

**Searching for Possibilities of a Better World Through 'Educated Hope': A
Blochian Future-Oriented Analysis of Emotions and Anti-Capitalist Resistance
During the 2011 Indignados Movement**

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Abstract

I will analyse the 2011 Spanish Indignados Movement through a Blochian future-oriented analysis to understand the importance of emotions, focusing on hope the role of hope within their anti-capitalist struggle for a better world. I will argue that through 'educated hope', the Indignados thought towards future possibilities, orienting their actions towards creating a fairer and more equal world.

In the last few decades, critical theory, especially Marxist analysis of capitalism, has become more retrospective than prospective, forgetting that critical theory's origins come from a desire to change the world. It should inform practice so we can work towards creating a better world. When social movement theory does include capitalist dynamics within its analysis, it often only explains why they mobilised in relation to capitalism, without analysing the alternatives that movements offered.

Social movement scholars have analysed emotions but work on the importance of emotions for anti-capitalist resistance is scarce. I will argue that emotions are vital in resisting capitalism.

In the first chapter, I will conduct a literature review into social movement theory in relation to rationalism, emotions and capitalism. I will argue that emotions are significant in the mobilisation for anti-capitalist resistance.

Then, I will layout my theory using Ernst Bloch's work on hope. I will explain the importance of hope through Bloch's concepts of 'expectant' emotions and 'educated hope'. This will build the foundations for my last chapter, where I will argue that knowledge production within the

Indignados is oriented towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities of a better world through 'educated hope'.

I will argue that the Indignados Movement is anti-capitalist and did make significant steps in the journey towards a fairer and more equal world through their resistance with 'educated hope'. Most importantly, they established belief in society that a better world is indeed possible.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my original work unless referenced clearly to the contrary and that no portion of the work referred to in the dissertation has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Acknowledgement

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Introduction

Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it (Marx, 1938).

This essay follows Karl Marx's '11th Thesis on Feuerbach' (1938) to argue that critical theory should be constructive, productive and must inform practice. Critical theory must focus on resisting capitalism, but only so we can work towards a fairer and more equal world. As Geoff Mulgan (2021, p.6) argues, 'there was a time when many social scientists saw themselves not just as analysts but also as shapers and designers of possible futures'. From Marx to John Maynard Keynes, theorists imagined and speculated about the future. But the idea of the inevitability of the Socialist Revolution eventually led to despair and hopelessness about the current situation, turning much critical theory away from practical world-making (Mussell, 2017, p.118). We need to rediscover future-oriented and creative thinking within critical theory.

A scholar who embodies forward-thinking critical theory is Henri Lefevbre (2009, p.39), who understood himself as a 'thinker of the possible' as he examined the utopian possibilities within everyday life to open the mind of the reader to new possibilities. I want to follow this style of analysis to orient the reader's knowledge production towards future possibilities. Another example is Andy Merrifield's 'Magical Marxism' (2011, p.9, p.18), a book that seeks to combine the imagination with practical will in Marxism to establish a new politics that embraces the unknown and the creative to think beyond what we are told is economically and politically possible. Critical theory's main purpose should be to create new alternatives and inspire others to do the same.

We should analyse social movements through a future-oriented lens to answer how social movements fit into the processes of social transformation. Then we can understand how the left can bring about anti-capitalist change, focusing on how hope mobilises individuals towards new possibilities. I will orient my work towards new future possibilities by analysing the 2011 Spanish anti-austerity Indignados Movement, in turn showing how they challenged the narrative of 'there is no alternative' (Lefevbre, 2009, p.38). Lastly, this essay's purpose is not to highlight certain alternatives but to discuss the role of hope in the Indignados in inspiring thinking towards anti-capitalist change. When I mention socialism or the left, I mean ideas that aim for greater social equality and fairness in a broad sense to not make what is possible closed.

Capitalism

I will briefly define capitalism as my understanding of capitalism will shape my argument. Capitalism is a system that seeks to continuously accumulate capital through any means possible, such as through debt creation and diminishing workers' rights. It is central to capitalism's ideological logic to open non-capitalist arenas for new avenues of accumulation, dispossessing people of wealth and assets (Harvey, 2003, p.139, p.144). This can be either through capitalist development in a previously untouched territory or through privatising a necessity, such as energy. As Ian Bruff and Cemal Burak Tansel (2019, p.234) explain this violent dispossession means, 'contemporary capitalism is governed in a way which tends to reinforce and rely upon practices that seek to marginalise, discipline and control dissenting social groups and oppositional politics'. Instead of respecting individuals, capitalism takes away people's dignity and agency. Capitalism does not care for everyday life or the

environment for which its existence relies upon. Therefore, resistance to capitalism is key to creating a more equal and fairer society and limiting environmental destruction.

The 2008 Financial Crisis cemented the hopelessness and feelings of disrespect that capitalism created, leading hundreds of thousands of people in Spain and across the world to resist and seek change, such as with the Occupy Movement later in 2011 (Romanos, 2017, p.157). The Indignados Movement commenced a fight for human dignity because capitalism does not respect the life of all humans. The fight for dignity requires a constructive emotional response as it responds to feelings of disrespect and hopelessness created by capitalism.

Capitalism will feature more in the background of the analysis rather than in a leading role, unlike social movements, emotions and social transformation. This is so my work is not a retrospective monitoring of capitalism. I will orient my analysis towards future possibilities and the importance of hope for political resistance and change. In chapter two, I will explain capitalism in relation to hope. In chapter three, I will show why the Indignados Movement wanted to change the system by examining the impact of financialisation, the 2008 Financial Crisis and austerity measures in Spain. Thus, I will explain capitalism through hope and the Spanish context.

Hope and the Role of Emotions within Social Movements and Social Transformation

I will argue emotions motivate individuals to resist collectively against injustice and install belief that a better world is possible. Attentive and anticipatory emotions are crucial to understand in theory and practice that aim to find and construct socio-economic alternatives.

Therefore, I will analyse latent hope to understand how the Indignados thought towards future possibilities through worldly attentiveness and openness (Beck, 2021).

The basis of my theory is the German Marxist Ernst Bloch's work on hope (1986). Bloch (Ibid) shows that no matter how dark the present moment is, hope of what could be always exists (Plaice et al, 1986, p.xxix). Bloch dedicated his life to the ideas of hope and utopia. He argued for their importance in dialectical Marxism because they show that if we want change, it is crucial to pursue it and believe it is possible.

I have developed my understanding of Bloch's work through discussions with Dr Johan Siebers, the Director of the Ernst Bloch Centre for German Thought. Siebers (2022) explains that Bloch's 'educated hope' is a concept which places human agency at the forefront of social transformation. To learn hope is to discover the openness of the world and how to pursue concrete possibilities, something which capitalism asks us not to do. Emotions play a significant role in human agency. Without a focus on human agency and creative thinking, socialism will not become a reality (Harvey, 2000, p.203). Hope is a powerful political concept because of its anticipatory and attentive power. Blochian hope 'is a motivating factor in the praxis of people seeking ethical means to transform the world'. (Zipes, 2019, p.177).

Bloch lived a tough life, from escaping the Nazis to experiencing further antisemitism and discrimination for being Marxist and having Jewish heritage in the USA (Plaice et al, 1986, p.xxiv). In 1961, he finally found a secure home when he became a lecturer at the University of Tübingen in West Germany. Here, he counselled the young and supported the student movement. He died at the age of ninety-two in 1977. Even in the hardest moments, Bloch believed better was possible and focused on installing that belief in others. Hope starts with pessimism, allowing exploitation and corruption to become exposed. But then our knowledge

production becomes oriented towards future possibilities, starting us on a journey towards a better world through creativity and deliberation. Hope is an active emotion that is necessary for political resistance to be successful.

A focus on emotions and forward-oriented analysis will be evident throughout my analysis of the Indignados Movement, also known as 15-M, an anti-austerity protest starting in Madrid on the 15th of May 2011 (Romanos, 2017, p.137). I will call the movement, the Indignados and not 15-M because I want to symbolise their fight for dignity, use of emotions for political resistance and how they thought towards concrete possibilities. Their pursuit for human dignity is an example of political resistance through the beginnings of 'educated hope', a key Blochian concept for pursuing social transformation. By thinking towards new possibilities, they established a wide belief in the possibility of a better world than the one capitalism currently offers through discussing, experimenting and constructing new alternatives. When discussing the Indignados' resistance and hope, I will talk about them in the present despite the movement no longer formally existing. Their resistance lives through its participants and new projects and groups.

Structure

My dissertation is divided into three main chapters. The first is a literature review of social movement theory on rationalism, emotions and anti-capitalist resistance. The main point here is to argue for the importance of emotions in political resistance against capitalism. I will argue against rationalism as a Eurocentric and capitalist concept. Rationalism will be criticised because in political theory, such as of Mancur Olson (1965), to be rational and political, you cannot be emotional. I argue emotions are essential to politics, especially when it comes to

anti-capitalist resistance. This is because capitalism creates an image of a good individual as a rational actor seeking personal gain. Collective emotional and creative action is necessary to resist this image. Lastly, I will explain negative dialectics, a theory that is useful for understanding the use of emotions for resisting capitalism. But it will be argued that hope is better suited than negative emotions as it shapes social movements to be more anticipatory, reflective and creative.

In chapter two, I will discuss my theory based on Blochian hope. I will present my methodological considerations. Then, Bloch's theory of emotions will be explained, showing a contrast with theories mentioned in the literature review. There will be a comparison between 'educated hope', which is latent and anticipatory and hope that is individualised and commodified within capitalism. I will explain the method of hope through social anthropologist Hirokazu Miyazaki's work (2004) to show how I will orient my analysis towards the future to examine 'moments of hope' within the Indignados Movement. I will show that hope in its 'educated' form is necessary for creating change through resistance. 'Educated hope' involves making the political more pedagogical to spread belief that a better world is possible. I will return to negative dialectics as a comparison and demonstrate further how the Indignados Movement does fit into Bloch's theory, such as on the fight for dignity in anti-capitalist struggles.

