an extent govern one's life, interactions and behaviours. Yet these constraints or requirements are one's own and hence accepted precisely because they derive from the meaning or purpose of the life one has chosen to live. In this way, autonomy as self-legislation epitomizes the fundamental connection between freedom, law and anarchism[9]. CDB understands itself as anarchic, because instead of requiring a code of acceptable conduct to be set up, maintained and enforced by a sovereign authority, people can be trusted to devise and creatively invent their own law and police their own communities.

The will to autonomy at CdB thus falls in line with what Chatterton and Pickerill term autonomous geographies, that is "spaces where there is a questioning of the laws and social norms of society and a creative desire to constitute non-capitalist, collective forms of politics, identity and citizenship" (2010: 476) via everyday practices. Similarly, to Katsiaficas the importance of autonomous movements is their "creating free spaces" (2004: 279) that is, spaces where decisions are made without being subverted by market profitability or state legislation. This constitutes a "shift in resistance practices that takes the everyday life firmly into the field of politics" (347). In this way, the micro tactics of localized groups and communities in striving to reclaim control over the spatial, economic, legal and social

[9] Anarchism: Anarchism is a political philosophy and a way of organising society; it is derived from the Greek – without rulers. It is a belief that people can manage their own lives, and so rulers are undesirable and should be abolished. For many anarchists, this also includes institutions of authority, such as the state and capitalism (Trapese Collective, 2007)

dimensions of their livelihood in fact emerge as sites and stakes of political struggles and resistance.

Esteva and Pakash (1998), discussing the politicality of grassroots social movements in Latin America also display the everyday resistances of common men and women in combating global structures at the local level. As the "only space humans are capable of fully conceiving and affecting meaningful change within" (Berry, 1972: 45), the immediate environment is here conceived as a place for imagining radical alternatives. Although perhaps not immediately obvious to residents, their relational conception of autonomy, as deriving in equal measure from resistance and the will to create an alternative, is a political act. This is the case even more so, because the community strives to make possible and create spaces for different concepts of identity and belonging (of citizenship in its broader definitions) – categories that are always in the process of becoming, moving forward through experimentation and realigning, rather than pre-existing fully formed. Thus enabling what Springer (2012) has termed "alternative imaginations of citizenship […], wherein solidarities, bonds, and affinities are voluntarily assembled in opposition to and free from the presence of sovereign violence, predetermined norms, and assigned categories of belonging" (1607).

What drives residents then, is the will to self-determination, self-legislation and we find this will translated into economic encounters, as I will come to show. Further analysis of this autonomy as self-legislation is necessary, but before supplying and subsequently disseminating it, I find it necessary to interrogate the practices that "as autonomously as possible" yields. I hence take for relative face value the community's stated ideals in order to explore the provisioning paths they enable and condition as part of this will to autonomy. In the next instance, I then return to this ideology, interrogate its intersection with the practices it informs and then develop a substantial critique of it.

Chapter 2: Noncommerical Provisioning

Beginning once more from CdB's stated aim to "become and live as autonomously as possible", this section considers the different paths for provisioning goods and services that the community needs to sustain itself day by day. I discuss the two immediate strategies that can be defined as outside the commercial sphere: household food production and provisioning from personal and social networks. Residents' estimate that around the year, they produce about 50% of the goods they require themselves or obtain them from commons[10], while another 30% are provisioned from the wider social network within the Campo. Although CdB is not self-sufficient in its food production, we can identify a trend towards obtaining those goods not autonomously produced from favour networks of exchange and reciprocity, rather than formalized monetary encounters. In this way, the production, redistribution and consumption of domestic food can be viewed as the foundation sustaining the community at the base level and the prime contribution to autonomy as it alleviates the pressure to earn money in order to aliment. However, since the attempt to become self-sufficient is yet in the making, it is more useful to conceptualize CdB and its wider social network as an alternative economy in the process of becoming, rather than as self-providers. Moreover, this section thus serves to extrapolate the highly specific, socio-spatially contingent topology of provisioning. I analyse these provisioning paths at this point, because as Narotzky reminds us provisioning and ideology are constitutive of one another, so that this discussion can further the point about the relationship of autonomy and provisioning I wish to make.

[10] Commons: Traditional use of commons referred to traditional rights such as animal grazing. More recently, commons refers to common rights in a community for other resources and public goods, such as water, nature, oil, medicinal plants and intellectual knowledge. Many social movements are struggling for these resources to remain in common ownership (Trapese Collective, 2007)

2.1 Household Production

The whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

Nürni; unwittingly echoing Aristotle

Subject to season and climate, the community is self-sufficient in its production of vegetables and fruit, including potatoes, onions and rears enough livestock to provide milk for cheese, yogurt, eggs and meats. During the summer months, much of the excess produce not immediately consumed, given away or sold is canned, pickled or otherwise preserved for consumption during the winter months. Despite these practices, the community does not (yet) have access to enough land to also grow large amounts of grains for producing pasta, rice and bread, so that these goods need to be procured via other means. During the winter particularly, there is also a shortage of fruit that is compensated by both the canned fruit from the summer as well as buying some. All residents cooperate in working around the farm everyday, and as a joint project that requires the help of all, cultivating food becomes a mechanism through which social relations, as well as the community's shared ideology, are equally cultivated and reproduced.

In analytical terms, CdB can be conceived of as a household in the traditional economic interpretation, because it constitutes a single economic unit. Not only does CDB produce the majority of its sustenance autonomously, but productive and consumptive units also conflate to the extent that the producers of a foodstuff are also its most likely consumers. Discursively, the practice of growing one's own food is celebrated and at the same time deemed necessary, because it not only enables total control over the means of one's nutrition, what Nürni terms "knowing your food", but also because it means being daily engaged in contributing to one's immediate survival and autonomy and that of the community, hence to self-determination.

In sharing the hard labour of self-provisioning, residents find their identity and place of belonging translated into practices. For an ordinary day, chores are arranged and work distributed the night before at the dinner table with the question "who is responsible for what tomorrow?" Using the term 'responsible' to describe the individual's relation to his task denotes the earnesty and devotion with which these are followed through, precisely because in taking responsibility for one of the provisioning path for a day, by way of extension means taking responsibility for the continuation and alimentation of the whole. Whether this task is cheese-making, goat herding, or planting, the actions of individuals are integrated into and result community welfare and residents show ample appreciating of this in discussions.

Sharing both labour and the literal fruits of this labour here emerge as the cement that ties community members to one another and the project as a whole. The pride with which fruit, vegetables and other farm produce is conversed about constitutes a telling example. On several occasions during my stay, a particularly sizable vegetable was brought up from the garden, publically admired at the dinner table for its ability to feed many people and proclaimed to be "tomorrow's dinner". Equally, when an animal is slaughtered and its various parts prepared or preserved – a seldom and usually festive occasion that draws many friends and neighbours to watch and help – the size and healthiness of the animal are asserted and residents are satisfied at having raised such a nutritious meal. Self-produced articles and especially food here become objects imbued with meaning, symbolizing hard, diligent work as well as communal effort.

In these instances, it does not much matter who planted the seedling from which grew the plant that sprouted the fruits, or who harvested them. Every resident seems to enjoy the same satisfaction of having contributed to this product. We can thus observe that taking responsibility for one task or step within the production cycle does not translate into more rights or entitlements over the final product of this cycle. On the contrary, shared ownership, a

result of shared contribution, is continuously affirmed and legitimized as the only way "we can all belong together" (Norman). Sharing work and produce contribute to social cohesion and the perpetuation of the project itself. Another telling example is the way in which very unpleasant or particularly heavy psychical work is organized. In such instances, individual tasks are left, so that all community members come together to "get it over with quickly". Everyone can then continue with more pleasant chores afterwards. Frequently individuals abandon their private day plans in order to accommodate community-wide activities and doing so seems generally accepted and expected.

