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From Viva La Revolutión-ish to the Free Space: Toward a Theory of Guerrilla Rhetoric

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FROM VIVA LA REVOLUCIÓN-ISH TO THE FREE SPACE: TOWARD A THEORY

OF GUERRILLA RHETORIC

by

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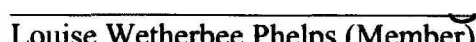December 2014

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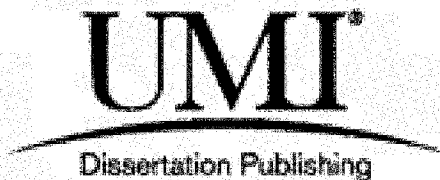Louise Wetherbee Phelps (Member)

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ABSTRACT

FROM VIVA LA REVOLUCIÓN-ISH TO THE FREE SPACE: TOWARD A THEORY OF GUERRILLA RHETORIC

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Old Dominion University, 2014
Director: Dr. Kevin Eric DePew

This project addresses the need for a rhetorical theory that is appropriate to the unique needs of certain groups who "write" (in a broad sense of the word) from a position of desperation that results from some kind of tension between their needs or values and the dominant culture. These rhetors demonstrate a suspicion toward mainstream channels through which they might have their voices heard, are often subversive, and tend to be community-oriented.

To develop an appropriate rhetorical lens for studying these groups, I bring notions of guerrilla warfare from a precise point in the historical narrative of the guerrilla (that of the modern guerrilla articulated by Ernesto "Che" Guevara) together with key rhetorical constructs: rhetorical situation, *exigence*, *kairos*, audience, community of practice and *techne*. This synthesis allows me to articulate a preliminary theory of guerrilla rhetoric.

I then test that theory against two case studies, both set in Washington, DC, that represent contexts wherein I initially hypothesized guerrilla rhetoric might occur. The first case study explores the work of a graffiti writer who has done illegal and legal works in Washington for more than thirty years. The second case examines the work of a foundational figure in the District's Hardcore punk movement, who has contributed to the scene through multiple bands since 1980, as well as the founding and operation of an

independent record label. As a result of these case studies, I revise and propose a refined theory of guerrilla rhetoric and then discuss the implications for this term to additional rhetorical groups.

This dissertation is dedicated to my partner and inspiration, Eric Charles Spiegel.

"Inspired me truly you did from the start, to not be afraid
and to follow my heart. There's a piece of you with me
they can't tear apart, forever."

--Dropkick Murphys

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Most of all, I owe so much to the punk I dedicate this project to: Eric Spiegel. Eric, you are my partner, my best friend, and my hero. I cannot ever hope to adequately capture my gratitude for all you have been to me. You were the boy who made me fall in love with literature and who inspired me to major in English. You are the reason I discovered punk rock. You believed in me when I could not believe in myself. You know me fully and support me endlessly. I could not have done this without your humor, flexibility, patience, and tenderness. I hope you understand my deep appreciation for everything you are. I love you dearly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

PROLOGUE

When I began this project, the only thing by Ernesto "Che" Guevara that I had read was his *Guerrilla Warfare*. I picked up this work as I began my quest to understand "guerrilla" as a concept because of how readily the image of the "guerrilla" in Western culture is tied to this man. His work became, as you will see in the chapters that follow, pivotal to my theorization of guerrilla rhetoric throughout this project. However, another piece by Guevara impacted me unexpectedly during the course of my writing. While I was in the middle of writing the first draft of this project, my husband came home with a copy of Guevara's *Motorcycle Diaries,* which he bought at a thrift store knowing it might somehow be useful to my dissertation research. I began to read this text, as leisure reading, as a break from my scholarship. What I did not anticipate was that this text would actually play an important, although unexpected, role in my dissertation project. It helps me to both understand and articulate the journey that you will experience reading the pages that follow.

My copy contains a preface by his daughter, Aleida Guevara. In her introduction, she prepares the reader for the journey they are about to embark upon. She writes with passion as she describes the man she came to know through reading his account of his now infamous motorcycle journey. She argues that his notes throughout this journey allow the reader to come to know the young Ernesto, the man destined to become Che, and watch him grow in his understanding of the world. She says we come to know two versions of the man:

the Ernesto who left Argentina with his yearning for adventure and his
dreams of the great deeds he would perform, and the young man who, as
he discovered the reality of our continent [South America], continued to
mature as a human being and to develop as a social being. Slowly we see
how his dreams and ambitions changed. (2)

Aleida Guevara shows how her father's *Motorcycle Diaries* serves, perhaps better than
any biography of the man, as a means of explaining his development as a thinker and the
means in which the ideology behind his later works is established.

In a similar way, the chapters before you aim to document a journey and an
evolution in my thinking. I present you with two versions of a guerrilla theory of rhetoric.
The first is an undertaking while this project was still in its infancy and the latter is a
result of refining and growing in my own understanding of the concept. In many ways
this progression is indicative of what Louise Wetherbee Phelps describes in her opening
paragraph of "Dialects of Coherence: Toward an Integrative Theory." She explains that
as a concept first

bursts into [our] consciousness, we cannot at first view it critically,
because it is the nature of a key change to possess us with its compelling
new vision of the world. For some time afterwards we are absorbed in
exploiting the energizing, fertilizing power of the new idea, which seems
limitless in its implications and applications. Only later, as a paradigm
matures, can we begin to refine and correct its key concept and to achieve
the critical distance necessary to recognize its bounds. (12)

I first took to the guerrilla moniker with great passion and enthusiasm to capture it in its natural environment and to theorize about its potential applications beyond those natural origins. As a result, the first theory of guerrilla rhetoric, established in chapter 3 is my response to the initial *exigence* in embarking upon this project (as articulated in chapter 2) and represents my initial approach to guerrilla concepts. In the subsequent chapters I present two case studies and think through the implications and limitations of both my theory and the assumptions I initially brought to the project. The final chapter describes the alterations in my thinking and the theorization made possible by this exploration. It then presents my suggestions for how this concept might be observed, or at least explored, in additional rhetorical groups, as well as how it can be appropriated for additional contexts.

My hope in presenting these chapters in this way is that not only do I succeed in presenting the reader with a refined theory for guerrilla rhetoric, but I am also providing them with a history of the concept. I hope the chapters here help the reader to understand not only the *exigence* for creating such a concept as guerrilla rhetoric, but also to understand the means in which productive theorizing takes place to facilitate the development of a concept.

CHAPTER 2

AN INTRODUCTION: WHY GO GUERRILLA?

"You say you want a revolution. Well, you know, we all

want to change the world. You tell me that it's evolution.

Well, you know, we all want to change the world. But

when you talk about destruction, don't you know that you

can count me out."

-- The Beatles

To provide a rationale for the development of guerrilla rhetoric as a theoretical

concept, this chapter explains the *exigence* that called for this new rhetorical concept and

then provides a rationale for both why I have elected to appropriate the concept of the

guerrilla for this rhetorical purpose and how I have approached and defined this concept

overall. This journey begins with the work of Boniface Mwangi, a Kenyan street

photographer. Alex Perry's magazine article, "Africa Rising," begins with an account of

the successful but short-lived career of this Kenyan street photographer. Perry explains

that the artist bought a camera and began capturing moments from his community in the

same spirit as another Kenyan photographer, Mohamed Amid. Mwangi explains that

Amid was "another high school dropout who went on to conquer the world using his

camera" (qtd in Perry). The street photographer set out to do the same and quickly

received great recognition for his work, including a national award for Best New

Photographer and a Magnum Foundation grant. However, his progress as a street photographer was short-lived because in the midst of this success, he changed directions.

Mwangi struggled to reconcile his personal success with the continued state of turmoil brought forth by corrupt leadership in his country. Perry explains, Mwangi knew that "[w]hatever the cost to his career, the price his country was paying for that kind of execrable leadership—which led to more than 1,000 murders during the 2007-08 election crisis, along with the theft of billions of dollars from the state—was far greater" (Perry). As a result, he gave up his successful career chronicling the misfortunes of his country and instead formed a street art crew. Perry explains that this crew "began staging guerrilla art attacks across Nairobi." Using the repeated icon of a vulture, the artists voiced their disapproval of the political climate of the country. One mural (a portion of which is captured in figure 1) included a "smirking, suited vulture sitting next to a list of

Figure 1: Nairobi City Market Graffiti by Spray Uzi Crew and Boniface Mwangi. Photograph by Dan Kori.

what the artists saw as Kenyan politicians' crimes since independence" (Perry). This career change for Mwangi represents the central claim of Perry's article: that this generation of young Africans, as a result of some pockets of economic prosperity emerging within the country, will have to "choose between Africa rising and Africa uprising" (Perry). While Mwangi had access to a career path that, despite his educational background, could raise him out of poverty, he would gain access to this transformation only by profiting off of the injustice he passionately opposed. In the end, he chose a means of uprising with a band of others rather than his own personal success.

Mwangi began with a motive that he articulated in his characterization of his inspiration from Amid: to conquer the world. While Mwangi uses the image of world conquering to describe Amid's work, his hero did not necessarily conquer the world in any traditional sense of the phrase; instead, Amid's achievement was that he brought humanitarian aid to his country (Perry). Thus, for Amid, "conquering the world" seemed to be a goal of conquering the *conditions* of *his* world more than anything. Similarly Mwangi's early work as a photographer brought attention to the conditions of his world, but did not actually bring change to it. In fact, he later came to criticize efforts that brought international aid to his country, indicating that these efforts excuse leadership from taking responsibility over the country's failings ("Kenya: We Don't Need Aid."). Ultimately, his photography only changed his own status in the greater world. Mwangi's choice to change media demonstrates a dedication to a motive that could not be met through channels that were praised by his government as a result of the fact that his motive was ultimately to *change* his government. Instead, he sought a new, subversive

medium. Additionally, rather than seeking individual fame and success through this medium, he chose not to work alone but as a member of a community.

As someone situated in the field of writing studies, I immediately viewed Mwangi's work not only as artistic, but also as communication seeking to persuade its audience—as rhetoric. However, Mwangi's rhetoric struck me as quite different from the kinds of rhetorical practice most commonly studied within both the fields of writing studies and rhetorical studies. As a result, I was uncertain what rhetorical framework might best help the rhetoric community to examine the communication practices of Mwangi's and the groups with whom he works. Perry was quick to assign the label of "guerrilla art" to the work of Mwangi and his crew, which led me to believe that the guerrilla might be an appropriate starting place. But what is a guerrilla rhetor? And what is guerrilla rhetoric? Do we even *really* know what "guerrilla art" is?

Perry's usage was not the first time I had come across "guerrilla art" as a term. When I first began studying graffiti and street art, I came across a book specifically called *Guerrilla Art*. Inside, one of the co-authors, Sebastian Peiter, describes guerrilla artists by saying,

> what really makes these emerging artists different is their uncompromising
>
> attitude that does not rely upon highbrow art references, but instead on
>
> humor and anarchy. They can be anti-corporate and at the same time suck
>
> the corporate tit when it suits them and it is this "take no prisoners"
>
> attitude that earns them the "guerrilla" moniker. (5)

Peiter uses the term guerrilla art to characterize a wide variety of work done by street artists, such as Banksy, Invader, and Rammellzee, who work with a variety of media.

What these artists have in common is that they work against the mainstream and defy the conventions of the highbrow art world. They create their own rules and their own sense of what might be considered acceptable as they work toward their own artistic goals. As Peiter's "take no prisoners" metaphor suggests, they aim at reaching their artistic goals regardless of the feelings of others—within and beyond the art scene. My early work with such texts took this definition provided by Peiter for granted and used it without careful examination. Eventually I came to question the fit of this definition, however. I was not sure that humor was an essential guerrilla property or even a descriptive one necessarily. Nor was I certain anarchy truly suited a term that was first used to describe people banding together to work toward a cause. Likewise, the notion of a "take no prisoners" mindset evoked an extremely individualistic image, while I had begun to see the notion of guerrilla in a much more group-oriented fashion. If guerrilla, and ultimately for my purposes, guerrilla rhetoric, were to be a lens for examining rhetorical practices such as Mwangi's, I was not certain that Peiter's definition would be a productive starting place.

My hesitation, at this point, came from where I elected to look as my own means for defining the guerrilla. While Peiter developed his own conception that was rooted in the properties he observed in these provocative street artists, I felt that defining the term within that context neglected the rich history of the term. Instead, I considered the origin of the term, which the *Oxford English Dictionary* cites as being "early 19th [century] (introduced during the Peninsular War): from Spanish, diminutive of *guerra* 'war'" ("Guerrilla."). Since the term actually means "little war," I felt that war, not art, would likely provide an illuminating place to begin to understand the term. As a result, I came to understand the term as presented by Ernesto "Che" Guevara, who wrote

one of the most well-known books on the subject of this kind of warfare: *Guerrilla Warfare*. As I will explain further later in this chapter, I started my pursuits with Guevara's work and continued to rely on his work throughout this project in part because of his iconic status as a notorious guerrilla but also because of his recognition as a skilled theorist.

Guevara opens his *Guerrilla Warfare* by reflecting upon the impact of the first guerrilla movement he took part in; he says,

> [t]he armed victory of the Cuban people over the Batista dictatorship has
> not only been the triumph of heroism reported by the world's newspapers;
> it has also forced a change in the old dogmas concerning the conduct of
> the popular masses of Latin America and clearly demonstrated the
> capacity of the people to free themselves through guerrilla warfare from
> an oppressive government. (13)

This characterization of guerrilla contrasts with Pieter's definition greatly. Guevara's guerrilla enacts change through direct confrontation. The guerrilla effort is the means through which freedom, or progress toward it, might be achieved in places of oppression. Even more so, Guevara's guerrilla pushes against persisting ideologies and helps the people to see a reality previously unperceived: that they can create change for themselves.

To me, Che's characterization more closely reflects the motives I observe in the work of Mwangi than does the definition of Peiter. Mwangi's war is not based upon high or lowbrow references, neither corporate nor even anti-corporate pursuits, all concepts Peiter touches upon. Instead, at the root of Mwangi's movement is the wellbeing of the

people of his country and a perceived injustice toward them. Guevara's guerrilla, therefore, seems to be a more productive starting place for beginning to develop a framework through which I might develop a concept of guerrilla rhetoric to describe communication practices like the street artist's.

Even though I find Guevara's notion most productive for my purposes, I will note that many uses of the term that I have observed do not seem to pull from Guevara or even warfare as their starting place. It seems that many people, perhaps Peiter included, use the guerrilla moniker for concepts when they might mean something more closely analogous to "rebellious" or "alternative" even. Indeed "guerrilla" has been applied to a very wide variety of contexts, including ones that strike me as rather unexpected. A common trend, for example, is the "guerrilla guide"; there are guerrilla guides to golf, *Robert's Rules of Order*, gardening, and even to being a bridesmaid.

Richard Reynolds, the author of *On Guerrilla Gardening,* too has noticed the many appropriations of the word guerrilla and contemplated what makes them guerrilla. He contrasts common usage with his own usage, which is grounded in a discussion of the term's roots. He identifies guerrilla gardening as a practice that wages a "little war" against socially excepted norms restricting the gardening of the people (16). In this way Reynolds' practice reflects the word's Spanish root I reference above. With regards to other appropriations of the term, he explains,

> there is usually little that is very revolutionary, courageous or heroic about
> these activities. "Guerrilla" has become a label applied to commercial
> enterprises, and the result is a loss of potency for the word as a tag. It has

become a term for just any kind of unconventional and surprising

approach. (19)

Indeed, the remaining guerrilla guides that mentioned above and will explore further

below might fall under this characterization. However, in contrast, *On Guerrilla*

Gardening is quite specific about why it feels it has taken a guerrilla approach. Reynolds

explains,

> guerrilla gardening is not just about breaking convention but about
>
> breaking rules. Our enemy is not just normality but something much
>
> worse. Just like the original Spanish *guerrilleros*, guerrilla gardeners are
>
> reclaiming land from enemy forces, and although our battle is seldom with
>
> imperial invaders, as theirs was, it sometimes feels as if we are up against
>
> a lot of little Napoleons. (19-20)

Reynolds' appropriation of the term recognizes the importance of an oppressive opposing

force and an overarching cause for which the gardener is working to support. He works to

oppose two primary enemies: "scarcity and neglect" (61). In other words, he battles the

scarcity of land as a result of vapid development that renders gardening space more rare

while also battling policies and regulations that restrict gardening in spaces that are

available but left unattended. As Reynolds wages warfare against convention and against

specific enemies, his definition fits with the root of the term more naturally. However,

other guides I discovered had less concrete connections to the term's origins.

Guerilla Golf begins by tracing the history of the sport of golf and then presents

its form as a phenomenon that "ushers in an era where the neutered, wildly expensive

country club game we have all come to know and loathe is no longer the only option"

(Straus xvii). The author does not explain his selection of the term guerrilla, so the primary clues the reader has for understanding his choices lies in the distinction between his form and the conventional country club option he rejects. Essentially guerrilla golf is presented as a golf form that is "rugged, untamed [and] without boundaries" (Straus xvii). It is essentially, as the second chapter calls it: "Golf Gone Wild." It is a form of golf where folks create their own courses on a variety of sometimes-unconventional terrains.

Essentially, this kind of golf is developed in the spirit of do-it-yourself. The do-it-yourself (DIY) movement is one wherein individuals depend upon themselves to produce things that are ordinarily developed by professional practitioners. In the case of guerrilla golf, athletes are relying on themselves to create golf courses outside the parameters set forth by country clubs, course designers, and without the support of caddies. While this type of golf is unconventional, it is not actually waging a "little war" against the conventional form of golf. In fact, the authors present guerrilla golf not as a competitor to conventional golf, but as a kind of complement. They say, "[a]s the modern game keeps one foot entrenched in the manicured safety of country club life, the other tiptoes toward a bygone era marked by natural courses and tough, dedicated athletes. The choice of which branch of golf to play on any particular day is up to the athlete" (xvii). In this way, guerrilla golf seems like a fresh, fun and challenging break from the norm—not a "little war" waged against the institution of golf.

This conception of the guerrilla as related to DIY is not limited to this guide; within writing studies, Patricia Sullivan and Peter Jae Fadde adopt the term guerrilla in the article "Guerrilla Video: Adjudicating The Credible And The Cool." In their case, guerrilla is used to describe amateur videos. They explain that guerrilla video can be an

effective part of professional writing and communication pedagogy. While they do not

explain their choice of the term guerrilla, much like the authors of guerrilla golf, their

meaning of the term can be discerned from their treatment of the concept. In this article

guerrilla video seems to essentially be a blending of "ugly aesthetics" and "professional

production values" according to the demands of specific rhetorical contexts. Essentially,

these videos become hybrids of amateur and professional values. They are a form of DIY

that demonstrates a keen rhetorical understanding of the professional form they are

producing in place of an expert. While these videos have a DIY element to them and

perhaps a grassroots feel, they are not actually, it seems to me, engaged in a war against

some other form. Like guerrilla golf, guerrilla video in this sense seems to be mostly

referring to that which is unconventional and DIY.

Still another guide, *the Guerrilla Guide to Robert's Rules* by Nancy Sylvester,

also does not capture Guevara's sense of the guerrilla. This text presents the guerrilla as

"being based upon strategies and tactics," which is certainly true. The author presents the

difference between strategies and tactics by explaining that the former refers to "the

direction the group needs to move to fulfill its mission" and the latter references "the

maneuvers to get there [that] must be fluid to adjust to the ever-changing environment

and conditions" (Sylvester 5). I do not think of these properties as uniquely guerrilla.

They happen to be one reason I believe the guerrilla and rhetoric are a natural blend, but

ultimately, these characteristics really describe the processes through which rhetors

approach rhetorical situations. Thus, while the author has appropriated the term guerrilla,

as she explains, "the focus of this book is on strategies and tactics of parliamentary

procedure" (Sylvester 5). She might just as well have called the text a "Rhetorical Guide

to Robert's Rules," although perhaps it would not have had the same appeal. Guerrilla is much more powerful as a concept in part because, as Richard Reynolds has suggested, the guerrilla (especially that associated with Guevara) has become a marketable commodity (19).

Finally, Sarah Stein and Lucy Talbot's *Bridesmaid's Guerrilla Handbook* takes a similar approach and emphasizes the importance of being prepared for the "journey" that is being a bridesmaid. The authors emphasize the importance of preparedness and strategies to cope with the pressure of the position. While there is an overarching war metaphor throughout the text, these thinly conceived connections seem to relate to conventional war perhaps more than they might relate to a little war. For example, the journey of being a bridesmaid is referred to as the "tour of duty," which would refer to a period of time a member of a military might spend performing his or her duties away from home. However, this kind of tour points toward a formalized conventional military, more so than a guerrilla army that is, more often than not, more impromptu, and certainly would not come with paid leave time to visit with one's family. Additionally, there is no true enemy or opposing side. Ideally, the goal is ultimately to support the bride and maintain her friendship, rather than to resist her, or even destroy her. Overall, the book reads most like a preparation manual for an elaborate camping trip. The emphasis on preparedness and conventional metaphors reminds me more of a scouting guide or a survival guide than the "little war" the Spanish first described.

For every use of the term that I observed to be derived from the root of "little war," there were multiple uses that played more so on the sensational element of the term. The more I began to research the term the more I came to understand that not all

uses of the term would prove equally as productive for my purposes in conceptualizing of a rhetorical form. Ultimately, the term struck me as being overwhelmingly over-appropriated. Much like the Warhol's statement regarding the Campbell soup label implies, I became afraid that the term had been so commonly used that it was nearly rendered meaningless. Max Boot also acknowledges this point in his history of guerrilla warfare, *Invisible Armies*. He explains that the terms "guerrilla" and "terrorist" are so similar in that there are "no commonly accepted definition[s]" of such words (xxi). However, Boot goes on to state that Walter Laquer has commented that "the term 'terrorism' (like 'guerrilla') has been used in so many different senses as to become almost meaningless" (Laquer qtd in Boot xxii). This term's meaninglessness creates problems for my pursuit in studying rhetors like Mwangi because of the effect the terms we select have upon the world around us.

Kenneth Burke's concept of the terministic screen points to the effect of our terms; he explains, "whatever terms we use, they necessarily constitute a corresponding kind of screen; and any such screen necessarily directs the attention to one field rather than another" (50). It seems that "guerrilla" has come to create a muddied screen. Some usages of the term have created a screen that seems to be made of a notion that is vaguely rebellious or perhaps pertains to a do-it-yourself ethic. Others seem merely shocking or alternative. Still others have notions of warfare at their roots. As a result of this widespread variability in usage, I determined that my first task in articulating a concept of guerrilla rhetoric ought to carefully consider how I would define and apply the term. I believed that such a treatment of the guerrilla moniker could bring a richer, more nuanced, meaning than some common usage might imply.

Ultimately, I wanted to adopt the guerrilla moniker in a way that makes "guerrilla" what Mikhail Bakhtin describes as a "living utterance." He says, "[t]he living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance" (276). Thus, the development of a concept that uses the word "guerrilla" as its modifier is necessarily impacted by the moment or set of moments in which the user elects to situate its definition of the adjective. To further explain my rationale for selecting "guerrilla" as the lens for developing a rhetorical theory appropriate for the work of someone like Boniface Mwangi, it is necessary to further explore the historical moment from which I elect to develop my notion of the term. More specifically, I am concerned with scaffolding an understanding of the term that is richly tied to the socio-ideological consciousness of the term first presented by the Spanish and then further developed by others, especially Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

Max Boot's discussion of the word guerrilla is an appropriate starting place for this exploration. He expands on the root of the word guerrilla that I presented from the *Oxford English Dictionary* by saying that "[g]*uerrilla* literally means 'small war'; the name derives from the struggles of Spanish irregulars against Napoleon from 1808 to 1814, but the practice is as ancient as mankind" (xxii). Guerrilla practice, that is, existed long before the term came into existence. The principles of guerrilla warfare might be first said to appear in *The Art of War*. In his treatment of military theory, Sun Tzu gives suggestions on addressing warfare when one's troops are less than the enemy's. He says,

"[i]f weaker numerically, be capable of withdrawing" (Tzu 80); while his commentator,

Chang Yü adds

> [i]f the enemy is strong and I am weak, I temporarily withdraw and do not
>
> engage. This is the case when the abilities and courage of the generals and
>
> the efficiency of troops are equal. If I am in good order and the enemy in
>
> disarray, if I am energetic and he careless then, even if he be numerically
>
> stronger I can give battle. (qtd in Tzu 80)

As these comments might suggest, this military strategy has its roots in the practices of

those engaged in war wherein they are unequally matched. As Boot explains, "[w]hatever

you call them, fighters resort to terrorist or guerrilla tactics for one reason only: they are

too weak to employ conventional methods" (xxiii). Thus, one of the first admissions that

must be made about the nature of concepts exhibiting guerrilla properties is that they are

necessarily associated with some kind of weaknesses and that they have a long history in

the narrative of humanity. This commonality is one reason the guerrilla is a useful

starting place for theorizing a framework to examine the rhetoric of groups like

Mwangi's—they start from a position of some kind of perceived weakness, or

disenfranchisement.

As the guerrilla, in some form, has been a consistent presence over the course of

this narrative of human history it has necessarily evolved and adapted over time. In fact,

there are fairly distinct differences between the goals of earlier guerrilla movements and

guerrilla tendencies from the modern era until contemporary day. Specifically, Max Boot

explains, "[m]odern guerrillas tend to be intensely ideological and focused on winning

the 'battle of narrative,' while their ancient forerunners were largely apolitical and tribal"

(xxvi). The contrast between modern guerrillas and their predecessors is apparent in Boot's text. The early guerrilla movements that Boot describes (such as the Jewish Revolt when the Romans conquered Jerusalem in 70 CE and the Spartan attacks during the Peloponnesian War, for example) seem focused upon military strategy and survival of less conventionally powerful groups almost exclusively, without attention to the modern guerrilla's concern for ideology and narrative.

I am most interested in these modern notions of the guerrilla as a starting place for developing a lens through which to understand rhetorical practice because of their emphasis upon ideology and their interest in communication, which might result from their emphasis on winning the "battle of narrative." First, ideology is of importance for the populations I am interested in examining because of the connection between these groups and a perceived people's cause. Since causes are inherently ideologically based, these more recent guerrilla pursuits seem most relevant to my pursuits in part because they, like Guevara's notion of the guerrilla, push against accepted ideologies and help the people imagine a reality beyond the accepted norm.

Additionally, their interest in winning the "battle of narrative" is quite applicable as well because it is through this battle that ideological changes are made possible. Ultimately, it is through these changes in narrative that the guerrilla groups are able to gain influence. According to the United States Department of the Army's field manual, *Counterinsurgency*, "[t]he central mechanism through which ideologies are expressed and absorbed is the narrative" (1-14). It further explains that

> [n]arratives are central to representing identity, particularly the collective
> identity of religious sects, ethnic groupings, and tribal elements. Stories

about a community's history provide models of how actions and

consequences are linked. Stories are often the basis for strategies and

actions, as well as for interpreting others' intentions. (1-14)

Thus, understanding narrative in this way, the modern guerrilla's emphasis upon winning

the battle of narrative points toward their interest in using communication effectively to

gain influence over others. Indeed, Max Boot explains that guerrillas have been "growing

more successful since 1945, in part because of their ability to play on public opinion, a

relatively new factor in warfare" (xxvi). Thus, not only has attention to narrative or

communication become a relatively new priority for guerrillas, it has also been perceived

as being beneficial to success. Additionally, narrative, as framed from a United States

military perspective above, speaks nicely to some of the properties I have outlined in

describing Mwangi's work and others like it, those which are community-based and

subversive, because narrative helps communities grow and adapt, but new narratives

might also work to subvert previously accepted ideologies. For example, the vulture

mural in figure 1 challenges the narrative put forth by the politicians. The accepted

politician's narrative might present these leaders as caretakers working with the country's

best interests at heart. However, Mwangi's narrative wages a "little war" against this

image. It presents them as untrustworthy figures that practically mock the intellect of the

people. It tells the story of a greedy, self-interested leader, rather than a benevolent one.

Thus, the work of rhetors like Mwangi does take interest in battling the narrative

accepted by their audience and offering an alternate understanding in its place. As a

result, I think bringing the strategy of the modern guerrilla into conversation with rhetoric

will be a productive means for theorizing about the rhetoric of groups like Mwangi's.

Before this framework can be elaborated upon, however, it is first necessary to further explicate the nature of modernist guerrilla strategy and the paradigm from which this project approaches guerrilla concepts. Clearly this project elected to take up guerrilla concepts from movements established during the modern era, rather than beginning with ancient times as a result of ideological and community emphasis exhibited during those times. Additionally, to focus even more directly, I have elected to use as my starting place the period of guerrilla history that is perhaps most fetishized by Western Culture: the time "from Castro's takeover in Cuba to the Sandinistas' takeover in Nicaragua," which Max Boot describes as both "the guerrilla mystique" and the "golden age of leftist insurgency" (398). Boot explains that the movements at this time "garnered intensive international media coverage and brought guerrilla warfare and terrorism to the forefront of public attention, where they have remained ever since although not necessarily in the heroic hues of the 1960s-1970s" (397-398). Because this period was so greatly publicized, I believe it is the guerrilla of these periods to which those who appropriate the term today ultimately believe they are referring.

It was also as a result of this period that the world came to know Ernesto "Che" Guevara, first as a man and later as the icon captured in Alberto Korda's famous image (figure 2). Guevara was a medical student from Argentina who, as a military advisor, aided Castro in his takeover of Cuba. Max Boot characterizes Guevara as having grown up in a household that was "Bohemian in lifestyle and liberal in outlook" (433). In this context, Guevara grew up to be "an intellectual as well as a man of action"; however, Boot notes that "[f]rom his parents, too, he inherited a disdain for societal conventions" (433). When he grew older, he studied medicine at Buenos Aires University, but spent a

large amount of time traveling and writing. Guevara's rise as a Marxist came not only from his time spent reading Lenin and Marx, but also from the conditions he saw while traveling (Boot 433-434). Guevara, Boot explains, "saw much poverty, illiteracy, and untreated illness alongside vast wealth and privilege" (434). These experiences caused him to take up a crusade against capitalism, which he perceived as the root of these disparities. This crusade eventually took him to Mexico City where he met Fidel Castro in 1955. His medical training allowed him to first join Castro's movement as a medical aid, but he moved up the ranks to *commandante* (a senior officer), as a result of his natural knack for "military training and later at military operations" along with his propensity to drive "himself so hard and so recklessly" (Boot 435). Guevara's strong ties to Marxist ideology, his critique of economic concepts, as well as his keen ability strategize military operations, point to his strong intellectual prowess and his ability to theorize.

Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare* was written as a response to his success as a military strategist. It specifically reviews the strategies of guerrilla warfare that led to the success of the Cuban revolutionaries over the Fulgencio Batista government, which forcefully seized control of Cuba in 1952 when Batista was going to lose his campaign for re-election as president. Guevara's leadership in the Battle of Santa Clara on New Year's Day 1959, finally allowed Fidel Castro to come to power in Cuba. Following the success in Cuba, Guevara continued his guerrilla pursuits in the Congo and in Bolivia.

Figure 2: Guerrillero Heroico. Photograph by Alberto Korda.

In fact, Che's success as a military theorist as he moved through these pursuits might also be what led to his ultimate demise. According to Jon Lee Anderson's *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life*, Che was killed in October 1967 by "the Bolivian military and in the presence of a CIA agent" (xiii). Che was secretly killed, his hands were amputated and he was then buried in an unmarked grave. Anderson explains that "the officers who defeated the world's most charismatic guerrilla fighter sought to deny him a burial place that could become a place of public homage. With his disappearance, they hoped, the myth of Che Guevara would end" (xiii). Of course his myth did not disappear. Instead,

the Che myth grew and spiraled beyond anyone's control. Millions

mourned his passing. Poets and philosophers wrote impassioned eulogies

to him, musicians composed tributes, and painters rendered his portrait in

a myriad of heroic poses. Marxist guerrillas in Asia, Africa, and Latin

America anxious to "revolutionize" their societies held his banner aloft as

they went into battle. And, as the youth in the United States and Western

Europe rose up against established order over the Vietnam War, racial

prejudice, and social orthodoxy, Che's defiant visage became the ultimate

icon of their fervent if largely futile revolt. (xiii)

In many ways, Che's success as a guerrilla was what made him dangerous. Others saw

his success and believed it could lead to their own. While his story stood as a beacon of

hope to those populations who were afflicted by oppression, to others, particularly

governments, his work was considered terrorism.

Indeed, the line between terrorism and the guerrilla is such a thin line that is

largely based upon the view of the perceiver; it develops as a result of the narratives that

the perceiver has accepted. The Federal Bureau of Investigation provides definitions of

both domestic and international terrorism, stating that these acts "[a]ppear to be intended

(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a

government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by

mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping" ("Definitions of Terrorism in the US

Code."). As governing bodies aim to regulate and keep control within a culture, progress

enacted through alternative means than the accepted governmental process (democracy

for example) is perceived as threatening to the aims of the government. As such, the

government benefits from presenting opposing forces as dangerous, intimidating or coercive during conflict because it helps the governing body to maintain control. Thus, one person or group might be considered both a guerrilla and a terrorist, depending on whose narrative the audience has elected to accept. In other words, the work of the guerrilla is not in opposition to the definition presented by the US Code definition of terrorism, but those definitions fail to account for the will of the people or the "terrorist" group's narrative defending what the US defines as coercion. Che could be considered dangerous because his goals had the potential to upset governmental control and encourage civilian participation. I ultimately believe that it is a result of the perception of Che as a threat that led the Unites States government and the government of Bolivia to partner to assassinate him. This response to his work and influence stands as fairly good testimony to the effectiveness of his pursuits—or at least the legendary narrative that grew in his name.