In chapter three, I will proceed to analyse the Indignados Movement through Blochian dialectical theory. I will demonstrate through the Indignados Movement that emotions are politically important for resistance and that 'educated hope' is ontologically needed for social transformation. To make my analysis prospective, I will argue the Indignados began a journey towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. I start the chapter by explaining that the hopelessness

created by capitalism led to the Indignados Movement. I argue against scholars, such as Greig Charnock (2011) who argue that the movement was not anti-capitalist and made no practical change in Spain. I argue the movement does fit into an Blochian analysis.

The main part of the chapter will be on 'educated hope' within the movement. This will be done by analysing the pedagogical nature of the movement, its connections to the hopes of past generations, its future-oriented deliberation and the concrete alternatives it demonstrated as possible, such as community-focused economic models. 'Educated hope' is evident in the Indignados, allowing the movement to push individuals to believe in future possibilities. Through their emotional response in wanting a world, the Indignados were able to orient the political debate towards new possibilities. The Indignados show the importance of hope for political resistance and social transformation. The movement started a journey towards a fairer and more equal world. I will also discuss how to build on future-oriented analysis of social movements in the conclusion.

Literature Review of Social Movement Theory: Rationalism, Emotions and Capitalism

In this chapter, I will survey relevant social movement theory by exploring how emotions and capitalism shape social movements and political subjectivity. I will focus on social movement literature that looks at the roles of emotions and capitalism in social movement mobilisation.

With a danger of descending heavily into psychoanalysis, it is important to reiterate that this chapter's main aim is not to theorise exactly how emotions shape our political subjectivity but to simply convey that emotions do impact our cognitive behaviour and are crucial in political mobilisation. This essay is not concerned whether it is our emotions or cognition that dominates the other or if there should be a divide between the two whatsoever. The point is that emotions shape mobilisation and political actions of individuals.

This chapter will create a dialogue with past scholarship on rationalism within social movements to start to layout an argument for the importance of theorising emotions and to disregard the use of the term rationalism. This will involve discussing the problems of rationalist theories for understanding the motives of individuals to form social movements. I will argue against Mancur Olson and Gustave Le Bon to critique the concept of rationalism within social movement theory. Next, I will discuss literature that analyses emotions within social movements to critique this strand of work through the concept of affect. This will be done through the work of Deborah Gould, Alberto Melluci and Linda Zerilli

None of the theories that include emotions within their social movement analysis explained here help us to comprehend how emotions push social movements to resist capitalism and think beyond the expected to find alternatives of governing. Classical Marxism can be

interpreted, such as by Laura Langman (2019) as an exception to this, but I argue it is not sufficient on its own to comprehend emotions within social movements. Therefore, the next section will delve into ways in which emotions are crucial in understanding how and why some social movements resist capitalism. I will do this by explaining negative dialectics, which stems from the Frankfurt School, namely Theodore Adorno's 'Negative Dialectics' (1973). I will discuss negative dialectics to show that emotions shape our political thinking. This will provide the background for the next chapter on a Marxist theory of hope, which has its origins in Ernst Bloch's work. Unlike a focus on negation, hope shapes our knowledge production in an anticipatory fashion towards the future and pushes political decision-making towards new possibilities. I will argue later that this is evident within the Indignados Movement. Negative dialectics is not sufficient to analyse the nature of the Indignados.

Rationalism and its Separation from Emotions in Social Movement Theory

I will firstly define rationalism and then explore rationalism within social movement theory. For Gould (1996, p.15), rationalism in relation to social movements can be defined through how individuals, 'calculate costs and benefits of action and strategize about how to secure their interests'. Being rationalist involves making calculated decisions that benefit ourselves. However, rationalism is a problematic concept. Conservative thinker Michael Oakeshott (1962) provides an interesting example of how rationalism is an ideological concept. For Oakeshott (Ibid, p.32), rationalism assumes that technical knowledge is of greater importance than practical, local and traditional knowledge. Oakeshott (Ibid) links rationalism to European free market ideology that uses technical and theoretical knowledge to comprehend the world. Rationalism encompasses learning methods and concepts, training the brain to think

in a certain ideological and 'universal' way. Rationalism reinforces dominant narratives and counters creative and alternative thinking.

Furthermore, rationalism is a Eurocentric idea built on European ideas assumed as universal. What is deemed rational is constructed through European knowledge, such as science, economics or sociology, imposing a certain way of thinking on individuals (Wallerstein, 1997, p.106). What is rational tends to be European and technocratic knowledge.

The works of Gustave Le Bon and Max Weber depict social movements as emotional, but as emotions are defined as the opposite of rationalism, this means they are also irrational. In his 1895 book, 'The Crowds', Le Bon, 'reduced protest to the release of pent-up frustration' by arguing that when people gather in a crowd, they are likely to be violent because of the lack of individual reasoning' (Jasper, 1999, p.21). Here, social movements are irrational, therefore unorganised and chaotic because individuals in a group do not make rationally calculated decisions. For Max Weber, large groups also tend to be irrational. Leaders of large groups control collective emotions of large crowds. This is clear to see in Weber's (1947, p.358) understanding of charismatic authority. For example, a leader can manipulate and control the emotions of people to persuade them to take collective action. For both Le Bon and Weber, emotions are irrational, therefore are not deemed as political. Here, social movements are understood as rational politics' irrational 'other'.

In 1965, Mancur Olson's the 'Logic of Collective Action' (1965) was published. It is another example of a development within rational actor and social movement theory. Olson (1965, p.48) argues 'small groups are more efficient and viable than large ones' because individuals can act in their self-interest to create a common good only within small groups. He conceptualises individuals as rational egoists who, especially in a large group aim to, 'to take

a free ride; to enjoy the benefits of the collective goods without contributing to the costs' (Udkhn, 1993, p.239). The larger the group, the less likely they are to be able to provide a collective good (Olson, 1965, p.48). Individuals become less able to work constructively as it becomes rational to take the benefits without the costs. Like in Le Bon's theory, individuals act inefficiently in large groups. But instead of explaining inefficient decision-making through irrational behaviour, the reason for inefficiency becomes rational through Western individualist beliefs.

Two main problems are evident here for my argument. Firstly, emotions are not theorised positively for understanding political behaviour of individuals within social movements. Instead, as Deborah Gould (1996, p.15) argues, 'the dispassionate and calculating rational actor replaced the unthinking and irrational psychological misfit'. Scholars, like Olson began to understand individuals within social movements as political actors, but they ignored the role of emotions because the understanding of emotions as irrational and apolitical remained. Secondly, defining individuals as selfish and vying for only their own interests captures social movement theory within a capitalistic comprehension of the world. This ignores the success of large social movements across the world which were not based upon a cost benefit analysis of self-interest but on collective interest, such as feminist, anti-war and civil rights movements. Rational actor theory ignores how individuals resist through joining social movements due to wanting to create a better world for future generations and the power of emotions for commencing political action.

Therefore, the dynamics of capitalism barely appear in social movement literature from the 1990's, as argued by Gabriel Hetland and Jeff Goodwin (2011, p.87). A rationalist account tends to focus on identities, resources and politics as detached from the structure of

capitalism (Hetland and Goodwin, 2011, p.89). Before the 1990s and more recently, capitalism has been prominent in social movement theory. One example is Doug McAdam through his book, 'Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970' (1982), who discusses the dynamics of class and capitalism in relation to the Civil Rights Movement in the USA. More recently, in response to Hetland and Goodwin's call (2011) for greater analysis of capitalism within social movement theory, Donatella della Porta (2017, p.468) discusses current processes of accumulation and class dynamics in relation to anti-austerity movements of the 2010s. This involves rationalist thinking, as they assume social movements happen only when individuals have calculated that the time is right. They assume in their analysis that being more rational about the cost and benefits of political action leads to greater political achievements, ignoring the importance of emotions in social movements' successes, such as in mass mobilisation. Della Porta (2017) frames social movements as shaped by capitalism but ignores the relation between emotions and anti-capitalist resistance.

In classical Marxism the social movements that matter are class-based and anti-capitalist. Anti-capitalist revolutions are rational because they follow the progression of the world towards communism. Whilst emotions have a place in classical Marxist social movement theory, they are not the fundamental reason for resistance because history is determined by the mode of production and economic contradictions inherent in capitalism. As Berch Berberoglu (2019, pp.66-67) explains, 'once fully developed and matured, these class relations result in open class struggles and struggles for state power in which class-based social movements play a central role'. According to Marx's dialectical materialism, it is rational that workers will revolt against capitalism to move towards communism (Berberoglu, 2019).

Dialectical materialism understands individuals as shaped by historically determined social forces, therefore their actions presumed as logical and rational.

Another perspective on social movements involving capitalism is Jürgen Habermas' new social movement theory. Habermas' theory is that modern social movements are no longer about class and distributive politics but instead are on the defensive, protecting their identities and forming new ones against the 'colonising' of everyday life by the capitalist economy (Edwards, 2009, p.382). To protect their identities and lifestyles, distinct groups protest in a rationally calculated manner.

Habermas' theory relies on occidental rationalism. For Habermas (1984, p.74) the rationalisation of worldviews consists of 'universalistic moral consciousness' and universal law that creates 'formal conditions of a rational life'. Social learning is required to be able to rationally justify oneself through understanding the 'consensual norms' within society that are crucial for social practice, shaping the behaviour of social movements (Delanty, 1997, p.36). It is through Western culture that Habermas understands these learning processes, allowing for a Eurocentric conception of the 'universal civilised man' to take hold. This damages his argument as it subjects the world to Western logic and puts Western rationalist knowledge above other forms. It is a theory that is only applicable to the West and ignores the role of emotions in mobilisation.

We must be wary of imposing an ideological, Eurocentric and rigid formulated way of thinking on social movements. Rationalism is defined as the opposite to emotions, yet as psychologist Jonathan Haidt (2012, p.82) argues, our emotional intuitions shape our strategic reasoning as shown through a study on the brain. Emotions inform reason, problematising their separation by rationalist thought. By analysing social movements through a rational perspective,

emotions and creative thinking within movements become dismissed as politically unimportant. But this should not be the case.