Analytically, the terming of these practice as "solidarity in times of greatest need" (Dani) reflects a shared sense of committed responsibility in which the community recognizes their being united in ideology and practice and within a struggle that none of them could master on their own. Realising the need for a shared commitment

> "asks a lot of every individual and us (the group) as a whole. And the only way we're making it work is by putting your immediate personal desires in the backseat and realising that achieving anything for the project is not going to work if everyone gives in to his/her immediate desires. It's not that they're not important, and shouldn't be sought – but you as yourself don't come first". (Dani).

In this process, through the daily recomittment to cultivating solidarity and autonomy, as well as via the self-recognition as interdependent and collectively enabled, residents are engaging in "new practices of the self" (Gibson-Graham, 2006: xxv), practices that emphasize community over individuality and the "common good" over immediate personal desires. Putting communal welfare and cooperation before individual desires reflect the communal solidarity of people over institutions discussed in the autonomy section above, but it also connotes a questionable use of the solidarity ideology that I problematize below.

Next to producing their own food, CdB also organizes in other ways for securing goods and articles they need. One path is through dumpster-diving, that is the practice of going through the trashcans outside large supermarkets for out of date foods that are still

edible, as well as other useful items not meant for consumption. Many of the "skipped" items are not deemed fit for human consumption, but end up as pig feed. In the long run, this constitutes a provisioning strategy, not merely because the pigs are raised for meat production, but also because their food when not skipped comes out of the garden, thus frequently consisting of vegetables perfectly suited for human consumption. This provisioning strategy also constitutes a reflection of ideology because it turns against and visibly condemns the consumerist society and wasting food. Furthermore, CdB also provisions from their immediate environment by collecting seasonal fruits, vegetables and mushrooms growing wild throughout the Campo and by fishing at the seaside about once a month. Next to foodstuffs, the pine and eucalyptus forest surrounding the housing location provides wood for fires and construction and clay-mud pits are equally used to build houses and shacks. Sun energy is used to power the water pump and electricity generator.

In all these provisioning strategies, we encounter the autonomy ideology lived in practice. Echoing the will to self-legislate, CdB is a lawless space only to the extent that formalized legal agreements and defended and executed by states are rejected and rencounced. This renouncing is found in many community members proudly announcing that they don't need religion, states, authorities or priests to tell them what is right and wrong, or that "we need to be solidaric with one another" (Nürni). But the space left behind by the absence of state-legislation is by no means a moral or philosophical vacuum or a free-for all blank check, in which everyone behaves as s/he pleases – the thorough organization of daily chores and its adherence attest to this. Into the apparent void left by defying ordinary law, a specific, processually adapted and perpetually redeployed code of conduct is introduced and maintained. It is specific, non-universal because it is geared towards accommodating and doing justice to the living necessities and local social reality at CdB.

Law, or codes of conduct thus gain meaning and significance through daily implementation and practice. They are free, flux and subject to change as the situation requires precisely because the daily reality itself is inherently changeable. The community's stated aim to "become autonomous" can hence be interpreted as connoting this very fluidity in ideology and practice, as well as the perpetual transitionary state of this endeavour. Self-alimentation strategies are never stable and fixed, but open to discussion and alteration as the situation requires. The community's open valuing of members different backgrounds and resultant diversity in abilities, ideas and inputs this yields, further substantiates this. The mixture of influences, constantly evaluated for their applicability and usefulness, gives residents the confidence that they will not "get stuck" in static provisioning patterns and reflects the pragmatism necessary to sustain project and community day by day. The only constant in the equation, then, is the autonomy ideal. It is at the same time product and producer of law and provisioning strategies, as well as a future ideal to be continually moved towards. As such, CdB's ideology and practices emerge as prefigurative (Maeckelbergh, 2011), because they aim to live in the present an ideal for the future.

2.2 Beyond the Household: Solidarity as the Network of Trust and Favours

> *Insurance Policies, Retirement Funds, Health Care Insurance… it's all the same to me. You get a piece of paper from a company in return for money. But when I have the flu, the company isn't going to come feed me chicken soup - my friends are.*
>
> *Tamy; during a Dinner Table Discussion*

Next to these auto-alimentary strategies however, Casa do Burro finds itself incapable of producing or providing for all the articles it needs, a fact that becomes even more obvious when also taking into consideration the required service provisions. Veterinary services, handcraft and mechanic tasks, are all professional abilities the provisioning for which the

community recruits their wider social network of friends and acquaintances, many of whom are experts in various professions (carpenters, mechanics, thatchers). Personal and communal social networks are furthermore used to secure help during work-intensive periods (harvesting) as with particularly physically intensive tasks. To analyse these, I zoom out of the immediate CdB community, to regard its economic location in the spatial confines of the Campo and extrapolate how the will to depend on people rather than institutions translates into practice. This section also attests to the regionally integrated and locally specific avenues that provisioning according to Narotzky must take – hence reiterating the highly specialized and carved out socio-spatial arrangement that is CdB.

The provisioning paths within the Campo include reciprocity, redistribution and exchange in the classical Polanyian interpretation. A similar sense of solidarity, cooperation and mutual aid[11] to that within the community is also present within the web of friendship and acquaintance, evident in a closely linked network of trust and favour exchanges. As with household production, food and its sharing or exchange emerge as the cement that ties the community to the wider rhizomatic network. I theorize the bi-weekly farmers markets during which CdB trades part of its produce as part of this network, both because they occur within the confines of the Campo and because the majority of customers are Campo residents who come to exchange and barter for goods, rather than buy them with money.

Favours among the Campo network, whether premised on professional ability or simple help, are negotiated on an individual basis and often repaid either immediately in farm produce or in another favour to come. Many analyses, particularly those of postsocialist studies, treat favours as a commodities in themselves, describing the "trade in favours" that in post-soviet Russia acquired its own branch of the economy: Blat. (Ledeneva, 1998). We find a similar duality at and around CdB, where favours seem to attain an almost virtuous nature,

[11] Mutual Aid: Mutual aid describes a principle central to libertarian socialism or anarchism, and signifies the economic concept of voluntary reciprocal exchange of resources and services for mutual benefi t. It is a key idea within the anarcho-communist, co-operative and trade union movements (Trapese, 2007).

due to their ideological content and perception as necessary in a social network of mutual interdependency. At the same time, reminiscent of Mauss theorizations on gifts, favours are obligatorily reciprocated, despite the refusal to attach a fiscal value to them. During one memorable experience, two community members got into a shouting match with an elderly Portuguese lady from the local village after they fixed her garden fence and she insisted on giving them 10€ each. Aware that this lady's husband had passed only months before and she was struggling to make ends meet, the issue was finally resolved when she agreed to instead give them 5 cans of her famous Mirabelle jelly during the next season. This was considered an acceptable exchange, both because the trees grew the fruits by themselves hence not requiring monetary input on the lady's part, and because "we didn't spent any money helping her, either" (Tamy).

Tamy's almost disgusted response to the lady, of "Please I really don't want money for this, helping is only right", underlines the interpretation of favours as virtues and the ideology they are inscribed with. Realising solidarity as necessary within the interdependence among Campo residents, as Lotte phrased it, "there is a lot of people here who have very little wealth in the traditional sense.. like, money. So of course there is this mentality where we help each other out. Plus, we also dislike money." This statement allows us to attribute the trade in naturals and favours both to a shared sense of morality and solidarity among residents of a relatively confined area but also to their similar socio-economic status. In this way, social distance and perceived status similarity emerge as defining themes in Campo provisioning.

Drawing on Simmel, Lomnitz and Scheinbaum's (2012) study on trust in the informal economy defines the former as "the real or effective psychosocial distance between individuals […] associated with social closeness in the sense of sharing the same categories of expected rights and duties, plus shared values and interests" (2). People hence feel trust towards another when they believe them to have the desire, good disposition and ability to

perform an exchange (4), which then permits taking risks in dealing with each other. In CdB, this is the case to the extent that Campo residents claim that "knowing who we're dealing with and what that person's life situation is" (Randi) fosters the relationship of mutual aid and trust. Also, especially in market exchanges, many of those who come to barter state that they take fruit and veg from CdB because they know how the food is grown, that it is of high quality and thus worth its exchange.