Despite the goals of those responsible for his assassination, with the repetition of Korda's image, Guevara came to be an icon in Western culture in particular. Hannah Charlton explains that Korda's image was replicated to the point that it was "transformed from revolutionary legend to an ingredient in global marketing, to a generic, high-street visual emblem for a vague notion of dissent, rebellion and political awareness, as well as becoming the subject of kitsch and spoof makeovers" (7). Charlton goes on to insist that if you were to ask those who wear his likeness, "few will know his name, origins and life story—they might wear his face as an easy replacement for real activism or as a surrogate for it" (8). Thus, as much as I must be careful to elect the appropriate lens of "guerrilla" that will serve productively in this project, I additionally must be careful to approach

Guevera as a theorist more so than an icon. Indeed, the manner in which this image has

been commercialized to now sell everything from vodka to t-shirts to plush dolls, stands

in stark contrast to the anti-capitalist tenants for which Guevera actually stood.

Ultimately, I have elected to theorize about guerrilla rhetoric through the lens of

Guevera's work not only because he himself was an acclaimed theorist, but also because

I see strong ties between his ideas and rhetorical principles. Additionally, by drawing

from the work of Che, I hope to present a portrait of guerrilla that draws from the identity

and words of the guerrilla rather than the one crafted as a result of the appropriation of

his image as an icon.

Thus, his writing is an appropriate starting place through which to understand

guerrilla theory and to build a theory of guerrilla rhetoric. Additionally, I would argue

that Guevara himself ought to be considered a skilled rhetor; after all, it was through

persuasiveness of his speaking and writing, not formal training that he came to be

considered an effective military leader. In fact, Castro explained that

> Che's writings, Che's political and revolutionary thinking, will be of
>
> permanent value in the Cuban revolutionary process and in the Latin
>
> American revolutionary process. And we do not doubt that his ideas, as a
>
> man of action, as a man of thought, as a man of untarnished moral virtues,
>
> as a man of unexcelled human sensitivity, as a man of spotless conduct,
>
> have and will continue to have universal value. (qtd in Löwy 8-9)

It is this universal value of Guevara's texts that I hope to tap into in developing a theory

of guerrilla rhetoric. Guevara's greatest strength, perhaps, was in his ability to win the

battle of the narrative. Since his work as a rhetor is able to have a universal appeal and

was demonstrated to be so effective in winning people, including powerful leaders such as Castro, over to his ideology, I believe it is an appropriate lens through which to develop a theory of guerrilla rhetoric.

As such, in this dissertation I draw from Guevara's writing about the guerrilla to propose a rhetorical framework that is appropriate for theorizing about types of rhetoric such as Mwangi's. While I draw heavily from Guevara in this pursuit, I do additionally draw from Carlos Marighella's *Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla* to support concepts presented by Guevara. I drew from Marighella in addition to Guevara in part because of the means in which the former writer theorizes about guerrilla in urban environments, which is most appropriate to context of the cases I studied (which I will discuss further below), while Guevara situated his discussion primarily in the war of the countryside.

It is important to reiterate that I have elected to draw from this unlikely place (guerrilla warfare) to frame rhetorical practices such as Mwangi's because of the disconnect between current available lenses and these rhetorical pursuits. Edward P.J. Corbett's rhetoric of the closed fist versus the rhetoric of the open hand proves to be a useful tool for framing why developing a new concept—a guerrilla rhetoric—might be appropriate or even necessary for the field of rhetoric. Open hand rhetoric is "the kind of persuasive discourse that seeks to carry its point by reasoned, sustained, conciliatory discussion of the issues" (Corbett 288). This open hand rhetoric, Corbett explains, is largely the result of society's shift toward print, and away from oral delivery, which brought about a practice of "sequential, structured monologue that Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian had given instructions about in their rhetoric" (290). Such monologues sought to portray the rhetor in light of the "Greek sense of the *best* men, men characterized by

those Aristotelian ideals of good sense, good will, and good moral disposition" (289).

The open hand rhetor is not an *openly* subversive one but rather one who has good favor

with the political majority. It is rhetoric designed to present the rhetor as being a good

person with noble goals, even if that might not be wholly representative of that rhetor's

character or actual aims. This form of rhetoric emphasizes the perception or even

performance of good within the rhetorical context. It is the rhetoric that might begin and

end with open hands of suited persons offered for the cordial practice of handshaking. It

is the rhetoric of the job interview and the presidential speech. A great amount of the

work done by rhetoricians is focused on examining this kind of rhetorical pursuit. As

such, scholars have developed frameworks through which to analyze open hand rhetoric.

The five canons of rhetoric, for example, might be thought of as a framework classically

used to discuss approaches to open hand rhetorical practices.

While this form has been greatly theorized, I do not believe it is an inherently

appropriate place to begin theorizing about the work of rhetoricians like Boniface

Mwangi because I believe Mwangi works in direct opposition of this rhetorical form.

Ultimately, I believe open hand rhetoric has a central role in the country of Kenya.

Naturally, open hand rhetoric is the rhetoric of politics. Politicians in democratic societies

make promises and great claims to their constituents to gain their trust and their votes. It

is precisely this kind of rhetoric that Mwangi does not trust. Figure 1, which I presented

previously, captures this by depicting a leader as a vulture who is thinking rather than

speaking. The thought bubble has the leader saying "they loot, rape, burn and kill in my

defence. I steal their taxes, grab land, but the idiots will still vote for me." Through this

image Mwangi criticizes his fellow Kenyans for defending politicians and voting for

them, despite their corruption. These leaders have developed a sense of trust with the people of the country through their public presentation of their ideas and their public decorum; this trust is developed through the channels of open hand rhetoric—through political advertising, speeches and the like. However, Mwangi distrusts this rhetoric because it seems to thinly veil widespread corruption. As a result, Mwangi has opted not to stage his response to them in their arena, but operates in a rhetorical landscape outside of the condoned political sphere. Mwangi's work is decidedly not open hand rhetoric.

Corbett's second term, closed fist rhetoric, denotes a domain that is more conducive for more alternative rhetorical practices and, at first glace, might appear to be an accommodating place to situate Mwangi's rhetoric. Corbett characterizes closed fist rhetoric as that which is indicative of "[t]he raised closed fist of the black-power militant" which he says "may be emblematic of this whole new development in the strategies of persuasion in the 1960's" (288). In contrast to open hand rhetoric, it is described as that which "seeks to carry its point by non-rationale, nonsequential, often non-verbal, frequently provocative means" (Corbett 288). The author elaborates on this form of rhetoric, attributing four essential characteristics to it: nonverbal communication (291); tendency to be group-based (292); reliance upon coercive tactics (293); and a non-conciliatory nature (294). These four characteristics introduce new domains for rhetoricians to consider; these new domains include, but I would argue are not limited to, protest rhetoric. Additionally this kind of rhetoric might include, for example, newer non-linear, visually enhanced rhetorical texts of the digital age, even though they might not readily bring to mind an image of a closed fist. Rhetoricians have developed frameworks analyzing these kinds of rhetorical ventures as well. For example, Collin Gifford

Brooke's *Lingua Fracta* re-envisions the rhetorical canon, which first suited open hand

rhetoric, to account for texts produced digitally. This revision might be thought of as re-

seeing open hand rhetorical concepts through a lens of new media to construct a theory

appropriate for closed fist constructions. This model, for example, is quite useful for

characterizing the composition of digital texts such as *Wikipedia*, which is certainly

alternative to large corporate publishers, group-based, and nonlinear in a way that is in

keeping with closed fist norms.

However, I feel uncomfortable theorizing about Mwangi's work as closed fist

rhetoric. The four characteristics of closed fist rhetoric, at first glance, reflect the means

of rhetorical delivery selected by Mwangi. First, his work is rooted in non-auditory

communication and he works within a street art crew. The shocking images and non-

apologetic claims his work makes, both about Kenyan citizens and their government,

reflect coercive, non-conciliatory practices. However, Corbett suggests that closed fist

rhetoricians do not communicate from a context that renders them without choices for

rational rhetoric. Instead, he says that this closed fist rhetoric "is not the desperate

rhetoric of a disenfranchised people who have exhausted, or who do not have available,

the normal channels of communication with those who can do something to alleviate

their miseries" (294). Corbett seems to position closed fist rhetoric as being an alternative

form that still comes from a position of power. It seems reflective of college protests

wherein those with access to make effective arguments in the domain of open-hand

rhetoric, exercise different rhetorical delivery mechanisms. This rhetoric is not desperate,

but I might argue it is exploratory or experimental. It resists the most accepted

approaches to rhetorical situation and tries to develop new or alternative frameworks

through which rhetorical gains might be achieved. It is alternative and resists the norm, but not because it absolutely must—not because the rhetors are without other options. Instead, the rhetors must find some value in the creativity made possible when the rhetoric is achieved through nontraditional means. Ultimately, I would argue that these rhetors elect to be provocative. But what of those people who do feel desperation as a result of having a lack of access to or a distrust of open hand rhetoric? I feel as though these rhetors are distinct from closed fist rhetors because they find the *need* to not just provoke but to subvert those in power.

Mwangi's rhetoric does seem to operate from this point of desperation. The circumstances of the Kenyan people are dire. The Central Intelligence Agency's *World Factbook* describes the Kenyan economy by saying that

> Kenya has been hampered by corruption and by reliance upon several primary goods whose prices have remained low. [Additionally,] unemployment is very high. The country has experienced chronic budget deficits, inflationary pressures, and sharp currency depreciation—as a result of high food and fuel import prices (*The World Factbook*).

The country's economy, as a result, is unstable and the people's economic welfare is greatly in danger. According to Homeless International, 55% of Kenya's urban population lives in slums and the overall "slum population is growing by almost 6 per cent each year" ("Where we Work."). In addition to economic instability, the country suffers from widespread disease; poor sanitation has serious effects on the "health and wellbeing of slum dwellers, demonstrated by the child mortality rate: for every 1,000 children born in Nairobi's slums 151 will die before the age of 5" ("Where We Work:

Kenya"). Additionally Kenya is 4th in the world for people living with HIV/AIDs and 7th in the world for HIV/AIDs related deaths (*The World Factbook*).

In addition to economic instability and health crises, the violence in the country is widespread. Mwangi's fame as a photographer came from capturing the horrific tribal violence brought about as a result of the 2007 election in his country (Perry). A fair amount of the country's violence is tied to the nation's own police force; Jeffrey Gettleman described this police violence in Nairobi in his *New York Times* article, "Police Killing in Kenya Deepens Aura of Menace." In this piece he explains that

> [i]n the grittier parts of [Nairobi], where people inhabit tiny tin shacks and bloated dead animals float along garbage-strewn rivers, police officers are not known as heroes. Instead, many residents see them as a menace, prowling around in dark trench coats with AK-47s slung over their shoulders, extorting money from slum dwellers and killing alleged suspect —and sometimes not even suspects but simply poor people they come across. (Gettleman)

In this country, the people are preyed upon by disease, poverty and the authorities, the last of which ideally ought to be there are there to protect the people. Their need for a strong voice is not elective, but essential.

As a result, while I do not feel Mwangi's rhetoric falls into the rational, conciliatory nature of open hand rhetoric demonstrated by the leaders of his country, I also believe it fails to align with the image of closed fist rhetoric put forth by Corbett because Mwangi's rhetoric is not derived from a place of privilege. While the conventions of closed fist rhetoric, like all concepts, ought not be perceived as fixed and

immovable, the desperation in Mwangi's world led me to wonder if a different paradigm might better fit his work than that suggested by closed fist rhetoric.

Can a rhetorical theory be developed that approaches persuasion from a place of desperation rather than from the privilege of open hand rhetoric? Perhaps one that emphasizes being subversive rather than provocative or accommodating? Geoffrey Sirc actually introduces an appropriate third term into Corbett's paradigm that seems to address this question; he asks, "Rhetoric of the Open Hand vs. the Closed Fist? How about the Rhetoric of the Middle Finger?" (246). The display of the middle finger is subversive, especially within many open hand rhetoric settings, and is used in the spirit of rebellion, much like the rhetoric presented through Mwangi's vultures. Sirc uses the idea of the rhetoric of the middle finger to describe the rhetorical intentions of the punk movement of the 1970s. While I do not believe all of punk comes from a place of desperation, I believe the tenants of the movement are amenable and conducive to those in places of desperation. Furthermore, the work is similar to Mwangi's in the way in which it does not fit comfortably within the framework of open hand or closed fist rhetoric. To fully explain this notion it's important to first introduce some of punk's history and motives.

Sirc captures the sentiment of the early punk movement quite effectively when he references the Sex Pistol's "God Save the Queen": "Don't be told what you want, Don't be told what you need" (qtd in Sirc 246). This movement was most interested in rejecting that which was expected, approved, and appropriate. The Sex Pistols' front man, John Lydon (who performed under the name Johnny Rotten) admits this when he explains, "Chaos was my philosophy. Oh, yeah. Have no rules. If people start to build fences

around you, break out and do something else" (3). Punk's subversive quality was derived from the rebellion of the people involved who pushed against the accepted ideologies of their cultures. Lydon's lyrics and characterization of punk both challenge societal narratives and the artist's music might be considered one way in which he battles these narratives.

Lydon continues to demonstrate a desire to control societal narrative when he rejects the notion that the early punk movement was overtly politically motivated. He says, "All the talk about the French Situationists being associated with punk is bullocks. It's nonsense! [...]There's no master conspiracy in anything, not even in governments. Everything is just kind of vaguely organized chaos" (3). This comment specifically rejects the Punk creation myth Brian Cogan presents as accepted by "practically every English academic who has ever written on the subject [of the origin of punk]" (viii). This creation myth paints punk as an inherently politically-motivated scene in a way that actual founders of the movement resist. Instead of characterizing all of punk as political, Cogan presents a more nuanced understanding of its essential characteristics:

> Punk may be dead for some who no longer identify with it, but for those
> still following its loose overall precepts (the DIY aesthetic, general
> disregard for authority, overall resistance to mainstream co-option of
> subculture, and so on), punk is seen as a virus, one that mutates constantly
> and resists codification—or vaccination. (x)

Whether punk's roots are to be associated with rebellion alone or considered directly politically-motivated is certainly contested, but a clear thread throughout its history has been subversion, which is clear in the resistance present in Cogan's definition. Even this

spirit of rebellion points to some kind of distribution of power and limiting factors

presented by those exhibiting power; after all, those attempting to subvert some dominate

narrative must have some entity that they are pushing against. Thus, punk might not

reflect macro-level politics, but might be said to have some kind of underlying political

agenda at all times.

Additionally, some later iterations of punk rock had more definitively political

undercurrents associated with them. Cogan explains that "[u]nlike first-wave punk bands

from the late-1970s, hardcore groups tended to be much more explicitly political, a result

of the growing conservatism of mainstream America highlighted by the 1980 election of

Ronald Reagan" (136). This widespread trend of conservatism was also notable in the

United Kingdom, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher. This newer punk movement

problematized the consumer culture brought forth as a result of these times. Michael

Azerrad explains in *Our Band Could Be Your Life*, that punk of this time "was liberating

on many levels, especially from what many perceived as the selfish, greed, and arrogance

of Reagan's America. The indie underground made a modest way of life not just

attractive but a downright moral imperative" (6). While the political climate of the day

esteemed conservatism and the acquisition of wealth, the hardcore scene that came out of

this period seeks to subvert the notions of the mainstream that it found stifling.

Hardcore punk became particularly prevalent in Washington, DC, the context

wherein the data collection for this dissertation project ultimately takes place. Hardcore

in DC and other cities throughout the United States was unlike other forms of punk. It

was fast, raw, and less aesthetic. It rejected more mainstream forms of punk rock and new

wave music. Azerrad explains, that it "protested not just with its sound but in the way it

was recorded, marketed and distributed" (9). Rather than delivering their message by way

of supporting the capitalist economy, these artists relied upon the tenants of the Do-it-

Yourself ethic without an emphasis on profit. This lack of concern for profit is

demonstrated nicely in the liner notes of the 1985 compilation album *Four Old 7"on a*

12", wherein the founders of Dischord Records, Ian MacKaye and Jeff Nelson, explain

their motivation in establishing their label:

> We set up Dischord so we could put out music we like by people we like,
>
> and put it out cheap. Our goal was not to make lots of money, but rather to
>
> help out as many of our friends' bands as we could. For at least two years
>
> the bands made no money off their records. Instead, the profits for each
>
> record went right back into Dischord to help put out the next band's
>
> record. (qtd in Goshert 89)

Promoting the music that the Dischord owners related to was an important motive for the

record label in a way that profit was not, but the purpose of the label went beyond just

supporting the bands that were friends of the label, it focused upon giving back to the

community the owners had found within Washington, DC and within the punk scene. As

Ian MacKaye indicated in a 1989 interview, profit was always something that went back

to the community. He says, "It's great to be able to make money, because there's a lot

more money to give" (qtd in Goshert 89). As a result, the record label and the bands on it

often team up with political and community activist groups in the Washington, DC area

to support the people of the community. In this way these groups appeared to some, who

accepted or privileged a narrative that emphasized their non-mainstream nature, to rebel

and resist. However, to others who understood this additional activist component they

were more than rebels. Their rebellion allowed them to address needs in their community that they perceived of as unmet by other authoritative bodies. Rebellion alone, perhaps, was not enough for these punks. They subverted the mainstream in support of the people in their community.

Instead, like Mwangi, these punks were, whether they overtly acknowledged it or not, accomplishing some political goal. It might be that the cultural climate they grew out of evoked a sense of desperation and the essential tenants of the culture demonstrated a suspicion toward mainstream channels through which they might have their voices heard. Azerrad speaks to how the growing despondency that fueled the hardcore punk scene of Washington, DC when he says that "DC kids rebelled against the bland, stifling atmosphere of official Washington, exacerbated by the conservative inhabitants of the White House," but Azerrad also cites "Scandinavian stoicism," "the excruciating vapidity of surburbia," and a culture of "pervasive know-nothingism" as motivations for growing frustration in different cultural environments across the country (9).

The rhetorical practices of these moments in punk history resemble those that characterize the work of Mwangi although the modes and intensity of oppression of the government in the two instances contrast greatly. I would argue that both groups represent a type of rhetoric of the middle finger. If so, then in order to theorize about these rhetors it is important that an appropriate framework be established. The rhetorical frameworks developed for the domain of the open hand are not by themselves sufficient for these rhetorical sites because they were written to account for rhetoric done within realms of privilege. Closed fist rhetorical frameworks are suited to an additional kind of framework, one that included more diverse kinds of text, but which does not account for

the sense of desperation observed in these middle finger rhetors. Thus, just in the way

that *Lingua Fracta* re-envisions rhetorical concepts by bringing a new media lens to

them, I hope to apply an appropriate lens to rhetorical concepts to develop a theory that

would be uniquely appropriate for middle finger rhetors. As *Lingua Fracta* accounts for

only a particular type of closed fist rhetoric—that which takes place in the new media

domain—I will not address all kinds of middle finger rhetors in my pursuits. Instead, I

will focus upon those engaging in work similar to that of Mwangi, hardcore punk scenes

and other similar rhetorical groups: those which are community-based, subversive

pursuits enacted by disenfranchised peoples to address a people's cause. I believe this

type of rhetoric might be best characterized as a sub-type of middle finger rhetoric, one

which I hypothesize can be effectively characterized and theorized about as guerrilla

rhetoric.

As a result, this dissertation seeks to articulate a productive framework (or sub-

type of rhetoric) that would be appropriate to this specific kind of middle finger rhetoric.

This line of inquiry is important in helping to develop the rhetorical landscape to be more

inclusive of rhetorical groups that stand as outliers to the open hand versus closed fist

paradigm of rhetorical strategy. Without this inclusive examination of rhetorical practices

set in these non-traditional sites and the introduction of new terms for these practices,

rhetoric risks appearing as a canonized field with only command over a portion of all

rhetorical domains. Rhetoricians must continue to identify and examine communicative

practices that defy characterization in the existing frameworks. More importantly,

perhaps, new frameworks, specifically designed to articulate these forms of rhetoric, must

be developed.

One argument for the development of such a framework might be seen, for example, in Danielle Nicole DeVoss's video recording of her 2014 address for the Conference on College Composition and Communication. In this presentation she traces the way in which two public art incidents, one of street art and another a graffiti movement, evolve in two contexts in Michigan. She indicates that she has come to the recording of her presentation without any grand claims or conclusions. Instead, she poses questions about tactile tactics, civic disobedience, and public rhetorics. She asks regarding these artists: "What fuels this interest in creation? Why do people participate in graffiti projects? How does graffiti migrate from an individual artist/tagger to a community-oriented, collaborative art form?" (DeVoss). Ultimately, she calls for "both local and global views of this action" and for "fine-grained context and situated narratives" and that "we need some explanation" (DeVoss). Could it be that we could begin to work toward some explanation of how graffiti operates by viewing it through an appropriate rhetorical lens, one more specific than that afforded by denotations such as public art or public rhetoric?

In response to this possibility, this dissertation elects specifically to take up this adjectival usage of the term "guerrilla" and to apply it as a lens through which to see rhetoric. I believe that guerrilla rhetoric might share similar values and strategies as those observed in guerrilla warfare, but without requiring its "warriors" to take up arms. Essentially, while Guevara maintains that "[g]uerrilla warfare, the basis of the struggle of a people to redeem itself, has various characteristics, different aspects, even though the essential desire for liberation remains the same" (15), I believe any guerrilla construct could be a basis of the struggle of a people to redeem itself. The concepts might be varied

in some ways, but they might share strategies and always have liberation as a central

tenant. Guerrilla rhetoric, therefore, might be considered a rhetorical approach that holds

true to the principles established by guerrilla leaders, such as Guevara, but can display

diverse non-violent characteristics. As such, I do believe that Mwangi's rhetoric might be

effectively theorized about as guerrilla rhetoric. Additionally, I think other street artists,

but also graffiti writers (a form related to, but distinct from Mwangi's style of art) and

also some punk rockers might likely fit this paradigm as well. Additionally, however, I

think there are groups outside of these two narrow realms of art and music that might also

use these strategies. For example, I suspect advocacy groups such as Anonymous, the

notorious group of hacker activists, and some direct action groups such as ACT UP, an

advocacy group working to support individuals living with HIV/AIDs, might also use the

strategies that might be theorized about as guerrilla. Responding to this belief, the

primary goal of this project has been to develop and revise a framework for

understanding the concept of guerrilla rhetoric, which might then later be applied to

additional sites of rhetoric in the future.

This project uses two case studies to test the hypothesis that some subversive

rhetoricians use similar rhetorical strategies that might be said to appropriate guerrilla

tactics. More specifically, it examines the rhetoric of populations within another context

wherein there is a kind of tension between the desire for "rising" and "uprising" (to draw

once more from Perry's characterization of Africa). This context is Washington, DC. The

nation's capital contrasts with Mwangi's home of Kenya, of course, in many ways.

However, it does reflect a dynamic where there is a stark contrast between the people

who live there and those in power. DC is a landscape wherein the dominant culture is

representative of hegemonic institutions (specifically the federal government and a variety of lobbying organizations that influence governmental practice). However, the secondary culture, which is made up of actual residents of the District, consists of groups who are often voiceless as a result of socioeconomic status as well as the governance of the District (i.e. taxation without representation). As a result, I hypothesized that the populace would have *exigencies* that are unaddressed, or inadequately addressed, by the mainstream (open-hand) rhetorical practice of the city, but also are untapped by the rhetoric of protest (closed fist) so common throughout the nation's capital, as the protest culture of this city actually is far more represented by the voices of outsiders from the fifty states than residents of the District. These unaddressed, or inadequately addressed, needs and the failure for traditional means to remedy these issues are exactly why guerrilla practice may be an important avenue for the population of this city. Citizens are finding subversive means to communicate and I theorize that these alternate forms might by sites of guerrilla rhetoric.

The two cases studied in this investigation are that of a graffiti writer and a punk rocker within the DC context. The first case study examines an active graffiti writer, Asad "Ultra" Walker, who has been "writing" both legally and illegally in the District of Columbia for over thirty years. Walker came to the city as a homeless youth in the 1980s and graffiti became an important part of his identity as he grew into an adult. Today he works in an art gallery that showcases graffiti art as well as street art and engages in community outreach activities focused around the art form of graffiti. The second case considers Ian MacKaye, a Washington, DC native who was a part of multiple DC hardcore punk bands including Teen Idles, Minor Threat, Embrace and Fugazi. MacKaye

co-founded the punk record label Dischord Records. Today he continues to run Dischord Records and performs as part of The Evens, a duo he formed with his wife, Amy Farina.

These cases are interrelated in many ways. The first and most obvious connection between the two is their overall context: Washington, DC. The graffiti scene of this city and its hardcore punk movement have a common genesis in the District. Indeed members, or at least fans, from this punk scene became graffiti writers. This site has been selected as an appropriate site for this preliminary examination into guerrilla rhetoric for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was selected as a result of access and convenience, as I presently live roughly four miles from Washington, DC's city limits. This proximity, naturally, allowed me regular access to the contexts wherein my two cases exist. Additionally, however, as I have briefly explained already, the political climate of the District has a rich past that is uniquely suited for to the conditions necessary to bring about guerrilla rhetoric.

Further exploration of this issue is useful to further articulate the means in which the context of DC might evoke a guerrilla approach to rhetoric. While it is commonplace to refer to DC politics when addressing national politics in general, in reality, Washington, DC's local politics are, by design, separated in many ways from national politics. This separation is the result of DC's status as a District, not a state. As a result of not holding statehood, the District does not have voting representation in Congress, despite Congress having ultimate authority over the District. Although without voting representation, DC residents are subject to taxation. Thus, "taxation without representation" has increasingly become the mantra of the city.

This mantra has become so widespread as to earn its place on a license plate option in the city. In fact, with his second term inauguration, President Barack Obama elected to have the plates with this phrase used on all Presidential vehicles during his time in office. A statement from the White House indicated that "President Obama has lived in the District now for four years, and has seen first-hand how patently unfair it is for working families in DC to work so hard, raise children and pay taxes, without having a vote in Congress" ("White House Makes a Statement for DC Fairness."). This decision on the part of the Commander-in-Chief points to a very specific people's cause within the context of Washington, DC: the need for the people of a democracy to have a voice within their government.

While the people of the District have a long history of fighting for representation in Congress (since the Organic Act of 1801 placed the land under the control of Congress), the need for this representation, more recently, was further exasperated by the political climate of the 1980s. As Mark David Richards explains in the excerpt from his *Hope and Delusion: Struggle for Democracy in Washington, DC* that is posted on the DC Vote website:

> The mood of the nation had moved in a conservative direction as Ronald Reagan was elected President. A new conservatism and anti-government feeling swept the nation, and Washington, DC—the federal government that is rarely distinguished from local DC—was targeted as the enemy of the people. Increasingly, Congressional conservatives [...] framed the District as a parasite of the federal government, an area that produces no wealth but that takes it from working people from the states [and] argued

that to grant DC voting representation was to support big government.

(Richards)

With this political climate, the people of DC became not only individuals who were

unable to participate fully in their own democracy, but they were additionally scorned by

those in charge within said democracy.

Thus, without national government to support the people of the District, the

people were left to find channels to support their own causes. It could be as a result of

this intense need for a champion for the people's cause that the people of Washington,

DC elected (in 1979) and reelected (in 1982, 1986 and 1995) Marion Barry, Jr. to office

as Mayor despite his personal scandals involving drugs (specifically cocaine) and

prostitution. According to the DC Council's portrait of Marion Barry, Jr., he "has

dedicated 40 years of his life to public service living by the motto of 'always fighting for

the people'" (*DC Councilmembers: Marion Barry*). While many hated Barry for the vices

revealed in these scandals, his political programs endeared him to some. According to Ian

Svenonius, "Barry was not despised by everyone, however. In fact, in some quarters he

was seen as a Medici figure, a paragon of enlightenment who had spread opportunities to

the forgotten, the outsiders, and the non-conformists." The social programs he brought to

the city made him seen by some as a champion of the people; others saw him, however,

as merely a deviant. Still, Barry's leadership served as an unlikely fuel for the people's

cause in the midst of very difficult times.

It is not coincidental that both hardcore punk rock and graffiti writing had their

beginnings in the District at this same time. One could claim that both movements were

made up of the forgotten, the outsiders, and the non-conformists. Both movements utilize

subversive elements to convey meaning. Both movements are extremely group based. In short: both, based upon these features, seemed likely to display the characteristics of guerrilla rhetoric outlined by this project. As a result, examining these interrelated cases with respect to both their commonalities and points of departure will help allow for cross-case checking of findings and will allow me to test how well the theory for guerrilla rhetoric suits these real-life contexts.

Thus, through my dissertation I explore the rhetoric of these Washington, DC-based groups and evaluate the implications of characterizing the groups as guerrilla rhetors. This evaluation then allows me to theorize about additional sites of guerrilla rhetoric and the efficacy of the form as a whole. Specifically, this particular study seeks to answer four central questions:

1) Based upon principles of guerrilla warfare, what would a guerrilla rhetorical approach entail?

2) How do communities, wherein guerrilla rhetoric might occur (such as graffiti writing and hardcore punk rock communities), use rhetorical strategies?

3) In what ways do these groups adopt guerrilla tactics to address their rhetorical contexts?

4) In what ways do these groups adapt guerrilla tactics to address their rhetorical contexts?

To answer these questions, chapter 3 introduces the theory of guerrilla rhetoric hypothesized as a result of bringing guerrilla texts into conversation with rhetorical concepts. It then provides an overview of the methodology through which I test and

refine the theory as a result of the case study research. The following two chapters (chapters 4 and 5) take the form of mini-research projects; they introduce the case study participants and their rhetorical form and then analyze their work in relationship to the theory. Following these case study chapters, I put the case studies into conversation with one another so as to look for points of commonality as well as points of departure. This discussion, which takes place in chapter 6, helps to further articulate responses to research questions three and four, in particular. Drawing from the cross case analysis, this chapter asserts a revised/updated theory of guerrilla rhetoric. Chapter 6 then examines the appropriateness and implications of applying this theory to both of the contexts studied. Additionally, the sixth chapter explores sites wherein guerrilla rhetoric might be located for future analysis.

CHAPTER 3

TOWARD AN INITIAL THEORY OF GUERRILLA RHETORIC

"The opposite of war isn't peace; it's creation."

--Rent

In this chapter, I establish a theory for a guerrilla rhetorical approach by placing the literature on guerrilla warfare into conversation with rhetorical theory. I then use this framework to determine if appropriating the concept of the guerrilla is a productive means for discussing the rhetorical strategies of the groups under examination. As Louise Wetherbee Phelps explains in her unpublished talk, "Practical Observations about How to Theorize: Functions and Strategies for Conceptual Inquiry," "theory-building of the philosophical kind is not a mere language game; its aim is to construct powerful, flexible, fruitful concepts and systematically elaborate their implications and logical connections as symbolic systems for apprehending and interpreting phenomena" (6). Thus, in responding to the first research question of this project—based upon principles of guerrilla warfare, what would a guerrilla rhetorical approach entail?—I take up the task of systematically elaborating upon the implications and logical connections developed through the use of the term "guerrilla rhetoric." Specifically, I develop a theory of guerrilla rhetoric through the concepts of rhetorical situation (with attention upon *exigence*, *kairos*, and audience), community of practice, and *techne* (emphasizing *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, specifically).

For this theorization I begin with Ernesto "Che" Guevara's understanding of the guerrilla in terms of its overall objectives and processes. Guevara explains that "[i]n the terminology of war, strategy is understood as the analysis of the objectives to be achieved in light of the total military situation, and the overall ways of accomplishing these objectives" (21). In other words, guerrilla warfare consists of an overall purpose for military action and a specific method for accomplishing the goal. In this way, guerrilla warfare is a pursuit that is tailored in each circumstance to what the warriors hope to accomplish. The mode of operation used by the warriors is tailored in all cases to this particular goal. However, it is important to specify that guerrilla warfare is not the means through which a war is won, nor the way through which full liberation is achieved. Instead, Guevara explains, "this special type of warfare should be considered as an embryo, a prelude, of the other [the conventional war]" (18-19). The battles of the guerrilla will not triumph over oppression as a whole, but they help to give birth to a movement. I think this fact might be particularly true for guerrilla rhetoric. These battles might not cause changes in a society directly, but perhaps they might help give rise to changes in narrative that might help ideological shifts to take place.

The case of Mwangi's work might serve as an appropriate example of this prelude. He did not overthrow the Kenyan government, but his earlier street artwork helped him to gain traction for more elaborate events and organizations that work toward change. For example, he founded an organization called PAWA254. This organization describes itself as "Nairobi's unique social enterprise through which innovative professionals from diverse artistic fields exploit their creative genius to foster social change" ("About Us." *PAWA254*). Additionally, in May of 2013 he orchestrated Occupy

Parliament, a large-scale protest that used live pigs and cow blood to draw attention to pay increases given to Kenyan government officials despite widespread needs in the country ("Occupy Parliament Protests…").