Emotions, Affect and the Formation of Social Movements

Many social movement scholars recognise the importance of emotions in movement formation. For Alberto Melucci (1999) there is no activism without emotions because cognition requires feeling (Eklundh, 2019, p.27). Another scholar, James Jasper (1999, p.10) argues that emotions are a part of our cognitive thinking because with 'cognitive activity we mix emotions and moral evaluations, constructing heroes, villains and comic jesters, anger, envy admiration and indignation'. Emotions shape our moral judgements, therefore our political activism too. However, Gould (1996, p.23) argues these arguments present emotions only as a part of our rational logic and hide 'the ways in which our feelings—political and otherwise—frequently diverge from our reasoning selves'. Gould (Ibid) does not want to neglect the 'bodily, visceral qualities of feelings', thus focuses on the concept of affect to examine social movements.

Affect as understood by Gould (1996, p.20) comes from the work of Brian Massumi (1995) and concerns bodily energy experiences that happen outside of individual conscious thinking. We cannot describe it fully and it has no aims, but it shapes how we act with the rest of the world. Affect is separate from our so-called reasonable selves and is uncontrollable. 'Affect is what makes you feel an emotion', which is then 'structured by social convention' (Gould, 1996, pp.21-22).

But many scholars are critical of affect theory, like Linda Zerilli. Zerilli (2015, p.280) agrees that there is something unconscious in how individuals conform to norms emotionally. Zerilli (Ibid, p.281) argues Gould leaves affect as socially and politically undefined, making the concept 'devoid of meaning' and reinforces the duality of the mind and body in the form of affect and cognition, continuing the separation between how we feel and think. For Zerilli (Ibid), 'affect and cognition are not two different systems but radically entangled' together. We can conceptualise an emotion as a way of thinking because despite unconscious feeling and cognition being separate institutions, they inform each other. The link between cognition, emotions and unconscious affective feelings is complex and uneven. Eklundh (Ibid, p.92) argues we should define affect as holding political meaning. The ways we feel, unconsciously or not, shape our political thinking.

It is useful to comprehend the complexities of emotions to grasp how they shape social movement actions and our analytical frameworks. This demonstrates the role of emotions in collective mobilisation, by upsetting the dualistic separation between emotional and cognitive behaviour. For example, to have hope can feel unconscious and unexplainable, yet it shapes how we perceive the world and make decisions. But none of these theories explain how emotions push individuals towards future possibilities and explain why multiple social movements resist hegemonic powers in the aim of creating a better world.

Tova Benski and Lauren Langman (2013, p.537) have as they argue that affect, emotional processes and cognition connect together to form the motivation to work towards a better society. They analyse emotional processes, focusing on anticipatory emotions shaping our consciousness. They orient their analysis towards future possibilities in a similar way as I will layout in the next chapter. My framework consists of analysing emotions as politically

important in anti-capitalist social movements to learn about the potential for social transformation. Therefore, I argue that literature on emotions within social movements needs to include an analysis of capitalism that is prospective and less retrospective.

Emotions and Anti-capitalist Resistance

A starting point for understanding the role of emotions in resistance against dominant powers is through appreciating Marx's theory of alienation as having a theory of emotions. Laura Langman (2019, p.371) explains this starts from understanding how 'alienated labor estranges workers from their work', in turn dehumanising people, leaving no room for dignity and respect. This prompts an emotional response. Langman (Ibid) argues that through Marx we can understand, 'political values, beliefs and understandings are based not on evidence, logic, or rationality but on emotions, feelings and identities'. Emotions aid individuals in resisting capitalism to achieve human dignity for all.

To analyse the role of emotions in anti-capitalist resistance, I will turn to the Frankfurt School's negative dialectics. This is a theoretical framework created by Theodore Adorno, which aims to make the method of the dialectic open-ended to analyse the relation between concepts and the material world (Buchanan, 2018). Dialectical thoughts are about understanding how humanity and the world are constantly in flux and changing (Thompson, 2013). For Marx, history is unfolding towards a predetermined state, but for Adorno history is not determined by anything. Adorno is correct that history is full of possibility, but his analysis becomes retrospective and loses the future-oriented perspective that makes Marxism so important. Adorno believes anti-capitalist change is not currently possible as the working class are too alienated by capitalism. Therefore, Adorno warned critical theory should

not be used to create change, which is problematic as the point of resistance is to change the system (Raphael Schlembach, 2015, p.987). Despite the lack of forward-thinking and excessive analysis of aesthetics, Adorno's negative dialectics is useful for analysing emotions as resistance against capitalism.

An example of the use of Adorno's negative dialectics is 'Negativity and Revolution: Adorno and Political Activism' by John Holloway, Fernando Matamoros and Sergio Tischler (2009). The central idea of their work is, 'movement through negation', which involves a focus on negative emotions in resisting capitalism (Holloway *et al*, 2009, p.5). They argue negative dialectics is essential. As they explain, 'in all our variety and difference we are put in prison, the prison of capitalism. Dialectics is, then, the escape plan, the thinking-against-the-prison' (Holloway *et al*, 2009, p.6). A focus on negation allows us to open contradictions within capitalism up.

Compared to Classical Marxism, negative dialectics understands the world as open-ended and allows for multiple possibilities within history, reminding us that we can get out of the prison of capitalism if we actively resist it. This prompts a negative emotional response, pushing us towards political action. However, negative dialectics is useful but insufficient on its own. If we do as Holloway, Matamoros and Tischler (2009, p.7) argue and think of history as 'the movement of endless revolt', we will forget why we resisted in the first place, that is we want to create fairer and more equal world. Honneth's theory (Schlembach, 2015, p.991) of misrecognition is another example of negative dialectics as he argues social movements can be born through the negative emotions of misrecognition in society because they know they deserve respect and dignity.

We need future-oriented thinking to create. This is something that Marx understood. The focus should be on creation and anticipatory emotions not constant negation. I argue in the next chapter that Bloch's dialectical thought of hope combines the best aspects of the dialectal thoughts mentioned, Adorno's open-ended comprehension of history and Marx's future-oriented analysis. Through this combination, Bloch's dialectical thought puts human agency at the centre of the movement of history and social transformation.

Framing social movements through negative dialectics is useful for conceptualising social movements as resisting the capitalist system through emotions. But as Joan Braune (2016, p.298) argues through Erich Fromm's argument against the Frankfurt School scholar Herbert Marcuse, if we want to change the world we need to think towards the future with anticipation, such as with hope. Marcuse's idea of the 'great refusal: the rejection and contestation of domination reflecting a variety of grievances' caused by capitalism is another example of how negative emotions are powerful in resistance against hegemonic powers (Langman, 2016, p.367). For Fromm, Marcuse's thought can be defined as 'catastrophic messianism', as it regards not human action but a "catastrophic" break with preceding time' as the cause for possible revolutionary change (Braune, 2016, p.286). Instead, we should consider Fromm's approach, which moves beyond negation through hope, placing the individual in relation to the future and "human nature as productive' (Ibid, p.294). We must not, as dialectics often does, forget that humans must create even with 'perfect' historical conditions for anti-capitalist change to happen. The Indignados Movement not only rejected the system, but also offered a different future. To conceptualise this, we need to theorise how emotions connected to the ways we think towards the future and our desires shape social movements, not just our present and past grudges.

Holloway (2009) connects negative dialectics to social transformation in *Crack Capitalism* and his argument summarised by Anna Dinerstein (2012, p.521) is as follows, 'radical change can only be achieved by the creation and expansion of 'cracks' in capitalist domination'. These cracks will not happen by taking over the state but through counter hegemonic movements based on anger against exploitation and commodification. The idea is to reject the current world to then move towards and anticipate a better one, implying negative emotions must pave the path for creative action to flourish.

For Dinerstein (2012), Holloway's *Crack Capitalism* (2010) represents a combination of Frankfurt School refusal and Ernst Bloch's theory of hope, a moving towards new possibilities to anticipate what a better world could look like. Adorno teaches us to refuse the current system, Bloch allows us to learn hope to think towards the future. However, Holloway leans more to Adorno than Bloch, failing to recognise social movements as primarily aiming to create a better world. To theorise emotions in social movements as connected to their actions towards new alternatives, we should analyse the role of anticipatory and 'expectant' emotions. Resistance must be primarily about changing the system.

This leads onto Dinerstein and Deneulin's (2012) 'hope movements' theory, an example of a framework to comprehend certain social movements as working towards a fairer and more equal world by thinking of future possibilities. They argue 'hope movements' resist capitalism through emotions shaping their political action in ways that push them to attempt to actively create change. Their theory is heavily influenced by Bloch's theory of hope and is an example of the future-oriented analysis I want to achieve. I will explain my framework, which uses Bloch's theory of hope in the next section to argue that latent hope shapes social movements

by orienting the participants of the Indignados' thinking towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities.

Conclusion

Emotions are key to political activism. They are intertwined with our reasonable and unconscious selves, meaning we cannot separate cognition, emotions and feeling. Firstly, I discussed the concept of rationalism and rationalist interpretations of social movements. I argued that rationalism is a Eurocentric and ideological concept and that rationalist theories tend to ignore the political importance of emotions. I argue that Classical Marxism is rationalist because it defines logical behaviour through historically determined factors. I surveyed social movement literature on emotions, whilst also exploring the concept of affect. I praised the use of emotions within the theories, but I argue more analysis is required to understand the role of emotions in resistance against capitalism. I also criticise retrospective analysis that does not attempt to understand how emotions shape social movements to think towards the future and social transformation. I argue for the importance of examining the political potency of emotions in social movements within a Marxist framework. Therefore, I discussed negative dialectical theory that does analyse emotions in social movements within the context of capitalism. But I argue we must focus more on anticipatory emotions, not on negation to understanding social movement's search for possibilities and to discover more about alternatives advocated by movements.