The goods to be mainly exchanged for household produced items include Olive oil, medronho[12], wine and other luxury items. However, in practice, if help is really needed, CDB will attempt to give it relatively regardless of the returns[13]. While household food products are exchanged among the Campo network for goods and services the community requires therefore, in times of specific hardship experienced by close friends, farm produce is also frequently given away for free, thus helping to sustain the network and its autonomy. Both Dani and Lotte narrate giving as part and parcel of mutual aid and solidarity. To them, the gifts are not forfeited, since the person given them will likely be in a position to return something at some point in the future – a Maussian interpretation of reciprocity.

In this prolonged, open-ended notion of reciprocity, "balanced" in the Polanyian sense, operational seemingly without temporal perimeters, the production of food and its various exchanges constitute the cornerstone of interaction within the Campo network. Social relationships are constituted and reaffirmed through reciprocity in labour and produce. This is perhaps particularly visible at markets, where different individuals get different "deals" depending on their level of social involvement with the group, that is, their social distance. Gudeman (2012) as well as Davis (1992) theorize the relationship between exchange and social distance, asserting that goods are usually sold at different prices to different customers

[12] A local spirit, home-brewed from the fruits of the Strawberry Tree

[13] Not once in the 6 months spent at the community has it happened that a friends or acquaintance coming to seek help from CDB was denied his request. Self-evidently, requests are not always granted tout court, but negotiated and discussed, but, within their possibilies, CDB always strives to help as best they can.

depending on whether they are kin, friends or strangers. At the Barao Market, tourists tend to pay the normal (indicated) price in cash as Euros, whereas friends of CDB either come with goods to exchange or get a discount if they have nothing to exchange with. This example also allows us to extend the notion of exchange and social distance to also include non-market exchanges of favours and produce within personal networks – a theoretical contribution underappreciated in the literature on exchange and social proximity. It also allows for furthering the relationship between ideology and practice, so that mutual aid, theorized by Kratukin (1927) as a fundamental component of anarchist autonomies, becomes constitutive of many social relations.

In summary, exchanges and reciprocal relations at CdB are negotiated individually, open-endedly and while taking into consideration the personal situation of the individual or group to be bargained with. This integration of solidarity, favours and trust by a closely linked web of people engaged in long term reciprocity, is further underlined by the fact that there is little concern to look for the welfare of strangers in the same way. While there exist little formalized reciprocal relations except a vague notion of eventual returns therefore, the knowledge of locality and people still allows the community to negotiate various provisioning paths at any given time. The absence of stable exchange pattern moreover attests to the flexibility in choosing provisioning paths that Narotzky (ibid) attributes to seasonal, temporal, climate or other local conditions. Changes in this environment are then likely to result in changes in the provisioning patterns, further underlinining the importance of provisioning's adaptability. As harvests and production patterns change by year and season, so do the trade relations.

As a result, the exchange, barter, favour and trade paths CdB follows are constantly made and remade, with decisions and exchanges often made ad hoc and spontaneously, depending on the level of trust the respective traders have in each other or their availability

when a service is required. As with domestic production, this fluidity is reflected in the adaptability of the autonomy doctrine. "Becoming and living as autonomous as possible" signifies an on-going process during which the capacity for autonomy is developed and sustained, perpetually moving towards higher levels of independence, possibly without knowing what the final product might look like. This flux is further compounded by requiring a social network for providioning that is itself unpredictable. Once more therefore, we find the autonomy ideology inspiring and at the same integrating the provisioning practices it informs and is simultaneously informed by, in this case nurturing a self-managing social network as a substructure to provide solidarity.

The non-monetary provisioning channels at CdB, both domestic and beyond the household, are thus negotiated according to a variety of factors, but are also spontaneously modifiable. Food transpires to be at the crux of autonomy, not only because it enables disengaging from commercial economic encounters. More importantly, its production, sharing and consumption emerge constitutive of and concomitantly cementing social relations and networks that in their turn, also foster the ability to be autonomous. As members of the exchange and favour networks strive to look after one another and cut deals that are favourable to all parties, they reaffirm their belonging together in the will to and struggle for alternity.

As Kaneff's ethnographic evidence from post-socialist Bulgaria extrapolates, people engaged in any form of economic activity do so with particular notions of ethics in mind, so that "engagement in trade is not a moral-free activity, but is given value through the socio-economic and political context in which it operates" (2002: 34). Putting together the perpetual flux of provisioning choices with their adaptation to regional, seasonal and climatic conditions reveals a topology that appears at the same time stable because successful in feeding the community, yet fragile because delicately dependent on factors outside

community control: social networks and nature. Non-monetary provisioning paths are thus laced together with autonomy in the on-going practice of growing and exchanging food. Temporally conflating the ideal of the future (autonomy) and the strategy to achieve this (provisioning) into one in the present, cultivating food hence emerges as a crucial aspect in cultivating autonomy, and vice versa. In the following, I interrogate these two temporalities and fragility of the reality they produce for their mediation by the use of money as a last provisioning resort and the role of ideology in legitimizing this.

Chapter III: Money, Markets and Moralities

"Geld ist nicht alles, aber ohne Geld ist alles nichts".

Dani; while horse-riding

As the last sections above extrapolate, CdB has acquired the ability to largely self-provide or rely on an extended personal network obtain those goods that can not be autonomously produced. At the same time however, it is also blatantly obvious that there continue to exist goods and services that can not be procured by any means other than exchanges in Euros. CdB then remains as yet unable to live entirely without money. This section discusses social and commercial uses of money. Unlike the pattern of the last two sections, I will not be theorizing and ethnographizing the various roles money plays at CDB, but instead recount a single, rich anecdote that to me, came to symbolize CDB's attitude towards and the social meaning of money, as well as the dependency associated with it. Narotzky theorizes money as part of the commercial provisioning channel and while I largely follow her example, I will use this story also to briefly discuss the relationship between the Informal Economy, money, and autonomy. On the other hand, I take the use of money as a means to begin questioning the

transgressions to the non-capitalist autonomy ideal in order to problematize the ostensibly smooth translation of ideology into practice.

In opposition to Simmel's delineations, at CdB money is principally referred to and treated as an irritating and vexing necessity born from the unfortunate reality that not everything is (yet) procurable via barter, exchange or transposition. As evident from the autonomy section above, money is primarily associated with the politico-legal economic hierarchy of the mainstream and hence warrants relational rejection. Despised and dealt with as little as possible, it is the last resort to be turned to, when all other means of exchange fail. Beyond this ideological stance that all community members echo, the instances in which money is handled as well as the attitude this is done with, emerge as telling. The deep-rooted tension is experienced as between the will to barter and exchange with the limited items CDB has available to do so, and the unwillingness of many to accept any form of trade that does not involve Euros. Behind this rejection then, while not always acknowledged, we find a common acceptance of utilizing money, that is, state-issued currency, in certain instances.

3.1 Social Uses of Money

On one meaningful occasion, the farm vehicle, at the time an old and deranged Renault Clio, broke down and transpired to be beyond repair. This put the community in the situation of having to procure a new vehicle, and ideally one that was more suited to farm purposes, i.e. a mini-van, bus or pickup truck. For obvious reasons, I was curious to know both the avenue sought out to procure a new car, as well as the method of payment that would follow. The first step taken was to make known to the people in the Campo that CdB needed a new vehicle, hence asking if anyone had one or knew of someone who had one available. The situation was rather urgent because the next Sunday market was only 2 days away and without a car, getting produce and people to Barao would be neigh impossible. It was solved when Randi, who I

understand to be a close friend to most residents, indicated a willingness to get rid of his old Volkswagen bus. Conveniently, the test drive date was set for the following Sunday, which allowed CDB to attend the market. When I asked Dani if Randi would be paid for his giving of the vehicle, the response was almost indignant "well, I can't give him a hundred kilos of goat cheese, now, can I?". In the end, it was agreed over several weeks and purely social meetings during which CdB already had possession of the vehicle, that, since Randi was a close friend and needed help with building his new house, he would receive all the help needed as well as a symbolic 200€ in addition. These were handed over non-chalantely the next time they saw Randi and he pocketed the money without looking the handler (Nürni) in the face. I was later told that Randi, too, didn't like being given money.