Most recently I watched Mwangi organize and disseminate information about a large protest simply called "The February 13 Protest" through his Twitter account @bonifacemwangi. This event, which used its own hashtag on Twitter (#Feb14Protest) once again called for change. Mwangi used Twitter to provide protesters a wide variety of images they could use as placards in the protest and then disseminated images from the protest the day of the event and throughout the weeks after it. While Mwangi had used vultures and pigs as images in earlier movements, this movement used a somewhat unexpected image as its symbol: the diaper. Adult Kenyans in comically large diapers lead this protest launching Mwangi's latest campaign. The related website, "Diaper Mentality," explains that Kenyan politicians often refer to the country's young age (just 50 years) to explain away its shortcomings. However, the organizers claim, "We need to grow up, or to use our Diaper metaphor, change the diaper soaked to the skin by rejecting mediocrity in public service and by demanding better accountability from our leaders" ("About Us." *Diaper Mentality*). Ultimately, this protest boldly proclaimed that it was time for a change in the narrative that was accepted by the people of Kenya. In this case Mwangi waged a rhetorical war over the narrative accepted in and about his country. Through this battle he aimed at generating both national and international awareness of an alternative narrative and put pressure on his government to change.

After the February 14 protest, however, the artist announced he would be retiring from his social activist platform. The *Kenyan Daily Post* reports that he announced that

Uhuru/Ruto [the President and Deputy President] want to kill him for

trying to overthrow the Jubillee Government with the help of foreign

forces" and that the latest "protest was his last because he doesn't want to

die a young man for the sake of the country like other activists have done.

He added that he had a wife and three kids and that he wants to live a

normal life and be there for them. ("Boniface Mwangi Gives up on

Protest.")

While it is hard to say whether the Kenyan leaders intended to have the activist

"silenced," as his wife calls it in an interview with KTN Kenya ("Boniface Mwangi

'Retires'"), the notion that they would do so might point toward the success of his

movement, much in the way that Guevara's death pointed toward his own success as a

guerrilla.

In any case, it does seem that the government officials felt pressured to make

some changes. Just three weeks after the Diaper Mentality protest Uhuru and Ruto

announced that they would be taking twenty percent pay cuts. According to Kenya's

Daily Nation, The President explained that they would take a "20 per cent pay cut and

[their] Cabinet Secretaries and Principal Secretaries have accepted a 10 per cent pay cut,

with immediate effect" and that "[t]he Jubilee government would also set up measures to

rationalise public expenditure and reduce public wastage" ("Uhuru, Ruto to Take 20pc

Pay Cut."). While one cannot say that Mwangi's work caused the change, there does

seem to be a relationship between his movement and the proceedings of the governmental

officials.

This kind of movement toward the moment wherein change has begun to happen—or at least the government is reporting such change—is exactly what guerrilla action is meant to accomplish. As a result of guerrilla warfare, the conditions for change are realized; Guevara puts it this way: "Guerrilla warfare is therefore clearly a phase that does not afford in itself the opportunity to attain a complete victory, but rather is one of the initial phases of a war and will develop continuously until, through steady growth, the guerrilla army acquires the characteristics of a regular army" (20). Guerrilla rhetoric, in particular, might be characterized as a rhetorical pursuit that begins to push toward an evolution in the accepted narrative of a particular context. It might not evoke a change in ideology direct, but it might help to create the condition through which an ideological shift might be made possible. Thus, guerrilla strategy overall establishes influence over time and comes to possess power in smaller moments that then establish the conditions for a larger movement.

This concept reflects Foucault's notion of power quite well. Foucault explains that "power is exercised rather than possessed; it is not the 'privilege', acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions – an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated." (*Discipline and Punish* 26-27). Thus, the oppressed must shift out of the position that allows for the extension of the exercise of power and find opportune moments to address the nature of the oppression they face. Camus describes this movement within opportune moments in the beginning of *The Rebel*. He says,

> What is a rebel? A man who says no, but whose refusal does not imply a renunciation. He is also a man who says yes, from the moment he makes

his first gesture of rebellion. A slave who has taken orders all his life

suddenly decides that he cannot obey some new command. What does he

mean by saying 'no'? he means, for example, that 'this has been going on

too long,' 'up to this point yes, beyond it no,' 'you are going too far,' and

'there is no limit beyond which you shall not go.' (13)

Thus, he or she who wishes to change his or her position to those exhibiting power must

rebel against the position he or she has taken and devise a way to effectively embark

upon his or her rebellion against those who dominate. The powers exercised in moments

such as this one, Foucault maintains, "are not univocal; they define innumerable points of

confrontation, focuses of instability, each of which has its own risks of conflict, of

struggles, and of an at least temporary inversion of the power relations" (*Discipline and

Punish* 27). This conception of the micro-powers is important. They are not all powerful

or even inherently powerful. Instead, these powers are variable and with weakness. Thus,

the guerrilla embryo seeks to exploit these points of instability as a means of creating

conditions to move towards change. Indeed for the guerrilla the *moment* might be said to

be more important than the overall *movement*.

In this way, guerrilla tactics move slowly, supporting Foucault's claim about the

overthrow of micro-powers:

[t]he overthrow of these "micro-powers" does not, then, obey the law of

all or nothing; it is not acquired once and for all by a new control of the

apparatuses nor by a new function or a destruction of the institutions; on

the other hand, none of the localized episodes may be inscribed in history

except by the effects that it induces on the entire network in which it is

caught up. (*Discipline and Punish* 27)

Likewise, it should be noted that guerrilla rhetoric should not be expected to be

that which directly enacts noticeable liberation. It, by itself, will not liberate a people or

reshape the political climate. However, it helps to produce moments wherein in the power

dynamics might shift enough to allow for conditions through which such changes,

perhaps only in ideology or narrative, can be made. Although guerrilla rhetoric may

never be directly credited as the means through which change is brought about, it might

be considered the catalyst that helped establish the moment of instability or temporary

inversion of power relations through which liberation ultimately developed.

This notion, for example, effectively reflects another means in which Mwangi's

success in his activism has worked in Kenya. Mwangi's vulture mural aimed at

decreasing voter support of 2013 Kenyan presidential election frontrunners Kenyatta and

Odinga. While the art did not keep Kenyatta from being elected, the response to it gained

widespread attention. According to *Mavulture*'s "Vulture Graffiti Timelapse,"

"[r]eactions to what started off as 'annonymous' [*sic*] public statements in the vein of

mysterious London graffiti artist Banksy were immediate and widespread. Wananchi

[citizens] interviewed on the street hailed the initiative agreeing with the overall

message" (Vulture Hunter). In fact, the street art inspired *Mavulture* itself. *Mavulture*

(meaning many vultures in Swahili) is, as journalist Mike Elkin explains, "a new website

linking corruption and other scandals to high-ranking Kenyan politicians, created by a

team of political provocateurs [and which] has become one of the most-visited web pages

in the country." Thus, the art did not immediately change the political climate; however

outcomes of increased awareness, exposure and engagement with the issues were certainly results of Mwangi's initiative.

I believe these moments of opportunity to influence change, such as those developed by Mwangi's art, are brought about through the core concepts proposed here as an initial theory of guerrilla rhetoric. Like the guerrilla warrior, the strategies used by guerrilla rhetor ought to be developed in response to the specific purpose being addressed. This ability to tailor the approach to the circumstances is an essential element of rhetoric. In fact this adaptability is easily observed in Aristotle's famous definition of rhetoric: "Let rhetoric be [defined as] an ability, in each [particular] case, to see the available means of persuasion" (37). This definition parallels Guevara's characterization of the notion, not of rhetoric, but rather of guerrilla warfare. He characterizes guerrilla warriors as those who, "[b]esides using force, [...] will have recourse to all possible tricks and stratagems in order to achieve this goal. Military strategy and tactics are a representation of the objectives of the groups and of the means of achieving these objectives" (19). Thus, both guerrilla rhetoric and guerrilla warfare are resourceful enterprises that adjust approach based upon specific circumstances. The need for adjustment and the manner of adjustment might be realized through attention to the concepts of guerrilla rhetoric, which are described below.

As such, in the section that follows I trace the relevant history of various concepts presented in the field of rhetoric, but also writing studies, as necessary to specify the way in which I have elected to adopt and appropriate the terms for my purposes in conceiving of a guerrilla version of the terms. I have, in most cases, situated each concept in rhetorical studies and used some theory from writing studies to supplement this

discussion as I felt was useful and productive. I have elected to draw from both fields in a

way that might seem natural to those in writing studies, but less organic to those in

rhetoric. This choice stems from my own field identification. As someone who self-

identifies as scholar in writing studies, I see the history and scope of my field very much

in the way that James J. Murphy presents writing instruction in his *A Short History of*

Writing Instruction: From Ancient Greece to Modern America. I see rhetoric as the

genesis of my field and as an important place from which to draw in my scholarship, but

as a teacher and scholar of writing, I am deeply impacted by the voices of composition

studies from the last forty to fifty years. While I am working toward a theory of rhetoric

through this project, I view all communication I study as much through the lens of

rhetoric as through writing studies. One reason that I find this approach appropriate for

this project is a result of the working-class nature of composition studies as a field. James

Thomas Zebroski, for example, points to the shift toward working-class interest in the

field of English studies in "The Turn to Social Class in Rhetoric and Composition:

Shifting Disciplinary Identities"; he explains how academic discourse became a new

concept central to the newly developing field as freshman English teachers began

teaching a "new population of students (brought to university not only by open

admissions, but also by greatly increased federal and state aid to those from the working

class) needed help getting read for college-level work" (772). The goal of these

educators, he continues, was to "bring the working class into the middle class at least in a

small way on campus" (772). This field, historically concerned with giving access to

underprivileged and underrepresented voices, it seems to me, brings voices more

intimately associated with issues of oppression and othering into the characterization of rhetorical concepts.

With the work of these fields as my foundation, I then synthesize each concept with Guevara's writing. This framework provides the foundation through which my preliminary theory is developed; in response to my case study chapters, I then, in chapter 6, re-examine the means in which I have elected to appropriate each term presented here.

GUERRILLA RHETORICAL SITUATION

The first of the concepts for consideration in this framework is the rhetorical situation. Elements of the rhetorical situation are alluded to throughout my introductory characterization of the guerrilla and rhetoric in this chapter because both concepts are situation dependent. Rhetoric has historically been considered as a concept that is correlated to situation, although the relationship between the rhetor and the situation has been contested. Lloyd Bitzer first introduced this concept in his article simply titled "The Rhetorical Situation." In this often-cited work, Bitzer briefly defines the concept as "a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence"; he then further expands on the meaning of this term throughout his article (6).

In developing his notion of the rhetorical situation, Bitzer introduces three "constituents" of the rhetorical situation: "the first is the *exigence;* the second and third are elements of the complex, namely the *audience* to be constrained in decision and

action, and the *constraints* which influence the rhetor and can be brought to bear upon the audience" (6). I have elected to build this framework by expanding upon the notion of *exigence* and audience, but I have omitted a thorough treatment of constraints because I do believe issues regarding constraints become apparent in other categories I have addressed in detail in this study, particularly *exigence* and *kairos*. However, I have elected to look at the rhetorical situation independently as a larger concept. I take up the concept of rhetorical situation, in part, because I find the affordances presented by the term helpful in pointing to issues regarding context and discourse tradition that I find of great importance for a guerrilla concept.

Pieces that historicize this term (see Garret and Xiao, and Gorrell) typically point to Bitzer's work as the genesis of the concept and then point to modifications made by Richard E. Vatz, Scott Consigny, and even Bitzer himself. Bitzer's early work insisted that rhetoric did not just occur to bring about change, but rather he stated, "a particular discourse comes into existence because of some specific condition or situation which invites utterance" (4). He indicates that rhetorical discourse exists in response to a situation and is given significance as a result of the situation; Bitzer stipulates that rhetorical situations are a "necessary condition" for rhetorical discourse, but that some rhetorical situations pass without generating discourse either because no communication occurs or because of a missed opportunity (5-6). Additionally, the rhetorician stipulates that situations are rhetorical when they invite discourse that is fitting of the context, can alter the reality of a situation, and where the situation controls the rhetorical response (6).

In response to Bitzer's articulation of rhetorical situation, Richard E. Vatz problematizes the former rhetorician's perspective on situations. Vatz's notes that

Bitzer's version is dependent upon a "'realist' philosophy of meaning" (154). In this view meaning is "intrinsic to the thing that has it, as being a natural part of the objective makeup of the thing" (Blumber qtd in Vatz 155). Vatz explains that Bitzer's notion of rhetorical situation assumes that situations are "discrete and discernable" (155). Vatz argues that "[f]ortunately or unfortunately meaning is not intrinsic in events, facts, or 'situations' nor are facts 'publically observable'" (156). Thus, Vatz sees meaning in situations and events as constructed by participants rather than being inherent.

As a result of this contrasting perspective, Vatz takes an opposing perspective to that which Bitzer describes. He explains that he would not say, as Bitzer has, "'rhetoric is situational,' but situations are rhetorical; [...] not 'the situation controls the rhetorical response...' but the rhetoric controls the situational response (159). In this way, situations are constructed through the meaning-making that comes as a result of human communication, which gives the rhetor agency in actually creating situations.

Consigny then attempts to bring these apparently competing perspectives together by arguing that the apparent conflict in them arrives as a result of an incomplete view of actual rhetorical practice (178). He argues that "the rhetorical act is one in which a rhetor becomes engaged in a novel and indeterminate situation and is able to disclose and manage exigencies therein" (179). Consigny changes the conversation regarding rhetorical discourse away from a discussion of which is dominant (the rhetor or the situation) to a question of "how, in each case, the rhetor can become engaged in the novel and indeterminate situation and yet have a means of making sense of it" (179). As a result, Consigny maintains that an "art" of rhetoric is necessary for rhetors to operate within situations. There are two conditions of this art: integrity and receptivity.

Consigny's notion of integrity stipulates that the rhetor ought to be unimpaired as he or she approaches new contexts. He explains, "the art of rhetoric provides the rhetor with an 'integrity' such that he is able to disclose and manage indeterminate factors in novel situations without his actions being predetermined" (180). Additionally, "the art of rhetoric must meet the condition of *receptivity*, allowing the rhetor to become engaged in individual situations without simply inventing and thereby predetermine which problems he is going to find in them" (181). This perception of the rhetor and situation presents both as simultaneously as generative, malleable, and responsive.

The way in which Consigny positions the rhetor in relationship to his or her situation relates well to the way that Guevara positions the guerrilla in relationship to his or her situation. The guerrilla must determine how to become, to employ Consigny's wording, "engaged in the novel and indeterminate situation" (179) that the terrain he or she operates within provides. However, he or she must also have "a means of making sense of it" (Consigny 179). That is: guerrillas ought not be restrained by what is a typical response to a situation, such as conventional warfare tactics, but should be able to draw from the context some sense of how to proceed. As a result of the means in which this sense of situation and actor correspond in rhetorical and guerrilla occasions, Consigny's approach to rhetorical situation seems appropriate to the characterization of guerrilla rhetoric.

Consigny's approach to rhetorical situation presents the concept of "the art of topics" to account for how rhetoric might meet his characteristics of integrity and receptivity. His art of topics, which draws upon the invention instrument of *topoi*, serves as the means through which the rhetor can "discover and manage the particularities of

each situation" (181). Specifically Consigny indicates that these topics present "universal

devices" through which the rhetor might approach each situation. Garret and Xiao build

their own theoretical framework for rhetorical situation by building upon Consigny's

concept of the topics, but problematize his view of them as universal. Garret and Xiao

maintain that Consigny's treatment of rhetorical situation, like those that came before it,

fails to account for discourse tradition. They explain, "[o]utside of rhetorical handbooks

the *topoi*, in the sense of lines of reasoning, are always instantiated in culture-specific

terms, as commonplaces, a distinction that Consigny blurs" (38). An example of more

discourse tradition-based *topoi* is observed in "Rhetoric, Topoi, and Scientific

Revolutions" by Kenneth S. Zagacki and William Keith, wherein the authors put forth

specific scientific topoi that are developed in response to the means in which "the stages

of scientific revolution are accompanied by particular rhetorical exigencies" (59). They

draw on Prelli to explain that within scientific rhetoric, we might define "topoi as

'repeatable and acceptable themes that deal with shared belief, values, and opinions

[which pertain to] situationally appropriate scientific thoughts and actions" (60).

Accepting this notion that the discourse community ought to be accounted for, a more

holistic perspective of rhetorical situation, therefore, would approach the rhetor and

situation as both being generative, malleable and, responsive, but also reflective of

discourse tradition-appropriate *topoi*.

Garret and Xiao indicate that the discourse tradition is a participant in the

rhetorical situation:

> [a] discourse tradition directly and indirectly participates in a rhetorical
>
> situation in at least three ways: it generates needs and promotes interest in

an audience that must be met by new discourse; it cultivates an audience's

expectations about the appropriate forms of discourses, the proper subject

manner, the right modes of argumentation, and so forth in relation to a

given circumstance; and it also reflects an audience's recognition and

interpretation of a rhetorical exigency. (38-39)

Garret and Xiao's perspective of rhetorical situation suggests that the discourse tradition

will serve as "both a source and a limiting horizon for the rhetor and for the audience of

the rhetorical situation" (38). The rhetorical "art" in any context is necessarily informed

by the cultural traditions from which the rhetoric generates. I am interested in this more

discourse tradition-dependent notion of rhetorical situation because I suspect that

guerrilla rhetors purposefully elect to respond to situations using rhetoric that could build

upon, but perhaps more likely defies, the discursive tradition of its context.

In the context of Guevara's guerrilla war, this assumption stems from the means

in which the conventional army (which in the case of rhetoric might be considered the

discursive tradition of those in power) serves as both a source and limiting horizon for the

guerrilla. The guerrilla rhetor, I imagine, would draw from the discursive tradition of

those in power, but also defy elements conventions held by that tradition. Guevara

explains that the guerrilla "must analyze the resources that the enemy has for trying to

achieve that outcome: in terms of men, mobility, popular support, armaments, and the

leadership capacity which can be relied on (21). The guerrilla must understand the means

in which traditional warfare operates in order to strategize about how to develop an

alternative approach to the situation. The guerrilla uses some aspects of the conventional

army (Guevara encourages the guerrilla to adopt the same or similar armaments, for

example), but defies others (the guerrilla band must be more mobile and flexible than the conventional army). The guerrilla rhetor, then, must approach the rhetorical situation in a similar way. He or she must be able to be flexible and responsive to novel situations but must also understand the discursive tradition in which he or she operates and analyze the elements of that tradition that are useful to adopt and those that will necessarily need to be defied as a result of the tension between the guerrilla rhetor and his or her perception of the rhetoric of the open hand.

Ultimately, I would argue that the guerrilla rhetor must have the facility to approach situations with integrity, receptivity, and an understanding of discursive tradition that warrants a set of guerrilla-specific *topoi* that the rhetor may or may not consciously recognize. I believe that a preliminary definition of guerrilla *topoi* might be found in revising Prelli's definition of scientific rhetoric as quoted above from Zagacki and Keith: guerrilla *topoi* are "repeatable and acceptable themes that deal with shared belief, values, and opinions" (60) which uniquely address guerrilla interests. In this light, the term "guerrilla" itself might be recognized as a *topos*. Indeed, it is an often-repeated concept that evokes certain shared beliefs or perspective, as established in chapter 2. I believe authors of the various guerrilla guides attempt to build on the idea of a guerrilla *topos* to promote their work. They profit, or seek to profit, from how it has become a commonplace—it comes with the mystique of rebellion and drawing from this mystique allows the concept to harness its power from the narrative that is evoked by a common images of the guerrilla.

In addition to conceiving of this overall term as a *topos*, drawing from Guevara, I additionally identified a few commonplaces that I provisionally believed could be

considered guerrilla *topoi*: oppression, struggle and liberation are three foundational *topoi*

that I believe are central themes in the guerrilla movement. The guerrilla's cause and

situation is tied to a perceived oppression. As the sense of oppression builds, the

likelihood for a struggle for liberation grows. Guevara explains this progression:

> it is necessary to demonstrate clearly to people the futility of maintaining
>
> the fight for social gains within the framework of civil debate. When the
>
> oppressive forces maintain themselves in power against the laws they
>
> themselves established, peace must be considered already broken. Under
>
> these conditions popular discontent expresses itself in more and more
>
> active forms, and resistance finally crystallizes, at a given moment, in an
>
> outbreak of the struggle. (14)

This passage shows the development of a perceived oppressive force and the progress

toward the guerrilla struggle that might then lead to a sense of liberation. An

understanding of the ideological implications of each of these terms and the tradition they

exist within shapes the combatant's understanding of the cause and the war at large.

These concepts of oppression, struggle and, liberation have large overarching meanings

that shape the overall guerrilla movement; it is likely then that they might also serve as

uniquely useful commonplaces for the production of guerrilla rhetoric.

GUERRILLA *EXIGENCE*

Like the rhetorical situation, *exigence* has a rich and complex history in the field

of rhetorical studies. Lloyd F. Bitzer, defines an *exigence* as "an imperfection marked by

urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other

than it should be" (6). In this way, *exigence* marks a rhetorical dilemma of some sort. Bitzer further explains his conception of the term by explaining that to him "[a]n exigence is rhetorical when it is capable of positive modification and when positive modification requires discourse and can be assisted by discourse" (7). If I were to adopt this definition of *exigence* for use in developing a notion of guerrilla *exigence*, it would imply that while guerrilla warfare responds to a situation that can be allayed through military strategy, guerrilla rhetoric must hold an objective that can be mediated through a strategized use of discourse. However, this concept of *exigence*, like Bitzer's rhetorical situation, assumes that the situation (or dilemma) precedes the rhetorical occasion.

The conception of guerrilla rhetorical *exigence* might be better developed through conceptualizing of it from the framework established by Carolyn Miller, because it fits more suitably with Consigny's as well as Garrret and Xiao's notions of rhetorical situation. In the process of defining genre as social action, Carolyn Miller describes *exigence* in a way that contrasts with Bitzer's definition. To begin this process, she first addresses the contrasting approaches to rhetorical situation developed by both Kenneth Burke and Lloyd Bitzer. While both use the term "rhetorical situation" they construct the situation around differing terms. As Miller explains: "one crucial difference between the two is Burke's use of *motive* and Bitzer's of *exigence* as the focus of situation" (155). She explains that the use of these terms reflect emphasis being placed on "human action" in the case of Burke and "reaction" in the case of Bitzer. Her own definition of *exigence* fits more closely with Burke's *motive* than Bitzer's *exigence*, in part because she sees Bitzer's "reaction" as being related only to "defect" and "danger." Instead, she sees *exigence* as human action that is "located in the social world" (157). She defines *exigence*

as "a form of social knowledge--a mutual constructing of objects, events, interests, and purposes that not only links them but also makes them what they are: an objectified social need" (157). While Bitzer had emphasized the obstacle and the rhetor's perception of the obstacle in his definition of *exigence*, Carolyn Miller shifts attention to the needs the rhetor constructs through actions within a social space. She summarizes her conception of it nicely by saying "exigence is a set of particular social patterns and expectations that provides a socially objectified motive for addressing danger, ignorance, separateness" (158). Thus, in this account of *exigence,* the motive is very much tied to societal construction.

While Miller's notion of *exigence* is important for framing it as a socially situated motive, the conception of the term I will need for accounting for guerrilla *exigence* must additionally thoroughly account for perception or the narrative that feeds the rhetorical situation. When Jenny Edbauer analyzes Smith and Lybarger's treatment of George H.W. Bush's "war on drugs" speeches she discusses the way they point to perception as they discuss *exigence*. She explains that in their framework, "exigence is more like a complex of various audience/speaker perceptions and institutional or material constraints" and that "there can be no pure exigence that does not involve various mixes of felt interest" (8). While Edbauer uses these characterizations to make the point that *exigence* cannot be located in any one place in this model of the rhetorical situation, I am drawn to these notions because they highlight the subjective nature of the concept. Exigencies are not natural, universally agreed upon motives that a rhetor develops. Instead, they are naturally developed as a result of the rhetor's perception—his or her worldview, biases, privileges and restraints within the social world ultimately will affect his or her

development of an *exigence*. In other words, one person may identify an exigence in circumstances where in another person might not see one.

To draw these notions of *exigence* together with the guerrilla, I would say that Carolyn Miller's notion of *exigence* is productive for articulating *exigence* as a concept for guerrilla rhetoric because it forwards understanding of *exigence* by situating it in the realm of the social, more specifically the socially objectified, and unifies it with concepts of danger, ignorance, and separateness. Edbauer's treatment of Smith and Lybarger's use of *exigence* emphasizes it as a socially constructed *perception* of a danger, ignorance, or separateness. This construction allows for consideration of the battle of narrative—the *exigence* is developed in relationship to how the rhetor perceives the narrative of the cause overall.

The motive behind guerrilla strategy operates in a way that compliments this notion or exigency. Since guerrilla strategy, as Guevara describes it, is first purposeful and tailored to the goal, guerrilla rhetoric, then, might also be goal oriented and customized to meet a socially objectified purpose. Specifically, Guevara explains that guerrilla warfare is "the basis of the struggle of a people to redeem themselves" (15). He explains their purpose and passion for that purpose further when he explains that

> [t]he guerrilla fighter is ready to die not just to defend an idea but to make that idea a reality. That is the essence of the guerrilla struggle. The miracle is that a small nucleus, the armed vanguard of a great popular movement that supports them, can proceed to realize that idea, to establish a new society, to break the old patterns of the past, to achieve, ultimately, the social justice for which they fight (20).

Thus, the guerrilla's purpose is one that it is motivated by a perceived objective that combatants are so passionate about they are willing to sacrifice their own lives. This passion stems from circumstances that must be overcome or a perceived injustice in a society. An emphasis on the cause which is constructed as a result of the guerrilla's perception of the people, and their needs, distinguishes guerrilla *exigence* from other exigencies. To put it another way, like all rhetoric, guerrilla rhetoric should always respond to an *exigence* that stems from a passion for a socially situated perceived danger, ignorance, or separateness. However, guerrilla rhetoric is unique in that this danger, ignorance, or separateness is specifically interpreted as interfering with the perceived people's cause. Indeed not all of the people will see the *exigence* in the same way; indeed some may not perceive an *exigence* to exist at all, but there should be some degree of popular support or understanding of this *exigence,* but to the guerrilla rhetor the dedication to the cause helps them to identify the exigence and develop a desire to respond to it.

GUERRILLA *KAIROS*

With this notion of guerrilla *exigence* established, the particular time or context of the guerrilla rhetor then must be determined. To approach this notion, the concept of *kairos* is useful. As a whole, this Greek term is not one that is easily and satisfactorily defined in English. James L. Kinneavy and Catherine R. Eskin put forth several notions of the term that help to construct a more complete image. The first definition they present comes from Kinneavy's earlier writing and "defines it provisionally as the 'right or opportune time to do something, or right measure in doing something'" (433). However,

kairos, in this sense, does not mean time in the form of clocks and chronology. Indeed, the Greeks had another term for this kind of time: *chronos.* As Amélie Frost Benedikt explains, drawing from John E. Smith, *"chronos* is the kind of time measurable by clocks and dependent upon 'asymmetrical serial order,' 'cardinality,' and universal standards for its measurements" (226). In contrast, *kairos* is a sense of time that operat[es] according to the principle of "ordinality' and naming a relative moment is a series of events" (226). Additionally, Kinneavy and Eskin suggest that *kairos* might also be "understood as *situational context,* a more modern term" (433). The two scholars draw on Smith to present his definition of a *kairic* time as something that refers "to a season when something appropriately happens that cannot happen just 'anytime' [and] to a time that marks an opportunity which may not recur" (434). Together the definitions Kinneavy and Eskin present all point to a concept that is influenced by time and context greatly, which appropriately ties them closely to notions of rhetorical situation and *exigence.*

For the purposes of this project, I have sought an understanding of this term that synthesizes these two notions. Carolyn Miller's foreword to Sipiora and Baumlin's *Rhetoric and Kairos: Essays in History, Theory and Praxis* indicates that synthesis is possible by bringing Ciceronian/Stoic perceptions of the term into conversation with sophistic concepts. She explains that on the one hand *"kairos* means understanding an order that guides and shapes rhetorical action, whether that order is given and absolute or socially constructed" ("Foreword," xii). For example, in *On the Ideal Orator,* Cierero's Crassus discusses the inept orator's inability to understand the kairotic moment within a specific occasion by saying, "someone who does not understand what the occasion demands, or talks too much, or shows off, or takes no account of the standing or the

interests of those whose company he is in, or, in short, who in some way or other is gauche or obtrusive—such a person is said to be tactless" (129). In this way *kairos* is connected to Cicero's notion of decorum, which is fundamentally tied to issues of both audience and delivery.

Meanwhile, however, the term is also understood to "represent not the expected but its opposite: the uniquely timely, the spontaneous, the radically particular" (xiii). This notion of *kairos* corresponds more directly to the sophistic understanding the concept. For example, Eric Charles White explains that Gorgias perceived *kairos* as

> a radical principle of ocassionality which implies a conception of the
> production of meaning in language as a process of continuous adjustment
> to and creation of the present occasion, or a process of continuous
> interpretation in which the speaker seeks to inflect the given 'text' to his
> or her own ends at the same time that the speaker's 'text' is 'interpreted'
> in turn by the context surrounding it. (6)

In this way, *kairos* is not about social constructions so much as it is a notion of continuously adjusting to the occasion one is present within. It seems at odds, perhaps, with Cicero's notion because it does not emphasize what is right and best in the moment as something preexisting in the social context, instead it emphasizes responsive innovation. However, it might be possible for these two notions to actually work in conjunction with one another.

Attempting to bring this sophistic notion together with Cicero's, Miller goes on to explain that "[i]f decorum counsels us to be accommodative, [the sophistic] sense of *kairos* encourages us to be creative in responding to the unforeseen, to the lack of order

in human life" ("Foreword," xiii). Defined through the lens of these two perspectives together, *kairos* might be considered the notion that truth or order is reached through using the context of each situation to arrive at that which is best for that particular moment.

I am drawn to this blended notion, in part, because Guerrilla warfare strategy actually parallels this characterization of *kairos* quite nicely. Guerrilla warfare cannot be a successful enterprise in any context, and, as Guevara tells us, not "all possible tricks and stratagems" are available for each situation (19). A guerrilla war cannot be fought at any time or in any place. Instead, their warriors need to seek a moment that contains the amendable conditions. Guevara is careful, however, to insist that "[i]t is not always necessary to wait until all the revolutionary conditions exists; the insurrectional *foco* can develop subjective conditions based on existing objective conditions" (13). Here the *Guerrilla Warfare* editor has noted that *foco* means "a small nucleus of revolutionaries" (13). In other words, while the perfect overall conditions for revolution may not yet exist, the small insurgency can take advantage of what conditions do exist to create an environment more amendable to the overall revolution.

Indeed, the notion of *kairos* as a guerrilla rhetoric construct might maintain that transcendent unchanging laws or mores are not in the perceived interest of the people and that in some cases an alternative is the best solution for the cultural and political context of the people. The rhetor must take advantage of whatever conditions do exist to put forth the people's cause, while realizing not all approaches will be amendable to the context. As such, the identification of an opportune kairotic moment wherein action might forward the perceived people's cause is an essential characteristic of guerrilla rhetoric.

While I appreciate the way in which this perspective blends perceptions of *kairos*, I believe this blended perspective is best taken in cooperation with the way in which Kinneavy understands *kairos* operating in relationship to rhetoric overall. As Roger Thompson explains in his essay recounting his interview with Kinneavy, the interviewee believed that *kairos* was a pivotal element in making language capable of persuasion. Thompson explains, "[p]art of what makes language persuasive at a particular time is not only the timing of the event, and not only the situational context of the rhetorical act, but also the intermingling, the unification, and the interdependence of the distinct aspects of timing and propriety" (74). This notion of persuasion brings both conceptions of *kairos* together as tangled elements both contributing to the effectiveness of discourse. Kinneavy advocated for composition curriculum built upon this combined notion of *kairos* because he believed it could lead to ethical education (Thompson 74). Thompson explains that "*kairos* offers a way for students to examine their cultural situations and understand how their times might affect other times. Kinneavy believed that by unifying their times with their situations, students might begin to see how they could create change through a rhetorical act" (74). I find Kinneavy's idea here applicable to the notion of guerrilla rhetoric because of this emphasis upon creating moments for change that is apparent in Kinneavy's work, but less dominant in Miller's. As movement toward change is the goal of the guerrilla, Guevara's treatment of the guerrilla war reflects a great understanding of how timing and understanding the terrain will impact the success of this initiative. The guerrilla rhetor must have a similar understanding. Guerrilla rhetoricians can, by unifying their times with their situations, create opportunities for change through their rhetorical acts that might forward the perceived people's cause.

GUERRILLA AUDIENCE

While the term audience is a more widely used English concept than others

presented in this chapter, it is by no means the most straightforward to conceptualize.

While many rhetoricians agree that rhetors ought to consider audience when constructing

their rhetorical responses, the question of what exactly is signified by this concept is

much more complex. Douglas Park describes it this way: "[a]s a subject for theory and

for the teaching of writing, audience is obvious, crucial, and yet remarkably elusive"

(247). Park then demonstrates how different rhetoricians portray the concept in

contrasting ways. He presents Lloyd Bitzer and Walter Ong as being on opposite ends of

a spectrum of perceptions of rhetorical audience. Lloyd Bitzer's argues that "a rhetorical

audience must be distinguished from a body of mere hearers or readers: properly

speaking, a rhetorical audience consists only of those persons who are capable of being

influenced by discourse and of being mediators of change" (8). In contrast, Walter Ong

argues specifically about the *writer's* audience. He states that writers only have readers—

who individually consume texts—because audience is a noun that stands for a collective

of people, while readers, he explains cannot be a collective because of the nature of

reading (11). Thus, he argues that the writer's perception of the audience is fictional: "If

the writer succeeds in writing, it is generally because he can fictionalize in his

imagination an audience he has learned to know not from daily life but from earlier

writers who were fictionalizing in their imagination audiences they had learned to know

in still earlier writers, and so on back to the dawn of written narrative" (11). Ultimately,

as Park also points out, these opposing points of view stem from either theorizing about

audiences as actual people outside the rhetorical text or as audiences suggested by the composition of the rhetorical text.

