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We are the limitś performing climate justice commoning in the Czech Klimakemp

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ABSTRACT

Socio-environmental and climate movements indicate the urgency of 'doing' what is just in all socio-ecological relations and in the present. Attempts to bridge various movements defending commons around the world aim to transgress boundaries of thinking and acting for justice. Our aim is to propose a counter-hegemonic vision of climate justice as politically performative, i.e. enacting experimental spaces for more equalitarian relations which disrupt 'capitalocentric' imagination. We view justice as a dynamic process rather than a normative project, being enacted in repetitive events and practices which both reproduce and transform what is accepted as just. To illustrate our point, we are examining the;theory in praxis' of the first Klimakemp in the Northern Bohemia region of the Czech Republic 2017, a constitutive moment for the environmental and climate justice movement in Central and Eastern Europe. Based on engaged participant observation of this movement, we identify-three key performative aspects of camping for climate justice 1) Building the camp as action infrastructure 2) Enacting new political subjectivities as 'investments risks' embodying the limits to mining and 3) Commoning intersectional relations of care and solidarity.

1. Introduction

Before the coronavirus pandemic outbreak, the climate justice movement was on a massive surge: new protests and movements in specific regions and social contexts are crucial for understanding its discourses. The attempts to bridge various movements defending commons worldwide – political agroecology, land and water justice, degrowth and post-development alternatives - aim to transgress boundaries of thinking and acting for justice (Temper et al., 2015). More and more, activists in the climate movements indicate the urgency of 'doing' what seems 'just' in all socio-ecological relations and in the present. We aim to discuss this counter-hegemonic vision of climate justice as politically performative, i.e. enacting experimental spaces for equalitarian relations that disrupt 'capitalocentric' imagination. We view justice as a dynamic process rather than a mere normative project, enacted in repetitive events and practices that reproduce and transform what is accepted as just. To illustrate our point, we are examining the 'theory in praxis' of the first Klimakemp in the Northern Bohemia region of the Czech Republic 2017, a constitutive moment for the environmental and climate justice movement in Central and Eastern Europe. Based on engaged participant observation of this movement, we identify and elaborate on three key performative dimensions of camping (or commoning) for climate justice: building the camp as action infrastructure; enacting political subjectivities as 'investments risks' and thus embodying limits to mining; commoning relations of convivial care and solidarity.

A climate camp has been defined as "An extensive program of workshops and debates facilitated networking and strategizing, while an impressive logistical operation provided a working example of low-impact and non-hierarchical living" (Schlembach et al. 2012, p. 813). In this paper, we expand such definition by examining the organization of the Klimakemp in the Czech Republic (CR) in 2017, by an emerging movement called '*Limity jsme my*' ('We are the limits'), part of the network for Climate Justice Action. Its name is a metaphor for the performative dimension of climate justice. It illustrates a 'hot' debate in CR, which revolves around the types of limits that may or may not be necessary to manage coal mining. We argue that the Klimakemp illustrates the performative view of justice, that is, enacting an alternative infrastructure based on new, albeit risky - relational politics of commoning, which aims at producing more just and livable lives in the future (Velicu and García-López, 2018). The spark for the emergence of this movement in CR was a 2015 attempt by the government to further

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expand mining, despite a violent history of eighty-two villages being wiped out by mining and despite decades of civic efforts to set limits to extractive industries. This new movement aims to create political space for transnational and equalitarian relations and networking among leftist ecologists, feminist-queer activists, and anarchists from the CR and other European countries such as Germany, Slovakia, Poland, and France.

Before going into these empirical details, we will elaborate on the existing academic debates to introduce our view of environmental and climate justice as performative, as lived, relationally localized, and embodied acts of creating new subjectivities and new spaces of possibility (Jamal and Hales (2016). Our paper builds on similar recent works of scholar-activists who examined climate justice (CJ) politics as *prefigurative*, with a commitment to practice radical politics in the present (Frenzel et al., 2014; Mercea, 2013; North, 2011; Russell, 2015; Russell et al., 2012; Schlembach, 2011; Schlembach et al., 2012). More recently, the literature on commoning has indicated the relevance of performativity for attending to the discursive, embodied, and temporal dialectical (labor) practices that socially deconstruct socially accepted senses of justice in "the production of ourselves as a common subject" (Federici 2012, 145, see also Bollier and Helfrich 2015; Bresnihan 2016; Linebaugh, 2009; Velicu and Kaika, 2017; Velicu and García-López, 2018, García-López et al., 2017, Nightingale 2019). Using such a conceptual perspective will expand traditional understandings of environmental and climate (in)justice by highlighting identities, rights, and responsibilities as performative, in addition to being affirmative or normative. In other words, even if existing legal regimes or other norms are unauthorized, performative acts of justice and their (un)intended effects are most often supported by structurally, culturally, and politically discursive conditions (Butler and Athanasiou, 2013; Engin and Nielsen, 2008).