My interpretation of this occasion is multiple. On the one hand, Randi is a close friend to the community and knows and shares their struggles to live cash-free. He is, in Lotte's terms, "a soulmate". On the other hand, Randi himself lives hand-to-mouth, owning a small vegetable garden and earning money during the tourist season by offering handcrafts and various services at the south-coast beaches. This is known to the community and with him building a new house, Randi is in need of cash in order to buy those materials he can not get from nature. In this dealing with money then, the personal situation is accommodated as much as possible. Furthermore, in this instance, little attention was paid to the money the car would fetch if sold in the formal economy. The actual value appears as unimportant, with the personal situation taking precedence. Instead of an impersonal abstraction of value, money is here appropriated and personalized to meet the individual and communal needs of long-term reciprocity between equals in social status and power. In Simmel's terms, the money-value corresponence was skewed to match the needs of the community. Similar to the solidarity I describe above however, such acts are limited to the closer social network and build on trust, while strangers are not tended to in the same way.

The realisation that money is used at CdB, not only within the social circle but also to buy things that can not be bartered for, such as plane tickets, but also for the kindergarden, petrol and a few luxury items, obviously begs the question for how money for these transactions is procured. Principally, the community has several steady as well as a few infrequent sources of cash income. Firstly and most importantly, the farm premises include an illegally erected guesthouse that is rented to tourists during the summer months. Further income is generated by selling farm produce on the bi-weekly farmers markets, as well as to a local ecological store in Vila do Bispo. Next to these steady incomes, community members sometimes seek waged employment when the need for money becomes overwhelming, thus particularly in the months leading up to and during the winter. Most notably, Dani, Lotte and Tamy spend most of December working on Christmas markets in Germany and the UK, while Nürni usually works in a Pizzeria during August and September.

3.2 Barao Market: Embedding the Local Informal Economy?

At this point it also needs to be noted that the vast majority of provisioning practices at all spatial and geographical locations on the path - from household food production to the barter, reciprocity and exchange systems premised on personal networks and on to commercial encounters involving cash as Euros - can be interpreted as falling within the umbrella category of the Informal Economy. I devote some time to discussing this here, not only because Randi's story constitutes a telling example, but also because this informality further underlines the point about the congruence of ideology and practice Narotzky implies, and I complicate.

The market is "a "political icon that holds strong ideological connotations" (Kaneff, 2002: 34). During the majority of trading instances within the Campo, during employment, barter or trade, even when money changes hands, it does so without taxes being paid on the

exchange and more importantly, without monitoring or control from the government. Even when state-issued currencies are employed to formalize an exchange encounter, the state authorities remain none the wiser and theoretical taxes are continuously ignored. The obvious exceptions to this are trips to the grocery store and discounter, as well as purchases at the petrol station.

Usage of the term informal economy has been popularized by literature on various poor and marginalized areas located largely in the global south. Contrary to the image of a hidden, shadow or peripheral zone populated by the victims of social exclusion – as it is promoted in NGO discourse and writings on the underclass - the informal economy in the Campo thrives out in the open and benefits from its being openly propagated and communicated. This is particularly obvious in CdB's deliberate self-representation towards potential traders available for alternative exchanges at the farmer's markets. Equally, far from hidden, any state official coming to Barao de Sao Joao on the 2nd of 4th Sunday of the month can hardly fail to notice the roughly 150 stalls bustling with customers and offering anything from second hand cars, to livestock, books, clothing and farm products.

Self-evidently, the existence of these activities bears witness to the weakness of the local state in the Campo, and the same market could likely not take place the city centre of Lagos. It can however also be interpreted as constituting a valuable example of informal economic activity by people who are not, like NGO discourse would have us assume, marginalized in the traditional sense of the term. Far from the image of the impoverished groups, driven to the margins of society and economy and thus lacking the means to control their economic choices, Campo residents celebrate the ability to self-organize and self-determine their economic agency that the relative remoteness of the Campo provides. Yet the informal or alternative economy of the Campo is still organized from "below" or "bottom up" and occurs informally. This occurrence in turn, can be drawn on in support of the assertions of

Hart, "to the extent that neoliberalism has succeeded in reducing state controls, the world economy itself has become largely an informal zone" (2010: 152).

With markets in the Campo as with life at CdB, the absence of state controls does not imply a law free space however. In their ethnography on *Markets in Africa* (1962) Bohannan and Dalton argue that in social landscapes characterized by small to medium groups and communities largely self-providing, markets in the "modern" exist to the extent that there are designated spaces and times for the exchange of good and services. Despite theoretically part of the Informal economy, these spaces are *formalized* since those participating in them follow a set of predetermined and commonly agreed upon rules of procedure and exchange, non-compliance to which can lead to sanctions and exclusion. One of the provisioning channels that Narotzky would term "commercial" (79) therefore, emerges as far from the impersonal, abstracting nature that Narotzky attributes it. Instead, we find Barao Market as still highly integrated into the network of long-term reciprocal relations among socially proxime individuals.

Further substantiating this point, Bohannan and Dalton remind us that the notion of what is meant by "a space for exchange" (1962: 21) needs to be extended to include also social, political and cultural exchanges. Barao Market falls in line with this theory because it is a major centre for social encounters and the cornerstone of community engagement, where different groups and individuals meet and interact with one another. Serving not only to exchange or barter for goods, a large part of the favour and cooperation network is negotiated during these gatherings. From finding out about pooled childcare to the shared construction work and invitations to parties, attending Barao market is crucial if one wants to belong to the Campo community. Additionally, Campo-wide troubles with the animals, the fields, but notably also with the police, fire department or municipality are discussed at these get-togethers and strategies for managing them are agreed upon.

The market's relevance to autonomy however, is found in the fact that, in combination with the wider network of trust and favours, the Campo community has not merely developed its own economic system away from state controls. More profoundly, the communal rejection of state repression and the shared will to create an alternative has enabled the Campo to reclaim, maintain and autonomously exercise control over their economic affairs. Even when state-issued currencies are used to formalize trade encounters, the authorities remain none the wiser. This reclaiming materializes not only in most of the traded goods having local origins and/or owners, but transpires most obviously when the Campo network organizes to police its own community and market, hence regulating the encounters within this sphere. I have few data to verify this hypothesis, but it would appear that conflicts are solved without resorting to institutionalized definitions of right and wrong (legislation) or state-imbued enforcers of these rules (police), which in turn strengthens the devotions to self-management. Be that as it may, the existence of an informal, self-managed market reminds us of the imbricated connection between freedom, law and anarchism. Equally, it pulls into question popular discourses on engagement in the informal economy as resulting from marginalization and repression and its situation, as Hart argues, "firmly within the neoliberal sphere" (2010: 153). The case of Barao might be better conceived by interpreting the Campo network as having re-embedded its own market - in the Polanyian sense - and utilizing it as a constitutive part of the will to autonomy.

3.3 Moralizing Money: Contingency and Transgressions

> *Sure I feel dependent on money. Just think: all it takes is one massive storm, one flood and all we've build here will be broken and torn away. Then we have nothing. No food, no livelihood. And we will need to go work, again and more than now. Money is always there, you can't escape it. I hate it, but it's not just going to go away, either.*
>
> *Norman; in an interview*

Zooming back into CdB, whether earned formally or informally, considering cash within the community manifests a salient distinction on the treatment of different incomes. Categories of Euros are judged by the context in which they were earned. Much similar to the pride exposed over household products I describe above, Euros earned from selling farm produce are celebrated and sums received for it displayed publically. Despite their primary and immediate negative association with dependency, the Euros earned from farm produce seem to be attributed to the sweat and diligent labour of farming, thus constituting a source of pride. However, we encounter an inherent conflict between this pride and the principal rejection of money. This tension appears to be resolved by attributing the cash an immediate purpose, often prior to it being earned. This "earmarking" (Zelizer, 1994) occurs for example when 10 kid goats are sold to the local butcher in spring and the community narrates this need as necessary by stating that these Euros will be used to buy winter feed for the entire livestock. Equally, when a foal was sold to a neighbouring farm, the cash from the transaction was immediately poured into obtaining a new solar water pump for the house – an acquisition of communal benefit and use.