In the next chapter, I will demonstrate how the Blochian dialectical theory of hope does this and I will explain how it will be wielded to analyse the Indignados Movement and capitalism. The literature on hope in social movements is vast and varied. The theory of hope combines

an understanding of social movements through emotions with a Marxist conception of capitalist dynamics.

Analysing Social Movements Through Blochian Theory of Hope

In the last chapter, I argue that to grasp why individuals form social movements, we need to analyse the role of emotions. Emotions intertwine with cognitive decision-making and push individuals to fight injustice. As explained in the introduction, my work follows Marx's '11th Thesis on Feuerbach' (1938). Therefore, I will orient my analysis of the Indignados Movement to anti-capitalist possibilities through Ernst Bloch's dialectical theory of hope. Hope, consciously or not, demonstrates how anticipatory emotions shape how we perceive the future and therefore how we act politically in the present. I will explain my theory to show how I will argue that the Indignados Movement acted towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities of a better world.

This chapter will explain my understanding of hope within capitalism and social movements. Firstly, I will briefly go through my research methodology. I will explain Bloch's theory of emotions and then show what hope is within the capitalist ideology to explain what Bloch's 'educated hope' rejects. Blochian theory will be explained further, focusing on 'educated hope' and the ontological concept, the 'Not-Yet'. This section will explain the significance of 'educated hope' in social transformation. I will argue in the next chapter that the Indignados Movement began to think with 'educated hope' to resist capitalism and to start a journey towards a better world.

Hope has multiple faces. It is an emotion that is commonly shaped by capitalist social relations and structures. But through 'educated hope', hope can form into a learned principle for acting towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. This conceptualises emotions, in this case hope, as intertwining with our cognitive decision-making. Hope is also a method of analysis. This chapter will explain how I will analyse the Indignados Movement and hope through social

anthropologist Hirokazu Miyazaki's method of hope (2004). To argue that the movement is anti-capitalist, I will link Bloch's work on revolutions and dignity to the Indignados Movement.

The last section will explain how this theory moves towards future possibilities to create a better world in comparison with negative dialectics, as illustrated in the literature review. This essay is arguing for an understanding of hope as a way of thinking about possibilities creatively and attentively and as a future-oriented method of analysis. The argument implies that emotions shape political resistance. Later, I will analyse 'educated hope' within the movement to show the possibilities that the Indignados fought for and how they established belief that a better world is possible.

Methodology

Due to time constraints, I only used secondary sources. My methodology includes reading Bloch's work, focusing on 'The Principle of Hope (1986)', 'Heritage of the Times (1991)', 'Natural law and Human Dignity (1988) and work which builds on his theories. One limitation is I cannot speak German, therefore some of his work is inaccessible for myself. However, I discussed Bloch's work with Dr Johan Siebers, the Director of the Ernst Bloch Centre for German Thought. Siebers (2022) provided detailed insight into Bloch's work and other avenues for analysis of which I was unaware. For example, I learnt the link between the fight for human dignity and socialism is crucial in Bloch's work, a key connection between Bloch and the Indignados.

I will use secondary sources as well to analyse the interpretations of events in the Indignados Movement to comprehend how 'educated hope' is apparent in the movement. Academics

have not focused on emotions in the movement, yet hope is evident within accounts of the movement. Understanding how scholars' understandings of emotions shapes their interpretation of the movement will be important to my analysis. To build on this project, I could ask participants of the Indignados Movement what they think the role of hope and belief in a better world was in the movement. Lastly, I cannot speak Spanish therefore there is literature on the Indignados that I cannot access.

Ernst Bloch and Emotions

To explain Bloch's theory of hope, I will start with his understanding of emotions. Bloch (1986, p.73) splits emotions into the categories of 'filled' and 'expectant'. 'Filled' emotions are full of content from the already existing world, such as 'admiration, greed and envy' (Bloch, 1986, p.73). Meanwhile, 'expectant' emotions are anticipatory in intention, substance and object as their content implies a future of the 'Not-Yet', Bloch's ontological position (Bloch, 1986, p.73). Briefly, the 'Not-Yet' concerns comprehending life as a process through dialectical materialism, but unlike Marx's dialectical materialism, Bloch's theory avoids closure of the world (Schmidt, 1988, p.xii). The 'Not-Yet' is about the forward-moving nature of being and the constant openness of history. Through the openness of history, 'expectant' emotions eventually fill our imagination with dreams, nightmares and possibilities. These emotions build social movements. The most significant 'expectant' emotion is hope as it pushes dialectical thinking forwards and is the 'counter emotion to anxiety and fear', redefining our thinking to be wilful, not wishful (Bloch, 1986, p.73). Emotions are crucial for resistance, but it is hope that is necessary if social movements are to act towards alternatives and for scholars

to understand how. I will argue the Indignados Movement acted towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities.

For hope to be anticipatory and attentive, it must be dialectical, fighting and material first (Bloch, 1986, pp.246-247). Relating to affect, Bloch (1986, p.70) also comprehends emotions as moods, which consist of feelings described as 'special juice' flowing through the body that we cannot quite explain but do shape our cognitive thinking. For example, when we have a feeling of lack, we can gain hope as a 'powerful indeterminate mood' moulding our thinking towards 'Not-Yet' possibilities (Sayers, 2014, p.18). Bloch's theory of emotions relates to discussions in the literature review, such as on the concept of affect. But unlike most social movement scholars who analyse emotions, Bloch is focused on the impact of the future, not the past on our thinking.

Hope Within Capitalism

I will focus on hope within capitalism to show what social movements must overcome to think towards anti-capitalist possibilities and to argue for the importance of 'educated hope' in creating collective belief that a fairer and more equal world is possible.

In capitalism, hope is crucial in life. Hope as an emotion, shaped by capitalism is commodified and individualised. Our search for happiness revolves around belief in so-called meritocratic procedures, the accumulation of money and protection against those who supposedly threaten our comfort (Zournazi, 2015, p.15). Hope is something we can buy through products, pushing individuals to attain happiness through the accumulation and spending of money. Our relations with money mould how we hope and limit what we deem as socio-economically

possible. Secondly, we often search for hope in seeking protection, thus why right-wing politicians have delivered people 'hope' by offering safety and security by cutting immigration. Hope becomes passive and defined through fear of potential threats.

Thus, Ernesto Laclau understands populist right-wing movements as providing hope as a discourse to articulate a better world (Zournazi, 2002, pp.126-127). Similarly, Bloch understands fascist movements as 'cultural and quasi-religious' mobilising people's feelings for a better world through 'latching onto golden visions of a non-existent past', 'to fill the void where something was missing' (Thompson and Žižek, 2013, p.16). The impulse of wanting a better world is evident everywhere but wanting better is different from 'educated hope'. 'Educated hope' requires learning to hope proactively, taking actions to pursue 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities, shaping our agency as political subjects. The hope that is mobilised within capitalism is passive, selfish and closed. Hope within right-wing movements has similar traits because it is backwards looking and aiming to return to an imagined past. There is no better example than fascism for Bloch (1991, p.134, p.142) which utilised the 'darkness of mere drives' to take control of society through 'romantic illusions'.

Capitalism is exploitative, fraudulent and based on self-serving hegemonic narratives through dominant cultural and political practices (Giroux, 2002, p.96). As capitalism seeks to continuously accumulate capital, it requires constant innovation, speculation and utopian thinking. (Harvey, 2000, p.204). To create and enact anti-capitalist alternatives, we must do as capitalism did, which is to reappropriate utopian and creative thinking but this time outside of capitalism's influence.

Yet, capitalism depoliticises, commodifies and individualises hope within society to force a narrative of 'there are no alternatives' (Zournazi, 2002, p.15). This is dangerous because,

‘politics devoid of a radical vision often degenerates into cynicism’ (Giroux, 2002, p.96). In turn, people become apathetic and creating a sense of hopelessness to further smother the belief in a better world (Dinerstein, 2014, p.97). This happens through disempowering individuals, such as through indebtedness, dispossession of land, state violence and poverty. But just as Dinerstein (Ibid) argues capitalism constructs hopelessness, this can be countered through thinking towards ‘Not-Yet Become’ possibilities, affective politics and indigenous autonomy. We need to break the idea of hope as ‘atomized, dissocialized and privatised’ to tackle crises, such as climate change (Thompson and Žižek, 2013, p.5).

Bloch and ‘educated hope’

As Catherine Moir explains (2013, p.137), ‘hope that grasps the latent tendency of the objectively real possible is what Bloch calls “docta spes”’. Also known as ‘educated hope’, this idea is grounded in dialectical materialism, a theory that conceptualises material speculative possibilities of another world, whilst simultaneously criticising the current one and offering alternatives (Moir, 2013, pp.137-138). Bloch’s ‘Principle of Hope’ (1986) is a ‘historical and collective statement of hope’ of ‘an alternative socialist theory of the emotions’ against the utilisation of fear for mobilisation (Plaice et al, 1986, p.xxxiii). Instead of analysing consciousness through our memories, Bloch aims to explain how ‘forward dreaming’ moulds who we are.

To explain Bloch’s ‘educated hope’ we must examine what he means by the ‘Not-Yet’. There are two parts to the ‘Not-Yet’, the ‘Not-Yet Conscious’ and ‘Not-Yet Become’. When discussing the ‘Not-Yet Conscious’, Bloch (Ibid, p.11) is referring to the ‘psychological processes of

approaching' to flip Freud's psychoanalysis of 'backward dawning' on its head. As Simon Mussells (2017, p.127) explains,

Bloch's concept of the Not-Yet-Conscious calls for the exploration and expansion of unfulfilled and unacknowledged desires in service of an alternative, indeterminate and open future, the 'Not-Yet' of our world-in-process.