Both authors have participated in the Klimakemp and have conducted unstructured interviews with twenty participants. However, this paper's first author participated in Ende Gelände 2016, together with other Czech activists, and this created an impulse to organize the first Klimakemp in CR. The first author has actively participated in organizational activities for the Klimakemp and continues to be involved in the movement. During the assembly of the collective in Brno (CR), the first author informed the collective about the research and asked permission to conduct it. Inspired by event (militant) ethnography (Russell, 2015; Urla and Helepololei, 2014) – i.e. acknowledging the political nature of inquiry – our epistemological approach aims at rearticulating the relationship between 'detached' academic scholarship and advocacy (Willow and Wylie, 2014) in an attempt to acknowledge power relations not only between the participants and the researcher, but also in the produced scientific results (Cattaneo and Gavaldá, 2010). The first author has also conducted a text analysis of all publicly accessible documents related to the case, media news, videos, and materials produced by the movement.

The paper is structured as follows: first, we look at how demands for climate justice are enacted in the material practices of space and time of the camp's participants, how they support the creation of the camping site, and the physical infrastructure of the camp. Zooming into the camp location from the North Bohemian coal basin, through the town of Horní Jiřetín at the edge of the Czechoslovak Army Mine and into its location at the end of the town provides us with an overview of the multiple arguments for setting the camp in this particular spot. Second, the direct action against lignite mining infrastructure in the region produced a temporary blockade of the Bílina mine, the first action of this kind in the Czech Republic. The last part of the paper is devoted to the various modalities of enacting solidarity at the camp, with a focus on collective well-being and mutual care.

2. Environmental and Climate Justice: From Normative to Performative

> "*Performativity is not far from the theory of hegemony (…) both emphasize the way new social possibilities emerge*" (Butler, 2000, 14)

Martinez-Alier et al. (2016) claim that there is a global environmental justice movement, as different local groups share a common framing of problems related to socio-ecological issues. Environmental justice is usually defined as a multidimensional concept (Schlosberg, 2013, 2017, Bullard and Wright, 2009): inequitable distribution of environmental "bads", misrecognition of groups affected by oppression, lack of meaningful political representation and participation (Schlosberg, 2013, Schlosberg and Carruthers 2010). However, critical scholarship argued that such framing of justice remains blocked in consensus-politics, a rather reformist framework in which the structural roots of conflicts and unequal power relations are not addressed (Benford, 2005; Carter, 2016; Pellow, 2017, Pulido and de Lara 2018). The vision of justice thus far has been a liberal one, as Rawlsian fairness, in which inequalities are not addressed systematically as constitutive of injustice: such vision legitimizes the belief that redistribution of the surplus value may eventually benefit all populations (Heynen et al., 2006). Strategies seeking recognition and redress from the liberal state often validate the injustice of racial capitalism (Pulido 2017). The emergent climate justice movements seem to engage precisely with this limitation: since ecological devastation has been part and parcel of the processes of colonialism, nation-building, and global racial capitalism, environmental and climate politics have to be concerned with 'system change, not climate change'. Climate justice could be seen as an expansion of environmental justice (Mohai et al., 2009; Schlosberg, 2013).

Climate injustice may be defined as the uneven impacts of climate change, affecting vulnerable communities disproportionately much more than others: areas of extraction and combustion of fossil fuels, where the causes of climate change originate, are usually inhabited by the working class, lower-income residents, and people of color. The concept of carbon debt, which emphasizes the uneven amount of carbon emissions in rich industrialized countries, is crucial. The theory of 'atmospheric theft' points to the staggering disparities in the dissipation of fossil fuels and accumulated emissions across countries (Malm and Warlenius, 2019). However, more understanding of its articulation in local resistance is vital for answering how such expansion of theory in praxis may happen: for instance, processes of political hegemonic articulation can be seen as relational, based on practices 'in the here and now' and in the use of space (Featherstone, 2012). We build on these theoretical considerations to further see climate justice as a broader relational politics.