Opposed to income from farm produce, the Euro's earned from waged employment are equated with alienation, selling oneself to a foreign master and hence treated with detest, even scorn. These are instances in which the dependency residents feel towards money is extrapolated most clearly, as the income generated from waged labour becomes inscribed

with the same meaning as its source: alienation and "slave work" (Norman). These inherently negative conceptions of salaries, earned through selling one's labour, mean that waged employment is accepted only if the need for cash becomes over-powering. In my experience, this seems to be case most often when one of the many make-shift, improvised construction arrangements weather down, or break altogether. The same conflict between the rejection and simultaneous absoluteness of money is encountered. It is mediated, once again, in reference to the common benefit and "greater good" to the community, because money is necessary for survival and sustenance. Although only one or two residents may seek employment, the workers are morally supported by the entire community, comforted and encouraged vis-à-vis their actions' assistance to community welfare and continuance.

The monetary provisioning path then, perhaps more starkly than the ones I analysed previously, extrapolates the relationship of ideology and practice that is at work in CdB. As can be seen in residents' assertions of "the common good" that money from waged employment is put to, ideological formations are used to mitigate the tensions between the ideal of autonomy and the less-than ideal practices of struggling to survive and provision on a daily basis. Here, ideology serves to resolve the divergent dualism and seemingly irreconcilable contradiction between attempting to live hoped-for futures in the present but in face of a reality that permits this living only in specific instances and temporalities. As such, the ideal of autonomy, constantly renegotiated, yet never achieved becomes juxtaposed onto "the common good" – an apparent empty signifier or social construct – that works to lace together these conflicts between ideology and practice – an intriguing phenomenon minutely explored below.

3.4 Producing Self-Legitimizing Practices

> *Look, the point is: that world out there, it doesn't go away just because we ignore it. That shit comes back to hit you in the face. Every day. This little refuge here, its nice and cosy… But reality – it's still out there!*
>
> *Lotte; during a heated debate on the pros and cons of building a second guest house*

I begin with two empirical observations. Firstly, that while CDB seems to resort to money only when alternative avenues for provisioning become unavailable or too costly or when the goods and services required can be procured in no other space than a commercial store, the ideologically and politically motivated rejection of money can not always be maintained. While money's role in the provisioning paths remains marginal, its use still reminds us that the exteriority and alternative that residents view the project as, is not cohesive in it's own right. As complete autonomy and dissociation from the mainstream transpire to be impossible, we realise the artificiality and constructedness of the boundary that seems to separate life at CdB from the outside world. It becomes then, imperative to interrogate this very boundary, its rigidity and porosity in order to establish what leaks through and what does not.

Attempting this, a second observation becomes crucial: That although the use of money confronts residents continuously with the artificaiality of the boundary between their project and the world out there, paradoxically, this confrontation does not appear as a source for friction, or cause residents to question the integrity of the project. This is even more surprising, because in the rare event that money is used to provision for goods, the stores most frequented are discounters and corporate chains, as opposed to the small ecological and privately owned stores that also exist in the area. Undergirding this realisation, we find then a clear choice made by residents between the would-be ideal or would-be-least-evil in antithesis with the factually employed practices. This causes

> "tension and unhappiness among us and we've had many talks about it. But in the end, we can go to the eco store and buy 2kg of apples for 8€, or we can buy them at the LIDL for 3€. In the end, doing the former just means that one of us needs to slave even more in some random job and can contribute less on the farm.. and we agree that's also, or even more, problematic" (Lotte).

Lotte's assertion here emerges as crucial, because it allows us to appreciate the underlying tension between ideal and reality as well as its mediation. Behind ideal and reality namely, we discover, once again the will to autonomy, or the will to adhere to high moral principles of anti-capitalism and self-sufficiency while at the same time needing to ensure community survival in the everyday. In turn, this deep-rooted tension seems mitigated by the very pragmatism that ensures survival – that is the need to occasionally engage in less-than-ideal practices (using money, working, shopping at the discounter). What appears as cyclical reasoning then, here emerges as logical in its own right, because it speaks to a moral certainty that residents have attained with regard to their practices and ideology.

In "agreeing" which of the paths is the least evil and most feasible, as Lotte extrapolates in her quote, residents integrate and simultaneously overcome the deep-rooted tension between trying to live hoped-for futures in the everyday, while needing to ensure survival as well. As such, accepting as non-negotiable givens autonomy as an ideology and future goal on the one, and self-provisioning as the on-going practice to yield this goal in the present on the other hand, emerge as practical choices. "Agreeing" on an ideal for the future and an overarching framework of how to get there, has allowed residents to take strategy debates on how to achieve autonomy largely out of the equation. In this way, decision-making processes do not need to be formalized or theorized, because the broad moral framework in which they are enacted has already been consented upon. On the one hand this consensus is practical because it allows for decisions to be made spontaneously and on the spot without resorting to community meetings and consensus building exercises. On the other hand, this maturity in practice can also emerge as problematic, because as, in the case of waged

employment or shopping trips to the discounter, it uses ideological formations to gloss over the irreconcilable contradictions that are inherent within the very set-up of the project itself. This observation is implicative for the topology of provisioning more widely, because ideology is at work not only in justifying money, but in all other provisioning paths as well.

Recalling Zizek's above dissemination of ideology's concealing and self-producing character that manifests once ideology as utopia is substantiated with material practices and thus works not only in, but *in and for itself*, the integration of ideology and practice at CDB can now be critiqued. Recalling Lotte's quote, residents' moral certainty is used to discursively legitimize practices far outside the anti-capitalism and self-sufficiency ideals *entirely within the autonomy ideology*. As autonomy comes to symbolize both commonly consented avenues for action (provisioning practice), as well as established opinions and rules (autonomy ideology), it closes off spaces for discussion and contestation, hence producing the very moral certainty that in turn legitimized practices in the first place. As such, autonomy employed as an ideology produces a social imaginary in which the conviction of the validity and accuracy of one's actions always-already contain their own justification. By rationalizing all avenues of provisioning within the self-sufficiency ideal, even when they are openly capitalist or mainstream, the autonomy ideology hence serves to lace together and gloss over apparent contradictions and frictions within the practices that would otherwise cause the project to fall apart. In this logic, shopping trips to LIDL are framed within the need to spend as little money as possible, whereas this discounter would otherwise be the last place any socially and environmentally conscious person can shop.

This realization allows us to unravel the above discussed boundary between the project and the outside world not only as artificial and constructed, but as self-producing from ideology. The project appears to residents as a cohesive and genuine alternative and exterior, *because* the autonomy ideology allows them to narrate it in this way. With an estimated 80%

of the goods and services provisioned by non-monetary means, there certainly is a significant difference between the outside and CDB, but it is not the totality as which it is described. As such, the ideological formations used to legitimize transgressive action are themselves constitutive of the very boundary, because they grand a moral certainty to residents in which all actions and ideas preemptively contain in themselves their own justification and validity; regardless of whether they are anti-capitalist or rely on money. This then, is the power of ideology at work in CdB: The practices of provisioning, identities and meaning-making processes, laced together by autonomy as an ideology produce a social imaginary that reproduces itself as always-already legitimate.

The self-production of legitimacy goes further however. Abstractedly put, an act's ideological justification "for the common good" renders manifest its underlying phantasmic structure, in which the context of a subject's act is not only provided, but it's coordinates of meaning defined in advance. Autonomy as ideology thus reveals the intricate, always-already operative texture of interpretation that carries in itself its own legitimacy. In turn, such legitimacy relieves individuals and the group of the task of probing into the concrete circumstances of a transgressive act, precisely because the moral-majority of transgressing ideals has been established in advance as the need to maintain autonomy. Autonomy as ideology and its translation into practice then produces the image/appearance of a self-contained social reality that, despite the immediate visibility not merely of the porosity of this boundary, but its factual non-existence, reproduces itself regardless.