Park, however, puts forth four different notions of audience that develop out of these contrasting definitions:

> 1. Anyone who happens to listen to or to read a given discourse: "The audience applauded." This meaning is inextricably rooted in common usage, but it is useless and misleading in serious rhetorical analysis.
>
> 2. External readers or listeners as they are involved in the rhetorical situation: "The writer misjudged his audience." This meaning of "audience" comes into play in analyses of the historical situation in which a given discourse appeared or in studies of the actual effect of discourse upon an audience.
>
> 3. The set of conceptions or awareness in the writer's consciousness that shape the discourse as something to be read or heard. We try to get at this set of awarenesses in shorthand fashion when we ask, "What audience do you have in mind?"
>
> 4. An ideal conception shadowed forth in the way the discourse itself defines and creates contexts for readers. We can come at this conception only through specific features of the text: "What does this paragraph suggest about the audience?" (250)

For the purposes of this project, I take up each of these notions of audience, even the first that Park has deemed useless for serious rhetorical analysis. However, I find it most useful to perceive the last two as one concept.

I believe the first definition is important as a result of some of the delivery mechanisms that may be used by guerrilla rhetoricians. This first definition might account for the audience members who perceive themselves as outside the rhetorical situation but who might come across the rhetorical text for some reason (for example, because it is a piece of graffiti on a public street). While Park does not elaborate upon his reasons for viewing this definition as useless it seems that his emphasis upon guidance for writing teachers ultimately leads him to focus on a tangible audience to whom students can deliver their text. The other definitions, which he holds in higher regard all emphasize the writer or creator of text over the recipient. However, as I will discuss below, I think it is problematic for the theorization of guerrilla text to privilege the writer over the reader. Thus, I see more worth in this first definition because it attends to those who are potential, almost accidental audience members—the person who is normally oblivious to her surroundings suddenly does a double-take when confronted with a disruption. They are outside of the rhetorical situation, but not yet engaged in the movement because either they currently hold opposing views, or no views at all, because of a lack of exposure (tourists in DC for example). In the case of the Cuban Revolution, I see this part of the audience being made up primarily of outsiders to the context, including but not limited to civilians throughout the world. For example, it might also include the people of the Cuban villages who have not yet joined the cause for one reason or another, but perhaps also American citizens who are more removed from the *exigence*.

The second definition accounts for those who are within the rhetorical situation but may or may not be yet a part of the guerrilla movement. Guevara describes combatants of a guerrilla war in a way that complements this second notion: "[o]n one

side we have a group composed of the oppressor and his agents [...] On the other side are the people of the nation or region" (16). While these two populations reflect the two sides of the war itself, they also might be said to be the two parts of the guerrilla's audience. Indeed both groups represent external readers or listeners who are involved in the rhetorical situation.

Additionally, Guevara speaks of propaganda when he says that "[a]t moments when war fever is more or less palpitating in every person in a region or a country, the inspiring, burning word enhances this fever and imparts it to all future combatants. It explains, teaches, inflames, and confirms the future positions of both friends and enemies" (120-121). The audience, thus, of both perceived friends and perceived enemies, consists of imagined people who have potential to impact the people's cause that has been identified by the guerrilla band. The guerrilla might imagine these people in shaping his or her rhetoric and in doing so idealize a conception of who these people are. This audience the guerrilla rhetor might characterize as those who are able to help bring about the change that is hoped for as a result of the perceived people's cause.

On the one hand, this imagined audience consists of those who cause the danger, ignorance or separateness that interferes with the people's cause. The guerrilla must understand who these people are and the means in which they are impeding the people's cause in order to strategize about how to appeal to them. As narrative is of such great importance to the modern guerrilla, part of this process includes understanding the narrative that has been both accepted and distributed by this opposing force and what alternative message or narrative would better benefit the people involved. In the case of the guerrilla war, those persons are the enemy army. This army is "the professional army,

well armed and disciplined, in many cases receiving foreign aid as well as the help of the

bureaucracy that is beholden to the oppressor" (Guevara 16). During the Cuban

Revolution, the oppressor was seen as the Batista government who took power in the

country not by political majority, but by force over the people. Guevara and his

revolutionaries believed Batista was oppressing the Cuban people and their will. This

portion of the audience, as described here by Guevara, is characterized by its possession

of power, the resources available to it, and the strength of its organization. Likewise, the

guerrilla rhetor has as its audience those perceived as holding power that helps

orchestrate the obstacle to the people's cause. They might be those of the government or

those of lobbying organizations that coordinate political efforts. They are perceived as

uniquely positioned to have more resources than the guerrilla rhetor and are less likely to

have cause to support the guerrilla *exigence*. However, wearing down or winning over the

people of this population will help bring further power to the guerrilla unit, thereby

increasing the likelihood of the success of the guerrilla rhetoric to set the stage for actual

change. This wearing down, for example, might be exactly what helped Mwangi's

February 14th campaign bring about more tangible results. As a result, the guerrilla ought

to consider the opposition as an audience to appeal to in some respects as they consider

their composition strategies.

Perhaps more important as an audience, however, are the people. Guevara says,

[i]t is important to emphasize that guerrilla warfare is a war of the masses, a war of the

people. The guerrilla band, as an armed nucleus, is the combative vanguard of the people.

Its great force is drawn from the mass of the people themselves" (16). The perceived

people must support the aims of the guerrilla warrior. This audience is another that the

guerrilla must construct as a result of his or her perception of the *exigence*. Guevara explains the people's support is what separates the guerrilla from merely being a bandit gang; these gangs "have many characteristics of a guerrilla army, homogeneity, respect for the leader, bravery, knowledge of the terrain, and, often, even a good understanding of the tactics to be employed. The only thing lacking is the support of the people; and these gangs are inevitably captured and exterminated by the public force" (16). Thus, to be supported, the guerrilla cannot merely believe they have the people's interests in mind and should demonstrate their interest in the people's needs through their discourse. They must also gain the trust and support of those people, thus their compositions must appeal to an idealized version of the people as a means of anticipating what will gain trust of these groups. Even within the confines of war, Guevara acknowledges that this support might be best gained through means of persuasive propaganda. He provides guidance on the development and dissemination of propaganda as a means of helping the local people to understand the strategies at work and the rationale behind them (119-121). Thus, an important audience for the guerrilla rhetor (especially within the context of guerrilla war) is that of the imagined people.

Thus, the guerrilla rhetor must always understand the people as part of his or her audience and seek to appeal to them so as to win them over to the cause at large. Without the support of the people, the guerrilla ceases to be truly guerrilla. In this way, a concern for this portion of the audience helps to keep the rhetor in the domain of guerrilla rhetoric, instead of something that might be better termed "rebellion rhetoric." At the same time, however, the audience of the guerrilla might address the oppressor as well. Bringing more enemies to the side of the guerrilla helps to bring power to the guerrilla

band and bring new resources that might be used to continue making progress toward the people's cause.

The audience is of particular importance for the guerrilla rhetorician because of their responsibility in the communication framework. The audience of the rhetorical text is, in many ways, more important than the rhetor himself. As Roland Barthes indicates: "to give writing its future, it is necessary to overthrow the myth [that the only person in the text is the writer]: the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the Author" (148). While I do not believe that the author can or even should be fully dead, or absent from the conceptualization of a text, I do advocate for a privileging of the reader. Although the rhetor develops the text and allows it to be consumed, the future of its message is dependent upon the audience of the text. Barthes explains, "a text is made of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is one place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author" (148). The burden of the success of the text, and ultimately the guerrilla mission, is placed not solely upon the rhetor, but upon the audience who receives the text—even those who receive it by accident, without being a part of the imagined audience of the guerrilla. To put it another way using Barthes own words, "a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination" (148). This burden is further complicated by the means in which each audience member necessarily approaches the text through the lens of the Burkean terministic screen created as a result of their own positioning within the culture wherein the text exists. With this weight upon the audience, the guerilla rhetor must be purposeful and strategic in how he or she ensures the message reaches its destination in terms of each sense of guerrilla

audience. Most important to this audience-driven message is the fact that the guerrilla

rhetor must produce a compelling text that ensures engagement with competing notions

of audience. Again, without the audience's support, guerrilla rhetoric fails to live up to

the complexity of the guerrilla moniker. Without audience buy-in it becomes something

better characterized as rebellion or vandalism.

GUERRILLA COMMUNITY

The rhetor is commonly examined as an individual. The notion of the rhetor,

much as Foucault argues about the notion of the author, has come into being over time:

"[t]he coming into being of the notion of 'author' constitutes the privileged moment of

individualization in the history of ideas, knowledge, literature, philosophy, and the

sciences" ("What is an Author?" 101). Although Foucault problematizes this notion, it

does ultimately continue to stand as the dominant cultural perspective of the author.

While the rhetor and the author need not be treated as isolated figures, they have certainly

become isolated individuals as a result of their treatment in society. When a rhetor selects

writing as his or her mode of expression this fact is even truer. For example, John

Trimbur recounts images of writers shown in movies and paintings over time at the

beginning of his "Composition and the Circulation of Writing" (188). In his opening

paragraph he comments upon paintings of Gertrude Stein, Jack Nicholson's terrifying

character in *The Shining*, and the Wallace Shawn character in *My Dinner with André*. In

varied ways, each of these portraits of a writer shows them at work alone—toiling away

in isolation, a rhetor and her text once more. However, the portraits of writers that

Trimbur breezes past in his treatment are likely those more important for consideration of

the guerrilla rhetor. Trimbur says, "Aside from newspaper movies such as *Front Page* and *All the President's Men*, where the drama centers around heroic reporters and hard-bitten editors breaking news stories to fight the rich and powerful, it is hard to think of many telling visual representations of the activity of writing" (188). What is unique about these writers depicted in newspaper movies is that their work as writers does not occur in isolation. Instead, they work alongside other important figures that make the development and distribution of their writing possible. They, unlike Nicholson's Jack Torrence, work not in the isolation of their frozen palace, but in close proximity to and dependence upon others. This community-oriented portrait of a rhetor will be the necessary image for understanding rhetoric that exemplifies guerrilla properties.

The experiences of the guerrilla are necessarily rooted in the group experience. While Guevara does discuss the characteristics of the individual guerrilla fighter in his *Guerilla Warfare,* he does so within the context of the guerrilla band. Guevara even defines the guerrilla fighter as one who is part of a group specifically: "the guerrilla fighter [is] one who shares the longing of the people for liberation and who, after peaceful means are exhausted, initiates the struggle and converts himself into an armed vanguard of the fighting people" (49). Thus being a part of this group is an essential characteristic of the guerrilla fighter. As such, a majority of Guevara's discussion of the guerrilla is always rooted in the operation of this band. In fact, the nature of their practices parallels, quite appropriately, with the notion of communities of practice, a concept that is owed to the scholarship of Etienne Wenger. In his "Communities of Practice: A Brief Introduction" he explains that communities of practice "are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it

better as they interact regularly" (Wenger). While this definition is pretty straight forward, Wenger proposes a series of features that stand out as characteristic of such communities. Rather than simply being a group of friends or a club, a community of practice must share a common domain, community, and practice, each defined as follows:

- *The domain:* community of practice is not merely a club of friends or a network of connections between people. It has an identity defined by a shared domain of interest. Membership therefore implies a commitment to the domain, and therefore a shared competence that distinguishes members from other people [...]

- *The community:* In pursuing their interest in their domain, members engage in joint activities and discussions, help each other, and share information. They build relationships that enable them to learn from each other [...]

- *The practice:* A community of practice is not merely a community of interest--people who like certain kinds of movies, for instance. Members of a community of practice are practitioners. They develop a shared repertoire of resources: experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems—in short a shared practice. This takes time and sustained interaction [...] (Wenger)

One particularly compelling reason that I have elected to develop my analysis of the guerrilla through the lens of the community of practice is in part as a result of the means in which this concept continues to be quite new and evolving. Since Wenger has

developed a theory of this form of community the term has been examined and scholars

in some arenas have attempted to adopt or implement the model in a variety of contents.

Linda C. Li et al., for example, trace this history of the term from its inception through

2002 and ultimately conclude that the concept is quite difficult to develop in practice.

They explain that the concept of the communities of practice was "originally developed

as a learning theory that promotes self-empowerment and professional development, but

as the theory evolved, it became a management tool for improving an organization's

competitiveness" (Li et al.). In most cases, however, this concept has been examined

more as a theory than as something in practice. In other words, discussion of

communities of practice often theorize about how such communities might be formed in

contexts such as classrooms and workplaces, but rarely seem to analyze how such

practices have actually developed. It might be the case that the organic development of

such concepts is actually fairly rare or difficult to foster. In fact, Li et al. argue that "[t]he

tension between satisfying individuals' needs for personal growth versus the

organization's bottom line is perhaps the most contentious of the issues that make the

[community of practice] theory challenging to apply." As I believe the guerrillas might

provide one site where this kind of community might develop in a way that is less pre-

planned and more organic, I believe they potentially provide a fantastic site for

developing understanding of community of practice and how they might be developed.

 To articulate how the term might be productive as a guerrilla rhetoric concept it is

first necessary to situate the concept in the field. The elements of a community of practice

can be observed at times in rhetoric as well as writing studies; however, these discussions

are deeply connected to the domain of the academy or at least the elite discourse

tradition. For example, the Sophists had a common domain of rhetoric; those that were considered Sophists shared their ideological perspectives on rhetoric and trained in the subject. The Sophists and their students formed a small kind of community and together developed their expertise, or practice, in orality and rhetoric together. These communities of practice were concerned with developing skill in the privileged discourse form of the speech. While early scholars of rhetoric depended upon one another in key ways, ultimately their final product—the speech—was delivered individually. Thus, once more, the final image of the rhetor, despite a kind of community of practice, is one who is solitary. This greatly contrasts with my image of the guerilla. The guerrilla cannot simply strategize with comrades and then wage the war alone. As a result, the Sophist and the classical models of mentorship fail to provide a satisfying prototype for developing a theory of guerrilla community of practice. Instead, I find turning to more contemporary notions of collaborative writing, as seen in the applied rhetoric realm of composition studies, much more productive.

In the opening to their *Writing Together*, a book essentially documenting the collaboration of Andrea A. Lunsford and Lisa Ede over the course of their careers, the authors describe what it means for them to write "together." The image they construct clearly corresponds to how I perceive the community of practice of the guerrilla operating. They explain, "as we wrote together, we discovered a new voice, one that was part Lisa, part Andrea, part all our other interlocutors, sources, and friends, and part something else, something *together*" (4). What I appreciate about this description is the way in which the individuals of this two-person community are still apparent in the product they create, yet their creation is, at the same time, producing something that is

only made possible as a result of the togetherness they experienced. They appropriate Burke's notion of "identification" and "division" to describe the effect of this togetherness when they say, "just as people yearn for identification, for true joining with another or others, they also need division, a sense of separation and separateness. In our experience, the act of writing together and of seeking 'identification' allows us to better see ourselves as distinct" (5). The authors describe their experiences in collaboration in this passage in part to explain a phenomenon that they specifically indicate others in the field find quite uncommon.

While this kind of intensive co-creation is unique in the academy, I believe it could be central to the community of practice of the guerrilla. The common domain of shared interest for the guerrilla is the pursuit of the people's cause. In the people's cause is an inherent sense of "identification." A dedication and willingness to fight for this cause makes the guerrilla stand apart from the other civilians who might not yet support the cause, but *together* with those whom have joined sides to fight. I imagine that guerrilla rhetoric, like the public writing that Paula Mathieu and Diana George describe is, to draw on their words, "not achieved by *going it alone*, but through networks of relationships, in alliances between those in power and those without it, through moments of serendipity" (144). As a result of their common goal or cause, the group works together, shares information and develops strategies together.

Ultimately, the group exhibits strongly the characteristics of the community of practice. Without strong communication within the community, the guerrilla enterprises would be rendered unsuccessful. Additionally, guerrillas are not merely military strategists. They do more than share information and plan combat, they engage in the

battle personally with even the leaders, such as Guevara was, operating alongside the other members of the army. While they may go off on individual missions and work on small tasks on their own (instances of "division"), ultimately they are engaged in one overall little war. In fact, to this end, when describing the guerrilla band, Guevara emphasizes the importance of identification within the group. He says, "[r]espect for work, especially for collective work and for collective ends, should be cultivated" (157).

I believe the characteristics of domain, community and practice should be identifiable, if not in the product of the guerrilla rhetor, then in his or her processes. The community should work together toward a common cause; they should engage in a practice together as a result of their dedication to the cause; and they form should guerrilla strategies and tactics from one another as part of the community's responsibilities to itself. Additionally, the community ought to also demonstrate, to return to Lunsford and Ede's terminology, "something *together*" in addition to their own distinct voice. There should be something unique that comes from the workings of the guerrilla band that taps into the cause that one operative working alone would not be able to tap into effectively.

GUERRILLA *TECHNE*

Aristotle's *techne* is loosely translated as "art" (31). In the notes accompanying this clarification, George A. Kennedy explains that upon the writing of *On Rhetoric,* Aristotle had "no doubt that rhetoric is an art" (31). Aristotle, therefore, conceives of this art as something that involves technique. Kennedy goes on to explain that "[a]wareness of the cause of success allows technique to be conceptualized and taught systematically"

(31). In keeping with this notion, Aristotle further defines *techne* in *Nicomachean Ethics* when he says, "[a]ll art is concerned with coming into being, i.e. with contriving and considering how something may come into being which is capable of either being or not being, and whose origin is in the maker and not in the thing made [...] Art, then, as has been said, is a state concerned with making, involving true reasoning" (105). This "reasoned habit of the mind" (as Kennedy calls it) is the expertise of the rhetorician in many ways. Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, as a result, provides instruction in techniques that might be successfully used by rhetoricians to make their message come into being in a way that is effectively rhetorical. These techniques are dependent upon the context of rhetoric and the rhetorician him or herself; to put it another way, they are ultimately influenced by the rhetors integrity and receptivity within a situation.

Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare*, in the same way, outlines the techniques that he has observed bring about success for the guerrilla fighter. His text offers a systematic approach to warfare to help increase the chances that future guerrilla warriors will be successful. Guevara refers to the traits of this systematic approach tactics. These tactics, he explains, build upon the initial guerrilla strategy—which, as introduced in this chapter above—is the incremental progression toward a war against the oppressive power. Guevara says that tactics in one way "complement strategy, and in another way they are more specific rules within it. As a means to an end, tactics are much more variable, much more flexible than the final objectives, and they should be adjusted continually during the struggle. There are tactical objectives that remain constant throughout a war and others that vary" (25). Carlos Marighella explains that guerrillas are those who have such difficulties that "have to be surmounted, forcing the urban guerrilla to be imaginative and

creative, qualities without which it would be impossible for him to carry out his role as a revolutionary" (Kindle Locations 178-179). The tactics that are characteristic of this imaginative guerrilla practice, such as surprise, demonstration of knowledge of the terrain, and speed, may help guerrilla rhetors to develop techniques that allow them to gain rhetorical agency in new subversive domains. It is within these new domains that progress toward their cause might be facilitated. The guerrilla tactics, like rhetorical *techne*, are dependent upon the context of war and the warriors themselves as well; thus, both *techne* and guerrilla tactics have strong ties to *kairos* since the guerrilla war cannot be fought just any time and any place.

Ultimately, I think it is possible to view guerrilla *techne*, in a general sense, as the strategies put forth in a situation, which might be taught systematically, to help the guerrillas make incremental progress toward their goal. For example, within the context of Mwangi's work, one strategy that the artist has adopted to help make his argument is the rhetorical technique of the frame shift. There are many layers of this technique apparent in his February 14th campaign, for example. First, the artist has long been making the claim that it is time for change within his country while politicians explain away the problems by pointing to the relatively young age of the country. Change in this overt discussion is perceived by most in the political sphere as progress. However, Mwangi is interested in raising the awareness of the people, of the citizens. To do so he shifts the frame away from progress and toward another context wherein change and young aged people are discussed: diapers. He elects the image of the diaper first to draw in viewers through the humor involved in seeing adult people in giant diapers, but also to make a specific point that expands the personification initiated by his government. His

campaign essentially makes a complex argument through a metaphor. It seems to accept that just as a caregiver wouldn't fault a small child for needing to have his or her diaper changed, so too we cannot fault Kenya, as a young country, for also being in need of changing. However, a responsible caregiver, knowing this, would not simply allow a child in need of a fresh diaper to remain in that state; they would need to work to make the change possible—or else the child will cry out and be perceived as neglected. In a similar way, Mwangi's campaign argues that the government ought to seek changes to better the country or else the people should cry out.

Through the combination of humor and the play on the images evoked by the word "change," Mwangi is able to spread an idea of the common people and thus help make progress toward influencing the government officials' practices, but also impacting the citizens' voting tendency. However, Mwangi's *techne* in this circumstance is made more effective as a result of the context. If citizens of Washington, DC, for example, were to arrive at the nation's capital clad in giant diapers demanding change the image would not have the same clout and thus would likely be less effective—although it might garner significant attentions--because the age of the country make this metaphor that builds on this notion of infancy would be less poignant.

This notion that technique is context dependent corresponds in many ways to the notion put forth by Lloyd Bitzer of constraints placed upon rhetorical situations. Bizter explains,

> [s]tandard sources of constraint include beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, motives and the like; and when the orator enters the situation, his discourse not only harnesses constraints

given by situation but provides additional important constraints — for example his personal character, his logical proofs, and his style. (8) These specific constraints make up the three artistic proofs or *entechnic* proofs articulated by Aristotle (38). As such, the artistic proofs serve as an appropriate starting place to synthesize guerrilla tactics and *techne* to begin developing a more specific framework of guerrilla *techne*.

The artistic proofs, according to Aristotle, are those that "can be prepared by method and by 'us'" (38). In other words, these proofs are those that need to be systematically invented by building upon the preexisting elements of a situation. The first of these is *ethos*. In *On Rhetoric* Aristotle explains, that some proofs are invented "in the character [*ethos*] of the speaker" (37). Kennedy's note clarifies that the "role of character in a speech is regarded as making the speaker seem trustworthy" (38). To further elaborate on this concept Aristotle specifically indicates that listeners are more likely to believe those who appear "worthy of credence" and "fair-minded" regardless of "previous opinion that the speaker is a certain kind of person" (38-39). Aristotle's notion of ethos emphasizes the character of the person while delivering the speech. In contrast, Cicero's conception of *ethos*, however, emphasizes the whole person, beyond the speech delivery context. In *On the Ideal Orator*, Cicero's Antonius introduces the concept of *ethos* as consisting of not only the person within the speech they give, but as a whole entity. He explains,

> the character, the customs, the deeds, and the life, both of those who do the pleading and of those on whose behalf they plead, make a very important contribution to winning a case. These should be approved of,

and the corresponding elements in the opponents should meet with
disapproval, and the minds of the audience should, as much as possible, be
won over to feel the goodwill toward the orator as well as toward his
client. (171)

Thus, in this way Antonius argues that there is power in developing goodwill with the
audience as a result of one's character. For Antonius good character is composed of
certain elements; he says, "indications of flexibility, on the part of the orator and the
client are quite useful, as well as signs of generosity, mildness, dutifulness, gratitude, and
of not being desirous or greedy" (171). These traits evoke the characteristics of
Quintilian's "good man speaking well"; while Quintilian's notion of the good man might
not immediately evoke the likes of Che Guevara, it is important to note that the manner in
which the guerrilla presents him or herself in the process of the guerrilla war is of great
importance to Guevara. The guerrilla leader speaks of the nobility of the guerrilla fighter,
which is deeply related to the nobility of the cause for which he or she fights. His
descriptions evoke images reminiscent of Antonius's speaker and client and their lives.
Guevara demonstrated expectations for his warriors' character in describing what they
ought to carry with them. He emphasizes the need for warriors to carry books along with
paper and writing instruments. He says, they ought to be able to write notes and letters,
but also should have books that are "of general character that can raise the cultural level
of the soldiers and discourage the tendency toward gambling or other undesirable
pastimes" (65). Thus, Guevara had standards for the behavior and character of men he
would have in his guerrilla unit. He, in his own way and according to his own standards,
sought to foster a unit of "good men."

Additionally, Guevara explains that the "combative attitude, this attitude of never being discouraged, this resolution in confronting the great problems by the final objective also epitomizes the nobility of the guerrilla fighter" (21). Seeing the guerrilla warrior in this way helps the people to develop trust in him or her. Here we might also extract characteristics of flexibility and dutifulness, as Antonious described. Indeed, Carlos Marighella echoes these ideas when he describes additional traits of guerrilla character; he says that "[t]he urban guerrilla must possess initiative, mobility, and flexibility, as well as versatility and a command of any situation" (Kindle Locations 180-181). These characteristics demonstrate elements of the guerrilla character that contribute to his or her *ethos*, but they also speak to an awareness of *kairos*, ultimately, as an important characteristic of the guerrilla rhetoric. This overlap points to the way that the guerrilla concepts in this project ultimately do overlap and contribute to one another at times.

In addition to these characteristics presented by Marighella, I would argue additionally that while generosity and a lack of greed are not directly stated in Guevara's passages but are addressed in other places through the way Guevara describes seeing to the needs of the peasants in the lands the guerrillas navigate, for example (96-97). Thus, the guerrilla rhetor might be said to be one who is persistent, and responsive, but also compassionate, otherwise they would not adopt the cause as their own in the first place.

While some of Antonius's elements of character are present in the guerrilla, we may not see other elements such as mildness. It is hard, in the context of warfare, to perceive the guerrilla as mild. Carlos Marighella, for example, says "the fundamental and decisive characteristic of the urban guerrilla is that he is a man who fights with arms" (Kindle Locations 211-212). It is difficult to conceive of the warrior as mild. And even as

a rhetorician, rather than a warrior, I am not certain that mildness will always be effective in gaining the trust of the client or people for which the guerrilla is working. Once again, guerrilla *ethos* must be contextually constructed rather than developed entirely through the lens that Cicero and Quintilian brought to the concept as a result of their access to arenas of power within Roman society.

The second artistic proof is found in "disposing the listener in some way" (38). This proof occurs, Aristotle explains in *On Rhetoric*, when the audiences is "led to feel emotion [*pathos*] by the speech; for we do not give the same judgment when grieved and rejoicing or when being friendly and hostile" (39). While Aristotle makes this concession, Kennedy also points out in the notes that he does so despite his objections to the use of *pathos* in the handbooks. Kennedy explains that in including it here, Aristotle is recognizing "that among human beings judgment is not entirely a rational act. There are morally valid emotions in every situation, and it is part of the orator's duty to clarify these in the minds of the audience" (39). As with *ethos*, Cicero's Antonius describes also how appeals to *pathos* work. The character explains, "the other mode of speaking I mentioned, which stirs the hearts of the jurors quite differently" (172). He goes on to describe the range of emotion that jurors might be led to experience (joy, hate, fear, safety, to name a few) through the speech of someone and to indicate the importance of that speaker making the juror believe he or she is experiencing these emotions his or herself as the speech develops (172-173). Making the audience feel something intense and to believe they are feeling it along with the speaker helps to make them more amendable to the cause of the speaker. As a result it can be an effective technique in rhetoric.

In the context of guerrilla warfare there are primarily two emotions to which the guerrilla fighter attempts to lead his or her audience—one for the enemy and another for the people. First, the guerrilla fighter aims to keep the enemy in an unsettled state. Guevara says, "[a]n entrenched enemy is never the favorite prey of the guerrilla fighter; he prefers his enemy to be on the move, nervous, not knowing the terrain, fearful of everything and without natural protections for defense" (59). Thus, the pathetic appeal of the guerrilla rhetor should aim to unsettle the enemy in some way. It should leave the enemy uncomfortable. The emotional appeals of the guerrilla, however, should have the opposite impact on the audience of the people for whom the guerrilla fights. Guevara says, "[v]igilance against any manifestations of opposition to the revolution should also be constant; and vigilance over morale within the revolutionary masses should be stricter, if this is possible, than vigilance against the non-revolutionary or the disaffected" (157). In this passage Guevara is describing the means in which the emotions of the guerrilla band and guerrilla sympathizers must be managed at all times. The rhetoric of the guerrilla should target the emotions of the people in such a way as to help lead them toward enthusiasm and warmth toward the cause, rather than to allow them to lose emotional dedication to the cause or become apathetic toward it. Here again, the rhetor is ultimately engaged in negotiating the narrative that is believed and acted upon by the audience members. In this case, presenting a desirable narrative in a means that connects to the emotional needs or tendencies of the audience is effective in helping to move the guerrilla's cause. The guerrilla rhetor should appeal to the emotions of the people to ensure their morale remains high and hopeful for the promise of the cause, but also as a

means of making the guerrilla's narrative more desirable than any narrative presented by the opposing forces.

The final artistic proof is that which develops from argument [*logos*] itself" (37). This kind of rhetorical technique is said to be observed when "we show the truth or the apparent truth from whatever is persuasive in each case" (Aristotle, *On Rhetoric* 39). I can see how this conception of *logos* could be seen as a fundamental way through which guerrilla warriors add members to their cause. Guevara indicates that the "wide-scale organization of the masses" must be "supplemented with patient and careful education, an education that begins and is confirmed in knowledge acquired from their own experience; it must focus on [the guerrilla band's] rational and truthful explanations of the facts of the revolution" (156). Thus, the guerrilla rhetor must additionally appeal to their audience through the delivery of rational and truthful arguments.

However, while this conception of *logos* is most certainly the most often quoted and relied upon version of *logos*, I am not certain it is the most productive use of the concept for the purpose of examining rhetorical pursuits in this project. Instead, I am drawn to David Hoffmann's remediation of the idea from Homeric Greek that *logos* "is a 'composition,' in the most literal sense of 'an entity which has been created by gathering of discrete elements'" (27). In this way the argument is not simply the rational way in which words are made into an argument, but the means in which they form an account that is either effective or ineffective. Hoffmann explains that "an account is a compilation (piling together) of transactions, or a gathering of information upon which a judgement is based. One account is better than another because of what is and is not gathered into it" (32). Thus, I would like to build upon this conception of *logos* to look at it as a technique

wherein elements are drawn together to make the rhetorical pursuit more or less effective.

I believe that this notion is more amendable to contexts wherein the product of a

rhetorical situation is not limited to an exclusively verbal (auditory or written) text. The

contexts I hope to observe, of course, incorporate more elements than the verbal alone.

Additionally, the metaphor I am using to construct a concept of guerrilla *logos* (that is:

warfare) is not bound within the linguistic domain.

Thus, I think this definition allows me to take some liberties in articulating what

might make up the *logos* of the guerrilla technique. I think this might be done by

extracting from what Guevara describes as the essential elements making up guerrilla

tactics. He says,

> [t]he essential elements of guerrilla tactics must always be kept in mind.
>
> These are: perfect knowledge of the ground; surveillance and foresight as
>
> to the lines of escape; vigilance over all the secondary roads that can bring
>
> support to the point of attack; intimacy with people in the zone so as to
>
> have sure help from them in respect to supplies, transport, and temporary
>
> or permanent hiding places if it becomes necessary to leave wounded
>
> companions behind; numerical superiority at a chosen point of action; total
>
> mobility; and the possibility of counting on reserves. (31)

To anticipate what guerrilla *logos* might look like by drawing from this definition, I have

elected to revise this statement in such as way as is appropriate for rhetoric, rather than

battle. While I do think I have made some creative play with the metaphor, and have not

fully incorporated every portion of the description, I believe the elements presented here

will effectively work together to help compose the elements of an effective argument.

Thus, the essential elements of the guerrilla composition include: perfect knowledge of the domain (to include guerrilla *topoi)*; surveillance and foresight as to means of both concluding and delivering the product; intimacy with people in the community so as to not be denied delivery; places and means to safely develop and deliver the product; support of a community in the rhetorical endeavor; and flexibility.

Together the rhetorical concepts treated throughout this chapter— rhetorical situation (with attention upon *exigence, kairos,* and audience), community of practice, and *techne (*emphasizing *ethos, pathos* and *logos* specifically)—help develop a foundation through which this project can begin to examine guerrilla rhetoric. While they have, as a result of the linear nature of writing, been treated as distinct concepts, in reality these concepts intertwine and build on one another. For example, determining the *kairotic* moment is greatly dependent upon the *exigence* determined by the rhetoric as well as the particular audience. The effectiveness of *techne* is dependent upon *kairos* and *exigence* as well. The approach to the *techne* of the rhetor likely is learned as a result of the shared knowledge that comes as a result of engaging within a community of practice, but also the discursive tradition, which I perceive as being an important element of the rhetorical situation. While the history of each term is treated separately in the section above to help establish the codes that will be used for analysis in this project, the terms have been considered together during the course of the data examination, allowing, for example, one piece of data to shed light upon how multiple concepts are at work within the communication being examined.

METHODOLOGY

The goal of my investigation is to develop a framework wherein I might closely examine

the rhetorical practice of groups who are community-based, subversive and operating

from a disenfranchised position to address a perceived people's cause. Most importantly,

however, I have developed a context wherein I can evaluate my own theory of guerrilla

rhetoric as presented in this chapter. Phelps explains that

> "[t]heorists conduct thought experiments that trace the logical and
>
> terminological implications of concepts and test their consequences—
>
> conceptual and material—speculatively in an imaginative (or actual)
>
> empirical space, asking What happens if we think this way? If we see or
>
> redescribe phenomena AS this, or if we view them THROUGH this
>
> terministic screen?" ("Practical Observations about How to Theorize:
>
> Functions and Strategies for Conceptual Inquiry" 8).