The movement for climate justice has initially been largely connected with global climate summits, which serve as places for convergence beyond political partisan ideologies while strengthening solidarities between civil society from the global North and South (Bond, 2011; Brand et al., 2009) and between 'red' and green organizations (Reitan and Gibson, 2012). However, and crucial for our performativity argument, with the emergence of the climate justice movement, the struggles moved to the frontline communities affected by carbon metabolism. Partially because of disappointment with summits and the inability to effectively shape political decisions (Brand et al., 2009), we witness increasing resistance directly within the fossil fuel infrastructure, at the mines or along the pipelines. The direct action network 'Climate Justice Action' emerged as an answer to the disenfranchisement of the movement, emphasizing the performance of civil disobedience actions to re-politicize climate debates (de Moor, 2018; Wortmann, 2016). Klimakemp is an example of geographical expansion that followed towards the post-socialist countries forming together with Germany the European' coal heartland'. The proximity of the events enabled participants from neighboring countries to participate, create

personal connections as well as spread knowledge about local environmental conflicts.

In this paper, we use the lens of performativity to examine the political nature of the Klimakemp, an analytical tool of addressing justice: a set of dialectical practices enacted in specific historical and geographical contexts, not only with the purpose of exposing power inequalities but also of enacting social transformation (Houston and Pulido, 2002). Performativity shifts the focus from justice *meta*-narratives as a form of representational, normative or identity politics, to the complicated effects they produce, as the (everyday) lived, relational, and embodied local practices that constitute realities in (conflict) relations (Hobson, 2006, Jamal and Hales 2016). More than recognizing or demanding rights that should belong to people in the first place (Rancière, 2004), a vision of performative justice requires actions that stage dissent as a clash between the logic of 'police' and a democratic logic of equality (Ranciere in Honneth and Ranciere 2016): democratically disengaging with the consent over capitalism developments. Humans are "always a doing" (Butler 1999, 33): therefore, the task for a counter-hegemonic performative politics of justice "is not whether to repeat but how" to do so in ways that question, disturb, and displace "the very norms that enable repetition itself" and opens them to resignification (Butler 1999, 148). The example of Rosa Parks is illustrative: refusing to 'give up' her seat in the bus was more than an (individual) act of disobedience (Swyngedouw, 2011). First, Parks disrupted the 'normality' of an injustice, performing equality that was being denied to African Americans. More so, her performance has to be situated within broader ongoing societal conflicts which makes it a political act. Third, 'in-solidarity' acts produced 'We are all Rosa now'. To perform a counter-hegemonic vision of justice, we need to recognize the need for a struggle over the articulation of common(s) senses, or what there is in common beyond proposed solutions to a consensually defined problem: "counter-hegemonic commons are not found in a pre-defined ideological program but in performing differently in a constantly evolving process of openness, experimentation and solidarity' (García-López et al., 2017, p. 103).

3. Momentum for an Emergent Climate Justice Movement in the Czech Republic

Environmental problems have been one of the main drivers of political and economic transformation since the socialist regime, while current socio-ecological conflicts raise important questions related to accounting for and measuring equity in the distribution of direct or local hazards and benefits (Braniš and Linhartová, 2012; Frantál and Nováková, 2014). The brief experience of the environmental movement, while shaping some of the most important legislative changes in the 1990s, has paradoxically hindered more radical social transformations subsequently (Jehlička et al., 2005). More so, Central and Eastern European countries are again facing new forms of authoritarianism and the pressures on socio-ecological conditions have increased (Bohle and Greskovits, 2019). The extractive regime and the energy independence based on domestic lignite reserves remains a crucial part of Czech national energy security and sovereignty.[1]The main contemporary socio-ecological conflicts reflect different concerns on the democratic capacity to meaningfully participate in decision-making related to resource use (Černoch et al., 2019; Frantál, 2016). Specifically, conflicts related to the use of fossil fuels are amplified by climate change concerns and are thus emerging to galvanize new radical demands.