The 'Not-Yet Conscious' is futural in essence as it is the part of us that seeks out the 'Not-Yet Become' (Mussells, 2017, p.127). The 'Not-Yet Become' is 'unrealised potential within material reality' and involves comprehending the world as indeterminate, unfinished and open with possibilities (Ibid, p.125). The 'Not-Yet Conscious' 'interacts and reciprocates' with the 'Not-Yet Become' (Bloch, 1986, p.13).

The 'Not-Yet' is Bloch's understanding of 'the movement of history' through human agency that dismisses 'dogmatic historical determinism' (Siebers, 2022; Thompson and Žižek, 2013, p.7). Instead of accepting historical economic conditions as the main determinants of history, we acknowledge the importance of human agency in creating change. Blochian hope is dialectical through openly debating those who see the world as linear and rigid (Freire, 2004, p.101).

'Educated hope' shapes our knowledge production, 'on the basis of an ontology of the 'Not-Yet' (Bloch, 1986, p.13). The 'Not-Yet Conscious' articulates itself fundamentally through hope, 'not taken only as emotion, as the opposite of fear... but more essentially as a directing act of a cognitive kind' (Bloch, 1986, p.12). 'Educated hope' orients our knowledge production towards the 'Not-Yet Become', starting us on an open-ended journey to create a better world. 'Educated hope' influences individuals to pursue new possibilities to imagine a different world, moving towards 'Heimat', a home we want but have never experienced (Ashcroft,

2012, p.5). For hope to take this form, we require self-critique and open-mindedness or else it will remain passive (Siebers, 2022). This shows the power of emotions in orienting our cognitive thinking towards a certain direction.

The central aspect of Bloch's theory of hope is thinking towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. It might seem that this theory ignores the significance of past memory on our cognitive behaviour. But it does not. As Rochelle Green (2019, p.124) argues, Bloch's theory of hope asks for individuals to be ready to not only overcome 'ideology and alienation' but to stand 'in relation to previous generations of political actors and their respective hopeful dreams for the future'. Bloch connects past knowledge to future possibilities in multiple ways, but one example is a type of memory he calls 'anagnorisis' (ibid, p.122). This type of memory involves recollecting not reconstituting the past, shaping our cognition to find possibilities within the past, acting as a guide to our search for alternatives. The remembering of past disappointment is crucial to the continuation of 'educated hope', to uncover past dreams that are buried by the retelling of memory to justify present inequalities (Merrick, 2019, p.107). Bloch's theory of hope requires an understanding that without disappointment, there would be no openness, therefore no belief in possibilities of a better world (Davidson, 2021, p.431). A key question to answer when analysing the Indignados Movement is whether the movement through 'educated hope' is in discussion with collective disappointments of past aims for creating a better world. This in turn shapes collective memory to move forward to search for and construct 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities.

One key aspect of Blochian hope is its attachment to utopian thought. Bloch defines abstract utopia as wishful, individualistic and compensatory, whilst concrete utopia is anticipatory, possible and wilful (Levitas, 1990, pp.14-15). 'Educated hope' relates to concrete utopia,

involving mainly socialist possibilities for social transformation as Bloch aims to 'rehabilitate' utopia and hope within Marxism. Levitas (Ibid) argues the difference between abstract and concrete utopian thinking is necessary as Bloch argues 'educated hope' is required for socialist possibilities. Levitas (Ibid) argues 'educated hope' is not an epistemological but a political framework, contrary to Bloch's (1986, p.18) claims of objectivity in the concept. Therefore, Bloch's 'educated hope' is predominantly built on political grounds for socialist change. This is necessary if we want to follow Marx's '11th Thesis on Feuerbach' (1938) and not to fall into the trap of only interpreting capitalism (Bloch, 1991, p.6). Even if 'educated hope' is a political concept, I have begun to show it is an ontological and epistemological concept through the 'Not-Yet'. The next sections will focus more on how 'educated hope' shapes individuals through its pedagogical nature and its future-orientation, shaping our knowledge production. To be open to 'educated hope', we must be ready to accept that our emotions shape our political decision-making. As discussed in the previous chapter, we cannot separate emotions from cognition and emotions are crucial for anti-capitalist resistance. 'Educated hope' exists through emotions, cognition and affect. 'Educated hope' starts as a feeling, but by learning to hope it moulds our political agency towards concrete possibilities, pushing us to pursue a journey towards a better world. The Indignados did this.

Learning to think with 'Educated hope'- Building on Blochian Hope

To understand how 'educated hope' pushes individuals to think politically towards the future, we can turn to Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of Hope' (2004). Freire (Ibid, p.101) like Bloch argues hope is necessary for social transformation and is an ontological necessity in life, 'we need critical hope the way a fish needs unpolluted water' because searching and dreaming for

better is a part of human nature. Hope, critical thinking and dreams help us to seek out purpose in life.

Teaching hope as dialectics involves instructing individuals to perceive the future as something that they can change because it is open with possibility, dismissing the sense that there is no alternative to the current regime (Freire, 2004, p.8). As David Harvey (2000, p.206) argues in 'Spaces of Hope', 'it is the task of dialectical and intellectual enquiry to uncover real possibilities and alternatives'. Through 'educated hope' we become curious agents, allowing us to apprehend the openness of the world (Freire, 2004, p.105).

Henry Giroux (2002, p.109) argues through Cornelius Castoriadis' work that hope should involve creating new spaces, 'where dialogue and critical exchanges become possible to create the pedagogical and political conditions for individual resistance and active social movements' (Giroux, 2002, p.98). This is what 'educated hope' does. Freire (2004) and Giroux (2002) explain that learning hope is crucial to creating a wider attentiveness to others and the world, to expand political participation and belief in new possibilities so we can pursue a better world. Freire expands new alternatives beyond 20th century socialism, allowing for a more pluralistic and wider grounding for imagining alternatives through 'educated hope' than Bloch's original theory. A key aspect of the Indignados Movement is that they made the political pedagogical, creative and future-oriented, pointing towards a tendency of 'educated hope' within the movement. I will analyse this in the next chapter.

The Method of Hope

To analyse 'educated hope' within the Indignados, I will turn to the method of hope. Miyazaki (2004, p.4), inspired by Bloch understands the method of hope 'as a method of radical temporal reorientation of knowledge' to examine the world. Attentive hope shapes our worldview and knowledge production (Miyazaki, 2004, p.1). Miyazaki (Ibid, p.3) examines how hope informs the perspectives of the Suvavou people in Fiji. Their worldview is moulded by 'enduring hope' that pushes them to resist peacefully against the government in their self-knowledge of what is 'Not-Yet Become', despite the dispossession of their native lands. Blochian attentive hope is a cause and effect of these moments of anticipation. Les Beck's analysis (2021, pp.4-5) of hope hits a similar note to this as Beck examines 'moments of hope' to interpret the 'world as it is' in the present through 'worldly attentiveness' to perceive 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. I will delve further into the influence of future possibilities on anti-capitalist mobilisation by analysing the Indignados through the method of hope (Miyazaki, 2004, p.10).

The more we think with hope, the greater the chance this emotion will shape our knowledge production. Miyazaki and Beck argue that hope is not just an emotion but a method, which shapes both the participants and the researcher's knowledge production towards the future. With an ontological, epistemological and pedagogical understanding of Blochian hope and the 'Not-Yet', we can analyse the implications and dynamics of 'educated hope' in the Indignados.

The political intentions of 'educated hope' make it separate to the method of hope, which aims to analyse 'moments of hope' attentively. Both inform each other in a circular process. As Miyazaki (2004, p.2, p.14) shows, the method of hope orients our analysis to the 'Not-Yet

Become'. This reminds us that the goal of resisting is to change not just disrupt the system, therefore creating methodological issues for resistance and social movement analysis. Analysing the Indignados Movement through a 'method of hope' will show whether their goal was to create a better world or to make mere disruption.

Bloch and Social Movements

Bloch's theory of revolutions explains the anti-capitalist nature of the Indignados Movement and its relations with other struggles. For Bloch, a key aspect of revolutions is that they fight for the right to 'walk upright' (Schmidt, 1988, p.xv). This is the struggle for human dignity that aims to achieve full natural rights for all individuals through the collective (Bloch, 1991, p.7). Bloch argued natural law as necessary for true socialism, unlike Marx who saw no place in socialism for ideas grown out of liberalism (Schmidt, 1888, p.xv). The Indignados Movement is a clear example of the fight for human dignity. They mobilised against the violation of dignity to move towards a better world (Siebers, 2022). By theorising dignity and emotions as crucial for socialism, I will argue in the next chapter the Indignados Movement is an anti-capitalist force. This contrasts with arguments that the Indignados were not anti-capitalist as they supposedly did not focus on economic issues.

Secondly, as explained previously, past disappointment of failed promises and dreams fuel hope. The hope of past revolutions continues in present struggles. This is shown through Bloch's idea of dialectical 'non-contemporaneity', referring to how 'social and cultural structures of the past continue to flourish in the present alongside present capitalism and are 'pregnant with the future' (Plaise, 1991, p.xii). Revolutions may not complete themselves, but they stay alive in future movements (Siebers, 2022). This is relevant to the Indignados

Movement for two reasons. Firstly, to discover hidden possibilities and to be forward-thinking, a movement must be linked to hopes of past generations. Secondly, much of the debate surrounding the movement is about whether it succeeded or failed to create political change. I will argue it did have a significant effect on Spanish politics and society and as I will show in the next chapter, its disappointments have and will fuel the fight for a better world. I will argue the Indignados succeeded and disappointed in changing society. But the way they mobilised across generations will not be forgotten, continuing the processes of 'educated hope'. The Indignados is a clear example of the capabilities of social movements to change the nature of politics (Siebers, 2022).

Negative Dialectics Contrasted to Bloch's Theory of Hope

In the previous chapter, I explained negative dialectics is useful for understanding the role of emotions in shaping the mobilisation of social movements. But negation can invoke fear and anxiety if we do not think with hope towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. Negative emotions do not make critical theory creative or anticipatory. Critical thought must think towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities if it is to change capitalism, instead of overly monitoring capitalism or despairing about it (Mussells, 2017, p.118).