This logic of self-producing ideological legitimacy however, is also self-defeating, because it necessarily leads to a – no less ideological – cynicism of the kind illustrated in Brecht's Dreigroschenoper[14]: *Die Welt ist arm; der Mensch ist schlecht. Wir wären gut,*

[14] Threepenny-Opera

anstatt so roh, doch die Verhältnisse, sie sind nicht so[15]. Retaining the abstract level of this discussion, another way of revealing the intrinsic shortcoming of self-producing legitimacy is by asking how we, as speaking subjects, can make sure that we are not always already engaged in recounting and legitimizing the circumstances that predetermine the space of our activity's interpretation prior to that activity taking place? While any answer to this question is necessarily ambiguous and philosophical, the implications seem clear: any self-producing logic must be self-defeating to the extent that it betrays the very truth of the social imaginary from which it derived.

In other words, establishing in advance the interpretory framework for any actions relieves subjects of the obligation to interrogate the validity of their actions as they take place, thus producing and simultaneously reproducing the very moral certainty I discuss above. In the case of CdB, rending invisible or indiscussible the causes for particular transgressions by predetermining their necessity in terms of autonomy, enables residents to avoid confronting the emergent gap between what they attempt and what is accomplished. As such, it disengages and relieves them of confronting the factual impossibility of autonomy and thus disengages them from the very shortcomings of their project. Perhaps more problematically however, it also disengages them from confronting the fact that their very arrangement of provisioning, ideology and transgressions in fact necessitates the outside world to continue existing. Not only is state-issued currency used and provisioning from discounters practiced, but even "autonomous" tactics like dumpster-diving or hitch-hiking, in fact leech off the wider society. It does not suffice to ask therefore, what makes certain transgressions permissible while others are not, because transgression *and* the outside world are integral to present topology of provisioning. As a result, the arrangement of ideology, practices and transgressions in their present form render impossible the very utopic promise that produces

[15] Translation: "We would be good, instead of rude, if only the circumstances were not of this kind".
In fact, this piece of music is frequently played and sung at CDB and residents seem to celebrate its blatant draconianism for the reflection it offers of their lived social reality.

this arrangement to begin with. Autonomy can not only never live up to its promise, but in fact continues depending on what it rejects, opposes and pushes away. Autonomy as ideology then, allows residents to continue inhabiting a social imaginary that maintains the appearance of a self-contained, cohesive and equillibrial entity, despite rendering it systemically impossible.

This dissemination is not meant to assert the failure of the project to achieve its aims. A simple comparison between the levels of self-alimentation 8 years ago and today can substantiate this point. Nor do I wish to disprove or delimit the assertions previously made about the inherent flux of practices and doctrine and their continuous drive towards better accommodating the need for autonomy. On the contrary, it is precisely in the incorporation of ever-changing practices into the self-reproducing legitimization strategies of ideology – the way anything and everything can be bent to fit within autonomy as self-provisioning - that we can make sense of many of the tensions and conflicts outwardly expressed at CdB. This holds for the tension between transience and permanence, constituent feature of prefigurative politics (Maecklenbergh, 2011), as much as it does for the future/present dichotomy – both of which emerge as inseparable in a reality that is itself unpredictable.

By way of analogy, extrapolating the self-defeating logic of producing legitimacy does also not imply outrageously unsustainable or unethical behaviour to become valid – the opposite is the case: the survival and provisioning strategies I have detailed above bear ample witness to the considerable effort and worry that goes into trying to achieve autonomy in a conflation of means and ends, and adherence to the principles is upheld wherever possible. The fact that an estimated 80% of the provisioning occurs informally and non-monetarily attests to this. But in the face of the impossibility of total autonomy within the present arrangement, producing legitimacy constitutes the final coping mechanism with which the appearance of integrity is maintained towards the outside and the project's continued social

equilibrium ensured on the inside. I do not argue that residents are not aware of the constructedness of their social imaginary, but that their choice to ignore it, or at least not act upon it, is strategic and no less ideological, owing to the fact that the only logical consequence possible would be to abandon the project tout court.

Scrutinizing the production of legitimacy then, in the final instance emerges as crucial because it allows us to appreciate it as an act of catharsis; as an emotional release to the contradictions that inevitably structure a project that attempts autonomy as simultaneously post- and anti-capitalism, while at the same time located very firmly within it. Deconstructing the relationship between ideology and practice and extrapolating the contingency of the will to autonomy, reminds us of the necessarily messy, transitional state CDB is in. The already reclaimed and ever increasing levels of control over livelihoods, socio-spatial arrangements and economic choices do not cease to exist through the act of deconstruction, but new avenues for interrogating and negotiating them may transpire. The present topology of provisioning, as I demonstrated in detail above, is only a temporary arrangement, fluid and subject to change as better suited options on the provisioning chain become available and the DIY[16] ethic of continuous improvement advances. Total autonomy may become viable in the future, if more land is obtained or needs and desires change. Remembering that money or the monetary provisioning paths serve particularly to obtain luxury goods and transportation means underlines this. In effect, it may then be possible to conceive of the transgressions and inconsistencies, while systemic at this moment, as part of this project's baby steps along the rocky road toward post-capitalist autonomy.

[16] DIY: Abbreviation of Do-It-Yourself - A broad term referring to a range of grassroots political activism with a commitment to an economy of mutual aid, co-operation, noncommodification of art, appropriation of digital and communication technologies, and alternative technologies such as biodiesel. DIY culture became a recognized movement in the 1990s in the UK, made famous by direct action and free party culture (Trapese, 2007).

Conclusions: Everyday Practices and the Transition towards Autonomy

Food is at the crux of autonomy! I mean, what do your convictions matter when at the end of the day, you have to go work to feed yourself?! So, if what we're doing has revolutionary potential, and I'm not saying it does, then that revolution must be edible.

Nürni; during an Interview, echoing the popular notion of "Edible Revolution"

In the above, I have detailed and described the various ways that CdB strives to organize autonomously for survival and sustenance as well as what motivates this attempt. Arguing that the ideology of autonomy, constructed in relation to the resistances against capitalism and mainstream society and the concomitant will to create an alternative, drives these practices in the daily present, yet is simultaneously a future ideal to be perpetually striven towards. As such, I displayed "the anti-politics of autonomy" (Katsiaficias, 2006: 251) because it is precisely through the everyday, and often mundane engagement in self-alimentation that meaning is given to autonomy, but also that this engagement is what makes autonomy a-political, while accessible, feasible and powerful. I have shown how cultivating food and its sharing in turn contribute to cultivating social cohesion and solidarity, cementing ties among individuals and groups engaged in the same struggle. The topology of provisioning at CdB then, while ideologically justified in relation to a putative exterior, also emerges as regionally integrated and locally specific, yet flux and changeable at the same time.

In the next instance, I moved beyond taking serious "the will to autonomy" to investigate the existing violations of this ideal for their revealing of frictions and shortcomings of the project. This has led me first to consider the informal economy the project is largely part of, and reveal it as a component of the will to autonomy despite its necessitating the handling of money. Further, I interrogated the constructed boundary between CdB and the outside world as the gap between what is attempted and what is achieved and

extrapolated the build-in necessity to return to the mainstream economy occasionally. This boundary was thus uncovered as a myth, yet one that is meaningful and constitutive of autonomy, precisely because it allows residents to continue trying to live an alternative. The autonomy ideology's utilization in glossing over, concealing and minimizing the inherent contradictions – in producing an appearance of legitimacy and integrity despite conflictual practices – then emerges as a deliberate strategy for maintaining equilibrium both within the project and the community.

This example is perhaps the strongest pointer to the messy and contingent, yet powerful reality of the will to be autonomous and its enactment in the everyday. By way of a conclusion, the following section makes use of this insight to reflect on what it actually means to be simultaneously against and beyond capitalism and mainstream society, while at the same time dealing with being very much within and dependent upon it. As I amply demonstrate above, the will to autonomy attains significance through the everyday rhythms of its enactment, both in cultivating one's own food and in cultivating solidary networks of reciprocity and exchange. The alternative economic in-becoming and the provisioning practices it comes with, are continually moving towards higher levels of autonomy and dissociation, despite returns to the mainstream. As such, the examples and cases provide a cohesive overview of how CdB challenges, deals with and partly overcomes many of the constrains placed upon them by existing within their socio-spatial-economic arrangement, as well as how they practice alternatives to institutionalized practices in the everyday. Yet the daily labour and routines of cultivating autonomy make these alternatives appear mundane, even tedious.