One of the main priorities of the Czech government after 1990 was to regulate the economy to enable the transition to cleaner energy (Říha and Dejmal, 2005). In 1991, a governmental restriction called 'Territorial Ecological Limits on Coal Mining' was issued (Černoch et al., 2019), as a result of public pressures against the impact of heavy industry (Baker and Jehlička, 1998). The region of Bohemia itself has faced decades of devastation as a result of coal mining, with thousands of families being relocated once or twice in their lifetime. Situated in this area, the town of Horní Jiřetín became emblematic for the struggle against further violation of the limits to mining, as well as because of its proximity to the mines and the socially concerned mayor of the town. The last town destroyed by mining in 1993, Libkovice, has long resonated in the memory of people in Horní Jiřetín: despite the end of the regime and opposition from locals, the plans for the mine were implemented. A local referendum was organized in Horní Jiřetín in 2005 and in Litvínov in 2006: these were seen as milestones in the long struggle to respect the mining limits as well as to protect settlements. Referenda mobilized local inhabitants, brought public attention to their arguments, and created more political debate. Eventually, these contributed together to the decision of the municipality to respect the mining limits. In 2015, the government renegotiated the existing limits: nationwide public demonstrations were hence organized under the slogan of a newly emerging movement 'We are the limits'. The renegotiation resulted in a partial breakthrough (and expanded coal mining) at Bílina mine, while the limits at the Czechoslovak Army Mine protecting Horní Jiřetín remained valid. This happened at a time when the climate justice movement was growing globally and notably in Europe (Klosová, 2015, Patočka and Kubala, 2015, Sarre and Jehlička, 2007). Therefore, it seemed like the proper momentum was building to organize the first Klimakemp event in Northern Bohemia, Horní Jiřetín, between 21st and 25th of June 2017. Approximately 300 people arrived at the camp.

The new climate justice movement addresses social and ecological crises by focusing on power as political decision-making and hegemonic social relations. The grassroots and transnational character differ to a large extent from transactional activism, which was a dominant trend of the environmental movement in Central and Eastern Europe (Císař, 2010; Hicks, 2004).[2] The political becoming of many participants and organizers was constituted not during the previous environmental protests in the area but during other social justice struggles in the big cities, such as antifascist blockades of the march in Brno in 2015 or in the activities of the autonomous social center 'Klinika': an occupied building in Prague that became an important prefiguration space for solidarity (Novák, 2021a).

4. Building the Climate Camp as Action Infrastructure

Belonging to the rich tradition of protest camps, climate camps create a protest infrastructure appropriated to a local context in which fossil fuel extraction takes place (Brown and Feigenbaum, 2017; McCurdy et al., 2016). As we will detail in this section, our focus on performativity does not ignore the importance of the material infrastructure of the camp, but rather incorporates it as part of the actual performative power of the event. Shifting the focus from streets to mines, we follow Butler's idea that "when infrastructural conditions for politics are themselves decimated, so too are the assemblies that depend upon them (…) the demand for infrastructure is a demand for a certain kind of inhabitable ground" (Butler 2015, p. 126-127). Klimakemp embodied the doubts about 'mines' as infrastructural ground for livable lives.

The camp was built at the southern end of Horní Jiřetín, next to the wastewater treatment plant and on the road to the nearby chemical plant in Záluží. Importantly, this road runs alongside the edge of the Czechoslovak Army Mine, so the camp was basically parallel to the

[1] Lignite production in the Czech Republic accounted for 12% of the overall EU lignite production. Given its high emission factor lignite creates a significant burden for the EU climate policies, portrayed as a global leadership. ("Production of lignite in the EU - statistics - Statistics Explained," n.d.).

[2] Transactional activism refers to the dependence on the available funding resources that strongly determine the activistś focus (Petrova and Tarrow, 2007).

mining area. Building the Klimakemp in this space was a clear statement of opposition to the new energy policy of the Czech Republic, which emphasizes domestic lignite reserves as a cornerstone of the energy security of the country. Klimakemp challenged three operating mines in the heart of the North Bohemian Coal Basin, producing 80 % of domestic lignite (ČTK, 2019). Locating Klimakemp exactly within the town, which has traditionally been a symbol of opposition to lignite mining was made possible with the support of the local mayor and the town's inhabitants. NGOs like Greenpeace and Hnutí DUHA (Friends of the Earth) were in contact with residents of Horní Jiřetín for a long time, collaborating in various campaigns against the proposed extension of the lignite mine. The participants of the Klimakemp did not have enough material for the construction of the camp: most of it was borrowed, starting with the property on which the camp was built. Sharing and lending the property to the movement was also a symbol of trust that has been built in the past between the town mayor and the activists. In reciprocity, camp participants joined activities beneficial to inhabitants of Horní Jiřetín: cutting grass on the property and collecting the litter in the surroundings. This has not been a part of a service or lending contract, but of informal discussions in terms of mutuality and reciprocity. The 'property'- both collective and individual – provides a critical part of the infrastructure of the camp.

The co-creation of the camp infrastructure as the location of resistance is powerfully symbolic for climate justice as a discourse: it enables participants to be in the exact place where lignite is extracted and, at the same time, becomes a source of greenhouse gas and pollution. Participants invited us to see camping (and blocking the mine itself) as an embodied collective lived experience: breathing together with the workers, the 'dust and dirt' where climate injustice starts. Camping in this strategic place has produced the action infrastructure for the movement, 'occupying' spatially (even if temporary) what was considered a monopoly of industry. The location as a material space was enacted collectively to function as a domestic infrastructure of direct action (Frenzel et al 2014, Brown and Feigenbaum, 2017) based on the existing trust bonds between the local residents and the organizers.