Adorno and Marcuse believed, 'that any kind of praxis was out of the question and every attempt in that direction could do nothing but deteriorate the current state of affairs' (Petrucciani, 2021, p.103). They deemed the possibility of revolution as very unlikely because they saw the working class as fully integrated within capitalist society (Mussells, 2017, p.118). Critical theory and dialectical thought became separated from practical action and belief in a better world. Blochian hope is a dialectical theory which seeks to inform practice. Rejecting

the system is crucial for resistance, but without hope the struggle will become lost and wishful. The main goal of resistance should be to change the world. Critical theory should aim to understand how change happens and discuss what alternatives are possible.

Blochian hope provides collective belief that a better world is possible. Instead of thinking inside the constraints of capitalist ideology, 'educated hope' allows individuals to think constructively and creatively through our 'Not-Yet Conscious' and outside of what is deemed as possible by the dominant ideology. This theory is more prospective than retrospective as it seeks to understand what anti-capitalist alternatives there are, to establish the belief that they are possible and examine in what ways they can be pursued by social movements. As argued in the previous chapter, this means combining dialectical thought, namely Adorno's open-ended understanding of history with Marx's future-oriented analysis to allow human agency to be at the forefront of social transformation. Blochian theory follows the words of Henri Lefevbre (2009, p.288), 'theory opens the road, clears a new way; practice takes it, produces the route and the space'.

Conclusion

This chapter theorises how I will analyse the Indignados Movement to argue emotions as political and hope as crucial for orienting social movements towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. I argue for a 'productive and constructive role' for dialectical Marxism and social movement theory. (Mussells, 2017, p.124).

Firstly, I explained Bloch's theory of emotions and argued that hope, an 'expectant' emotion allows us to see how individuals resist to create a better world. I discussed an understanding

of hope through capitalism. I contrast this with 'Educated hope', an important idea for pursuing social transformation because it teaches openness, anticipation and attentiveness when pursuing a better world. I explained the political nature of 'educated hope' and that it is ontologically necessary for anti-capitalist change as it moulds our knowledge production towards future possibilities. I demonstrated how I will use the method of hope to show how I will orient my work to analyse 'moments of hope' within the Indignados.

I showed that the fight for dignity is necessary for anti-capitalist movements, building the foundations for my argument in the next chapter that the Indignados is anti-capitalist. I discussed disappointment to show that a key aspect of 'educated hope' is to keep alive the belief that a better world is possible. Lastly, I contrasted 'educated hope' with negative dialectics to show that a focus on positive 'expectant' emotions rather than negative 'filled' ones means we can analyse alternatives that blossomed in the movement and the possibility of anti-capitalist change.

Hope has been theorised as an emotion that intertwines with our cognition, shaping how we learn, think and analyse towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. Hope will continue to be dominantly defined by capitalism if we do not create the spaces for 'educated hope' to flourish and leak into pedagogy. The prominence of 'educated hope' in society impacts the chances of anti-capitalist change. The role of social movements should be to promote thinking attentively and creatively about society and politics, to help us think towards the 'Not-Yet Become'. Through protest, deliberation and action, the Indignados did exactly this.

In the next chapter, I will use this Blochian understanding of hope to analyse the beginnings of 'educated hope' in the Indignados Movement through the method of hope. I will reorient my analysis to the 'Not-Yet Become', to argue for the importance of 'educated hope' in

creating political change through social movements searching for and constructing alternatives. I will argue the Indignados Movement not only rejected capitalism, it actively sought to change it.

Case Study: The Indignados Movement

To argue emotions are crucial to political resistance, I will analyse the workings of hope within the Indignados Movement in Spain. Hope shapes knowledge in an anticipatory manner and asks individuals to be attentive to the world around. As explained in the previous chapter, hope in its non-banal and latent form, 'educated hope' is a necessity for social movements that aim to create new alternatives that go against the hegemonic system and to install collective belief that they are possible, in turn pushing others to think towards alternatives. I will show evidence of the beginnings of 'educated hope' in my analysis of the Indignados through their successes in mobilisation, influencing concrete changes, their exploration of anti-capitalist possibilities and making the political more pedagogical.

The Indignados Movement aimed to start a journey towards a fairer and more equal world. I will claim that the movement is anti-capitalist and has been successful in pushing Spanish society towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. By analysing the movement through the method of hope, I will present some anti-capitalist alternatives the Indignados Movement fought for. My aim is for this analysis to be more prospective than retrospective as critical theory should ultimately be about informing practice, in this case, creating a fairer and more equal world.

Firstly, I will explain the origins of the movement through the hopelessness created by capitalism leading to individuals to take political action. Then, I will argue against scholars who claim the movement was not anti-capitalist by explaining that their fight for human dignity is part of a struggle for a non-capitalist world through a Blochian analysis.

To show how emotions shaped the movement towards future possibilities, I will demonstrate the beginnings of 'educated hope' within the movement. I will discuss briefly how the

movement kept the hopes of past generations alive. It is important to be connected to the aspirations of all generations to learn of the continued possibility of alternatives that were left disappointed. I will argue the movement did think towards future possibilities, as shown through the pedagogical nature and the demonstration of alternatives of their camps. The movement instigated concrete changes, but we cannot ignore the disappointments. It is important to accept disappointments as part of the journey towards eliminating poverty and halting environmental destruction. Without disappointment there would be no continuation or need for hope. Lastly, I will use the example of The Teatro del Barrio to show that the movement through its emotional response to capitalist exploitation did demonstrate the possibility of implementing socio-economic alternatives that focus on community needs and dignity instead of profit (San Juan, 2019, p.273). Through this analysis, it will be evident that hope, future-oriented thinking and social transformation are reliant on each other.

Spanish Capitalism and Hopelessness

The Indignados Movement has its roots in the 2008 Financial Crisis. Hopelessness caused by capitalism instigated an emotional response from people, leading to individuals working collectively to create change. But hopelessness was clear to see before the 2008 Crisis. In the 2000's, growth became detached from 'internal demand' as the Spanish government supported the speculation that led to major expansion of the Spanish construction sector (Díaz-Parra et al, 2017, p.71). Investment flowed into Spain, creating the so-called 'Spanish miracle' represented by an increase in 'employment, driven by both construction and consumption', recording 'an accumulated growth rate of 36 per cent, higher than in any other

historical period and well above the rates of other EU countries' (López and Rodríguez, 2011, p.12).

However, at the same time, real wages fell by 10% between 2000 and 2007 and house prices soared by 220% between 1997 and 2007 (Ibid). The Spanish economy became defined by financialisation, the creation of debt and the stagnation of productivity. Due to the creation of new money through the loosening of credit, the housing construction boom caused the rise of family debt at the benefit of the elites (Díaz-Parra, 2017, p.72). Families became more reliant on credit because house prices increased dramatically; meanwhile social security was cut.

Once debt no longer sustained itself, the financial crisis arose and made the economic situation worse (Rey-Araújo, 2021, p.183). Personal debt levels were already high but became sky-high in 2008 as 'household indebtedness had risen to 84 per cent of GDP' (López and Rodríguez, 2011, p.21). Between 2008 and 2014, nearly 600,000 foreclosures and around 380,000 evictions happened (García-Lamarca, 2017, p.39). In May 2010, austerity started as the response to the crisis by the centre-left Zapatero's Socialist Party government (Antentas, 2015, p.138). As a part of austerity, the European Central Bank asked for 'structural adjustments' for bank-rescue packages, pushing the government to cut public sector wages by 5%, to increase the retirement age to 67, cancel social investment projects and significantly cut social security (López and Rodríguez, 2011, p.23). The poorest suffered the most. For example, those in precarious work, such as on temporary contracts, were fired in vast numbers as companies cut down on expenditure. By February 2011, unemployment reached 22% and youth unemployment was at 47% (Castells, 2012, p.110). The financial crisis and austerity measures had eliminated hope for people.

The Indignados did not spring out of nowhere, it appeared from the hopelessness created by capitalism and through hope that was becoming visible through protests, such as the huge demonstrations in Portugal on 12th March 2011. From 2010, social movements began mobilising against austerity, including, 'the Plataforma de Afectados por las Hipotecas (PAH), a group defending people who are unable to pay their mortgages from being evicted from their homes)' (Antentas, 2015, p..139).

The Indignados were born on the 15th of May 2011 when over fifty protests appeared with tens of thousands attending (Romanos, 2017, p.137). It started when protesters mobilised on Madrid's Puerta del Sol to announce they want 'Real Democracy Now!' and to be freed from the hands of financial elites (Fominaya, 2015, p.142). Over those next months, camps were formed, such as on Barcelona's Placa Catalunya, practicing participatory democracy and discussing ideas on how to improve their society (Antentas, 2015, p.151). Somewhere between 6 and 8.5 million people participated in the Indignados' protests (Seguín, 2021, p.2). A Metroscopia survey in 2011 found that 81% of Spanish citizens agreed that the motivations for protesting were correct (Castells, 2012, p.117). The movement gathered support all over society. The Indignados are part of a global movement centred around hope for a better world through resisting capitalism.

The Indignados Movement, Capitalism and Blochian Theory

But there are scholars who do not see the movement as anti-capitalist. Emmy Eklundh (2019, p.145) argues that despite parts of the movement having anti-capitalist feelings, many participants do not. Eklundh (ibid) also argues that placing the participatory democratic ambitions at the centre of the movement assumes emotions to be secondary to rational

debate. Instead, Eklundh (2019, p.147) argues that affect is central, 'what the protesters have in common is affective responses and they can take many shapes and forms'.

This is useful to counter the idea of emotions as just informing rational debate and resistance, instead affect and emotions are central to political struggle. But we must not neglect the Indignados' unity in wanting a fairer and more equal world and that they mobilised in response to austerity, in other words capitalism. Activists were vocal on how they believe there are other alternatives and claimed that 'they are not commodities in the hands of bankers and politicians' (Rey-Araújo, 2021, p.190). Just because their demands were plural and unstable does not mean we should ignore the anti-capitalist nature of the movement. The movement was called the Indignados for a reason, which is they felt disrespected by the current capitalist system.