Thus, my methodology aims to establish a framework through which this thought

experiment can take place. Having answered the first research question through the

development of preliminary concepts of guerrilla rhetoric, I now must determine: what

rhetorical strategies are used within oppressed groups trying to have their causes

recognized or acknowledged, such as graffiti writing and hardcore punk rock

communities; in what ways do these groups adopt guerrilla tactics to address their

rhetorical concepts; and, in what ways do these groups adapt guerrilla tactics to address

their rhetorical contexts? To answer these questions, data from empirical research is

necessary.

This need for formalized research to support or further this theorization

corresponds to Phelps' description of how such processes take place. She explains,

"theorists often use empirical fact, including data from formal research, as a tool and a

source of Langer's 'logical intuition'" (7). Such an approach to research, she continues,

allows me to have what John Law described as "some more data to think with" (7). Thus,

by establishing a framework for formal investigation, this proposed theory of guerrilla

rhetoric can be tested and further developed.

Case study research is particularly appropriate for these aims. Robert K. Yin

defines this form of investigation as: "an empirical inquiry that investigates a

contemporary phenomenon in-depth and within its real-life context, especially when the

boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (18). This research

project approaches the investigation of its two contexts by looking at case study

methodology as a "heuristic that aid[s] the researcher in the situated and critical practice

of research" (Sullivan and Porter 46). In keeping with guerrilla practice, this design

should not be seen as stagnant or fixed. Instead, I made methodological decisions with an

emphasis upon the kairotic moment. In this way, I adopted the notion, presented by

Sullivan and Porter that "all methodology is rhetorical, an explicit or implicit theory of

human relations which guides the operation of methods" (11). Thus, rather than a being

rigid framework, methodology becomes a series of processes that are developed in

response to specific contexts and needs.

This approach to methodology, referred to as critical research practice by Sullivan

and Porter, "advocate[s] a view of research as a set of critical practices (praxis) that

acknowledge the rhetorical situatedness of participants, writing technologies, and

technology design and that recognize research as a form of political and ethical action"

(14), although it might cast a wider net than Sullivan and Porter do in imagining the types

of styluses (such as spray can or voice) and storage devices (walls especially) that

contribute to a full conception of writing technologies. When Sullivan and Porter use the

term "critical" in their description of their philosophy of method they do so in a way that

is "moving toward a version of *critical* that picks up on the central themes of traditional

Critical Theory but merges them with several other areas" (20). Specifically, their

conception brings Critical Theory into conversation with postmodern and feminist

notions of methodology. In this way, the scholars explain, their "notion of critical pushes

more toward the sense of critical reflection, challenge, and then positive action (21).

While Sullivan and Porter use the word "critical" to describe these processes, another

term, used by Louise Wetherbee Phelps, is perhaps even more descriptive. As Phelps

explains in her interview with Tanya Rodrigue, she developed a three-level definition of

the term "productive theory" while teaching a graduate level course on the subject. This

definition posits that productive theory is first,

> a theory or concept that explains or describes production or productive
>
> practice. Second, it's a theory or concept that is designed to afford
>
> production or productive practice, or a concept that wasn't designed to do
>
> this but can be appropriated for that purpose. The third, more inclusive, is
>
> any concept or theory that is generative, meaning that historically it has
>
> produced new problems, ideas, questions, other concepts, elaborations,
>
> etc. One thing [the graduate students in the course] found really useful was
>
> the concept of affordance—the idea that productive theory affords or

enables constructive action, building or creating anything. (Phelps qtd in

Rodrigue)

This kind of theorizing emphasizes construction and building, rather than critique. Thus,

this project holds that research practices should be productive and work towards positive

action in some way. More specifically, it maintains that the research practices ought to

bring into being the opportunity for constructive action for the people; in this case, the

people are defined as the participants in the study as well as the people their rhetoric

seeks to aid. Thus, I aim to bring about greater exposure to the perceived people's cause

as defined by these guerrillas, but also ensure that such exposure is productive. At all

times the cause of the people should be central to my procedural approach. For example,

if either participant had believed that being identified in this study would negatively

impact him or her, or his or her cause, then I would have made every effort to remove all

identifying information about that subject from the research documentation.

In addition to emphasizing critical practices, my approach to the methods for this

project is also rhetorically situated. Sullivan and Porter discuss their use of the term

"rhetorically situated" to describe critical research practices. In doing so, they indicate

that their "focus on the term *situated* acknowledges that practices are always exercised at

particular moments, at a particular time and place in a culture, society, or group" (28).

They then go on to clarify that "[i]t is not enough in rhetoric merely to know the

strategies; one must also have developed the critical judgment necessary to make

decisions about which ones apply, and how and when to use them, in any particular case"

(28). In keeping with this notion, the methodological approach must not only apply

general research method strategies to the context, but, more importantly, make critical

judgments about the decisions made in the research design development. Thus, each decision in the design ought to be justifiable based upon the context and cause of the people. As such, in the section that follows, I describe the procedures that were initially decided upon prior to data collection and justify preliminary decisions based upon the context and cause of the people related to the study, as I perceived it prior to data collection.

DATA AND PROCEDURES

I collected data by way of artifact analysis and interview. A broad range of artifacts to include verbal (written and oral) texts, images and video served as one data set. The second data set consists of original interviews conducted with the participants. Examining the data from these multiple vantage points allowed me to seek patterns across texts, which helped me think through the rhetorical practices of the groups and people in question.

I used critical judgment based upon the needs of the participants and the tenor of the moments to determine the best approach to capturing data. First, I contacted potential participants by way of an introductory email. This message introduced me, described the nature of the research design, and requested participation from the participant. This introduction explained that I was interested in exploring issues related to the intentions these participants have when they produce their "texts." Upon receiving permission to study both participants (via the informed consent included as appendix A), I began data collection through scheduled interviews. Each participant was provided the opportunity to choose whether or not his name and identifying information was recorded in the

research documentation or whether a pseudonym of their choosing would be utilized. At the end of each initial interview both participants elected to use their own name in the study, but I still assured them that they would have the flexibility to be able to modify their choice if they wished to during the course of my inquiry. Both seemed to indicate this continued choice was not necessary.

Necessarily, the data collection for the two case studies varied slightly to reflect the unique context of each activity. However, each case had the central goal of helping me to better understand:

- *Exigence*: The motives the participants have for composing their products; the message or achievement of the piece, as perceived by the writers;

- *Kairos*: The means in which current events and political climate impact or motivate their message; the notion of the message in light of concepts of truth or metanarrative, as perceived by the group or writer;

- *Audience*: The individual and group's conception of those whom the piece is aimed at; the individual and group's conception of how the public views the text as well as how the intended audience views the text;

- Community: The writer's relationship to a group, understanding of his or her group and his or her identity within the group;

- *Techne*: Considerations and choices the writers make in composing; conventions writers understand in relationship to their genre.

QUESTIONS FOR ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

Using artifact analysis, I sought to answer the following questions for each population.

For data collection purposes, these questions were to be reshaped slightly to be more

specific to each population:

- *Exigence*: What motives for composing, if any, are directly

  observed/articulated?

- Audience: What role does the community and/or government play in

  the development of the work? What statements do participants make

  about the relationship of their work to their community? To society?

  To those in power? To those without power?

- *Kairos*: What role does legality, political correctness, and

  appropriateness play in the composing process? How do you think

  time and place influence the reception of your texts?

- Community: How do the participants work with others within and

  beyond the group? What role does collaboration play? How does

  collaboration influence the development of the text?

- *Techne*: How do the participants reveal composing choices? What is

  the nature of those choices? How are specific topics, symbols,

  techniques, words, and/or colors used to convey meaning? Why are

  these selected? How does the participant present his or herself? Does

  the participant indicate a sense of decorum related to their medium or

  community? In what ways does the participant seem to target their

  audience?

QUESTIONS FOR KEY PARTICIPANTS

I posed the following basic questions to participants during interviews. These questions

were reshaped slightly during the data collection process to make them more specific to

the context in question and to make the interview feel more conversational and natural.

- *Exigence*: How did you get involved in this art form? What got you

  interested in the context? What motivates you to produce this work?

  What do you attempt to convey through your work in this medium? Do

  you feel you accomplish this? How do you know?

- Audience: Who do you see as your audience? What do you do to

  reach that audience specifically? To your knowledge, how does the

  public view your work? How do you view the public's perception of

  your work? How does the audience's response to your work influence

  or inform figure works you produce? How does the public relate to

  your intended audience? Do you feel that your work addresses any

  audience that might oppose your values? If so, how do you view this

  population's perception of your work?

- *Kairos*: How do current events and/or the climate of Washington, DC

  as a whole relate to your work? Does it correlate? In what ways?

  How do you respond to these events or climate? Can you provide an

  example of a response?

- Community: How did you learn the composing practices of this

  medium? Who taught you and what did you learn from them? Have

  you contributed to the learning of composing practices of others in

some way? How so? Do you see this work as part of a community? If so, what are the norms of this community? How did you learn them? Are there rewards for following them? What are the punishments for defying them?

- *Techne*: What strategies do you use to develop your message? What conventions of your medium do you adopt or defy? How do those add to the success of your text? How do you judge whether a work is successful or effective? Does this matter to you?

- Guerrilla: How would you define the term "guerrilla"? Do you think the term "guerrilla" is an appropriate term for describing your work? Why or why not.

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysis of the data from this study built from the theoretical propositions presented in this chapter. My analysis then looked at data both case-by-case and across cases. Each artifact and interview was coded using the concepts from this chapter as a guide. After assembling data that addressed each concept, I synthesized the material to make overall claims about the rhetor's apparent approach to each concept. I then applied the lens of this chapter's guerrilla theory to the approach to look for ways in which the guerrilla notion and the case study notion matched or diverged. Thus, using the preliminary theorization of the concepts of guerrilla rhetoric presented here allowed me to draw conclusions in chapters 4 and 5 about the nature of the rhetoric of the two case study participants. These conclusions then helped me to evaluate the strengths and

shortcomings of the guerrilla framework I have initially described. Cross-case synthesis in chapter 6 helped me to further analyze these characteristics of the frame by allowing me to consider common points of departure and congruence.

As such, the next two chapters present the findings from this thought experiment. The presentation of these chapters, like chapter 3, is organized around the key concepts that were analyzed throughout the initial theorizing of the guerrilla framework. Ultimately because of the nature of my initial theory and the data collection procedures that followed, those concepts created a kind of terministic lens throughout the project. Like any lens, the one created by these terms is necessarily limiting. Having elected to think through the data using these preconceived concepts and largely treated them as silos throughout the project allows the thought experiment to have focus, but limits the conclusions made possible in some ways. Additionally, the presentation of this data by concept presents an admittedly fractured portrait of each rhetor. However, my goal in this project is to present some data with which to think rather than to present a holistic image of two previously unstudied rhetors. The opportunity afforded in my approach is that it allows close analysis of the component parts that make up the theory as a whole.

My aim in these data chapters is to present data on how a real-life rhetor uses a particular concept, then, one at a time, think through what new considerations are brought to light through examining the rhetor's approach to the concept in comparison to my own initial assumptions. What is most important for me to present is a record of the means in which these cases shaped my thinking and the ways in which I allowed the consideration of each concept to push against my original thinking. Permitting this tension between the observed and the theorized allowed me to see issues that I had previously not addressed

or considered and I have elected to present the data using this concept-by-concept approach so that I might share these moments of realization with my audience.

While it might initially seem as though I allow the case study participants of the next two chapters to have great authority over what I conclude about guerrilla rhetoric, I have allowed these two men to have such influence over the concepts while I work through the thought experiment so that I allowed myself to be open to possibility and new interpretation. I did not simply conclude that the men were not guerrilla because of the ways in which some of their concepts pushed against my theory. Instead, I allowed myself to entertain how I could absorb what I was seeing into my own theory and then whether doing so would be productive. In this way, the two chapters that come next make my thinking visual, showing the way in which working through the data helped my theory and thinking to evolve and develop. Chapter 6, then, is able to present the implications and final conclusions that come from this thought experiment.

CHAPTER 4

THE RHETORIC OF THE REVOLUCIÓN-ISH

"And the sign flashed out its warning in the words that it

was forming. And the sign said, 'the words of the prophets

are written on the subway walls and tenement halls and

whispered in the sound of silence"

-- Simon and Garfunkel

Having established an initial theory of guerrilla rhetoric, this chapter presents the

first case study, which thinks through this theory using a real-life context wherein I

initially hypothesized that guerrilla rhetoric might exist. This case examines the work of

graffiti artist Asad "ULTRA" Walker and the relationship of his work to his context of

Washington, DC. I selected Walker as a participant largely as a result of his long-

standing role in the graffiti art scene within Washington, DC and the means in which his

work is indicative of the graffiti art within that scene. To understand the importance and

applicability of Walker to this study, it is first important to understand some historical

elements about graffiti as an art form, but also as a means of expression and

communication. Furthermore, graffiti's role as a form of expression specifically within

the context of Washington, DC must be further described as a foundation through which

Walker's work can be understood.

While many associate graffiti purely with contemporary adolescent vandalism, the

form actually has roots deep in human ancestry. The word "graffito," which evokes

something being scratched into a surface, traces back to prehistoric petroglyphs

(McDonald 2). According to Fiona McDonald, petroglyphs exist worldwide, on every

continent with human civilization (2). These drawings tended to "illustrate maps and

landmarks to facilitate and communicate to other ancient humans about travel or to show

where tribal boundaries were" (McDonald 2). While maps and travel tips have largely

become corporate commodities in today's society, graffiti today still serves as a means of

establishing kinds of tribal boundaries along with providing a vehicle for other forms of

human expression. Graffiti in the beginning of human existence and graffiti throughout

modern and contemporary existence are alike in that they continue to express concepts

that other open hand domains within society do not make possible.

While the maps and tribal boundaries met one kind of need related to the

navigation of space, other kinds of graffiti allowed for the navigation of ideas. The

ancient Greeks were, as McDonald says, "great practitioners of graffiti" (33). Ancient

Greek graffiti could be found on the city walls of Greece, sharing "toilet humor, sexual

messages, and even insults" (McDonald 33). As the Roman Empire developed, graffiti

developed as a common communication practice. McDonald maintains that graffiti

during this period was "not necessarily seen as a form of vandalism (although if it was

offensive enough, and in the wrong place it would have been condemned and removed)"

(34). McDonald explains that the topics of this period of graffiti included "politics, poetry

and gladiators," but also "sex, love and obscenities" (34). One example McDonald shares

said, "Weep, you girls. My Penis has given up on you. Now it penetrates men's

behinds. Goodbye, wondrous femininity!" (37). The people of this historical period,

especially those living in Pompeii, did not criminalize this work, although it was often as

lewd as the graffiti commonly found in public restrooms today. While this might seem indicative of the childish vandalism seen in contemporary society, what this form of graffiti allowed, once more, was an avenue of expression for ideas and people not readily accepted within the open hand domain of the culture. What rules of decorum might have limited, graffiti made possible.

This trend in graffiti's purpose has continued today. John A. Bates and Michael Martin, for example, studied bathroom stall graffiti. They explain that the graffiti of women was more sexual, less humorous and more hostile than the male graffiti they examined. In addition, they noted that men wrote more often on "trivial" topics while women wrote on subjects that were "political, personal/interpersonal, philosophical, and religious items" (312). However, Harold V. Loewenstine, George D. Ponticos, and Michele Paludi found in their research into the graffiti on bathroom stalls that "the majority of women's inscriptions dealt with offering advice to the love forlorn and existential issues about life, marriage and happiness. More erotic sayings, political issues, and competition concerns were noted in men's restrooms than women's" (308). These two pieces, written only two years apart, present quite contrastive findings. The former study was based upon research at a large Eastern university, while the latter was from a large Midwestern university. A third study, by Robert Eugene Little and Mary Ann Sheble, examined bar restrooms from a small university town and found that females wrote more graffiti with heterosexual content than men, an equal amount of graffitos with homosexual content, but less graffiti with a non-sexual focus (222). In their findings, the nonsexual content more commonly displayed by men contained topics that were politics and career related (224). While the gender distinctions are not relevant to the study of

guerrilla rhetoric, these varied results from different contexts show how graffiti has been used as an outlet to explore various concepts—some of which the graffitist might not be able to or feel comfortable to express in their everyday lives—in an anonymous form. Today this kind of wall tagging takes places not only on brick and mortar walls, but one might argue it also takes place on the virtual walls created in social media sites and other websites wherein comments and responses are allowed, often in an anonymous form.

These more traditional exterior wall texts, of course, are considered to be a very specific kind of graffiti form: scrawling. Scrawling refers to the writing of a name or phrase that is executed quickly with no embellishments. The form that an individual piece of expressive vandalism takes is highly contextual and *exigence*-dependent. Scrawling would represent the most simplistic form of this kind of expression. The most elaborate, perhaps, might be that which falls under the description of street art, like the vultures Mwangi produced. As Sebastian Peiter and Goetz Werner explain in their *book Guerilla Art*, "since the1990s, [...] street artists have travelled the world, organizing shows in small galleries and trend stores and leaving a visual presence wherever they go. They see themselves as part of an urban art that subverts the dominance of the advertising that pollutes the landscape of our cities" (4). Thus, this artwork includes more than the common graffiti most often seen on bathroom stalls; it includes sticker art, stenciling, wheat pasting (a form of urban art wherein art pieces are affixed to walls using a paste of flour and water), sculpture and even street furniture. Words, sometimes legible and other times stylized beyond legibility, might be included in this work, but drawings, often elaborate ones, are commonly used as well.

It is within this domain of expression that Washington, DC graffiti might best fall. Traditional graffiti of Washington, DC is unique in many ways. First, in this context the expression is most commonly executed through "tags" and "throwies." A graffiti tag is a somewhat straightforward signature using a tag name. Tags are most often created using just a single color. Throwies are also signatures but are typically more complex. They might utilize a second color and bubble lettering, for example, but are still designed for quick execution.

This style, representative of the roots of Washington, DC graffiti, contrasts "wild style" pieces, which are indicative of the elaborate, and perhaps more famous, work that have historically marked the New York Subway lines. Wild style pieces are complex works known for their bright colors and 3-D, interlocking lettering, which is nearly illegible to the uninitiated. This style has an important role within the New York context, but is not indicative of historical Washingtonian style. Likewise, Washington, DC graffiti style is equally unlike the more overtly political street art composed by the likes of Boniface Mwangi and Banksy. Mwangi and Bansky's street art uses images and words in combination to form an overt message. The graffiti of Washington has a less directly stated purpose and argument. However, it is equally expressive.

To understand its expression, however, it is important to more completely understand the Washington, DC that graffiti writers like Walker call home. Graffiti truly came to Washington, DC during the 1980s, a time marked by the surge of a uniquely DC style of music: go-go music. This style of music, Roger Gastman and Caleb Neelon explain, was a "percussion-driven offshoot of funk, established by Chuck Brown and without any doubt the sound of the town" ("Introduction: Two Washingtons" 35). This

style of music and the culture that formed around it greatly influenced youth culture in the city. The go-go scene led to the development of a kind of tribal camaraderie between citizens of a very broken city. Gastman and Neelon explain that "kids from Washington, DC's rougher blocks and neighborhoods formed a collection of loose-knit crews of young men and women, all brought together by go-go music and neighborhood pride, for better or for worse" (35). The historians frame this progression as "for better or worse" because while the population of the city gained a sense of unity and community, violence that followed the crews formed in this scene as they battled to prove they were the largest and toughest groups in the District.

The film *The Legend of Cool "Disco" Dan,* as a means of contextualizing the tale of Washington, DC's most infamous graffiti artist, Cool "Disco" Dan, traces the history of Washington during this go-go period and shows how graffiti tagging emerged from this scene. As crews developed in the city, they would aim to develop a sense of fame by aspiring to have their crew name acknowledged during the "roll call" portion of go-go shows. Tidy Callahan who was a member of two go-go bands of the period, Class and Ayre Rayde, argued that recognition was a primary goal for these groups: "[m]ost of the time what they [are] looking for is for the bands to actually recognize them. They used to come to the shows with big poster boards, with their names sprayed on poster board, so they can stand up in the crowd, and you can read it from anywhere in the building" (qtd in Gastman and Neelon, "DC Crews: Neighborhood Heavyweights" 92). As crew members began to write their crew names and their own crew-related nicknames on the walls around the city and on city bus seats, the rise of go-go graffiti came into being.

This form of graffiti was quickly developed and could be characterized as inartistic, but it had a very specific motive, as Gastman and Neelon say: "[t]he Washington, DC tags were meant to be legible, a symbol of someone's presence rather than artistic talent" (Gastman and Neelon, "DC Crews: Neighborhood Heavyweights" 95). In this way, the motive of this form of graffiti contrasts with the perceptions that Victoria Carrington argues are more commonly associated with urban graffiti texts: "[s]ince the 1970s, graffiti (and in particular tagging) has been constructed as a sign of urban decay and a direct, recalcitrant challenge to middle-class values and control of public and private urban spaces" (417). While some might see it merely as rebellious scribbling, Carrington articulates a motive for this form of graffiti that is more in line with that articulated by Gastman and Neelon. She explains that graffiti

> provides evidence of an alternative city and alternative textual practices. It is loud: it screams from the walls 'I am here and I want you to know.' It screams 'I don't respect your boundaries – textual or spatial.' It is hyper-visible – large, messy, prominent, spatially transgressive, dismissive of private ownership and corporate power – and therefore directly reminds us of the inter-medial nature of text. (417-418)

Carrington's argument shows how graffiti artists write themselves into existence over circumstances that might otherwise ignore them.

This characterization is particularly relevant to the context of DC. Many Washingtonians will tell you the tale of two Washingtons. One is the Washington of the federal government, tourists and the Smithsonian. Roger Gastman and Caleb Neelon explain this notion well: "[f]or most Americans Washington, DC is a nightly news event

taking place in grand buildings. It's a once-in-a-childhood field trip to stare in wonder at grand monuments like the Lincoln Memorial, to honor the sacrifices of American veterans of past wars and conflicts, and to take in the great cultural and entrepreneurial achievements of the nation in its wealth of museums" ("Introduction: Two Washingtons" 26). In these respects, Washington represents national pride, business travel, education and affluence.

However, this characterization leaves out a portion of what makes up the city. This oversight too has become part of American culture. Gastman and Neelon demonstrate the depth of this oversight when they explain the nature of maps and travel guides related to Washington. They encourage their reader to consider the message sent by the maps and travel guides put out for this city:

> [m]ost of these maps don't show all of the actual District, especially the part east of the Anacostia River. They'll cut it off or omit it entirely—as will a travel guide—with a polite turn of phrase to suggest that the omitted areas may still be a bit dangerous. Even worse, most of these maps will include Virginia suburbs like Alexandria and Arlington or Maryland suburbs to the north and west like Chevy Chase and Bethesda. Even though they aren't part of Washington, DC they're part of the Washington of the public imagination. Much of the actual Washington, DC—large parts of its Northeast and Southeast—are unceremoniously chopped off at the map's boarder. ("Introduction: Two Washingtons" 26)

Indeed, it is not uncommon for maps of this area to emphasize the Northwest portion of the District (home to the White House and the Smithsonian museums) almost

exclusively. Not only are the actual residents of this city without federal representation, but also they are systematically overlooked and practically hidden from the public eye. This environment is exactly the kind of context wherein individuals might desire to have a means to argue for their existence and importance in the world in the sense that Carrington describes. The crews and the individual work of graffiti artists who came up as a result of the go-go movement found a means of arguing for their presence regardless of the means in which the government or corporate world opted to write them out of existence. Without access to or trust in open-hand rhetorical means, these groups found rhetorical forms of their own.

Asad "ULTRA" Walker is one graffiti artist who embraced this form as a means to argue for his own presence in the world, first as a 16-year-old homeless child in Washington, DC and then throughout his adult life. While graffiti artists commonly use the term "writer" to describe their work, it seems they predominately see their work as an art form, which they may or may not see as delivering a clear argument. My hypothesis in beginning this project, however, was that the nature of Walker's context of DC and his position within that context, might position his work in such a way as to make his aims reflective of the motives described by Carrington. Additionally, as I began to see Walker's continued work in community events and within the underground art scene of the community, I imagined that his community and their needs would have a heavy influence upon his graffiti work. Because of his community involvement and his motive to rise above the voiceless circumstances of his context, I thought that Walker's work might be not only rhetorical, but a form that exhibited guerrilla rhetoric properties.

To further present this exploration, the remainder of this chapter seeks to answer the second research question of this project (How do communities wherein guerrilla rhetoric might occur use rhetorical strategies?). As I explore this question, I additionally synthesize the rhetorical techniques I observe within Walker's work with the hypothesis about guerrilla rhetoric from chapter 3. This exploration provides a means of helping me to answer my remaining research questions: 3) In what ways do these groups adopt guerrilla tactics to address their rhetorical contexts?; 4) In what ways do these groups adapt guerrilla tactics to address their rhetorical contexts?

Thus, for the remainder of this chapter, I analyze the work of Asad "ULTRA" Walker and his own point of view regarding his work. This analysis allows me to present an understanding of his rhetorical strategies as one of DC's longest standing graffiti artists. According to Roger Gastman, "ULTRA is one of DC's oldest graffiti writers who's still alive and kicking. A resident of DC in the early 80s, ULTRA attained notoriety with the names HOBO and RAGE. He started one of DC's first graffiti crews, called 'KGB (KRYLON GRAFFITI BOYS)' in '83 with SKI and RITZ" (105). While Gastman calls this notorious crew the Krylon Graffiti Boys, I have also heard them referred to as the Krazy Graf Brothers, but only as the acronym of KGB by Walker himself. Regardless of the meaning of this crew name, their place in DC graffiti history is clear as they were both one of the first crews founded and one that is still in existence today.

Walker tagged using the name HOBO during his early graffiti days, before the crew formed. Appropriate to the name, he was largely homeless during this time and was once arrested during this time for what the police called "and entering a storehouse"

(Walker). The artist described the circumstances of his arrest in this way: "There was nothing in there. I was in there sleeping and I think I had just turned 18 and that was like my first, first felony charge" (Walker). For a time Walker continued with the name HOBO. However, when he moved to New York to live with his first son and the child's mother, he took on the tag name RAGE for his new context.

In 1990, he returned to DC and adopted the tag name ULTRA. Walker's own website describes this time period this way: "[Walker] chose the new title "ULTRA" and began to create a reputation for himself. Unfortunately, Asad also made many mistakes and the thuggish street life he lived turned on him. Arrested for crimes unrelated to graffiti, Asad was sentenced to 5 years in Lorton, DC's notorious prison complex." ("About." *Asad "ULTRA" Walker.*). Both Walker and publications about the artist fail to reveal the exact nature of the crime leading to this arrest. Following Walker's time in the Lorton Workhouse, he has continued to participate in the KGB crew and to tag using the name ULTRA, as well as another graffiti tag that is less publically known.

He was not arrested for crimes related to graffiti until 2011 and although the media coverage for that arrest was widespread it seems there was little evidence to implicate Walker for a major crime. The artist was arrested while on his way home from work. From what I understand, the artist allegedly was carrying graffiti paraphernalia (i.e. a spray paint can). The DC police force made a statement saying

> I want to give kudos to our 5D Vice Officer Jonathan Jordan, who arrested
> a major player in DC's tagging/graffiti subculture Sunday morning [...]
> this subject is a leader and founding member of the "KGB" graffiti crew
> that dates back to at least the early 90s. Current members of this crew are

responsible for a huge amount of the graffiti across the city, including the

Shaw, Columbia Heights, Brookland and Eckington neighborhoods.

(Dorrough qtd in Morrissey)

Although the police were quite excited about this arrest, *DCist* (a major news outlet of the

area) indicated that the arrest was likely a "minor citation" because their researchers

could not find court documentation of the arrest (Morrissey). Walker, however,

responded to *DCist*'s request for statement on the issue saying,

I have been quite open with my identity as ULTRA and have actively

promoted the understanding of graf culture for many years [...] I am

trying to do good work with good people, by fostering understanding

between graf and non-graf folk, and I hope these charges don't harm any

of their endeavors (Walker qtd in Morrissey).

What I saw in considering Walker's history in graffiti within Washington is the way in

which his work and aims took shape over the years within the community. One reason

ULTRA's work appealed to me is that like his crew, his work evolved with the graffiti

scene and local politics of Washington, DC throughout the last forty years. His work,

therefore, provides both historical insight as well as contemporary perspective.

The data for this case came as a result of a multiple-step data collection process.

First, I collected media related to Asad "ULTRA" Walker that was available from a

variety of news and entertainment websites, books on graffiti, as well as his own personal

website. This material helped me to gain a greater understanding of the artist's public

persona and his background. I used it primarily to help me understand my participant and

to provide specific details to bring to personalizing the follow up questions that I then

asked during my interview with him. The primary data for this project came from a one-on-one interview I conducted using the "Key Participant Questions" from chapter 3 as my guide. This interview allowed me to ask specific questions that prior published data on the artist did not address directly.

For our interview, Walker and I met at the Fridge Gallery in Washington, DC, where he currently works as an assistant gallery director. The Fridge is owned and operated by a group of street artists and showcases the work of graffiti artists quite often. The gallery's website describes their mission as "dedicated to making the arts accessible to everyone [and] foster[ing] community dialogue by serving as a creative lab for expression through art" ("The Fridge DC: About"). The gallery is located down an alley off 8th Street in Southeast. It is immediately recognizable because the walls outside are completely covered in a combination of wheat paste art and aerosol paint forming several impressive murals that wrap the building's exterior. The front door to the gallery welcomes with a stenciled proclamation (figure 3): "VIVA LA REVOLUCIÓN-ISH". This phrase struck me as a light-hearted play on the guerrilla pursuits that led me to begin this inquiry, but as my inquiry into Walker's work continued, it evolved into a one-liner that seemed to best characterize his (and later MacKaye's) relationship to my preliminary characterization of guerrilla rhetoric. In some aspects, Walker's work is indicative of what I thought I might find, but it pushes against the construct I initially framed in important ways.

To demonstrate the understanding of his work and its relationship to rhetoric that I gained through this project, I present my conclusions through analysis of this personal interview. Additionally I use a set of images of his work to assist in describing specific

elements of his rhetorical approach. I returned to various different parts of the data, the outside articles, interview and images, over the period of data collection and throughout the writing of this chapter. For each artifact, including the interview transcript, I deconstructed the instance looking for elements that would represent each of the

Figure 3: Stenciling on the door of the Fridge. Photograph by Cheri Lemieux Spiegel.

rhetorical properties presented in chapter 3: rhetorical situation, *exigence*, *kairos*, audience, community of practice, and *techne*. This chapter primarily works to present the findings from this deconstruction. To develop a sense of Walker's rhetorical situation, I

first analyze perspectives on *exigence, kairos*, and audience presented through his

interview. Then, I synthesize those perspectives with additional moments from the

interview to attempt to construct a portrait of his rhetorical situation. Following the

rhetorical situation, I analyze his work in light of my constructions of community of

practice and *techne*. Finally, I draw these sections together to present my conclusions

about the nature of Walker's rhetoric and its recursive relationship of informing and

being informed by my theory of guerrilla rhetoric.

WALKER'S *EXIGENCE*

When I first asked Walker how he got involved in graffiti, he described his own

first experiences seeing graffiti as he took the train from where he was living as a young

kid, his uncle's house in New Hampshire, to Washington, DC where he would visit his

divorced parents. Along the way, he would see the graffiti of New York, Philadelphia,

Baltimore and ultimately DC. He explains, "this was 1981; DC had a huge graffiti scene,

but it was not like what people think of, like the New York Graffiti [...] they call it go-go

graffiti" (Walker). Through this characterization I can see Walker position the work of

DC, much in the way I have above as being distinct from the graffiti of other locations

and as being very much the result of the go-go movement. When I first asked him why he

decided to actually pick up a spray can and begin his own tagging, he first said he did not

know. However, as he began to talk about that time, motives did become apparent. First

he explained,

> I just thought it was so cool. It was like, to me, those guys were famous.
>
> The guys that I was looking at, you know: WHATS UP WOODY, RE

> RANDY, GO GO NINJA, GO GO HALF PINT. All these guys were, [...]
> to me, they were famous. I mean I'd see [their work] everywhere [...] I
> just was like, I want to be...you know, I want to have my name up.
> (Walker)

As Walker described his development as a graffiti artist from his early days writing

HOBO this idea of fame became a theme. It became clear that he worked to be famous in

the way his early idols had been and enjoyed moments when he felt he had achieved

recognition that validated his presence. For example, he told one story of his younger

days when he was 16 or 17 years old. During this time he was still painting the name

HOBO:

> There used to be a teen club in Bethesda and I was [there] standing on a
> sidewalk. [...] There was a bunch of people standing on the sidewalk and
> these cops come up to these girls [who were the younger sisters of a
> friend] and are like 'yo, we're looking for HOBO; can you guys give us
> any information about HOBO?" And I was standing a foot away and I
> was just like looking up in the air and inside I was like "Yes!" You know?
> "I'm famous!" (Walker).