The camp had to face the burden of its own production and maintenance, which was literally in the hands of each participant. From scrubbing toilets to cutting vegetables, each participant rotated responsibilities and was expected to contribute to the daily work of the camp. Participants organized shifts to cook three vegan meals a day for the whole camp, or to clean DIY compostable toilets, showers, and functional washbasins. In other words, while "people might not like to deal with shit, … a good life means dealing with your shit" (Vansintjan, 2018). Being involved in the everyday run of the camp could be seen as an attempt to move beyond the dilemma between individual voluntary simplicity and political/societal action: the combination of different strategies, i.e. participating in alternative modes of living or nowtopias and protesting against extractive infrastructures can be vital to foster degrowth imaginaries (Demaria et al., 2013). Fig. 1..

The circus tent was another central and symbolic item of the Klimakemp infrastructure, or a governance symbol (Frenzel et al. 2014). Its design shaped its function, as it provided space for the agora-like daily assemblies, a stage opened to all participants. During the daily morning assembly, tasks needed for the camp maintenance were brought up and labor was distributed and discussed. Assemblies were important for the governance of the camp, offering a space for facilitated discussion where each voice is heard as equal, granting every-one a veto. For some participants, the rationale of participating was for their voice to be heard. For others, it was a moment when they realized their informal position of authority and stepped down. Limitations and difficulties of assemblies during the Klimakemp, such as time constraints, numbers of participants, and translations between different languages inevitably create pitfalls. They require continuous efforts toward more mutual respect and care, time and strenuous focus, which created an obstacle for some participants, especially for local inhabitants, to participate.

Communication infrastructure was also put into place: as an expert task, communication was delegated to those in charge of managing social networks and the media in a separate tent. However, there were spaces in tents accessible to all participants, where banners and artworks were prepared. In the form of a workshop led by experienced activists, banners and equipment were prepared, specifically, the one-way overall suit that participants in the mine occupation were expected to wear as the 'uniform' of Ende Gelände: all white and with a red stripe along the arms and shoulders, as well as a one-way dust mask and a plastic face shield (Sander, 2017). At the Klimakemp entrance, another communication infrastructure was put in place, with walkie-talkies to facilitate communication among organizers monitoring the campsite. In addition, a large banner with a Klimakemp sign helped to navigate people to the camp, and a board next to it clearly stated the values of the camp, such as antifascism or anti-sexism, openness to the homeless, refugees, or migrants[3] – which helped to create a safe space.

5. Enacting Political Subjects as 'Investment Risks', Embodying Limits to Mining

Sometimes to walk the street, to exercise that small freedom poses a challenge to certain a regime, a minor performative disruption enacted by the kind of motion that is at once at movement in that double sense, bodily and political (Butler, 2015, p. 138-139).

While the building of the camp was itself a form of socio-ecological mobilization, it created the possibility for further events: one could also participate in what was called the "training for non-violent direct action" program. The form of protest was not announced in advance, and neither was the actual place of the action. In fact, several manifestations were announced in the region to keep the mining companies and the police in uncertainty. Among participants, there were people able to spread the knowledge of how to behave during massive civil disobedience actions to stay non-violent, to know how police forces could behave and to become aware of possible legal consequences of such acts.

On Saturday, 24th of July, the legal March started before noon at the camp with an improvised press conference. The March was attended by approximately-three hundred people who walked together from the camp to the edge of the Czechoslovak Army Mine. After 2 km, activists formed a human chain at the edge of the mine. This action was producing a symbolic performance in several ways: while chanting "We are the limits", activists aimed to embody the actual limits of the mine and to set limits to climate change more broadly. The statement was also about commoning as the struggle to perform the 'within and against' of performativity: enact selves' responsibility for climate change and condemn the impact of industries (Velicu and García-López, 2018). This multidimensional performance act of climate justice was described by one of the activists in the following way:

> .. an effort to see problems in a broader spectrum… the emissions from the mining affecting affect groups in other parts of the world… the problem of climate change does not affect us only (Personal interview, Anonymous woman, Brno, 2018)

The prevalent discourse in Czech media decouples a link between coal mining and climate change (Lehotský et al., 2019). The message of the direct action prepared during the camp was also aiming at this missing link, showing that climate change starts and is amplified with the combustion of the lignite from the North Bohemian coal basin, and that emissions released by the domestic mining industry matter globally. From the perspective of climate debt, the Czech Republic has to be considered an important country is benefiting from the unequal distribution of fossil fuel consumption, its per capita CO_2 emissions being among the highest in the world (10,44 tonnes per capita in 2018, more than double the global average – 4,97) (Crippa et al., 2019). The demand

[3] This was intentionally contrasting the climate security narrative of EU institutions, which is racializing climate-induced migration (Telford, 2018).