What seems to drive residents is neither the immediate excitement of growing food nor the possibility of personal or communal completion. Having recognized and accommodated the unattainability of full autonomy in a way that allows for the continuation

and integrity of the project attest to this, as does the repeated reference to "becoming autonomous" as a process of continuous improvement. Rather, what drives residents then is an altogether more complex and evidently contradictory process of autonomists-becoming-autonomists, characterized by the rejection of mainstreams, the will to create an alternative and the embracing of the simplicity of life as it emerges from daily contribution to this alternative, however messy and contingent. In this way, residents celebrate a plurality of values, practices and compromises as part of the transition towards autonomy.

Correspondingly, realising the small-scale and mundaneity of their endeavour and the actual changes achieved are no source for discouragement. On the one hand, this is because CdB role vis-à-vis the outside is narrated as one of symbolic reference; of showing that different forms of socio-economic organization are not only possible, but probable. As the "most emancipatory spatiotemporal dimension" (Springer, 2012: 1610), the here and now of everyday activism is celebrated because it is what makes autonomous practices both feasible and achievable. By accepting volunteers into the project, residents furthermore perceive themselves to be fulfilling an education and publicity objective. On the other hand, residents conceive of their project as only one element within a broader struggle towards social change and post-capitalism: as a niche idea and micro-strategy with the potential to grow and/or be replicated in similar form elsewhere.

This assertion begs the question for the durability and replicability of this project elsewhere and long-term. To respond to replicability, I reiterate that CdB is driven at the same time, by a broad analysis of the conditions of Modernity, the rejection of these and the will to create an alternative. In practice this very alternative is itself informed by and contingent upon in-depth knowledge of the local immediate environment and the constraints and opportunities it offers. As a highly specialized micro tactic therefore, neither the provisioning strategies followed within the community, nor the support mechanisms developed to cope with crises

can be easily transposed onto other localities. Yet the underlying values and morality of nurturing a self-managed community as a substructure to provide resilience, mutual aid and solidarity is not exclusive to CdB and can be easily transferred. Equally, and as communities throughout the world illustrate, growing one's own food as a foundation for alimentation and autonomy is feasible almost everywhere, although the specific strategies automatically vary by climate and location.

With regard to durability of CDB, I reiterate the fluidity and sponataneity, the intrinsic tension between transience and permanence that structures fluctuations of practices and ideology. Because so much of the project depends on experimentation and negotiation, failures and the need to retry are part and parcel of the struggle to autonomy. But with the already achieved levels of control over space, livelihood, economy and alimentation, I can not but perceive the project as a success for the large part and be convinced that it will continue existing and sustaining itself in various ways in the future. On a longer term, as children within the community attend ordinary Portuguese school and are given a choice as to whether they want to remain in CdB, time will only tell.

Yet there also exist structural constrains that are specific to the locality and outside community control. As many of the permanent buildings that comprise CdB are erected without planning permission[17] and local authorities show increasing interest in the goings-on in the Campo, residents are aware that there will likely come a time when the municipality, fire or police department is going to try and evict them. This recognition bears further witness to the deep-rooted tension between transience and permanence forever negotiated and replicated in the spatial arrangement of the farm. It is also reminiscent of Bey's (1991) *Temporary Autonomous Zone*, to the extent that there will likely come a time when the project has grown to a level that it will either cease to be able to sustain itself off the available

[17] Compare Appendix A

resources, or the autonomy will have attained such levels and scale that official bodies will see no choice but to interfere.

This realization returns us the significance of everyday action in sustaining and perpetually re-enabling the economic, political and socio-spatial conditions for autonomy. As Gibson-Graham states, autonomous imaginations need "to be sustained by the continual work of making and remaking a space for it to exist in the face of what threatens to undermine and destroy it" (2006: xxvii). As capitalist relations of production and the derivative social imaginary are reproduced at an everyday level, so too, mundane daily practices can be generative of an anti-capitalist alternative. Casa do Burro is one example of the dirty (quite literally) and real work of farming resistance that expresses a pragmatic hands-on approach to social change and transforms the antagonistic "no" of much activism into the hopeful "yes" of cultivating autonomy day by day. The will to autonomy translated into the routine cultivation of food, community and solidarity, means that CdB not only dissociated, but successfully reclaimed and reappropriated the terms of its economic, spatial and social existence. Food here emerges to be at the crux of autonomy as the one item enabling genuine dissociation - as several of my informants put it: "If the revolution happens, it must be edible!"

Appendix A: Casa do Burro and the Luso-Teutonic Exclave of the Campo

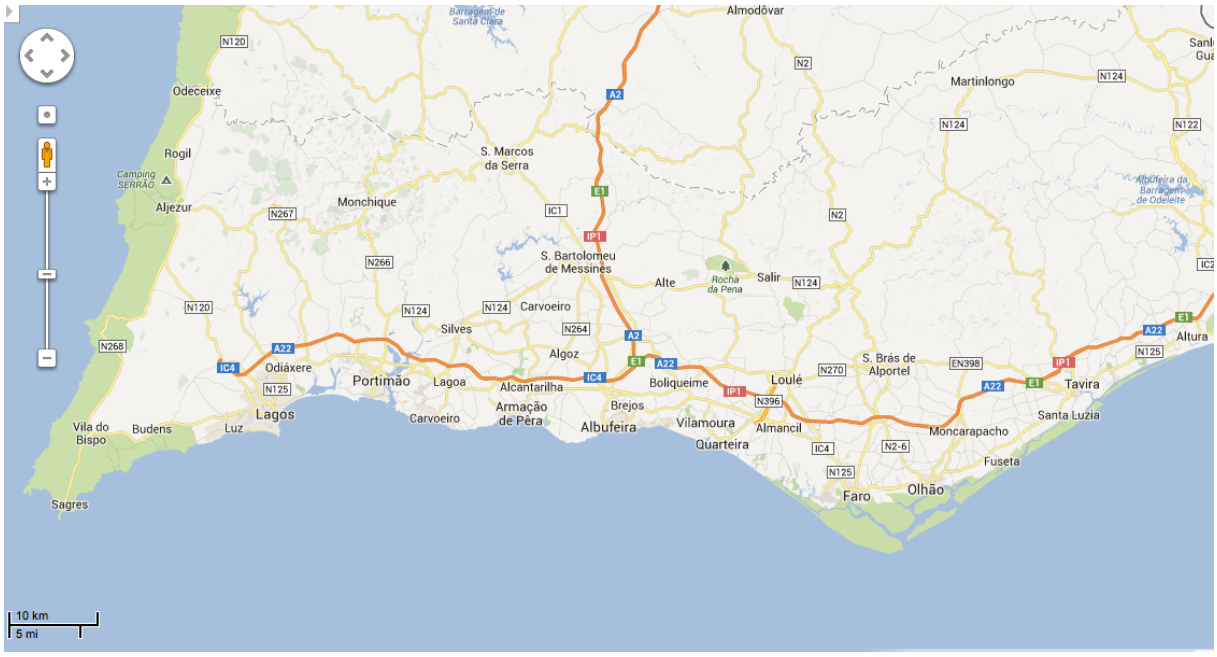

Fig.1: the Algarve Region, Southern Portugal

The purpose of this appendix is to detail the fieldsite at which I did research, that is, the community Casa do Burro (Cdb). Located in the Western Algarve, close to the most south-western part of continental Europe, Cape St. Vincent, CdB is located in hilly, wooded area which its residents title the Campo. On the one hand, this appendix provides a geographical, demographic, climatic and economic overview of this area as well as it's location within the Algarve Region in terms of its relevance to the community CdB. On the other hand, it then locates CdB within this wider area, as it the space socio-economic engagement that enables much of the provisioning practices discussed in the main body of this thesis.