Pedro Rey-Araújo (2021, p.190) goes further to explain that even protesters who wanted a fairer form of capitalist democracy were asking for a radical change in the system. For example, Cristina Flesher Fominaya (2020, p.151) interviewed participants of the protests against Preferentes, a group that is a part of the Indignados campaigning for the return of elderly pensioner's money lost in preferentes, a complex financial product. The product was created for investors, but banks marketed it to the elderly as a great saving mechanism, who then ended up with nothing once banks, like Bankia folded. Fominaya (2020, p.155) explains how a few of these participants protested for their own personal reasons, but the majority saw the issue as connected to all socio-economic problems across society, caused by capitalist exploitation. Even those who were only campaigning for the return of their pensions are unintentionally protesting the primitive accumulation of wealth by capitalism.

The movement's orientation towards emotional language and anti-capitalist future possibilities united the participants. The connection between emotions and wanting a better world is at the centre of the Indignados. Emotions are not a means to an end nor were the demands fixed as Eklundh (2019, p.148) argues. But the lack of fixed demands should not push us away from analysing the movements' future-orientation. They started a journey towards a better world, a journey where emotions play a central political role in contesting the current system and creating and advocating for alternatives. I want to analyse the futural aspects of the Indignados, such as its 'educated hope' and the possibilities of anti-capitalist change.

From a Marxist perspective, Greig Charnock, Thomas Purcell and Ramon Ribera-Fumaz (2011, p.9) argue too that the movement was not anti-capitalist, but instead because they demanded 'abstract and purely political notions of "real democracy"' and the movement did not 'grasp the material determinations of its own action and demands'. This entails a notion that to be anti-capitalist, you need an almost academic political economic critique of capitalism and suggests dignity as only a moral discourse (Franquesa, 2016, p.83).

Firstly, the movement did have a good understanding of the exploitation caused by capitalism, as shown by the 'white' tide response to the privatisation of healthcare (Rey-Araújo, 2021). There was also the implementation of local, 'self-management initiatives that are currently collaborating in the construction of a different social, political and economic model' (San Juan, 2019, p.274). Secondly, emotions are not just discourse; they are key in shaping individuals as political subjects fighting for a better world. Their argument assumes a rationalist understanding of emotions as politically irrelevant for effective political action and that emotions are fully determined by capitalism. But, as Bloch argues, anticipatory emotions

are emancipatory and key in the fight for human dignity. Hope is key in this as it counters Western individualistic rationalism cemented in the dominant capitalist narrative through putting attentiveness and the imagination into politics

To be anti-capitalist should involve a fight for dignity and democracy in all corners of society. Bloch explains that socialist alternatives need human rights. He explains that socialist alternatives aim to create collective happiness, meanwhile natural law aims for human dignity, pride and security for all individuals (Bloch, 1988, p.208). Both require the other, 'there can be no human dignity without the end of misery and need, but also no human happiness without the end of old and new forms of servitude' (Bloch, 1988, p.208). For socialist alternatives to be possible, we need human dignity. It is not just a moral discourse but a key aspect for socialism.

The Indignados' struggle for human dignity is a fight for an anti-capitalist world. The Indignados aimed to change the system through promoting alternatives and the belief of a better world to establish human dignity for all. Both the pursuit of human dignity and socialist alternatives 'belong to the noble power of anticipation of something "better"' (Bloch, 1988, p.208). The beginnings of 'educated hope' are clear to see in the movement because they aimed to teach the importance of creating new possibilities for a better world through attentiveness and anticipation.

Hope, Disappointment and the Revitalisation of Dreams of a Better World

I now will discuss how the Indignados Movement picked up the past hopes of older generations. I will show that the Indignados continued hope of a better world that older

generations in Spain had after the death of Franco. A key aspect of 'educated hope' is intergenerational communication. The young must learn from past disappointments of older generations to discover alternatives hidden within forgotten history. Meanwhile, the elder generations aid the young in pursuing dignity for all. The Indignados is an inter-generational movement that included people from across the political spectrum, sharing different perspectives to form a collective memory of hope, opening possibilities up.

In the 1980's the lack of a strong labour movement, low wages and a socially weak state provided the perfect conditions for foreign direct investment once Spain became democratic in the capitalist sense (Romanos *et al*, pp.3-4). The consensus within Spain is that the transition from Franco authoritarianism to democracy was successful because they did not dig into the atrocities of the past, but this allowed Francoist elites to remain powerful (Schwarz, 2019, p.105). This has changed as demands for justice through remembering the atrocities have become more frequent, demonstrating a connection between activists of different generations (Aguilar and Ramírez-Barat, 2019, pp.213-214). A key group to the movement, Juventud sin Futuro, meaning 'Youth Without Future' blame the lack of real democracy on 'la Transición', thus call for 'the need to recover historical memory' (Schwarz, 2019, p.105). This shows that hope is shared between the young and old of the Indignados through the recollection of memory of the past and shared dreams of a better future, as understood through Bloch's 'anagnorisis' concept explained in the previous chapter (Green, 2019, p.122).

To explain further, I will analyse intergenerational relations through the *laioflautas*, a group born from the Indignados Movement. 'liao' or iaia means 'grandparent' in Catalan (Blanche-Tarragó and Fernández-Ardèvol, 2014, p.9). The rest of word comes from the insult used

against so-called troublesome and careless young protesters, 'perroflautas' (Schwarz, 2019, p.106). In line with the name, the laioflautas aimed to protect the youth and legitimise their grievances against Spanish capitalism. They wanted to stop the elite's depoliticisation of the protests, a process that they are familiar with during the transition period after Franco's death. They stood in the role of historical witnesses to help the youth achieve a life full of dignity for all. This is an example of the Indignados' connection to forgotten memory of past hopes for a better world.

One role of the laioflautas is to pass on 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities hidden within collective memory to the young, in turn making the political more pedagogical. Spanish democracy fell short of communal and participatory ideas that many laioflautas activists had (Schwarz, 2019, p.109). Connecting present anti-capitalist struggles to past hopes politicises memory, the economy and democracy. As Ann Rigney (2018, p.368) argues, the way we regard collective memory shapes how we perceive and act upon the future. We should remember the hopes that remain in the past to construct alternatives for the future.

It is clear that 'educated hope' is prominent in the Indignados Movement because of the repoliticisation of collective memory. As Bloch argues, a key part of successful social movements is the recognition of the continuation of social and cultural structures of the past that are 'pregnant with the future' (Plaice, 1991, p.xii). Aims that were unfulfilled will continue as individuals remember the possibilities of a better world that the Indignados demonstrated. As I explain later, the Indignados inspired others to continue the journey towards a better world through both its successes and disappointments.

The 'Puerta del Sol' Camp

The importance of emotions to political resistance is clear in the Indignados Movement. 'Educated hope' is apparent in their participatory democratic practices. Their organisation acted as an alternative to the current system and at the same time, allowed the movement to embrace discussions of a better world. This is more evidence of the pedagogical nature of the movement, as previously shown through older generations supporting the young.

From the 16th of May 2011, protesters set up an assembly at the camp of the occupied Puerta del Sol, Madrid's central plaza (Fominaya, 2020, pp.87-88). Through this camp and many other assemblies set up across Spain, the Indignados were 'able to promote and enact alternative imaginaries', shaping the political consensus and making the political more pedagogical, in turn influencing those who had not been involved in political action before to act (Pereira-Zazo and Torres, 2019, p.5). They displayed alternative ways of organising society in the camps, as Pino (2013, p.230) explains that in Madrid,

the general assembly divided itself into different commissions (Food, Action, Communication, Infrastructures, Legal, Internal Coordination and Cleaning) all led by different open assemblies with a horizontal structure. When the camp secured its conditions of existence, the commissions developed their competences, generating working groups in different areas: economy, politics, national, international, culture, LGTB, feminism, thought, analysis, etc.

The camp demonstrated to society alternative ways of living. In addition, its process of deliberation made it hotbed for ideas, shown by how activists made 15,000 pro-democracy proposals at the camp (Fominaya, 2020, p.123). Before discussing more about their anti-

capitalist alternatives for organising society, I will explain the role of emotions and ‘educated hope’ in the camp that mobilised people towards ‘Not-Yet Become’ possibilities.

The role of ‘Educated Hope’ In Making the Political More Pedagogical

The camp quickly turned from despair of the situation to hope, focusing on the question ‘what can we do?’ (Fominaya, 2020, p.124). Activists said that they went from a mindset that pushed for conflict to one that understands that activism must ‘be more enjoyable, to try to make people see that there really is an alternative and that it is a better alternative’, as said by activist Miguel Martínez (Fominaya, 2020, p.124). This is ‘educated hope’ and it is crucial for social transformation because it pushes individuals to be creative and to install belief that better is possible through emotional and anticipatory knowledge production. As Pino (2013, p.233) explains, because the camp had students, teachers, unemployed people, technicians and individuals with different skills and experience, they were able to learn about alternatives from each other. They made the political pedagogical. Therefore, not only did the camps help create a political narrative full of indignation and hope, they oriented knowledge production towards ‘Not-Yet Become’ possibilities.

Like Eklundh (2019, p.145) argues, it is vital to explain that emotions play a significant role in the camps’ deliberation to not place rational democratic practice at the centre of the movement’s successes. This follows Fominaya’s argument (2020, p.138), that key to the movement’s successes, is the ‘shared experience of resolving the practical organisation of life in common’. A collective belief that better is possible became clear as they politicised their emotions and acted out alternative ways of living in the camps.