For Walker this was an achievement because it clearly meant his name was "up" enough

in the neighborhood to have gotten recognition. For writers in the graffiti scene being

"up" meant that the writers had reached some level of notoriety as a result of how

prevalent his or her work was in a particular region. As Walker explained about this early

experience with fame, he joked that he measured the police's attention to determine one's

credibility as a graffiti writer. He explained, "I'll go, 'look, if the police ain't looking for

you, then you're not up [...] Are the police actively pissed off about you and looking for you?'" (Walker). In this way, Walker indicated that the prevalence and repetition of a particular tag would cause the police to take notice. While the officers might see a fair amount of graffiti throughout a space, seeing one tagger's name repeatedly provided them a recognizable target for their investigation. Walker presented this litmus test as a joke, but he did later admit that he and his crew did become known for tagging cop cars. The crew seemed to gain credibility as being tough as a result of the means in which they were not afraid to tag these particular vehicles. Although Walker participated in this activity, he indicated that angering the cops, or anyone really, was not his goal in doing graffiti. He clarified that some writers do write to anger others: "There's graffiti writers that write just to piss people off. I mean, it's true. You know what I mean? I've never been that guy, but I know guys that are that guy" (Walker). For Walker, his motives were not as dark spirited; he continues by explaining that he started out not as a guy trying to anger others, but as one who wanted every day people to see his name.

While some uninitiated into the graffiti world might not see the purpose putting one's name out into the world in this fashion, Walker certainly did, and continues to see it. For him getting up is about expression: "Graffiti artists are kind of expressing something when they are writing their name. They're kind of expressing, 'hey, I'm here,' 'hey, I'm important,' 'hey, check out my style,' and, you know, 'this is my style,' and it's become, you know, there's kind of like a subliminal kind of message to it" (Walker). Expression, as Walker talks about it, was particularly important for those communities of DC who were written out of existence by the tourist industry, particularly during the time when he first began as a graffiti artist.

Walker explains that during the 1980s and 1990s, Washington, DC was an extremely unpleasant city. While he believes the city has changed today as a result of gentrification, during those times there was "a big dichotomy between political DC and power DC, and the actual people, citizens, even more than there is now" (Walker). As a kid who was not just a citizen of that environment, but a homeless runaway in that environment at the age of sixteen, he explained the effects of growing up in these conditions: "you're getting a couple of lessons [from the power DC culture]. You know? You're being told that you're not important or whatever" (Walker). The citizens of DC, despite sharing space with the Power DC, were left largely voiceless and forgotten. Roger Gastman echoes this sentiment when he describes the District of the 1990s in particular. He says that this period was "an incredibly turbulent time for the city, especially its graffiti scene. Despite the decorations of the federal government and the massive population of wealthy lawyers living in the suburbs, DC itself, for most people, was a drug-ridden-free-for-all—such a mess that it became the murder capital of the world" (1). This context seems to point to the greatest motive for writing expressed by Walker during our interview: that the graffiti artist of that time was "expressing himself over that environment" (Walker). By expressing that ideas regarding one's presence and importance, the artists might be observed as attempting to take control over the narrative about them that has been shaped by those exterior to the community.

I see Walker's *exigence* aligning nicely with the motive of graffiti writers that Carrington noted. In many ways, the artist and others like him within the District are writing themselves into existence when they paint the walls of our nation's capital. As Walker uses his texts to argue that he exists and to express who he is, beyond the

narrative suggested by lawmakers in the area, his text becomes a rhetorical expression. While a clearer picture of Walker's general rhetorical situation will continue to emerge through the discussion of *kairos* and audience, considering how this depiction of his *exigence* relates to my initial conception of guerrilla *exigence* is telling. Guerrilla rhetoric, I've suggested, responds to an *exigence* that is socially situated and responds to a perceived danger, ignorance or separateness that specifically interferes with the people's cause. Walker's discussion reveals a kind of perceived separateness in particular. He clearly articulates a distinction between himself and people of the neighborhoods where he grew up from the overarching narrative that power DC articulated about him and the people with whom he grew up.

For this *exigence* to be considered guerrilla in the way I have framed it, however, it must respond to a separateness that interferes with a perceived people's cause. I would argue that Walker articulates his cause when he describes the need for the graffitist to "express himself over that environment" (Walker). In this statement, he is emphasizing expression as a central need for humans. Later in his interview, in fact, he actually discusses expression as though it is not only a human cause, but perhaps the most important one; he says, "you know just about everything that we do when we're not trying to feed ourselves [or provide ourselves with] shelter and security, everything else is art [...] It serves no useful purpose except expressing yourself" (Walker). In this framework, which seems to be Walker's own play on Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, people have four basic needs: food, shelter, security and expression. Thus, for Walker it seems that his *exigence* is to address separateness between himself and his environment that he perceives is limiting his access to self-expression. To put it another way, Walker

might be said to use graffiti to gain access of self-expression despite the conditions of his environment. He seeks to express himself, regardless of the regulations or neglect bestowed upon him by authorities within the District. The danger of engaging in illegal activity, in this light, becomes more innocuous than the danger of silence.

In this way, I see the artist's *exigence* falling in line with modern guerrilla constructs in part because he is actively attempting to change the narrative the city has grown to accept about him and is using his craft as the means of gaining influence the underlying ideology that shapes this national narrative. As a result, Walker's *exigence* aligns nicely with the guerrilla *exigence* notion I put forth previously. However, it must be noted that his *exigence* seems to focus on one central person, himself, rather than a full "people." In this way, his cause seems a little less focused on the liberation of a whole people than I initially envisioned as a result of my attention upon Guevara and Mwangi. While the community is important to Walker, as will become increasingly apparent in the sections below, the liberation or even expression of a whole people was not central to the initial motivation behind Walker's work. This observation will become important as I continue to examine the rhetorical properties of Walker's work and compare it to the properties of guerrilla rhetoric I first articulated.

WALKER'S *KAIROS*

While Walker would not likely use the word *kairos* or kairotic moment in describing his work, our discussion pointed to his ability to read each situation and arrive at an appropriate response based upon the considerations brought forth in that moment. He first started to reveal an understanding of *kairos* when he was first describing why he

began to paint. He said, "I just would get my mind working. Like: that's a great spot right there; I'm going to hit that spot; no one's ever hit that spot; that's right at eye level like if you're walking down the sidewalk and you…it's right at your level. Like nobody'll ever think of that" (Walker). This moment from our interview provides insight into how he views public space. The public walls contain opportunity or potential as platforms for delivery, but his choice in where to paint is not based just upon what is available, but also what will be most effective in his desire to obtain notoriety. He does not just desire a space for his name, but a novel space—one that will set him apart from others. Thus, he selected spaces that were untouched by others or perceived as too dangerous, police cars, for example. In this way, he looks not just for possible spaces, but also for spaces that will help him effectively reach his audience and transcend his message that he was there regardless of what the authorities and those in power might suggest. He says, "I would just be sitting there like calculating. Like how can I get people to look at this?" (Walker). Thus, as he plans a new piece, he considers how the location will impact its reception.

He and other graffiti writers in the 80s and 90s within DC would habitually take advantage of the circumstances of the city to further their writing agenda. Walker explains, "I could tell 100 stories of painting in daytime, you know, where the neighborhood was so crappy and bad that I could just […] go out and take over a wall and paint. You know? In the street. And, you know, I've done that quite a few times." In this way, he demonstrates his and other writers' ability to read the situation they were within and devise a way to work within the new context being read. In this case, they recognize that a regular limitation upon their work—the police—was absent from the

situation, or at the least, neglecting their context, and thus they took advantage of this change of circumstance.

One reason that Walker might be said to be effective in responding to individual contexts has to do with the lack of specific order or at least fixed, concrete guidelines within the graffiti community. As he explained when he discussed the fact that some criticize him for his age (insinuating he should have moved on from this form by now): "I don't know; they didn't hand me a rulebook when I started and as far as I know there hasn't been one issued, and I'm just going to keep doing what I like to do. You know what I'm saying?" (Walker). While Walker suggests here that there is no rulebook, this does not mean that there were not conventions within his discourse community. However, graffiti writing does not happen within a fixed context such as a game wherein a rulebook would be capable of prescribing how "players" should respond to various circumstances. Since there are no concrete rules, Walker and other graffiti artists like him create guidelines for themselves that suit their purposes in the moment. This process is inherently kairotic. They are reaching a truth for the moment and community they are working within.

To demonstrate Walker's evolving response to circumstances, one specific story that Walker told during our interview is particularly telling. In one instance he told a story about the way in which a kind of graffiti etiquette has developed amongst the most recent generation of writers. He specifically described something called "sidebusting," which is when "one graffiti artist hits a wall and another graffiti artist hits the same wall right next to them" (Walker). An example of this practice of sidebusting can be seen in figure 4, which depicts a piece in Boston, Massachusetts by the notorious street artist
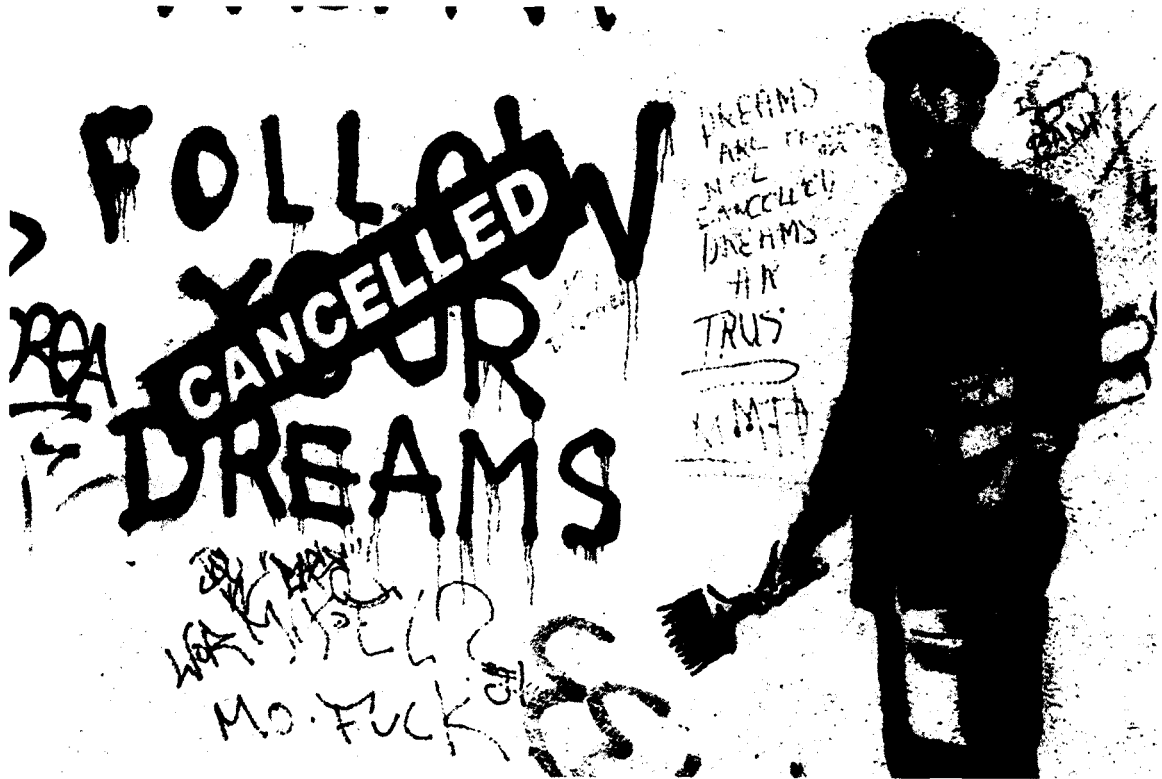
Figure 4: Sidebusting around Banksy piece in Boston. Photograph by Eric Spiegel.

Banksy. This piece has been surrounded by scrawlings of local Bostonians. Scrawlings

around the piece might be interpreted as taking away from the street artist's work (a

likely territorial response to the London based artist) or they might be perceived as more

kairotic—hoping to engage in a conversation started by the original artist or to take

advantage of the moment created by the pull this famous artist's work will have to

increase one's own exposure or reputation for being able to hit the same walls as a great

urban artist. Many graffiti writers today take offense to this practice and considered it a

"diss," or show of disrespect. However, this response, or at least this perceived "rule" is

largely a result of the current circumstances. It was not a practice twenty or thirty years

ago. Walker explained the reason for this shift during our interview: "it's stupid because

20 years everybody was sidebusting. There was no room. Now there's a lot of room and

to them it's like a big deal. It's like a diss. You know what I mean? And back then, to

me, nobody thought it was a diss" (Walker). This evolution shows the way in which order

within the scene develops in relationship to the context. Understanding this evolution,

Walker is able to navigate these circumstances to continue his quest to position himself

within the graffiti scene. He does not simply observe the rules implied by the generation

following him. Instead, he responds to their rules purposefully. He explains,

> there's a funny story. They did this whole wall and they left [...] about
>
> four feet maybe of space between his [Walker gestures to a member of his
>
> crew who is the next room] first piece and the street. So I went in there
>
> and did a vertical piece right in between his piece and the street. And they
>
> were so mad. But we're all friends, so it's funny. If it would have been
>
> anybody else, they'd have been pissed. And I think they were pissed
>
> anyway. So that's one of the dumber rules. (Walker)

This story demonstrates Walker's ability to respond to the changes in the scene and,

although he still rejects the validity of the rules, he is able to exploit them to make a

statement. Ultimately, based upon his emphasis on the age differences as he told this

story, and the way in which he emphasized his age at other points in the interview, it

seems that he takes advantage of these moments to argue for his continued relevance in a

continuously evolving scene. Even within the context of his own community, I see him

regularly struggling to shape the narrative that surrounds him. In this case, he argues that

he is relevant and that he holds a place of power as an elder of the community. If we

continue to perceive Walker's *exigence* as a desire to argue for his existence and worth

within a context that might not value him, then ultimately, this response might be seen as taking advantage of a kairotic moment. Determining, however, whether Walker's use of *kairos* aligns with guerrilla *kairos* is more challenging. Guerrilla *kairos* refers to the context in which the guerrilla can unify their time with their situation in such a way as to understand how to create or encourage change that might forward the perceived people's cause. Walker certainly uses his context and his receptivity to circumstances to address his exigence and further his cause. However, once again it must be noted that in these cases the cause is related to getting his own name up (or, admittedly, in some cases his and his crew's—although we can see him asserting himself against them as well) in these circumstances. As a result, this example points once more toward the idea that in Walker's case his "people's cause" might be perceived as a largely self-interested cause.

In other moments from the interview, however, Walker's kairotic response reflects a less self-interested cause. During our discussion he spoke of the recent occasion (discussed in more detail in the Audience section below) wherein he was arrested in 2011 for graffiti. During this time he experienced an outpouring of unexpected support from the community. He explained, "it galvanized me to do a lot of different things. You know what I mean? Like, I wanted [...] other graffiti writers to understand because they always look at themselves as the enemy. And I wanted them to understand what I [had] just gone through; that, hey, you know, the community isn't against you as much as you think" (Walker). The artist came to see this moment as an opportunity to not only shape his own understanding of his role in the community, but to help others in his crew alter their own understanding of their craft. As he developed his understanding of the community's acceptance of his work, his efforts began to turn more outward:

There's all this graffiti outreach. They call it graffiti outreach where

they're trying to like give jobs to graffiti artists to paint like this, you

know, happy mural with like houses and smiling trees and stuff like that.

And I said, 'why don't we do our own graffiti outreach? Let's do

community outreach where we do stuff on our terms, but we do it for the

community?" (Walker).

The circumstances he navigated not only shaped his response, but the cause he sought to

support. He came to understand himself not as an antagonist to the community (which

would put him at odds with Guevara's sense of the guerrilla and make him more likely a

vandal only) and more as someone one positioned to support and give back to the

community.

As a result of this turning point, Walker has been involved in a number of mural

projects within his community. In one instance, in particular, you can see his desire to

support and provide something for the community overrides his appreciation of a graffiti

artist's need for notoriety or expression. This case developed while he was running a

mural painting event on Rhode Island Avenue in DC. One of his artists, a graffiti artist

named DEMON did a piece depicting two women fighting with swords: "one was

representing Christianity and she had like a cross. And one was representing Islam and

she had a star and a crescent on her ass. And they were like super exaggerated women

fighting with swords" (Walker). When Walker viewed the piece he acknowledged the

statement he saw DEMON making, but felt it was inappropriate for the context. He

described the situation and his response this way:

He was making a statement or whatever, but this was in the neighborhood. There were people walking by here and it was like hyper-sexualized women figures. So we had to have him go back. And I was like, "look dude, you got to understand..." And he was kind of upset. I was like, "...dude, kids are walking by here." So we had him fix it up. You know what I mean? And it was kind of funny. Then he put like censor bars over it. And it looked funny. I was like, "yo, I almost like it better with the censor bars because it makes it like even more of a statement." (Walker)

This example begins to reveal an element of Walker's understanding of audience which will be examined next, but most importantly it points to his ability to modify his perception of the "guidelines" of graffiti in relationship to the moment he is working within. In this case, Walker has to unify the moment with the cause of the community. He requests that the artist's approach to his piece be modified based on its location and upon his perception of community's cause, which in this case might be said to protect its children. Had the work been a gallery piece or located in a different context (or even time within his life) it is likely Walker's response would have been different.

In this way, it is once again possible to perceive Walker as exhibiting a sense of *kairos*. But is the *kairos* Walker is demonstrating guerilla in nature? The answer to the question must lie in how Walker's cause and exigence are interpreted. It seems that in some cases the cause is quite narrowly focused upon raising himself out of his position as being nameless, while at other times it seems interested in his community. It seems to me that this conflict is reflective of the tension demonstrated early on by Boniface Mwangi and he navigated his decision to attempt to rise above his circumstances or to work

against the circumstances of the people of his community. What I appreciate about the way in which this concept shapes my thinking is that it pushes me to consider the question of when a person becomes a guerrilla. Guevara and Mwangi both clearly focused their work upon people outside of themselves. Is this a necessary approach of the guerrilla? In other words, I wonder if it is necessary for a guerrilla to turn outward and have an interest in a greater community, in the way that I implied in chapters 2 and 3, before I elect to accept their work as guerrilla? Or is it guerrilla for one oppressed person stand up and speak for their own needs, if speaking for those own needs might also draw attention to similar needs within a community? How I elect to answer these questions will ultimately shape how I come to perceive of guerrilla rhetoric as a result of the influence of these contexts.

WALKER'S AUDIENCE

As the prior section implies, the graffiti scene overall, and most especially, Walker's relationship with it, has changed over the years. Appropriately, his sense of audience has evolved over time. Walker indicates that the approach to audience within the overall graffiti scene is varied. He explains that there is "a whole spectrum of philosophies about it because it's such a free form thing. So, there's like graffiti writers that write for the public. There's graffiti writers that write for other graffiti writers. There's graffiti writers that write just to piss people off" (Walker). In this way, Walker demonstrates that not all writers of graffiti have similar approaches to their *exigence*, but also view their audience in different ways.

When Walker first began writing he did so broadly for an audience he describes as the "people in [his] age group" (Walker). Thus, his audience was quite general, not specialized. During this time his connection to a crew seemed less important; instead, he seemed to recognize the way in which his peers responded to graffiti writing and wanted to be the subject of their admiration. One sign that he wrote for a general audience of people within his age group and not practitioners of graffiti is apparent in his style. He explains that "the DC style of graffiti wasn't really hard to read. It wasn't very, like, esoteric. Like the more New York style? [...] Like, I could read [New York style], but you couldn't and so on. [But,] I really wanted to appeal to the people my age" (Walker). Thus, for Walker, he was not interested in making his writing exclusive to those within the graffiti scene only. Instead, his more straightforward style allowed for a more inclusive audience. This stylistic approach, of course, was representative of a DC graffiti point of view overall.

When Walker was arrested in 2011, he truly learned of how his straightforward style had reached the people of DC, for better or worse. Again, it is important to understand that his arrest was a fairly public ordeal. It was reported and discussed at length on local media sites such as *DCist,* as discussed earlier, but also *Prince of Petworth,* a popular blog that chronicles events happening in the Washington, DC neighborhoods. As a result of the arrest and the publicity involved with it, Walker ended up stepping down from a job he had at a local library to teach workshops for children about graffiti style and culture. At first, the feedback Walker heard in response to this event depressed him greatly. He explained, "the first couple of days that the story was online, like on *Prince of Petworth* and all these places, there was like a lot of

commentators [saying things like] 'take him behind the jail and string him up by his toes' and stuff like that" (Walker). At first these kinds of negative comments about how graffiti writers should be treated and the worth of their work were common.

However, as time went on, he started to notice a change in the response he heard. Soon he had other people come up to him on the streets and at his other job (as a bouncer) and announce their support. For example, one person went to him and said, "Yo, you're ULTRA, right? [...] I just want to say I've been looking at your graffiti for years and, you know, I think you're getting a bum deal. And I love your stuff" (Walker). He realized that the ratio of people opposing his work to those who appreciated it wasn't what he first thought. One reason that he believes he saw an increase in acceptance of graffiti was because the neighborhood he is now a part of was largely composed of those folks with whom he went to high school. Walker explains,

> when I was in high school, people were always like 'yo, you're ULTRA'
> or whoever, whatever, I was running at the time [...] Well, now I'm older,
> those people are older [...] The neighborhood is now those people. And a
> lot of those people support graffiti and like graffiti and want to see graffiti.
> They might not want to see tags on the side of the street corner market or
> whatever, but they're a little more open to the whole genre, you know?

Once he realized that he had a strong contingent of support within the community, he began doing more work to bring graffiti murals to the community. He said "you've got a bunch of politicians, and you've got [...] a couple of guys in the neighborhood that are popping up and saying 'oh my God, I hate graffiti,' but then you've got hundreds of other people that have different feelings about it. And you know we should be trying to appeal

to those people directly" (Walker). This comment points to a developing understanding

of rhetorical strategy as Walker begins to think directly of audience and strategies to

address those in his audience. Rather than focusing on making his name known to the

community alone, his work during this time begins to consider his audience's needs and

desires more directly. This more direct consideration of audience is apparent, for example

in the DEMON mural discussed above.

Ultimately, Walker's interview demonstrated that he believes there is more

support for the scene now than ever, but unfortunately, that support is not always

expressed in the same avenues or as vocally as opposition. He explains,

> We live in a society where you got like say 100 people and 95 of them
>
> either don't care or like graffiti. And 5 of them hate it. Like freaking hate
>
> it and are like [he growls]. They're the ones that are like, you know,
>
> making the politics. You know: the squeaky wheel gets the grease and all
>
> that stuff. And so they're the ones motivating all these politicians to do
>
> this stuff. You know what I mean? So, […] when I got arrested, people
>
> were like 'I love your stuff'! I love your stuff.' I'm like, 'Well, say
>
> something online or, you know, express yourself because believe me that
>
> side is expressing their selves!' (Walker)

This characterization frames two competing parts of an overall audience: there are those

who support graffiti and those that make or support laws against graffiti. This duality

effectively reflects the twofold image of guerrilla audience. On the one hand, Walker

presents, the 'enemy' of the cause as those who oppose his *exigence* by making,

supporting or upholding policies against composing graffiti. This faction contributes to a

narrative of graffiti that presents it as a public threat or at the very least an eye sore. This part of the guerrilla's audience is important because they often work as an obstacle of the cause—they work to silence this people group. However, to gain resources for the cause, it is important to gain support from this group. Walker acknowledges some progress in this attempt when he discusses his own relationship to law enforcement. He explains, "even like when I was arrested and when I dealt with police they always are like I love graffiti, you know, but dude I got to do it" (Walker). Thus, the cops express their support of his craft, but they ultimately still did their job and arrested him in 2011 for his role in the graffiti scene. Although Walker had been arrested before, this was his first arrest, to my knowledge, for graffiti related crimes. However, this was certainly not the first time the police were attempting to track down the artist responsible for his tags, or those of his crew. Considering his initial guerrilla *exigence*, this response (even two-sided response) from the police is a positive thing for his cause. After all, Walker explained himself that artists are not truly "up" unless the cops are after them. Thus, in a way his rhetoric would lose credibility or at least notoriety if the cops did not acknowledge his place within the scene by attempting to catch him. At the same time, however, police sympathies toward his work might make it more likely that he is able to persist unnoticed or that authorities might turn a blind eye in some contexts.

On the other hand, he presents "the people" as the community as growing in support. It is the support of these people that allows graffiti to be perceived as guerrilla rhetoric, rather than mere vandalism. By writing in a way that is straightforward and accessible, the form becomes accessible to the community and over time, as Walker explains, becomes something the community not only likes, but also wants to see. Their

support and acknowledgement of him is vital to his *exigence*. If the community were against the craft or his work specifically then they would work against him, perhaps reporting him when he paints, or worse, for his original cause, failing to acknowledge his work at all. As the community accepts Walker and his craft, they demonstrate an acceptance of the narrative he advocates for when he writes—that he is there and that he is important. They accept a narrative that Walker and his art have a place within their context.

As I observe Walker's discussion of his evolving support from the community, I also see his dedication to the community growing as well. The artist seemed to first work in a way that was largely self-interested, which I think might make sense for a homeless youth in a city wherein his connections were limited. In that context, Walker might have seen everyone in the community as making up the audience of the opposing force. As he becomes a more fixed as a member of the community, which can be seen in the crews he forms and participates in but also as a citizen with a family in the community, his own dedication and connection to the community becomes greater. As this evolves, his perception of the community's response to him also evolves. In this way the narrative that Walker himself had accepted regarding Washington is reformed. Walker's dedication to the community is bolstered by his realization that the people largely support his work. In many ways, I see Walker's progression as parallel to that of Guevara and Mwangi. As the man grows and matures, his interests and relationship with "the people" grows as well. While he began writing to prove he was there, his discussion of his audience demonstrates that he grew to write for the community's enjoyment as well. At this time in his life, wherein he has attempted to reframe his life, leaving behind the "thuggish" life

that lead him to the Lorton Workhouse, his art is less about himself and more about contributing to his community in a productive way. His work might be seen now to contribute something to a city full of neglected property, violence and drugs. Thus, I see Walker's *exigence* to express himself above the conditions of his environment evolving with his sense of audience. His work moves from being expression for himself to expression for his community. His later work allows the community to influence his approach, but still pushes against forces that present the narrative that graffiti negatively affects the community. Instead, he advocates for the community to have a voice and (as the community of practice section below will indicate) mentors others to help them find their own modes of expression within this too often stifling context. In this way, I see Walker considering his audience and moving from arguing "I exist. I am important. My voice matters." to "We exist. We are important. Our voice matters." In framing Walker's journey this way does not yet answer the question regarding at what point I might consider someone to have become a guerrilla, but it does help me to further see the outward turn that Walker's work has made over his career.

WALKER'S RHETORICAL SITUATION

This discussion of Walker's *exigence, kairos,* and audience helps set the foundation for understanding his overall rhetorical situation. The evolving nature of these components points to the means in which Walker's rhetorical situation is not a fixed situation in which he operates. Instead, the former sections show that his purpose, his context and perhaps even his values and his worldview evolve. They provide evidence
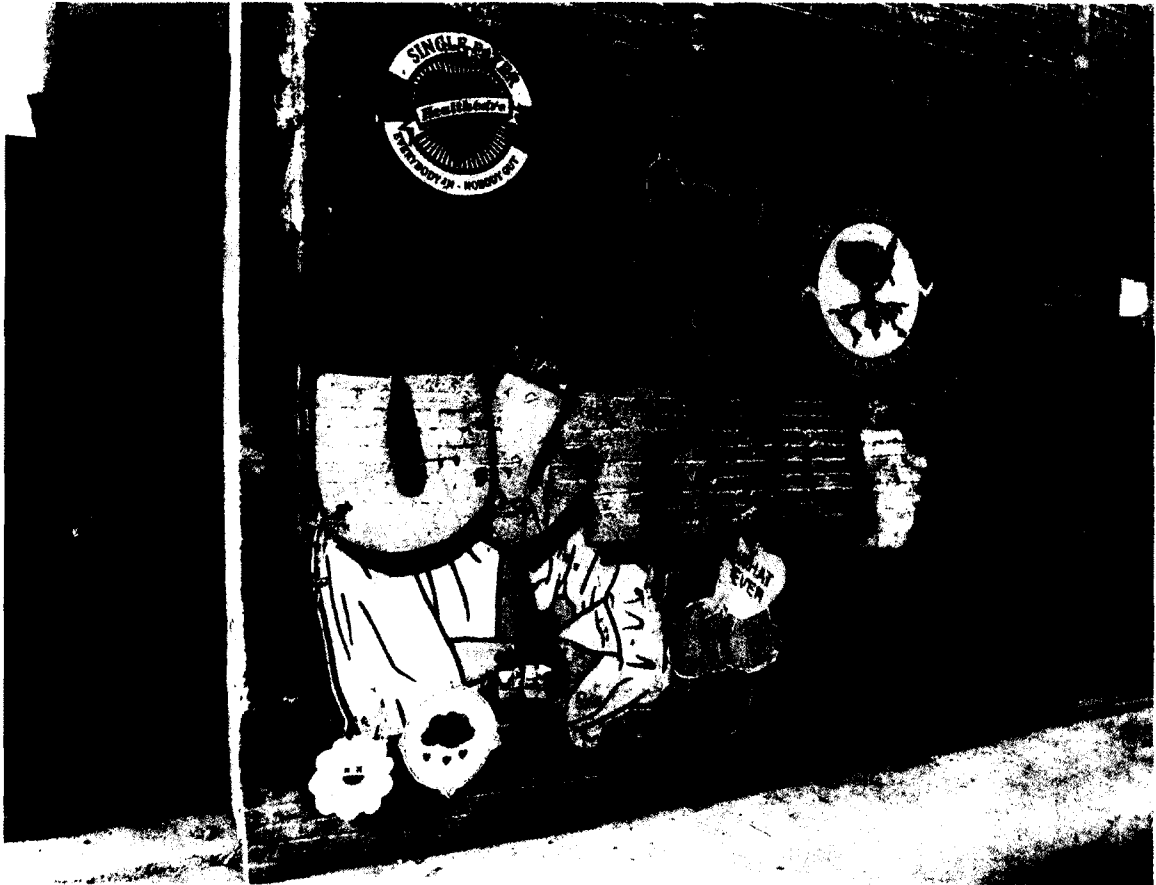
Figure 5: An ULTRA "throwie" from the alley off U Street and 14th Street NW.

Photograph by Daniel Lobo.

that Walker has the ability to approach situations with integrity, receptivity, two vital

components to my characterization of guerrilla rhetorical situation. Walker shows his

integrity when he shows that he is able to navigate a situation without his approach being

predetermined. One way that Walker's integrity might be observed, for example, is in the

varied approaches to his tag in different contexts. To develop this point more fully, I will

explore three images of Walker's graffiti. One of which is pictured in Figure 5, and the

other two, which I will link to as I discuss them, are available on Walker's public

Facebook profile. Although there are common elements in each of these tags and throwies, there are differences, some perhaps subtle to those casually observing graffiti, that demonstrate how Walker's approach for each of these situations was not predetermined. Although he was consistent in using the tag name of ULTRA (or a derivation of it) and he most often used bold bubble lettering, such as that in Figure 5, he did not approach every piece in the same way.

It is likely that many factors of the situation determined the depth and detail he used in each piece. Noticeably, the Figure 5 piece covers the work of other artists. To successfully put his name up in a way that stands out and covers the others who appear to have scrawled on this wall before him, he needed a font that was bold, large and would provide strong coverage. For this occasion the bubble lettering works well. Since this wall is quite covered with other graffiti pieces, it is likely positions such that it can be "hit" without great fear of being caught. The use of bubble letters and shading indicate that he, the artist, took advantage of this context and took more time with the tag than he might in other locations or contexts.

This piece contrasts with other pieces of the artist's that I have seen. For example, one piece that is viewable on his public Facebook page (here: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1704006483861&set=a.1142159038026.222 40.1348951172&type=3&theater) contains only the letter U, written a similar fashion to that of Figure 5. In this throwie he does not take the time to fully spell out his tag name. Instead he uses the lettering style that is often indicative of his ULTRA tag, but only so far as to write a "U" and an exclamation point along with a mere scrawling the KBG crew name. It is important to note that this tag falls on a wall that isn't full adorned with

graffiti. The piece stands out on the otherwise unadorned wall. It is likely this location is much more public and has a greater threat for being caught or is simply a location other artists have not yet thought to focus upon. As a result of this context, Walker's choice to abbreviate might have been for brevity's sake (needing to paint quickly and flee the area). He wants the tag to be identifiable, so he takes the time to maintain the integrity of his bubble lettering and typical colors of white with a contrasting dark color, but needs to make some alteration to expedite this more risky painting.

Another image Walker has made public via Facebook shows a one liner, a style of writing that is quick and efficient. This piece is written quickly in white paint on a temporary fence encompassing a construction site (it can be viewed, here: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1704005123827&set=a.1142159038026.222 40.1348951172&type=3&theater). This style is quick because it is essentially just a signature that uses one paint color alone and moves fluidly through the tag in one line— much like cursive writing. It is likely that the location of this piece influenced the approach to its writing. He likely needed to act quickly because the piece seems quite visible from multiple locations. Additionally, however, because it is upon a temporary fixture associated with construction, the piece likely did not have the kind of permanence that another wall might, so therefore it might not have seemed worth it to invest a great amount of time in a piece that would not last, especially when being caught would have such negative consequences. In this way, Walker demonstrates the means in which he approaches each situation not with predetermined, fixed constructs, but in a way that demonstrates rhetorical integrity.

Additionally, Walker also demonstrates receptivity when he responds to situations that are outside of his own creation and thus predetermined approach. One example of this is seen in his example of "sidebusting." This rhetorical situation was not of his creation. The younger graffiti artists generated this context as a result of their perception of the scene. However, rather than abstaining from involvement in the situation created through new artist's perception of the message sent through pieces placed beside others, Walker analyzed the situation and found a way that he could work within it.