Fig. 1. Participants organized voluntary shifts necessary for sustaining the camp, such as washing the dishes. Photo courtesy: Petr Vrabec.

for climate justice in the Manifesto articulates the necessity of systemic changes as "a duty" to fight the injustice and to solidarize with the global South.

The March continued to Horní Jiřetín, where three buses waited for participants to transport them to another announced demonstration. At this moment, it was not clear which of the several announced places the buses would go and if all the participants would be able to occupy a seat. Finally, the buses, accompanied by police cars, arrived to Braňany village, located at the edge of the Bílina mine, approximately 20 km from Horní Jiřetín. Once the buses stopped, 144 activists slid on a grass slope that separated the property of the mine from the road, underwent an anti-dust barrier and forcefully entered the Bílina mine. When the activists approached a digger, police cars arrived. At that moment, people were unclear about what to do. It was an intense and chaotic moment, where people were gathering each other into small affinity groups, planned during the trainings so nobody would be left alone. Some started to unfold banners they brought to show messages and create a barrier between the crowd and police. Most of the participants moved below the digger and sat together, hand in hand, waiting for the police to drag them out of the mine.

Even if for one day only, this direct action had deeply impacted mining production and created an economic loss for the companies. The political nature of this action was that, with each minute lost, the mine owners were losing capital, which was intended through the use of the slogan "We are Investment Risks". This slogan was first used during the aforementioned Ende Gelände action in Lusatian. Therefore, the performance of limits to mining could be understood not only in biophysical or spatial terms but also in financial and economic. An investment is a commitment that should bring benefit in the future: to interrupt such a financial investment also means to produce a different view of the benefits, articulating a different vision of what constitutes 'the common good'. As a realm of production, the mine is not meant to concern the consumer-citizen, a place that they - as demos in general – are not allowed to enter, a private property that disavows the relations of control and exclusion hidden in extractive operations. However, through these occupations, the climate activists are enacting their implicit right to dissent capitalism in relation to the means and processes of labor and production. More than a discourse demanding to solve the climate issue, these forbidden actions point to a process of occupation: both the participants and the workers were not supposed to be blocking extraction because only extraction makes capital profitable. Enacting oneself a collective body, sharing exposure and vulnerability to the apparatus of repression can be a very intense and even traumatic experience. However, direct actions such as these also illustrate the vulnerability of industry, which activists disrupted: one day of mine occupation produced both financial losses, insecurity for the industry, and a communal feeling of purpose beyond profit.

> There are around 100 people…Machines do not operate…it is for us a sign for the future, that our voice is heard (Ekoteroristi útočí, 2017).

After a strenuous hike in the mine, exposure to heat, and sweating in the coal dust, activists in the end had to face police intervention. The action served as a moment for sharing a common experience together, getting to know each other in the stressful situations of a struggle for a common cause. Solidarity between participants was built through small mutual help acts such as sharing food and water, waiting for slower people on the hike and helping each other to overcome hurdles. The walk ended under the digger when the police arrived. Activists were detained (kettled) under direct sun for several hours, during which they were denied water by police.

Several coal mine workers witnessed the police procedure and gave water bottles to the activists. This act of solidarity was surprising considering the fact that, in 2015, mining unions organized a counter-demonstration in favor of breaching the limits to mining. Activists expressed their gratitude and solidarity with the workers of the mine, shouting "Keep Coal in the Soil", but also "Long Live the Working-class" and "Four-day Work Week", addressed to a small group of mine employees who observed the action from a distance (see Fig. 2). The bottom of the lignite mine during the direct action remained the only opportunity for a direct interaction between the activists and miners after the mining unions declined the invitation to a discussion about just transition during the programme of Klimakemp. "We are Here for You Too," some activists attempted to explain, letting the employees know that the demonstrators were concerned with the livelihood of the miners. The encounter between activists and the workers created further awareness of the common concerns of these apparently different 'groups of interest' or classes: as the encounter showed, there was no need to explain to

Fig. 2. Participants of the direct action "kettled" by the police under the digger. The workers observe the situation. Photo courtesy: Majda Slámová.