From this belief in a better world, the Indignados changed Spanish politics, leading to the birth of the left-wing and successful Podemos party in 2014 (Pereira-Zazo and Torres, 2019, p.8). The Indignados gave energy to other movements, such as the 'Mareas' (tide) protests, which were effective in slowing down privatisation, for example the green tide against privatisation in education (Romanos, *et al*, 2022, p.7, p.13). Despite sexism within the movement, it helped to create a discussion on feminism and women's rights, leading to the violet tide, which fought against budget cuts that impact women (Fominaya, 2020, p.129; Romanos, 2017, p.138). The Indignados also gave new inspiration to the 'Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca' (Rey-Araújo, 2021, p.193). The movement was successful in blocking evictions, creating large support for the right to housing for all and their Popular Legislation Initiative that had around 1.5 million supporters, showing the power of mobilising towards a better world (Romanos, *et al*, 2022, PP.6-7).

The Indignados' influence on other struggles is vast and varied, even without mentioning the protests against the 'Citizens Security Law, the Marches for Dignity, the Marea Básica (for a universal basic income), as well as the massive 8M Feminist Strikes of 2018 and 2019' (Pereira-Zazo and Torres, 2019, p.8). The Indignados Movement inspired research into how to fund a universal basic income, an unconditional payment to everyone that would establish dignity for all by creating 'a publicly guaranteed right to existence' (Raventós and Wark, 2019, p.110). Individuals acted collectively against the current system through 'educated hope'.

The Demonstration of New Alternatives

Furthermore, life at the camp allowed individuals to collectively explore 'Not-Yet Become' alternatives. Social space is a social product, which is why camps are an alternative to

capitalism, a contradiction right in the middle of it (García-Lamarca, 2017, p.38). Through organising around needs, such as food, shelter and communication, discussions formed on the politics of care, sexual violence, homelessness and the mass media (Ibid). Through these discussions with reflexivity and dissent at the centre, they developed concrete proposals, such as universal healthcare, Laws of Historical Memory (which is about remembering past atrocities), participatory democracy and limits to financial capital (Pino, 2012, pp.238-239). Despite the many differences, activists had much in common when discussing what a better world could look like. By resisting multiple areas of capitalist exploitation towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities, the Indignados and other groups highlighted that a combination of different ideas can create a world full of human dignity.

In June 2011, plaza occupations stopped and the attention was turned to small concrete projects, ideas and assemblies within local neighbourhoods (García-Lamarca, 2017, p.38). Emilio Santiago Muíño (2019, P.143) explains that the movement inspired multiple projects that have community and dignity at their centre. Individuals continued to think with the 'Not-Yet', as is shown by alternatives that were implemented locally, like time banks (exchanging time to help with individuals' tasks) and self-mediated cooperatives (Pereira-Zazo and Torres, 2019, p.8).

Despite the beginnings of 'educated hope', the thinking and acting towards new alternatives, it is hard to argue against Romanos, Sola and Rendueles (2022, p.1) that significant change in economic policy did not happen from the Indignados' actions. Austerity did continue. However, they also argue that the movement had no concrete ideas for a better world, especially for workers. But they themselves list policies, such as rise in the minimum wage and the creation of the Guaranteed Minimum Income act in 2020 that will help workers and

may have not gathered such support if it was not for the Indignados (Romanos, *et al*, 2022, pp.11-12).

Disappointment of aims happens in all struggles, not every goal is achieved. But that is why it is crucial that the Indignados established belief that a better world is possible and inspired 'educated hope' in other campaigns, as shown above. This is so the long journey towards a better world continues, requiring people to emotionally respond to exploitation. The continuation of 'educated hope' through disappointment and belief of a better world is necessary in a contingent world full of possibilities. This requires diverse and distinct groups of individuals working together towards multiple possibilities instead of one rigid idea of a better world.

The Teatro del Barrio

Instead of basing success only on institutional and policy change, scholars should analyse changes in the perception that 'there is no alternative'. Despite being a broad movement with different sub-groups involved with multiple aims, the Indignados through mass mobilisation and politicisation created hope that alternatives to the current system are possible to achieve.

The movement produced 'educated hope', which inspired many socio-economic experiments, helping to reproduce hope of a better world. An example of this is the Teatro del Barrio, the Neighbourhood Theatre (San Juan, 2019, p.273). It is a consumer cooperative where members are consumers and producers, but you can participate without being a member. It is an anti-capitalist economic alternative because the means of production are

owned by the people and the decision-making is shaped by needs, not profit. If there is profit it is reinvested into the theatre.

It is run by committees who collaborate with hired personnel, but there is no hierarchy only a 'division of tasks' (San Juan, 2019, pp.275-276). Through its theatre productions and its 'Universidad del Barrio', theatre directors and professors deliver different perspectives to the dominant narrative to produce critical discourse and 'educated hope' to install belief we can build a fairer and more equal world together (San Juan, 2019, p.277). Through appealing to people's emotions, the theatre inspires individuals to think openly about the world. As Alberto San Juan (2019, p.277) explains, 'it is based on the conviction, perhaps, that there is not just one possible economy, that the history we have lived can be read in multiple ways and that different readings shed light on different possible futures'.

The various aspects of 'educated hope' mentioned throughout this chapter are produced through the theatre. The theatre is an example of how the movement addresses capitalist exploitation by not only resisting but constructing new alternative ideas and perspectives. It focuses on learning from the past by acting in the present towards future possibilities. The Indignados Movement teaches us that through imaginative and emotional thinking we have the:

capacity to go beyond what we have known so far. The capacity to find new roads that are more useful for producing joy and well-being (San Juan, 2019, p.274).

Conclusion

I have argued that through 'educated hope', the Indignados Movement acted towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities, demonstrating the importance of anticipatory and attentive emotions in constructing resistance to be forward-thinking. I argue that capitalist exploitation and disrespect for human dignity caused hopelessness, leading to an emotional and collective response by individuals. Then, I argued the movement is anti-capitalist and does have alternatives for a better world. One reason I claim the Indignados is anti-capitalist is because through Bloch's work, we can understand that anti-capitalist change requires dignity for all, the major goal of the movement. Dignity is not a moral discourse, but a human right needed for socialism.

I then moved onto the beginnings of 'educated hope' within the movement, starting with the importance of intergenerational discussion and the continuation of the dreams of older generations. I explained the pedagogical and deliberative nature of the movement as being an important aspect of 'educated hope' and future-oriented thinking. I discussed how the Indignados demonstrated the possibilities of alternatives through life in their camps, by inspiring other protests and through constructing local alternatives. I presented an example, The Teatro del Barrio which shows that they did present socio-economic alternatives, made the political pedagogical and pushed individuals to create and discuss new possibilities. The Indignados Movement demonstrates that if we want a fairer and more equal world, we must allow emotions, especially hope to be a part of our political actions. This is to continue the movement's main success, the belief that a better world is possible. No social movement succeeds in all their goals, but often, they move in the direction towards a more equal an

fairer world. Through the beginnings of 'educated hope', the Indignados Movement showed that a better world is possible.

Conclusion

This analysis of the Indignados Movement through a Blochian framework demonstrates the importance of 'educated hope' for orienting political resistance towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. There have been two main arguments that stem from the ontological necessity of hope in allowing political resistance to be focused on social transformation. The first is that emotions are politically important, especially for resistance against capitalism and must be analysed further within social movement theory. This is to understand better why individuals mobilise to not only resist capitalism's lack of respect for individuals' dignity but also why they aim to create a better world. In both, emotions play a key role. Secondly, critical theory's primary objective should be to inform practice to find solutions to current inequalities. Critical theory needs to be oriented towards future possibilities. As hope shapes individuals to be anticipatory and attentive, it is connected to our creative thinking and desires to find new alternatives. Therefore, critical theory must have a good understanding of the political importance of hope.

The literature review reveals the importance of analysing emotions in relation to anti-capitalist resistance. I argue against rationalist understandings of social movement mobilisation. Instead, by analysing the role of emotions in resistance to the violation of human dignity, we realise that emotional responses are crucial in resisting capitalism. I argue for the importance of examining emotions in relation to capitalism to understand the aims of some social movements. By focusing on the role of emotions in political mobilisation, we can start to bring back the imagination and creativity into political discussion.

The second chapter demonstrates how Blochian hope orients both resistance and theory towards future possibilities of a better world. 'Educated hope' allows us to apply concrete actions towards an open-ended goal of creating a better world through discussions on alternatives, mobilising creativity and allowing room for self-critique. 'Educated hope' can combat the passive and individualistic nature of hope as defined by capitalism through its future-oriented pedagogical, anticipatory and attentive nature. I argue that unlike negative dialectics, which I discuss first in the literature review as an example of a theory that understands the role of emotions in anti-capitalist resistance, 'educated hope' pushes individuals towards creating a better world through orienting their knowledge production to 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities.

In the last chapter, I applied a Blochian framework to analyse the Indignados Movement in relation to hope and capitalism, orienting my analysis of the movement towards future possibilities. The Indignados Movement was born out of a violation of human dignity by capitalism. I argue that this makes it an anti-capitalist movement. I explain through Bloch that the fight for dignity is a necessity for socialism and not merely a moral discourse. The Indignados' fight for dignity turned quickly from anger and despair to one of hope. The prominence of 'educated hope' and 'expectant' feelings within the movement meant it established wide belief in society that a better world is possible, inspiring individuals to think, debate and construct alternatives. This is because the Indignados has a pedagogical and future-oriented nature through 'educated hope'. Despite disappointment of aims and the lack of change in economic policy, the Indignados have had a crucial effect on Spanish society through the politicisation of economic policy and its insistence on thinking towards 'Not-Yet Become' possibilities. Through this growing belief of the possibility of a better world, alternatives have gained traction, such as basic income. This analysis shows that

'educated hope' allows political resistance to become constructive and creative. To understand how social transformation and the creation of alternatives can happen, we should think through a Blochian view of the world.

Critical theory needs to be future-oriented and focused on alternatives and social transformation. This is because the main goal should be to create a fairer and more equal world. I hope future-oriented analyses, like this one, can inspire creative discussion of socio-economic alternatives and to establish belief that a better world is possible. This is so we can combat inequality, exploitation and environmental destruction through an open-ended journey consisting of a combination of ideas from multiple different thoughts in conversation with one another.

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