Furthermore, he presents an awareness of the discursive tradition that he works within, another vital element of my characterization of guerrilla rhetorical situation. His interview demonstrates that he is both aware of the conventions often accepted in the graffiti community and is savvy about how to bend or break those conventions when appropriate to his own interpretation of his context. Once again, the sidebusting example is just one moment that points to Walker's understanding of the discursive tradition he is writing within. He knows the history of his movement and its progress over time. As the tradition evolves, he evaluates the discursive tradition to develop his approach within it. Likewise, he demonstrates further discursive tradition awareness as he talks about DC style versus New York style. He is able to articulate the differences in the forms that circulate different cities and use this knowledge to shape how he develops his writing depending on the location wherein he is writing.

An additional instance of his receptivity might be seen in the instance of when he was developing the "Seasons in the City" piece, a legal mural done with the Albus Cavus organization in Washington, DC. Albus Cavus is a group that works to engage citizens in the development of the art and design of the public spaces in their neighborhoods. Walker

painted this mural with other artists including DECOY and CHOR BOOGIE. As he

explained, these murals had to be approved by the Advisory Neighborhood Commission

(ANC) to seek approval for the message and the mural overall. In his original design he

had created an image in the winter section of the mural of "two guys building a

snowman" (Walker). When he went to the ANC meeting, however, a man on the ANC

board questioned the design. Walker recounted the story this way:

> [t]his guy goes, with like venom, "What's the deal with kids building
>
> snowmen? Who does that?" And I'm just like, "I do," you know what I'm
>
> saying? "Every winter." You know? I was like, "I don't understand what
>
> you want me to portray." Like, you know, I mean it was like this really
>
> ridiculous thing that I had to defend like the most benign part of the mural
>
> (Walker).

However, the commission would not give up on in their protest of this particular part of

the mural. As a result, Walker could either give up on the mural because his first design

was not accepted, or he could adapt to the circumstances. In the end the mural was

painted to contain an already built snowman. He indicated that he came to the point

where the grant funding for the mural would run out (because of the end of fiscal year) if

a compromise was not reached soon, as a result, he allowed his approach to the design to

be revised for the cost of some control over his own expression. Given the choice

between totals silence and revision, the artist allowed himself to be receptive.

While this is clearly an instance of a rhetorical choice, I struggle to frame this

instance as guerrilla in nature—the artist, ultimately, lost control over the narrative he

was constructing. I believe a more guerrilla approach to this situation would be to make

his vision manifest itself over the limitations imposed by this governing body. I imagine, for example, that a guerrilla response to this circumstance might be to return to the mural after the painting was approved and to wheat paste the original design over the accepted depiction. Thus, I do think it is important to note that Walker's response is not always inherently guerrilla. This diversion from a guerrilla response, might not necessarily disqualify him from being guerrilla overall—even Guevara discussed the importance of being able to blend in with the towns people some of the time and for particular purposes. Mwangi too adopts decidedly non-guerrilla forms in some contexts as well (such as in interviews with media and in his work as a TED Fellow). Thus, this particular moment continues to point toward Walker's receptivity as a rhetor, but also reminds me to consider the way in which a guerrilla rhetor, most likely, need not communicate in a guerrilla manner all of the time, just as Guevara was not engaged in guerrilla warfare in all moments.

A final element of the rhetorical situation to consider is context-specific topoi. Walker's interview provided insight for me into whether or not he perceives of "guerrilla" as a topoi in the sense that it was developed by Guevara and Marighella, or in the way that it was more indicative of popular usage, and also presents an additional concept that seems to serve as a commonplace central to his rhetorical situation. Toward the conclusion of our interview, I introduced the concept of "guerrilla" as an adjective to describe street art and asked Walker his thoughts on this usage. Specifically, I asked him how he would define the term guerrilla and whether he thought it is an appropriate term for describing graffiti. He responded first with, "I don't know. I mean, guerrilla sounds kind of political to me" (Walker). Then, to continue crafting his position, he developed

his sense of what he thought street art was compared to graffiti before returning to his position and definition of the guerrilla: "I don't know about guerrilla. To me guerrilla is like, you know, going up and posting like political slogans or whatever. And I'm not very political in that way [...] I'm just not that political in that way. I'm political in a lot of other ways, but just not with art so much" (Walker). In this discussion I could see that guerrilla did serve as a commonplace for the artist. Its usage evoked a specific political image. It seemed to me that Walker perceives guerrilla as being more closely associated with propaganda, which of course was part of Guevara's movement as a guerrilla, but does not fully encompass the guerrilla movement or what I have articulated as potential in terms of guerrilla rhetoric.

What I find most interesting about Walker's use of the term "political" here is that I believe the term actually operates as a very DC-centric topoi in Walker's worldview. It was during this portion of the interview that Walker explained that Washington, DC taught the lower class youth of the 1980s that they were unimportant. While I would describe the motivations of Walker's graffiti as political in the way they attempt to overcome these lessons or the overall oppressive nature of "Power DC," Walker does not define this action as political. For Walker, political evokes the notion of Capital Hill and federal concerns, not the struggles of a local child making his way through his neighborhood; he identifies political as a concept that exclusively involves "macro politics." However, for me, who sees the concept more as a *topos* generating from the Greek *polis,* I focus more directly upon the affairs of the citizens than the institutions within the political climate and thus am emphasizing "micro politics" as I consider his work.

I think the way in which Walker treats the *topos* of political might shed greater light on how he perceives his rhetorical situation and whether or not he would articulate his goal of expression as a cause. I doubt that Walker would argue that he was painting for a cause because causes might be more appropriately considered indicative of "macro politics." Interestingly, Walker did actually express an interest in more macro-level political expressions on the day that I interviewed him. When he walked me out after our interview, he took some time to talk to me about the paintings on the outside of the Fridge at the time of our interview. A number of pieces that were outside the building that day were wheat pastes of a print made by well-known street artist Shepard Fairey. These prints were making a statement against the name of the National Football League's Washington team. He discussed the means in which the group responsible for the exterior walls of the Fridge (himself included) were considering working on a mural project that would invite Native American graffiti and street artists from the area to create a work that made a statement against the sports team name. He was not interested in painting this statement himself, in part because he thought the statement might best by made by allowing Native Americans to speak out on their own behalf (which might point to his understanding of *ethos*). It became apparent in our discussion that Walker thought this stance against the team name was important and that he was passionate about having this mural made. Thus, whether he elects to communicate a political message himself through this medium, he clearly recognizes the potential for such statements to be made and seems to value these expressions.

Overall, I am hesitant to cast Walker's work as overtly apolitical. It might be that overt self-expression—expressing one's self over some set of circumstances—might be

the micro political equivalent to a cause although it is focused more upon the self than macro political statements would be. This micro level cause might be appropriate for guerrilla-based rhetoric, since the guerrilla movement itself is based upon upsetting the control of the micro-powers in minute moments, rather than in full-scale movements. However, once again the notion of whether or not Walker's overall *exigence* in a particular moment is guerrilla must be considered. Analyzing Walker's rhetorical situation along with his *exigence,* use of *kairos* and notions of audience makes me believe that Walker's work and certainly the media he uses has the potential to be guerrilla, but it might not meet each criteria I have proposed.

WALKER'S COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

To begin to analyze Walker's work in light of a community of practice, it is first important to understand a bit more about the context in which our interview took place. When I first entered the Fridge there were two individuals working at the museum that day. The first I immediately recognized as ULTRA from news media about him and his own website. The other person was a younger man who I quickly learned was an aspiring graffiti artist who worked at the gallery with Walker. Soon after this young man left for the day, a second man who perhaps a few years older came in for his own shift. I learned that the second young man was an active graffiti writer and a member of Walker's crew (he is the one that Walker "sidebusted"). When I entered I quickly lost the nervousness that I brought to the interview because I immediately received a clear the sense of welcome. This welcome first came in the form of mockery. As I entered I first said, "I'm early" and Walker, without missing a beat responded, "Your parents named you Early?

That's rough." At various points in the interview when Walker is taken away for a moment to address various parties who enter the gallery, his counterparts engaged me in discussion with warm familiarity. At one point while Walker was occupied, his fellow crewmember stealthy walked by me, whispering "don't believe anything he says" comically as he passed.

The rapport between these men is not what I would describe as typical workplace collegiality. Instead it is indicative of how Walker paints the overall graffiti scene; he told me that commonly people do not "understand how kind of communal it is" (Walker). A few minutes later, as if to demonstrate this communal element, the younger crewmember interrupted our interview to ask if either of us wanted anything from the store, as he was about to run out. My experience with the crewmembers and Walker's narrative led to see that his crew, in particular, is really community oriented. Walker emphasized this when he said,

> our crew is very close. You know, we all used to hang out at each other's
>
> house all the time. Like [you would have to] try to get people to leave your
>
> house; you know what I mean? We ate dinner together; we did everything
>
> together, you know what I mean? Not just graffiti." (Walker)

In a sense, the crew operates in a way that seems reminiscent to me of a family, much more so than Guevara's guerrilla bands which seem collaborative, but with a focus more on the goals of the mission with little time for "hanging out" and enjoying one another's company. This fact was necessary because of the nature of the guerrilla band's existence. Time was of an essence and the threat of being caught was real. There was little down

time for the guerrilla warrior. It is possible that should the threat not have been so immediate, Guevara's bands might have shown this kind of camaraderie as well.

The connections demonstrated in the work of the crews reflect more than friendship, however. Additionally they reflect elements of the guerrilla band that are similar to Wenger's community of practice. These groups do not just do joint activities, they also work together and learn from one another for a common purpose. For example, it was clear from my interview with Walker that mentoring is a common practice within the graffiti scene. First, when the first young man left the gallery for the day he asked Walker whether he should take his black book home with him or leave it there for another night. Black books, in the graffiti community, are invention tools where writers try out and practice ideas they have for pieces. It seemed as though the younger writer had brought the book to review with Walker and, because they did not have time to review it, was asking to leave it with him over night so they could review it at a later time.

When I asked Walker directly if he had taught other writers about the craft he gestured to the second young man and said, "Well like [Crew Member Name], I taught him everything he knows!" (Walker). He then described the way in which veteran writers would frequently go out painting with newer artists and how individuals in the community would call one another when they were engaged in learning a new technique. What became clear in our discussion was his crew was a very important community for the artist.

Walker describes his approach to crews as being geography oriented. He has crews in New York and California, but it is clear that his ties to his DC crews are the tightest. He explains, "I generally don't like to get down with a lot of different crews.

Some people have 20 crews. I don't understand it" (Walker). The artist indicates that he

has a hard time understanding folks who have so many crews in part because of the role

the crew in the lives of the crew members; it seems he's uncertain how others would be

able to dedicate themselves to multiple groups in the way a crew demands. He says, "to

me a crew should be real tight knit [with] a lot of communication; everybody knows

what's going on. If there's beef there, it's everybody there. It's everybody; it's not even a

question. It's everybody against that other crew or whatever" (Walker). "Beef" is

something with which Walker's primary crew, the KGB crew, is quite familiar. However,

KGB is actually a crew he helped to found. He describes the crew as a "bombing and

getting in fights type of crew" (Walker). His use of bombing refers to a particular graffiti

style—types of tags that are largely quick to construct, rather than more elaborate murals.

The KGB crew is perhaps known even more for their tendency to get into physical fights

with other crews than for their writing. Roger Gastman explains in his book *Free Agents:*

A History of Washington, DC Graffiti that "KGB was a bunch of hard guys. Unlike most

graffiti writers and crews at that time whose members all lived in the suburbs, most of

KGB's members lived in DC and bombed DC on the regular. KGB was not a crew you

wanted to beef with. If you did it was sure that nothing you ever painted would run"

(105). Thus, this crew had a clear reputation and role within the greater graffiti scene.

This community strikes me as a community of practice. They were initially a

group with a clear domain that included a dedication to graffiti, violence and go-go

music. However, as time has gone on, their purpose has evolved to focus upon the art

more so than the violence and music as a result of the way in which the conditions and

trends within the city also evolved. At all times, however, they have been more than just

a group of friends because they have worked to develop an external reputation that distinguishes them from other members of the community. They have shared in practices together and learned from one another to become better at their graffiti craft. The emphasis upon the practice of graffiti art solidifies their likeness to a community of practice. However, what is less clear is whether their presentation as a community of practice makes them appear to be a guerrilla community of practice. A guerrilla community of practice should work together toward a common cause. They should be working together in some means to alter or shape the narrative and ideology within or about the community in some way. To articulate whether the crew seems to operate in this manner, it is important to further consider the purpose of the crew.

The crew seems to have a few goals. First, it is a form of protection. The use of fear established by the use of a crew name helps crewmember graffiti to persist over time (because outsiders might fear the consequence for silencing the crew in any way). Additionally, working together, crewmembers are more likely to be able to avoid arrest as individuals serve as look outs while others paint. By learning from one another, individuals are able to obtain greater ability and thus make their work more memorable and noteworthy. Although each crewmember might come to their small community with the goal of expressing him or herself over the environment, they work together to make this possible for each member of the collective. Thus, a self-focused cause becomes group-oriented in nature. In this way, I see the narrative of "We exist. We are important. Our voice matters" taking shape.

However, it is important to note that in these cases they are working together, often, to combat other crews with a similar *exigence*. In this way, rather than working

together to overcome the body that has made them feel silenced in their context, they actually end up silencing other members of their own greater community. This phenomenon might be somewhat unique to this DC graffiti scene. While there might be other activist groups in Kenya, for example, these other groups are not "battling" with Mwangi's groups for the right to work toward the cause in their community. As a result, this aspect makes it hard to determine whether Walker's crews are truly guerrilla in nature. Rather than addressing an exterior cause, the group seems to limit their notion of group identity and protect and advocate only those within this more insular definition. In some ways, these groups seem to reflect a kind of false dilemma—presenting the entire community as either with them (as a part of their crew) or against them (as a member of another crew or another kind of outsider). The narrative that is quite present in this approach is one that expresses the opposing force as being quite expansive. In this way, the crewmembers seem to accept a narrative that says, "We exist. We are important. Our voice matters" but also extend it to say, "Only we can take care of each other. Others are a threat." What I must consider, as I further shape my notion of guerrilla rhetoric is how inclusive a definition of "the people" must be for a group to truly be considered guerrilla. Mwangi and Guevara's work focused upon whole countries, but these DC graffiti artists focus hyper-locally. A notion of a guerrilla cause that is this insular is less romantic than a guerrilla cause that aims to liberate a whole people group of a region. But what of these groups than bands together to protect their own? I ultimately must consider whether these groups are any less guerrilla because their approach is much narrowly focused.

WALKER'S *TECHNE*

In examining Walker's work and considering the way in which he talked about

graffiti craft, it is apparent that certain guidelines shape his approach and strategy when

he is painting. There are general techniques that he practices that might be considered

part of his overall techne and additional strategies that might be considered means in

which he makes appeals through *ethos, pathos* and *logos*. In a general sense, Walker has

strategies to help his audience read his work and be able to comprehend it. Since his work

is for a more general audience than the more complex wild-style of New York graffiti, he

aims for legibility with his lettering. Additionally, however, the artist describes the way

in which graffitists attempt to trick the audience's eyes when they're painting a tag. He

says,

> I always say that the simplest trick is when people overlap the letters. You
>
> know? And they usually go left to right…if you go left to right it's tricking
>
> your eye to kind of like read faster, which is like what you want when
>
> you're on a train or somewhere or when a train is going by you. You want
>
> to read faster. But if you do it the other way, it can mess…you know…you
>
> could hurt yourself. (Walker)

In this way, Walker presents a technique that writers use to increase the impact of their

message. Not only does Walker attempt to present letters that are clearly made out, but he

overlaps those letters to encourage the reader's eye to move from one letter to the next

quickly. Just in the way designers chose serif fonts when they want to help the reader's

eye move from one letter to the next quickly, the graffiti artist has discovered the same

benefit in overlapping his letters.

Figure 5 above, although in black and white here, also demonstrate the artist's awareness of the importance of contrast. The colors selected for the specific play of delivery seem purposefully contrasting with the background on which they are placed. Comparing the three images of ULTRA's that I discussed above, I see that the artist shifts between dark colors of a deep red in the first image and a dark black in the second to a white paint in the third image because of the dark background. The artist clearly seems to select his presentation with consideration of his context and what will help to connect with the audience most quickly and most powerfully. The artist also repeats similar styles in shading and letter shape to make the tag uniquely his own. Even in the one liner ULTRA piece (the third image I discussed above) his lettering reflects similar shapes and contains the more clearly repeated symbol of KGB to tie his piece back to himself and to his crew very directly. In this way he presents a cohesive design identity that makes his work identifiable even in cases when it is less legible (especially in those scrawls where time is clearly of the essence). These strategies work together to help ULTRA's work stand out and to be noticed. In this way, his *techne* is reflective of what I described as being the general goal of guerrilla *techne*: guerrilla *techne* are strategies that allow the rhetor to make incremental progress toward his or her cause. These strategies ensure that Walker can paint quickly and have his letters read and recognized, which increases the likelihood that his tag name will become more notorious. The means in which his strategies emphasize the ability to act quickly and avoid being noticed are certainly indicative of guerrilla-like strategies. Indeed the hallmark characteristic of the guerrilla band is its ability to move quickly and to surprise the opposing force. Thus, Walker's

overall strategy for most of his outside work has similarities to this kind of approach because of the illegal nature of graffiti work.

I presented the notion of guerrilla *ethos* as being developed as a result of the context but indicated that most generally it would present the guerrilla as persistent, and responsive, but also compassionate. While I am not sure Walker's text alone presents him as compassionate, I do think his work develops a reputation for him as persistent and responsive. The goal to have pieces up all over town such that the police would notice and be one's specific name is of value in part because it demonstrates persistence. A person with this kind of coverage is taking risk and is understanding of his or her context such that there is an awareness of what places are considered most coveted and most evocative. In this way it was through Walker's repetition of his tag name throughout the District that he initially developed both notoriety with the cops and *ethos* with his peers as a serious graffiti artist.

Additionally, he argues for his place within the context through his choice to identity himself in each of these pieces as part of a specific community—a Washington, DC crew. As both a founder and a member of the KGB crew, Walker argues for his place within the District both as someone involved and steering the movement within the town by repeating the KGB crew so as to draw from its reputation. *Free Agents* also explains that "ULTRA and his crew had a thing for painting police vehicles" (105). When one of the KGB members was arrested the police pressured him to reveal the names of the other KGB members in part because of this tendency to paint squad cars. Gastman explains that the arrested writer was shown an "entire album of police cars and other vehicle[s] they had trashed" and then notes, "the police were out for blood" (105). Walker's crew

directly provoked the force responsible for limiting their form of expression and certainly brought about an emotional response (perhaps anger or irritation) from that limiting organization while developing a reputation that bred a mix of fear and admiration from other graffiti writers in the area.

The crew clearly seemed to demonstrate that they were in charge. In this way, I believe selecting the police cars as a target for their painting demonstrated a specific and targeted technique to make their voice heard in a very specific way. Since this crew was known for being violent and even being a threat to the police, associating his work with this group allowed Walker to develop an *ethos* that would ensure his work would not be messed with or painted over. For fear of the violent crew, other writers would not paint over a KGB piece, thus increasing the longevity of a piece within a relatively ephemeral media. In this way Walker's use of the KGB crew and the KGB crew's work altogether might also be said to appeal to *pathos* because it evoked fear in the hearts of those who knew the reputation of the crew and anger from those who opposed the graffiti form overall, most notably, some of the Washington, DC police department.

I think Walker's work both with his crew, individually and even with the Murals DC project demonstrate an overall understanding of *logos*. Previously I indicated that guerrilla composition should consist of perfect knowledge of the domain; surveillance and foresight as to means of both concluding and delivering the product; intimacy with people in the community so as to not be denied delivery; places and means to safely develop and deliver the product; support of a community in the rhetorical endeavor; and flexibility. The ability of ULTRA to go on painting for so many years without ever being

arrested in the act of graffiti is telling of his knowledge of his domain and his skill at being able to operate within it and with the community at his back.

The elements of Walker's actual practice in composing presented here as elements of his *techne* are what seem most clearly guerrilla to me. The strategies he must use to deliver his compositions that are illegal in nature require techniques that are necessarily quite similar to those strategies outlined by Guevara and valued and demonstrated by his guerrilla bands as well as Mwangi's street art crew and protest groups. Thus, in relationship to this concept, Walker seems to fall in line with my anticipation of how guerrilla *techne* might work. As this *techne* section reveals, Walker's graffiti "attacks" on the city of Washington operate much in the way I believe guerrilla war attacks happen. They are dependent on this overall knowledge of the domain and strong ability to navigate a changing landscape. In this way, Walker's work revealed exactly what I suspected it might as a potential guerrilla form. However, for me there is one notable exception: his cause. This one exception, of course, deeply impacts each term I have examined here and thus my overall understanding of Walker as a guerrilla.

For the most part Walker and his crew's causes are not to change the conditions of the District overall. While Guevara wanted to change the conditions of the people of Cuba and Mwangi sought to change the conditions for the people of Kenya, Walker's primary *exigence* seems much more self-focused or at least hyper-locally focused. Although he ultimately became community-oriented and is a strong member of a very tightly knit crew, his formation of that crew was not initially to help the members of the community to change their positions overall or to change the states of their neighborhood. Ultimately, the group's value in working together comes in their ability to help one

another protect *themselves* from being caught or in helping individuals learn new strategies or use materials without cost. While Che's cause is grand and romantic in many ways, Walker's is much more modest, or at least more subtle. He aims at making the invisible (which has included himself) visible. He is ultimately not changing his city's government or the overall conditions of the people, but he is, in many ways, making it his own.

Thus, Walker's case study has been quite useful in providing me additional questions that I must ask myself as I continue to frame my understanding of guerrilla rhetoric. Most notably, it has pushed me to consider a few important questions: What counts as a guerrilla cause? What counts as a people for the purpose of that cause? As I continue working through my consideration of this concept overall, I will want to reconsider what constitutes both a cause and a people in a way my first articulation did not. The means in which these issues continued to become a thread for each term examined in this chapter points to the great importance of them to the application of my theory to specific contexts. I now turn to my second case study to see how it might continue to point toward important questions that will help me refine my understanding of these issues, but additionally how it might point to additional areas of the theory that might benefit from further consideration than my initial theory provided.

CHAPTER 5

THE RHETORIC OF THE FREE SPACE

"Yeah we do this shit together man, no fists, no fights.

We're not trying to shape the world so people think like us,

we just want our own space to dance, no favors no fuss. On

blood, sweat and vinyl we have a built ourselves a house,

so if the roof is on fire then we're going to put it out. Forget

about the bitching and remember that you're blessed,

because punk is for the kids who never fit in with the rest."

-- Frank Turner

As chapter 2 suggests, an additional site that I believe has guerrilla rhetoric

potential is that which manifests within some areas within the punk scene. This chapter

presents a case study that focuses on one punk rocker from within the Washington, DC

context. For this purpose, Ian MacKaye was the most natural and obvious choice.

MacKaye is intimately related to the genesis and progression of the punk scene in

Washington as a result of his involvement in multiple foundational bands and his work as

co-founder of Dischord Records, an independent record label developed in the spirit of

the do-it-yourself ethic of punk rock.

As with chapter 4, to establish the relevancy of MacKaye to this project on

guerrilla rhetoric, it is useful to establish a basic foundation of the history of the punk

movement and, in particular, its role in the context of the nation's capital. The history of

punk as a music genre does not have ancient roots in the way that graffiti does, but the force it brought into the world ties directly to common themes associated with change throughout our history. Penelope Spheeris says in her foreword to Brian Cogan's *Encyclopedia of Punk* that "throughout history, change has been implemented by those who walk a thin line between genius and insanity" (vii). This line evokes the image of historical figures such as Edgar Allen Poe, Vincent Van Gogh, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Sir Isaac Newton. Spheeris, however, uses this dichotomy to introduce the movement of change brought forth as a result of the punk scene.

Specifically, Spheeris uses John Lyon (Rotten) and the Sex Pistols, as many historians of punk do, as the case study for demonstrating the change in culture brought forth through punk. She explains that "[f]ueled by Rotten's brilliance and insanity, the Sex Pistols gave new meaning to 'break all the rules'" (vii). The band pushed against the overarching drive and culture of the disco movement. She explains that the Sex Pistols "ferociously tore down tradition, not only with music and fashion, but with attitude and philosophy. Rhythms were hyper-speedy, guitars discordant, and the lyrics were plain old pissed off" (vii). The Clash's "Hate and War," provides an excellent example of the kind of angry and contrariness expressed over these intense rhythms indicative of early punk. They say, "Hate and war - I hate all the English / Hate and war - they're just as bad as wops / Hate and war - I hate all the politeness / Hate and war - I hate all the cops" (The Clash). From its inception, punk protested the mainstream, the superficial, the corporate, and the authorities. Brian Cogan echoes this in his own introduction to his text when he says (focusing upon American punk) that

[p]unk upset mainstream society with its unfocused fury and rebellious

stance, taking a vocal stand against the musical conformity foisted upon

American consumers by corporate record labels obsessed with middle-of-

the-road soft rock and self indulgent bloated soloing, both on recordings

and in huge arenas filled with cattle-like masses. (viii)

Thus, themes of rebellion, fast pacing and individualism were at the root of the punk

movement.

The beginnings were gritty and ugly to the uninitiated. Cogan explains that to the

general public the scene seemed to consist of "dangerous, drug-addicted freaks, with

chopped and colored hair, studded dog collars, piercings and shredded second-hand

clothing" (viii). These punks were purposeful outsiders often of the British working class

and the American middle class who rejected the status quo and embraced this chaotic

alternative afforded them by the currents of the punk movement.

While the first wave of punk occurred in the 1970s, it has had multiple threads

and periods of resurgence throughout its history. Cogan notes that punk does not refer to

one specific "historical epoch with a clearly defined timeline, but instead [operates] as a

social and political subculture that is constantly changing, sometimes far beyond the

scope of the original punks' intent" (viii). Thus, examining the many currents of punk

from the 1970s to today shows how multiple scenes, often geographically-situated,

formed and evolved from those first punk roots.

Like the graffiti movement of the nation's capital, DC punk stands out from the

punk of other cities. DC punk has long been distinct from both other pockets of the punk

movements in America (such as the scene in New York, Chicago or LA) and those

observed in Britain. As Mark Jenkins explains in "Punk Rock and HarDCore," as of "the 1980s, DC punk was beginning to distance itself from other scenes' appetites for destruction. The shifts occurred mostly among bands playing the hyper-charged 'hardcore' style—precisely the subgenre that was initially the city's most macho style" (272). Indeed, destruction was a common theme in other pockets of the punk movement, especially that of the first wave. John Lydon emphasized this fact in the opening of his book, *Rotten*: "[t]he Sex Pistols ended the way they began—in utter disaster. Everything between was equally disastrous" (1). Drugs, dissonance, and anarchy fueled the Pistols' era punk rock. Drug overdoses took the lives of two members of the two most groundbreaking bands of the 1970s punk movement: Dee Dee Ramone of the Ramones and Sid Vicious of the Sex Pistols (Cogan 258 and 290). In this aftermath, some DC bands began to push for a more constructive approach to the essential tenants of the punk movement.

Bad Brains was one of the first bands to have this approach. This band brought a unique edge to the punk scene and was of great influence to the development of the DC punk movement overall. They, as Jenkins explains, "were the first all-black punk band anywhere to make much of an impression" and stood out from the more destructive movements in part because of their "positive mental attitude" philosophy (272). In general, the work of bands like Bad Brains and Minor Threat, one of Ian MacKaye's bands which formed two years after Bad Brains, conveyed positive messages through their work although it was embedded in what Jenkins calls "youthful energy, solidarity and contrariness" (272). For example, Minor Threat's "I Don't Want to Hear It" pushes against someone known to brag about themselves with lies. The song is aggressive and

filed with contrary lines such as "You're full of shit / Shut your fucking mouth" (Minor Threat, "I Don't Want to Hear It"). While the language is forceful, ultimately the message speaks against needing to present yourself as something more than you are.

Additionally, Minor Threat, in particular, gave the start of the Straight Edge movement still influencing punk and youth culture today. Their song that shares its title with the band, i.e. Minor Threat, for example, spoke to the rapid self-destruction that was becoming common in their generation. In it they say, "We're not the first, I hope we're not the last / Because I know we're all heading for that adult crash / The time is so little, the time belongs to us / Why is everybody in such a fucking rush?" (Minor Threat, "Minor Threat"). Through the lyrics of this song, paired with the song actually titled "Straight Edge," the band pushed against the propensity to rush toward what they perceived as the self-destructive tendencies of adulthood.

The resulting Straight Edge movement "challenged mindless drinking, drugging and fighting" (Jenkins 272). These two bands and the messages of their work inspired, for example, Toby Morse (of 1990s punk band H20) to found his One Life One Chance Foundation (OLOC) which has a mission "to engage and inspire elementary, middle and high school students to make healthy choices and live a drug-free life" (*Once Life One Chance*). The foundation website goes on to explain that "[t]hrough public speaking engagements, Toby Morse informs students how possible it is to maintain a Positive Mental Attitude (PMA), break stereotypes, be a leader and maintain self-respect" (*One Life One Chance*). The direct influence of Bad Brains and Minor Threat is apparent in the terms Morse has used to develop his cause.

Despite their general positive influences, the Bad Brains and Minor Threat, like other Washington punk bands of the late 1970s and early 1980s, were not often overtly political in their music (although at times there were exceptions to this rule, such as Minor Threat's *Guilty Being White*). However, Jenkins indicates that overall, the music of this time "contained little social commentary, yet the scene came to have a reputation for political engagement" (280). This engagement can be seen, for example, in the events put on by Bad Brains in the Valley Green neighborhood in 1979. During the time, Alec MacKaye (Ian's brother) explains in his narrative of *Hard Art*, London was becoming known for its "Rock Against Racism" events where there were "massively attended, well-produced operations featuring rosters of known bands like The Clash, X-Ray Spex, Sham 69, and Steel Pulse" (Perkins, MacKaye, and Constantinople 13). In response, the lead singer of Bad Brains thought similar events should be held for the people of DC. These events, Alec MacKaye explains, were "unheralded, unproduced, DIY pop, witnessed mostly by neighbors who had never heard of the entire genre of music, much less popular bands" (Perkins, MacKaye, and Constantinople 13). Still, what these events, such as the Valley Green concert on September 9, 1979, accomplished was something more grassroots and involved more of the people it was intended to support than the more consumer-driven events of London. It was in this way, most commonly, that the punk movement of the city took up political issues.

Overall, this reputation for constructive messages and political involvement made the early Washington punk scene so unique as compared to national or international movements. From within the early movement, Jenkins argues that "Minor Threat, Fugazi, and Bad Brains have long been the best known of Washington, DC's 1980s punk bands"

(272). One major factor that two of these three bands—Minor Threat and Fugazi—have

in common is Ian MacKaye, who wrote songs and sang for both bands. Gastman and

Pattisall describe MacKaye as a

> fifth generation native Washingtonian, raised in Glover Park. Ian is a
>
> songwriter, guitarist, producer, and co-founder of Dischord Records, an
>
> independent record label that specializes in punk music of the DC scene.
>
> He's been in a number of DC bands including Teen Idles, Embrace,
>
> Fugazi, and The Evens and is a strong advocate for creating and
>
> maintaining an independent identity in the music industry." (46)

It is as a result of this multi-layered, long standing influence in the punk movement

within DC that MacKaye is perhaps the best figure to analyze as a figurehead of this

scene overall. It was my assumption that because of MacKaye's influence and

prominence within the scene that if guerrilla tendencies were truly reflected in the

Washinton, DC punk scene overall they would be a part in his work, since he stands as

such a legendary figure within it. Indeed, he has even been referred to as "the Don

Corleone of the DC scene" (Augenstein). MacKaye earned this analogy as a result of the

means in which he is perceived to be the head of the "family" created as a result of the

punk movement; this title speaks well to the influence MacKaye has had over the scene

he helped create, but is largely a misnomer in that MacKaye stands in opposition to the

destructive enterprises that set Mario Puzo's Corleone on the path to power. In any case, I

believed, from the beginning of the project, that as a result of his status within the scene,

his rhetorical strategies would be influential of the strategies used by other punks within

the scene.

To begin to first analyze Ian's contributions to the punk scene further and his specific rhetorical strategies, it is first important to further present a sketch of MacKaye and his relationship to his context of DC. MacKaye undoubtedly sees Washington as being a unique place. He explains that it is unique "because of that nature of this city, first off, it's not a state, it doesn't belong to a state, it's just an island. It's an island among states" (Gastman and Pattisall 46). This comment speaks to the issue of the governing of the city that I first described in chapter 2. MacKaye clearly sees the lack of statehood as a defining characteristic of the city.

Additionally, he sees the role that the government plays in the make up of the city as quite influential. The role of the government in the city makes it an extremely transient town. MacKaye explains that "because the federal government is constantly turning over so much of it, and so many people come to the city to make sort of their bones to become lobbyists or lawyers or, you know, students, there's just this constant flux, people coming and going out of this town constantly. Not to mention tourists" (46). This transient nature of the town has a deep impact upon the citizens themselves and the way the city is perceived overall: "I think to the outsider this city seems like it has no soul. But for those of us who live here, we know that it's...that there is a soul and that you have to hang on tight, and I think it results in a really intensely cellular and tribal kind of community" (46). This characterization of DC speaks to the notion that the people of the District are largely reliant upon one another and their community as a result of the way in which outsiders, which would include those transient lobbyist and lawmakers within the nation's government, give little attention to these needs.