each other how and why they share the idea that extractive/exploitative labor can no longer be considered a 'good job'. In this sense, the participants seem to be involved in what Ranciére would call 'redistribution of the sensible world' (2004), undoing what appeared to be 'natural' by disrupting the order of 'police' (policy), which relegates workers to the position of consumption and reproduction (Velicu and Kaika, 2017). As performative, the event of encounter is a very rare moment of interaction between two supposedly opposing sides - miners and climate activists –embodying the tensions of the so-called 'green transition'. Yet the very brief interaction at the bottom of the Bílina mine cannot alone create a common ground for a transformative dialogue and mutual learning (Chatterton, 2006). How such encounters may materialize a way out of unequal or extractive relations (and not just out of fossil fuel) remains to be performed (Velicu and Barca, 2020).Fig. 3..

6. Commoning Relations of Convivial Care

Klimakemp could be seen as a space founded on interconnectedness and solidarity where a debate about systemic issues can be held, offering participants the opportunity to reflect collectively on their worldviews (Kaufmann et al., 2019). As we detailed in the previous section, publicly expressing solidarity was complemented by practicing micro-scale acts of solidarity: before, during, and after the actual blockade, the event was constituted out of collective efforts to build trust, establish rules of collaboration and interaction among participants and with outsiders, and support each other in moments of danger, to illustrate how everyday life could also be if centered around collective mutual care.

After activists were transported in custody to police stations in nearby cities, other participants started to organize support actions. Tangible acts of solidarity could be seen in the maintenance of the camp while the mine protest took place. Detained people came back to a fully functional and safe environment without a need to fear for their belongings left at the campsite. Aid to detained participants consisted of observing and monitoring the process of detaining them, following the police cars to see which police stations they were taken to, waiting for them, picking them up and feeding them after they were released. Detainees mutually supported each other during the transport to police stations. While being moved in buses throughout the region from one police station to another, people calmed each other, shared water and warm clothes, phone numbers for legal advice, and tips on how to talk or react during police interrogations.

Meanwhile, other participants volunteered as car drivers patrolling around police stations, waiting for the release of the first detainees during the night, monitoring the situation, and informing other participants back in the camp. They were then transported back to camp, where space and time were created for them to express their feelings and experiences in a collective process which strengthened their mutual bonds. Arrival at the camp was greeted with celebration when participants first learned about the impact of the action in media. However, the celebrations of those released did not overshadow the vigil of others who were waiting for their friends (or information about them).

Overall, the camp's activities and the direct action were physically and emotionally demanding for participants. Most of the people were exhausted, with some of them fearing or suffering burnout. Klimakemp sparked debates about burnout prevention in the movement for the future. Taking care of each other became notably important as a counterbalance to the emphasis on effectiveness and efficacy. Difficult moments were also balanced by more joyful experiences, with singing (and creating songs), dancing, or swimming in the nearby lake. Conviviality during camping has been crucial in making a point of a desire to live a good life based on frugality of meals, and generally balancing individuality with commonality.

One of the participants describes the importance of mutual care for commoning purposes:

> Not that I would have realized that care work is now more important; rather, I have started to care more and demand more care. … I do it more often and demand it more often (Personal Interview, Anonymous woman, Brno 2018).

The financial aspect of the camp is an example of how solidarity was enacted as well. A substantial part of the financial resources needed for the camp's operation were collected through donation boxes. A recommended price per person per day was indicated, though the idea was to enable participation regardless of financial situation to share the costs

Fig. 3. Swimming at the nearby lake created convivial moments during the protest event. Photo courtesy: Petr Vrabec.

needed for the construction and maintenance of the camp. Similarly, donation boxes were set up on tables during meals and the collected amount of money was marked on the 'temperature meter', visualizing how much more was necessary. Even time could be understood as shared commoning labor and not solely as a resource: people shared their time not only during preparation, eating, and cleaning afterwards, but also in line waiting for the food.

7. Concluding Discussion: How Camping for Climate Justice is Performative and Why it Matters

7.1. "while bodies perform actions, acts perform subjects" (Isin, 2013:23)

Both enabling and 'suffocating' to the praxis of radical politics, camping for climate justice emerges as a contested space and form of activism with an ever-present competition between reformists and radicals (Saunders and Price, 2009, Kenis and Mathijs, 2014, Tormos-Aponte and García-López, 2018, Russell et al. 2017). In this paper, we aimed to engage further with the topic by looking at its potential to produce experimental performative spaces for new livable infrastructures and political subjectivities. Therefore, we view the camp as a set of acts of relation-building for a new ecological movement that aim to embody (human) limits to economic growth and the extractive culture of our era. From building the material infrastructures that could make lives more just and livable to disrupting those that injure lives or learning mutual care, climate camps may be seen as political stages in the sense of acting 'within and against' the power relations that constitute ourselves, conscious of the ways we (re)produce similar relations while simultaneously trying to transform them.