Like the Algarve region generally, the areas west and north of Lagos and up towards the Cape St Vincent (municipios Lagos, Vila do Bispo e Monchique – the most south western parts of Europe) are demographically interesting due to the high percentage of foreigners present. In the three municipalities bordering the location of my fieldsite, the majorities of

foreigners are English, German, Dutch, Swiss and Scandinavian[18]. Most of these are not tourists, but have taken up permanent residence in the area. They hold official Residencia status, indicating they have officially registered with the local municipality. Dr. Kate Torkington, senior research fellow at the university of the Algarve in Faro estimates that in the entire region, residents with foreign roots have outnumbered the Portuguese since 1998.

Torkington terms this phenomenon lifestyle migration, echoing the Portuguese municipal authorities terminology of "residential tourists", as strongly opposed to immigrants – a term reserved for people from former Portuguese colonies and the Global South more generally. According to Torkington, lifestyle migrants to the Algarve share several key chacteristics: "They do not speak the local language (or at least not enough of it to carry out more than a simple service transaction); they stay or live in the same areas, in the same types of accommodation (apartments, 'townhouses', villas in *aldeamentos*); they look physically similar, wear the same styles of clothes and go to places (bars, restaurants, sports and fitness clubs) where they meet up with their compatriots" (2010: 99).

This conflation of permanent non-Portuguese residents of the Algarve into one category, while certainly analytically practical to the phenomenon at large, does not do justice to the realities of migration to the Algarve that I have encountered. In the communities and villages I was fortunate to live in during my visits to the areas west of Lagos, I encountered a wide variety of immigrants mainly but not exclusively from Northern Europe. Most speak the Portuguese language fluently or are in the process of perfecting it, have both Portuguese and international friends and acquaintances, and generally do not engage exclusively with their compatriots. Nor do they live in resorts or villas at the seaside, preferring rather the more quiet (and less well known) villages tucked away in the hills a few kilometres land inwards.

[18] Unreliability of official estimates: many lifestyle migrants remains registered in their countries of origin, and thus do not show up in the offical censuses, while many Portuege in the area, mainly those who cater to the tourism and resident industry, migrate seasonally from theor home places, equally without changing their registry/Residencia status

To this group, the area between and inside the villages of Barao, Bordeira, Carapateira and Aljezur is known as the Campo. Figure2 displays a tentative mapping of the territory. Part nature reserve, part protected area, yet nonetheless inhabited and agriculturally exploited for centuries, the Campo's characteristic features are woody hills growing pine and eucalyptus trees in sandy soils and fertile, water rich valleys. It contains various small villages, most of which are not displayed on maps of the area. The administrative status of the Campo is blurry and subject to change, as are its' geographical boundaries. When enquiring about el campo at the Câmara (municipal office) in Vila do Bispo, the officer had no idea what area I was talking about, realizing my meaning only when I described the villages within and around it, to which he then replied "sim, where the hippies live".

Fig.2: the "Campo" area (blue) in the municipalities Vila do Bispo and Aljezur

This statement prompts the discussion of Campo demographics. The 4 villages bordering the Campo (Barao de Sao Joao, Barao Sao Miguel, Bordeira, Carapateira and Aljezur) have a

total resident population of 2500, though that number triples in the summer month as particularly the seaside Bordeira and Aljezur come to be overrun by tourists. However, the indicated inhabitants are only the ones official registered, and living in registered settlements. Taking into consideration neither the several hundred years old farm houses scattered throughout the area, nor the many temporary settlements of caravans and mobile homes, official estimates transpire as unreliable.

While like unpopular with the residents of the area, their categorization as "hippies" by the Camara official seems not entirely inappropriate, bearing witness both to their constituting a distinguishable group and the less than conventional living and working arrangements that connotes it. These arrangements include not just make-shift houses or caravans, but a more generally Do-It-Yourself (DIY) approach to organizing socially, economically and environmentally. Virtually no one has steady employment in the sense of a waged job, with people preferring instead to be engaged in the informal economy: selling jewellery and handcrafted articles in Lagos during tourist season, bartending or waiting tables (for cash), trading in petty goods and service provisions or operating second hand businesses. Perhaps the most common threat is found in the rejection of traditional 9 to 5 employment options, reflecting instead a desire to only generate the cash necessary to sustain a lifestyle.

When asked what other reference than hippie to attach to this apparently present group, most indicated they preferred to think of themselves as Aussteiger – a german term adopted into the local lingo that signifies someone having left behind society or dropped out of it, but not necessarily living abroad. This term then does justice not only to the northern European lifestyle migrants living in the Campo, but also the Portuguese and other southern Europeans there as well as their deviancy from other lifestyle-migrants in terms of looks, lifestyle and socio-economic status. Next to this distinct group Aussteiger, the other residents of the Campo are elderly and senior Portuguese farmers, most of whom have ceased working

the land. Their children have mostly migrated to the southcoast where they tend to the tourists and classical lifestlye migrants, making the Aussteiger the only young and middle aged people in the immediate vicinity. As such, the Campo can viewed as constituting a luso-teutonic exclave from the tourism and traditional lifestyle-migration and Casa do Burro is located deep within it.

Locked between tall trees and higher hills and accessible only by a 20minute drive on sandy dirt tracks, the community's self-perception as a refuge from the world attains spatial significance. CdB's living space consists of cleared area in the forest in which make-shift houses and shacks have been erected from clay and mud. Around the central fireplace, a total 8 caravans are arranged in a circle, their doors facing towards the centre of the community. A few hundred meters away towards the east, behind a natural fence of brambles and bushes, a guest house is located. On the other side towards the west, three horses and a donkey have their stable and paddock. There are also several other enclosures of pigs, ducks, chicken, bunnies and geese, but most of these run free in the vicinity of the farm most of the day, guarded and herded by one of the 4 dogs. Down in the valley, approximately one kilometer away, there is a 2000m fruit and vegetable garden, as well as the goats' stable.

On first glance, Casa do Burro seems the epitome of a hippie or Aussteiger community what with its' residents sporting mohican haircuts or dreadlocks and frequently blasting to German Punk Rock into the ether. But living and working at Casa do Burro for a total 6 months over the least 2 years has brought home to me a very different reality of everyday life at the community. One that, far from idleness, loitering about or partying speaks of average 12 hour working days, characterized by physically demanding tasks and stressful attempts to accommodate the required daily chores. Yet it is also a lifestyle distinctive for celebrating the beauty of the nature one works in and the relationship that one's work has to sustaining one's livelihood.

Casa do Burro came into existence when several German Aussteiger squatted a piece of land in one of the fertile valleys of the Campo and began rearing livestock and farming the land to grow their own food. Today (in 2013), 11 years after the first members of the community came to Portugal and 8 years after the founding of the farm at this particular locality, Casa do Burro has grown and expanded to feed anywhere between 6 to 8 relatively permanent community members, as well as a number of working volunteers, most of whom stay for one to four months at any given time. While the volunteers come from literally all over the world and find out about volunteer opportunities largely via the WWOOF program,[19] the permanent members are almost exclusively German or German-speakers. The farm consists of a vegetable and fruit garden down in the valley, where 35 milk-goats also have their stable, as well as the housing location on top of a nearby hill, about 1 km away from the garden, where Casa do Burro lives, cooks, eats and also raises chickens, ducks, pigs and bunnies. The main products include seasonal vegetables and fruits, goat cheese, eggs, sausages, bread, as well as any number of canned foods.

On any given day, the chores include gardening, herding the goats that run free in the hills during the day, making cheese and other kitchen tasks as well as several building and construction works around the farm houses. In principle, for volunteers, the working day starts at 8am and ends around 4.30 to 5pm, and one day a week is off. Permanent community members normally rise earlier and finish work whenever the tasks for the day have been dealt with. CdB's living and working arrangements largely falls in line with the LIDs and de-growth approaches of "living with nature" (Cattnaeo, & Gavalda, 2010: 582) that I theorize in the Literature Review.

[19] WWOOF: World Wide Opportunities On Organic Farms: an online platform with national representations in over 40 countries that aims to connect organic farms with people willing to volunteer at them in return for food and board: www.wwoofinternational.org

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