By performing the material infrastructure, we do mean not only the material construction of spaces such as bathrooms or tents, but also the bodily, emotional, collective, and communicative processes and their often invisible connections that made constructions possible. From building trust and commitment to doing all these together to the end, holding each- others' arms during blockades or against the police, caring for each other in moments of exhaustion, enjoying conviviality etc. one may view this labor as commoning, or the creation of new commons, relations based on collective sharing rather than property (Nightingale, 2019; Velicu and García-López, 2018; Velicu and Kaika, 2017; García-López et al., 2017; Linebaugh, 2009). The performative power of the climate camp as a commoning infrastructure is beyond an object of consumption in everyday life, which would make it a marketable product: it is actual labor of 'doing' the social reproduction which makes an 'object' and a 'subject' possible in the first place. Simply put, the climate camp stages the other 'commons', the unmarketable excess of (more-than-human) relations escaping hegemonic traps.[4] Activists proved to themselves that, despite imperfections and even if temporarily, they can re-make the commons, even by themselves, even if risky, building a shared imaginary of a society where such work of social reproduction is no longer invisibilized, externalized or privatized. More so, performativity is not to be looked for in some harmonious 'happy' coexistence but precisely in those moments of tension and disagreements when the entire project could be compromised: not a ballet of ideals but a struggle to embody those consciously assumed collective ideals, in often contradictory and ambivalent ways.

In this paper, we focused on the first Klimakemp in the Czech Republic (2017) as a constitutive moment for the emergence of the climate justice movement in Central Eastern Europe. At the time of writing this article, three consecutive Klimakemps were further being planned and organized in the Czech Republic. Our argument is that the movement has illustrated a performative vision of justice, that is, a relational praxis aimed at social transformation centered on mutual care and based on experimentation with new possibilities for livable worlds in a non-extractive, regenerative future. Aware of the importance of particular embodied spaces and temporalities, we identified three performative aspects of performative climate justice, showing intersections between lived everyday practices and proclaimed demands for a just socio-ecological transformation. Firstly, we explored how the processes of building and maintaining the camp itself as a material infrastructure contributed to the emergence of the new movement: the self-organized process of collective labor, the building of a relationship of trust, the commitment, energy and time put by participants, the responsibilities taken by coordinators and informal leaders, and the more meticulous

[4] While we do not see commons as a mere positive fantasy fixing state-market actions, we share the critical concerns in the literature about the ambivalence with alternative material - cultural infrastructures, see for instance, Davis, H., & Sarlin, P. (2009). "On the Risk of a New Relationality:" An Interview with Lauren Berlant and Michael Hardt. *2.3 On the Commons*, 18.

division of tasks etc. Secondly, the staging of the mine occupation meant to disrupt the normality of extraction, which exposed the vulnerability of its operation to the bodies of people coming together as 'investment risks' stopping the industry even for one day. The direct action was not only a process of enacting solidarity among activists but also with the miners, sharing a position that goes beyond the liberal environmentalism which once marked the movement in the Czech Republic (Novák, 2021b). The slogans shouted in the mine expressed concerns related to such global systemic causes of climate injustice. Third, learning how to relate to one another differently was an act of commoning, which required putting mutual care at the center of such labor. Our intention was to show how the identities and relations among the people building the new movement have never been fixed or assumed but rather enacted as new mutual understandings and re-negotiated common positions (Velicu and García-López, 2018). Klimakemp, as an event of resistance, built a temporary alternative that, in this context, became political (de Moor et al. 2019).

As the climate justice movement is currently growing around the globe, new calls for continuous work to address heterogeneity, cultural translation, and alliance-making are made in connection to a deeper reconceptualization of democracy, collective agency, and ecology. Performative action allows for both the ambivalence of identifications as well as the labor or commoning for new political subjectivities and relations. These ideals are not mere normative ideas to be demanded but rather tensioned relations to be performed, even if ambiguously and with difficulty, nevertheless worthy for the political aim of radical democracy in uncertain climate futures.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Mikuláš Černík: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – original draft, Investigation. **Irina Velicu:** Conceptualization, Methodology, Supervision, Writing – original draft, Investigation.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Data availability

The authors do not have permission to share data.

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