This need for tribal reliance is perhaps exasperated by the racial climate of early and mid 1980s and within the city especially. One thing that made Ian MacKaye unique within the Washington context was that he was a white kid growing up in a prominently black context. Indeed, the District was largely a poor black community by the 1980s. This fact was largely a result of desegregation; Roger Gastman and Caleb Neelon's history of Washington, DC's graffiti explains the impacts of this movement upon the city: "[d]esegretation caused whites and middle-class blacks to move out of the District, leaving behind a poor, largely black population. Without the support of the middle class, the community fell into disarray and its residents lived in squalor" (160). As a result of this exodus from the District, the composition of the high schools changed. By 1974, the public schools of the city were composed of 97% black students, 85% black administrators and 90% black teachers (Lewis 175). It was in this context, two year later, that Ian MacKaye entered Wilson High School, a school located in the Tenleytown neighborhood of Northwest Washington—a neighborhood, I'll note, that might not be emphasized on a DC tourist map, but that is much more likely to be presented, in part because of its proximity to the Naval Observatory and National Cathedral, than the area in which ULTRA's graffiti crew grew and prospered.

MacKaye learned a great deal from the experience of being a minority within this context. He explained that he "had a really distinct experience as a minority" (MacKaye qtd in Gastman and Pattisall 46). He was picked on while he was in this context for his race and developed an awareness of the struggles of being a minority that he might not otherwise have gained. In this interview with Gastman and Pattisal he tells them, "I felt like it gave me kind of an understanding of that perspective. I don't want to suggest that I

understand what it means to be a minority in the larger picture in terms of this country

and the class struggle and the class sort of structure true of this country. But rather I have

a sense of what it is to be picked on for no reason other than my appearance" (46). In

general this kind of perspective that MacKaye gained as being an outsider in some way

becomes a theme in his life. He describes himself as an externalist and believes that being

an outsider to various contexts allows him to develop a unique point of view of different

cultural phenomenon. Thus, this experience within his high school gave him perspective

that helped him to greater understand the people of the town with whom he grew up.

While racial tension was an apparent characteristic of Wilson High School in the

1970s, punk rock also managed to take root there. During that time, Ian formed a band

with several of his classmates: Jeff Nelson, Geordie Grindle and Mark Sullivan. This

band, The Slinkees, never fully took off because they "played only one show before the

singer, Mark Sullivan, went off to college" ("Teen Idles"). Soon after, the band brought

on Nathan Strejcek and became The Teen Idles. While this band did not have a long

duration, its impact on the punk scene is resounding because of its 1981 release of an

eight song EP called *Minor Disturbance*. This album was the first record released on

band members Ian MacKaye and Jeff Nelson's independent label, Dischord Records. The

label formed in 1980, when MacKaye and Nelson were just 18 years old, to make this

distribution possible. Through this band MacKaye and Nelson found a means to take

control of the distribution of music away from mainstream corporate labels and put them

in the hands of the people—of him and his friends.

What I see as a thread in Ian MacKaye's early life and involvement in the punk

scene is a keen awareness of the people of his community and the needs and experiences

of those people. While he and those people navigate a context deeply indicative of disenfranchisement, I see him carving his own path and advocating for unpopular ideas. This theme is seen continually in his involvement in the label, the multiple bands he has participated in over the years, and also in the community organizations of which he or Dischord have been affiliated. As a result, I hypothesized that his rhetoric might coincide nicely with the tenants of the guerrilla rhetoric. To further test this theory, I gathered interviews with him and other new media regarding the artist, conducted my own two-hour interview with him at the Dischord House, and studied his music. This more intensive analysis of both MacKaye's ideological position and his actual rhetorical products allowed me to determine that the punk icon both reveals and resists characteristics I first attributed to being guerrilla. To present these findings, I will analyze his work and thinking, much as I did with chapter 4, in light of the concepts I first put forward in the theory presented in chapter 3. With this preliminary data in place, I will explain the ways in which MacKaye's work falls in line with but also defies my original guerrilla rhetoric conception. I begin this examination first with an analysis of *exigence*, *kairos* and audience which help me to develop a sense of rhetorical situation. From there I address community of practice and, finally, *techne*.

MACKAYE'S *EXIGENCE*

When I asked Ian why, after he took interest in the punk scene, he started making music himself, he responded quite plainly: "[w]ell, because that was the point. I had wanted to be in bands before" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). This moment immediately suggested to me that MacKaye was not comfortable being a mere consumer of music.

Throughout my interview with him I came to see that music was more than entertainment

for MacKaye. He clearly points to something profound and unique that comes as a result

of music and punk music in particular. He explains that

> what punk created was an audience that was interested in ideas and how
>
> those ideas were brought forth were less important in terms of talent as
>
> they were in terms of creativity and attitude [...] You could get away with
>
> not having talent if you were real. And that's what I saw in punk. I'd see
>
> these bands who were not particularly talented, but their shows were just
>
> so joyful because they were playing a gathering and they just celebrated
>
> the moment. And I felt like I wanted to do that (MacKaye, Personal
>
> Interview)

This perspective sheds a lot of light on the *exigence* of MacKaye. What is clear from this

passage is that MacKaye is looking for a space where ideas are of importance and where

those ideas can be heard and considered. The way he constructs the means in which this

space is created through punk indicates that he does not see this potential in all spaces

within our society. He clearly sees punk as a space where ideas can be considered in a

way they cannot elsewhere—a sentiment that is quite similar to the motives of graffiti

discussed in chapter 4. What this space truly points to, however, is a place where new

narratives, ones not privileged by those in power or deemed most acceptable by social

convention, can be explored, developed, and expressed.

MacKaye speaks to this potential when he describes why he began to listen to

early punk music. One of the first songs to really intrigue him, he explains, was "Bodies"

by the Sex Pistols, a song from their 1977 album *Nevermind the Bullocks: Here's the Sex*

Pistols that uses graphic imagery to describe an illegal abortion. The Pistols sing: "Dragged on a table in factory / Illegitimate place to be / In a packet in a lavatory / Die little baby screaming / Body screaming fucking bloody mess / Not an animal / It's an abortion" (Sex Pistols). These images impacted Ian MacKaye profoundly. He explains

> on the one hand [it] is the most rocking song on the record and on the other hand [it contains] the most depraved lyrics. You know, it was the first time that I heard someone cuss on a record, ever. [In] that kind of angry sense? I had never [heard that], but also the lyrical matter about an abortion was just so insane and crazy. (MacKaye, Personal Interview)

The lyrics and the narrative they were transmitting were foreign to him, but also intriguing. In his lecture at the Library of Congress in 2013, he explained that for him "this [use of profanity and novel subject matter] was very scary territory, which is exactly why [he] was drawn in" ("NDIIIPP Special Event: Ian MacKaye."). In listening to this music as a teenager, he was experiencing something unlike anything he had experienced before through the music of the radio and he saw opportunity in the fear created by this foreign experience. He explained to me that he remembered thinking "there is something happening here [so] I leaned in; I started to go toward it" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). He elaborates further on this concept of "leaning in" during his Library of Congress interview. He says, "when you see something that scares the shit out of you, go towards it; you're about to learn something" ("NDIIIPP Special Event: Ian MacKaye."). Thus, for MacKaye, punk intrigued him by presenting him with something unique and scary that he recognized as a potential learning experience.

What he discovered from embracing punk was essentially the counterculture, a movement that was exactly what he felt he needed, but didn't know existed. He explained to me: "I found this universe of music that I didn't know existed because it was underground" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). At this juncture the only music he had been exposed to was what got played on the radio—the mainstream. Punk music gave him a universe he did not know he had been craving. At the Library of Congress he explained using a metaphor how this world tapped an unknown need. He described how if you had been raised on hamburgers and French fries for dinner your entire life, then if someone put a bowl of pho in front of you, you might not recognize it as dinner. However, he explained, not only is pho a type of dinner, it is better for you than the McDonald's cuisine you have been accepting as dinner (MacKaye, Personal Interview). The music he experienced through the radio was not fulfilling a need he had, but perhaps did not even know to articulate prior to discovering punk. Punk provided him with an avenue to address this undiscovered need—a need to explore new narratives and find a space wherein he would feel accepted and free.

Thus, what punk provided was access to a sense of belonging and to an arena where new ideas could be explored freely. MacKaye, likely as a combination of experiences as a minority in high school, but also in watching trends in mainstream society, was interested in spaces where he could be accepted, but perhaps more so, spaces where a variety of point of views regarding life could coexist. When he described his first punk show, which was a performance of The Cramps in 1979, he said that he thought, "Wow! A room full of freaks. I fit in here" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). The musician described many reasons why he felt he was a freak. He was a freak because he

did not use drugs, did not go to college, was a pacifist, and did not agree with everything

he saw going on in mainstream culture. He was a freak because he was not prepared to

accept the status quo in the way that a majority of culture was. As someone who stood

out from the rest of the majority, MacKaye felt at home in a space where it was okay to

be different from everyone else. He describes his desire to find a space where he could fit

in with others who did not fit in elsewhere. He says, "I think that probably those of us

that feel marginalized, you know, we always look for connections" (MacKaye, Personal

Interview). While mainstream narratives of the 1980s (and perhaps most secondary

education settings) communicated the values of conformity and, ultimately, fitting in,

MacKaye was interested in pushing against that narrative and finding a space where not

following the norms was acceptable.

Thus, the first *exigence* that punk addressed for MacKaye was this desire to

address a separateness he felt from the majority. This notion is particularly apparent in

his interview for the National Endowment for the Arts wherein he defines punk this way:

"[i[f you ask me now what punk is, I would say it's the free space. It's a spot where new

ideas can be presented without the requirement of profit, which is what largely steers

most sorts of creative offerings in our culture" (MacKaye, "A Place for New Ideas.").

Through this point MacKaye expresses a disconnect between what society values (that

which is driven by capitalism) and that which he thinks is best for society. It is perhaps

important to note, however, that this separateness experienced by MacKaye is more

elective than that experienced by the people of Kenya or even Walker. MacKaye is

rejecting the mainstream and status quo himself. He expresses suspicion over whether the

accepted ideas and values are in the best interest of the people and this seems to be his

ultimate cause—to push against the limiting of ideas and approaches to life. In this way, MacKaye reflects some similarities to both Mwangi and Guevara. Both men have access to the option to live fairly comfortable mainstream lives, but instead, chose a future pushing against accepted narratives in the communities within which they worked.

Ultimately, MacKaye seems to advocate for punk as an arena wherein new ideas can be expressed and explored. It's this connection to new, non-mainstream ideas that causes MacKaye himself to describe the movement as having a connection to the notion of guerrilla. He explained in our interview that punk could be considered guerrilla because he thinks "new ideas are always guerrilla because they are obviously not embraced by all people" (MacKaye). For MacKaye, the "the definition of guerrilla would be a counter culture or rebellious or revolutionary figure"; he elaborates on this characterization by saying that it includes those who are "engaged in some sort of struggle" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Although this punk rocker believes the guerrilla to be an overly romantic term that is primarily associated with the military, he does believe that it also can "be used in terms of anyone who can be a provocateur" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Thus, MacKaye seems to acknowledge that not only is the guerrilla associated with a struggle, but also it is a struggle against some kind of authority since it is a means of provoking some entity.

One authority that punk often struggles against is that established by government. Throughout the interview MacKaye describes a number of ways in which the government interferes with or neglects the needs of the people of Washington. He says,

> the real goal of government is to slow things down. That way, slowing
>
> down the progress, the natural progress of human beings, who could

progress so much faster if we could just be human beings together, but

instead, the government is in place in service to corporations to figure out

how to slow down progress in a way that corporations can maximize their

profits (MacKaye, Personal Interview)

Thus, to MacKaye, the government creates a real danger because, to him, government is

the enemy of progress. To frame this notion in terms of narrative, we might say that

MacKaye is suspicious of the narratives advocated by the government because those

narratives encourage complacency and acceptance of the current conditions. MacKaye's

characterization of the government, works quite readily, in fact, with the presentation of

the governmental definition of terrorist presented previously.

It seems that MacKaye's articulation of his motive and his perception of the punk

scene at large fall nicely in line with the concept of guerrilla *exigence*. Punk operates as a

means of exploring the disconnect between the accepted mainstream and the potential for

new ideas or innovation that is possible in an arena wherein adherence to the mainstream

is not required or even accepted. The *exigence* of the movement, described in this way, is

to support the cause of the people to make progress as a people without the limitations of

narratives impressed upon them by institutions.

Like Walker, MacKaye's *exigence* is largely tied to the need for human

expression. However, unlike Walker, MacKaye is more interested in society at large.

While the artist mentioned several times in our interview that he does not see himself as

better than those who engage in activities he abstains from, it is clear that he is concerned

for the well being of a "people" in a much larger sense than Walker is. MacKaye's cause

is much more outwardly focused than Walker's. While MacKaye is certainly part of the

"people" in that he wants to be in the free space where he is able to have ideas and values that stand in contrast to the mainstream, his focus is not limited to himself in the same way that Walker's was. In this sense, MacKeye's *exigence* seems to fall more closely in line with my initial guerrilla framework than Walker's because it frames both a cause and a notion of the people in a way more clearly in line with my first articulate. However, the cause that MacKaye articulates is less overtly political than I might have originally anticipated. All the same, it pushes against a phenomena that limits a people's potential and in that sense might be considered quite guerrilla.

MACKAYE'S *KAIROS*

Although MacKaye would not use the word *kairos* or kairotic to describe the means in which he navigates situations, *kairos* does seem to play an important roll in how he approaches not only his musical compositions, but also the means in which he navigates public and private exchanges. The guerrilla rhetor must take advantage of whatever conditions do exist to put forth the people's cause. However, I also mentioned that the rhetor hoping to take advantage of a guerrilla kairotic moment would also need to realize that not all approaches will be amendable to each specific context. One instance wherein MacKaye took advantage of the kairotic moment was in his response to the attacks of 9/11. This horrific event captivated the nation and became the focus of media attention, political discussion, and community conversation. A vast majority of the country handled this event in a similar way with obsession bred by fear. On the day of the attacks MacKaye was at the Dischord House in Arlington, Virginia which is exactly two and a half miles from the Pentagon (The Dischord House has been the home of Dischord

Records since 1981 when it was first a group house for musicians in the DC area. The housing costs within the Virginia state limits were much more affordable than those in Washington. Today, MacKaye works mostly alone within the Dischord House while his staff works in a warehouse across the street). MacKaye could see the smoke billowing out of the Pentagon just by walking around the corner from the Dischord House.

MacKaye had a variety of ways in which he could have responded to this horrific event. As a musician in the city of the attack, he might have, for example contributed to or helped to host a benefit concert, such as that which was held in New York City the month after the attacks. Paul McCartney organized the Concert for New York City, which was held on October 20, 2001 and featured the former Beatle, David Bowie, the Who and other notable performers, comedians and speakers (*The Concert for New York City*). This benefit concert raised $30 million for the Robin Hood Relief Fund an organized founded to "help the families of victims of the September 11 terrorist attacks" (Wiederhorn). Following the concert itself the event continued to profit through sales of the companion music album and film versions of the concert. This event certainly was one response of the entertainment industry to the kairotic moment created as a result of the 9/11 attacks.

MacKaye's response, however, was quite different. When asked by others how he was going to respond to the day his first response was: "I'm going to have my breakfast, I guess. You know? What the fuck can you do?" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). While some individuals actively planned events in response to this tragedy, MacKaye did not see his role in the events in that way. He said,

> I had no control over anything that had anything to do with any of that
> before, during or after, really. You know? I had a little bit of say
> afterwards, but during, I mean what [could I do]? So, I spent that entire
> day not watching the television. Instead, I answered the mail and I dated it
> all the 10th of September because I didn't want people to think I was
> totally insane...I wrote like thirty or forty postcards to kids that day and
> the entire time I kept thinking that is a good vote for the future because if
> you mail a post card, it arrives two or three days later, so obviously even
> though the 11th seemed so cataclysmic, there was going to be another day.
> That was my vote. I dated them all the 10th. (MacKaye, Personal
> Interview)

Ultimately, he responded to this situation in a very private way. He focused on

connecting with people, fans who related to his work, rather than making a grand external

gesture. In this way, I think MacKaye's response actually stays true to his overall

exigence. He strives for connections with people despite the mainstream response to

circumstances and rejects the notion that the majority's response to a circumstance is the

most productive approach for the good of the people. In this specific circumstance,

MacKaye rejected the mainstream response to the situation. He said

> the only reason to watch it on television that I could think of really was to
> try to make sense of something that makes no sense. I mean that kind of
> brutality, regardless of who did what, is incomprehensible. And you can
> watch it over and over and over, but ... all that can possibly happen is that
> you will become numb, that you'll be able to look at it and not feel

something. Which is what people do. It's what people do...they take on

things that are unhealthy until they feel nothing (MacKaye, Personal

Interview)

For this reason, I believe MacKaye's reactions to circumstances, what he would call his

creative response, operate with a sense of *kairos*. He examines a situation and looks for

the appropriate thing in that moment to do that he will view as productive rather than

status quo or typical. What's interesting about this particular response is that MacKaye

seems to greatly believe that it is in the best interest of the people to resist these norms

(dwelling upon the crisis and tragedy) because of the means in which they might effect

people long term. However, MacKaye still operates with some understanding of the

means in which decorum, overall, speaks into and limits his response. After all, he dated

the postcards for the 10th because he wanted to have a vote toward the future but did not

want to appear mentally unwell to the recipients of his post cards. Thus, he understands

that even though he might wish to reject the mainstream response to a situation he must

do so with limitations so as not to alienate himself and his intentions entirely.

Thus, like Walker, the fact that MacKaye demonstrates a sense of kairotic

timing and decorum in his response to his context shows how the artist uses rhetorical

strategy. However, using these strategies alone does not mean that he uses them with in a

sense that is guerrilla. I would argue that the 9/11 example of MacKaye's kairotic

response indicates a dedication to the people, but one that contrasts with the dedication

other musicians show. While many musicians used this moment and their position within

it to raise money for the cause of the people in New York, MacKaye demonstrated

suspicion toward allowing this tragedy to have too much power. In this unfortunate moment, he made a symbolic gesture toward the future and reached out to others.

Had the musician participated in benefit concerts and the like, he would have given into the notion suggested by the behavior of the mainstream that money could mediate and help alleviate this tragedy. While the choice he made in this moment is in line with the *exigence* that I have articulated for his work, it is important to note that it ultimately might be best described as a rhetorical refusal in the sense of John Schilb's use of the term. John Schilb defines this term as "an act of writing or speaking in which the rhetor pointedly refuses to do what the audience considers rhetorically normal" (3). While characterizing MacKaye's choice as a rhetorical refusal begins to point toward the next section of audience, I think it is also important for describing how MacKaye responds to creative situations in general. As MacKaye has a great distrust of the mainstream, he often responds to situations in ways that might seem surprising because they reject the normative response.

In MacKaye's rhetorical refusal is the opportunity to draw attention to the way in which a normative response is expected and whether or not this response is most productive or beneficial to the people. What I must determine, however, is whether rhetorical refusals are actually guerrilla in nature, however. I feel this rhetorical move shares properties with the guerrilla as a result of the way in which it ultimately strives to have influence in the battle of the narrative as MacKaye sees it. As will be discussed further in the section below, MacKaye sees the government as winning influence by way of their ability to evoke fear in the minds of the country's citizens. The repetition of the horror of these circumstances, the repetition of the catastrophic imagery, and the

continual emphasis on the tragedy, even in the form of benefits, gave rise to the narrative that the country was in danger and the government was there to protect the people. MacKaye opted not to participate in this public reinforcement in the need for the people to depend on and give power to their government because this narrative conflicts with his own narrative regarding the role of government. By refusing to respond to the moment in the way that is expected or at least typical, he ultimately draws attention to an opposing narrative, one that voices concern for the sentiments accepted by the mainstream. Yet, ultimately, sitting in one's house quietly writing postcards, does not quite evoke the image of the guerrilla with which I first began. I struggle to feel comfortable with the notion that this particular move is guerrilla in nature. However, I do find it to be an important moment for my consideration overall. This moment does not have to be guerrilla, as I argued in the last chapter, guerrilla rhetors need not be guerrilla in all moments. However, what exploring this example does do is help me see the way in which it is important to further articulate my rhetorical theory in relationship to rhetorical forms that might share qualities with guerrilla rhetoric. I suspect that rhetorical refusals, for example, might fit comfortably into the domain of middle finger rhetoric, but still contrast with guerrilla rhetoric, which I maintain is another form of middle finger rhetoric. Thus, this moment helps me to further understand how I might position my theory in light of other rhetorical practices.

MACKAYE'S AUDIENCE

Over the last thirty-plus years that MacKaye has been active within the punk community, his sense of audience has changed. When he first became a musician in this

scene, he had a very clear sense of his audience: it consisted of his friends. As his music

took off and grew, his sense of audience grew as well. While he might struggle to

articulate who is in his audience today, the artist has worked purposefully to expand the

access that people had to his music. For example, bars have been the primary venues in

which a majority of his concerts have taken place (with the notable exception of The

Evens' shows). However, MacKaye rejected the notion that music should be tied to

alcohol consumption (which he associates with self destruction) and therefore pushed for

shows not to be limited to only those people who were age twenty-one and up. He

explained, "That's why it was always all ages, all ages, all ages. I'm trying to say that it's

for all people" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). In this way he aimed for his shows to be

inclusive and pushed against the notion that music and self-destruction should be tied to

one another. Additionally he indicated that the punk scene overall created a particular

kind of audience; he says, "what punk created was an audience that was interested in

ideas and how those ideas were brought forth were less important in terms of talent as

they were in terms of creativity or attitude" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). In this way, I

see MacKaye's audience to consist of the "people" who are sympathetic to the struggle

against mainstream, commonly accepted points of view that is apparent in MacKaye's

exigence.

However, what's unique about MacKaye's sense of audience as compared to my

notion of guerrilla audience is that MacKaye does not see an audience for himself outside

of these people interested in ideas. In particular, despite the fact that he writes from

within the Washington, DC context, he does not seem to see the government officials as

part of his audience. Instead, he says that he feels largely unnoticed by those factions of the District. He indicates,

> Because these motherfuckers, these government people, don't give a fuck about me. I have no power. People who come to this town in search of power, they just want to be near like the health [department] and...I don't know, some fucking secretary of this or the department head of that. Or You know, they want to live near the Secretary of State...but me? There's no respect for music in this town. Not on that level. So, largely, I'm invisible." (MacKaye, Personal Interview)

While I suspected the guerrilla rhetor would be well served to include both the people and the opponents of their cause in their notion of audience, this is not a concern for MacKaye. His goal is not to win authority in the government or to gain their sympathies. As was mentioned above, MacKaye actually views the government as an impediment to progress and essentially the force working against the people's cause. As a result he does not work to influence government practice in the way that Che Guevara did. However, he does wish to make his own audience aware of the way in which institutions like the government is affecting them. For example, he described his motivations for writing the Evens song "You Won't Feel a Thing," which uses the metaphor of Novocain to describe what the government was bringing about in society: MacKaye explained,

> I felt like the government was actively numbing people through terror because you can only take so much. You have like terrorist attacks and then anthrax attacks and you have, you know, planes crashing and anthrax and snipers. Then you have like one warning after another. You remember

the warnings? You remember codes yellow, code orange? Where the

fuck is that now? What happened? And then every day like shoe bomb,

underwear bomb, blah blah blah. People were like panicking. And it's

like...at some point you just become numb. In that numbness is where

they do the real fucking damage. (MacKaye, Personal Interview)

In this particular case, MacKaye argues that our exposure to fear was what made the

Patriot Act possible. Thus, through this song, the artist attempts to make individuals

aware of the damage made possible by the terror creating through our exposure to fear. In

this way, I think MacKaye's notion of audience contrasts with that which I have

identified as guerrilla. He sees the audience as those interested in the exploration of new

narratives, not those who actively promote the status quo or institutional control.

However, it does seem that his music provides the opportunity for those not yet interested

in such ideas to become engaged in such a discussion (punk rock, for example, was

certainly the means in which I, as a teenager from a conservative home, took an interest

in social issues and liberal ideology).

The way in which MacKaye rejects to acknowledge politicians and other groups

who might oppose the notion of the "free space" as audience members that he focuses

upon is of interest to me. In guerrilla warfare, the opposing force is central because of the

means in which warfare is more directly confrontational. I presumed that guerrilla rhetors

would perceive those in opposition to the cause as an important force to address directly.

Thus, MacKaye's approach to audience defies this expectation. His emphasis is upon the

people alone. However, I do see his discussion of his audience showing a clear interest in

using his work to create a space for an audience invested in his cause. As a result, this

notion of cause is still quite central to his understanding of his audience. As I considered

MacKaye's approach further, I came to realized that Mwangi's own approach might be

somewhat similar. While the opposing force are certainly present as a subject of

Mwangi's rhetoric, that does not mean the street artist is necessarily writing *to* or *for*

them. Indeed, Mwangi is interested in getting the people to rethink the narratives they

accept about the government. While he does provoke the government through these acts,

I am not certain I needed to perceive the government officials as begin a primary

audience for the art. Thus, one decision I will need to make about my understanding of

guerrilla rhetoric is whether or not the opposing voice must be a more *central* audience

component or whether rhetoric, by its nature need not confront the opposing force in as

direct fashion as warfare must.

MACKAYE'S RHETORICAL SITUATION

Like Walker's rhetorical situation, MacKaye's situation is constantly changing

and evolving. As such his response to his situation evolves and changes. Since MacKaye

approaches each situation with an eye toward a creative response, it might be said that he

navigates his situations with integrity—that sense that he can negotiate a circumstance

wherein his actions are not predetermined. Additionally, these situations are often those

that are not created by MacKaye but rather outside forces that make him receive the

situation and then determine how he will respond to it. MacKaye used the mere instance

of my arrival at the Dischord house as an example of what he called his creative

response, but what I see as his negotiation of his rhetorical situation. He tells the story by

saying,

"you got here a bit early, right? So I was eating my lunch; so okay I'll

show you around while I eat my lunch. That was a creative response to a

situation. I just want to be where I am at the moment. That's all I ever

wanted to do. So that's the same way ...part of the way my work

[operates] is really is, you know, I am confined to my

circumstances...despite the fact that the Internet says I am worth 25

million dollars. (MacKaye, Personal Interview)

In this way MacKaye acknowledges the way in which he operates within circumstances

as they present themselves and that, even though he has apparent worth (or fame) that

does not mean that he is able to operate beyond or above the circumstance in which he

finds himself—although admittedly he might have more room for creative response than

others with less resources available to them.

Still, this approach to circumstances demonstrates MacKaye's awareness of his

own rhetorical situation, but does not, in itself, necessarily indicate that his situation is

guerrilla in nature. The guerrilla rhetor would draw from the discursive tradition of those

in power, but also defy elements conventions held by that tradition as a means of

developing their "creative response." As I first considered MacKaye as a rhetor, I did not

think that he was concerned with the discursive tradition of those in power. It seemed to

me that he operated in such a way as to be outside of the domains of those in power or at

least those in the majority. During our interview he described himself as an externalist

because of the way in which he opts out of many of the things embraced by those in

power or in the majority. He first explains the role this had in how he was perceived in

situations as a teenager. He explains, "as a kid they called me the group conscience

because I didn't use drugs" and then he continues by explaining the implications of this characteristic: "I think I've always been an externalist in a way…If you don't engage in things, you have a really curious perspective on them. Especially when they're things that are so…oh, the word is escaping me…well, they're just everywhere" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Thus, MacKaye's response to his situations is ultimately made possible, in many ways, by the means in which he elects to not pick up the traditions of those around him. His ability to produce a rhetoric of the free space is largely the result of how he rejects societal traditions.

However, I believe that MacKaye can operate within the confines of those discourse traditions when he must, but does so somewhat uncomfortably. For example, when I attended his recording of the National Public Radio (NPR) program *Ask Me Another*, it was clear that he had been instructed to or understood to avoid profanity during his recording. This clarity was apparent in how he navigated telling a story wherein the profane was clearly a key moment. NPR ultimately did not include the story segment within the broadcast of the show, but did include the story on their website with this heavy-handed opening warning: "Warning: the following content has been deemed inappropriate for the radio. It may also be inappropriate for children, offices and sensitive grandparents. Please put on your headphones or find a safe space to enjoy this *Ask Me Another* bonus round" ("Hear Ian MacKaye's 'Saturday Night Live' Story"). This warning preceded a story that MacKaye prefaces by explaining that he's going to tell it two ways—one way for the audience there in that moment and one for the radio later. NPR, however, chose to put both versions on their website as they aired this story without editing. The first version contained the words "fuck you" while MacKaye's radio

edit version used "F you" ("Hear Ian MacKaye's 'Saturday Night Live' Story"). Through

this telling it becomes apparent that MacKaye had an understanding of the discourse

traditions of this mainstream outlet and was attempting to operate within them as best he

was able, but for the purpose of his story and his message, he was willing to push those

limitations. Indeed the fact that this instance was MacKaye's only use of the word "fuck"

in his evening recording with *Ask Me Another* while there were sixty-three instances of

the word in my two-hour recording with the punk rocker—and only one was my own—is

fairly telling. Ultimately, I do believe that MacKaye uses the discourse traditions of those

in power when it is appropriate or necessary for the situation he has agreed to navigate

because he does have an overall sense of decorum.

However, he does not seem to privilege this domain or discourse tradition in the

way that I believe my initial theory of guerrilla rhetoric suggested he might. Because

MacKaye believes in the free space and the power of that space, I believe his rhetorical

situation might be best described in that way. It is a place wherein he is free to respond to

situations in ways that push against the norms or the expected because it is in those

moments of pushing back against the status quo that progress is made possible. In

observing this fact, I am led to consider, once more the importance of further explicating

the boundary between rhetorical refusals, which some of his choices might be, and actual

guerrilla rhetoric.

Within that *Ask Me Another* clip MacKaye explains that the punk movement of

the early 1980s "was a revolutionary moment and that meant that something was being

born and there was friction, so the people that were on the outside were threatened and

therefore threatened us" ("Hear Ian MacKaye's 'Saturday Night Live' Story"). The free

space exists within the context wherein folks are receptive to the friction caused by embracing and exploring new or unpopular ideals. They value new narratives and the potential in those narratives enough to face that friction. As a result of the way in which the free space shapes the rhetorical situation of MacKaye, it seems as though it might be considered a *topos* that guides the rhetor's decisions as he maintains integrity and receptivity in new situations. This notion of the free space might be said to be a guiding principle that structures his responses overall, regardless of the individual context.

What I must ultimately decide, however, is whether the rhetoric of the free space is guerrilla rhetoric. MacKaye himself suggests that it would be because, as I discussed above, he believes all new ideas are initially guerrilla. However, accepting this notion depends upon whether the artist's definition of guerrilla is productive and congruent with the notion of guerrilla from which I am working. Ultimately, my definition of guerrilla rhetoric paints it as responding to some circumstances wherein a people are oppressed in some way. To put it another way, it comes from a people's crisis. I find crisis a productive word in this moment because of the way it allows me to connect to Thomas S. Kuhn's discussion of responses to crisis. In his famous work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* he indicates that "[t]he novel theory seems a direct response to crisis" (75). Although not all crises have to be related to a people's cause, it does seem like the crisis of an oppressed people might lend itself to the rhetorical situation that brings about a novel theory—one that might, at least incrementally, lead to their liberation—which corresponds nicely to MacKaye's goals.

Thus, I do ultimately see MacKaye's free space as complimentary to the guerrilla rhetorical situation, as well as guerrilla *kairos:* the guerrilla rhetor must approach his or

her rhetorical situation in a way that is flexible and makes progress toward the people's cause possible. This flexible response will likely require the development of fresh, new ideas for approaching to the problem that has manifested. Thus, operating from a sense of the free space would be advantageous for the invention of new approaches to the guerrilla struggle. As a result, I must draw a distinction between whether the rhetoric of the free space is a guerrilla rhetoric, or whether it is more of a generative space that might give rise to guerrilla movement. I would advocate for the latter interpretation because of the way in which MacKaye's notion of the free space contrasts with the situations I observe with the work of both Mwangi and Guevara. Mwangi does not seem to want to encourage the Kenyan people to explore all available means of seeing the context they are facing. Instead, he advocates for a particular opinion. Likewise, Guevara invites the people to join him in a specific battle toward a particular sense of liberation. I believe that the free space might be productively considered the context in which new ideas might develop and guerrilla rhetoric might be a channel through which progress toward these new ideas are made possible. Even this might be seen within MacKaye's rhetoric. The free space of punk allows him to explore new ideas, but ultimately the ideas he expresses are his own conclusions about how to respond to the issues he was able to observe in the free space. Thus, I would say guerrilla rhetoric is unique from the free space alone in that it advocates for a particular path.

MACKAYE'S COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE

Ian MacKaye's work both in making music and in running the Dischord record label is not done in isolation, but rather as a part of a team. In fact, although people refer

to him as the leader or front person of his bands, he resists this characterization. After his

participation in the NPR show *Ask Me Another* he approached the show's producer to

clarify this fact; he said, "one thing I would like to mention to you is that you refer to me

as the front person of Fugazi and I was not the front person. I was a member of Fugazi,'

then he continued, 'no offense, I understand why people think that, but I am not the front

person of that band. Or Minor Threat for that matter" (MacKaye, Personal Interview).

While it is typical for musical groups to have a front person who is considered the leader

of the group and the most visible, most celebrated member of the band, MacKaye's

understanding of the group as a collaborative unit causes him to resist this kind of

characterization. One thing I find compelling in this circumstance is that it does reveal a

moment wherein MacKaye is actively trying to control the narrative surrounding the

nature of his work within the musical sphere. Despite the fact that many call him a

legend, a front person, and a leader in various domains, he deflects these notions with a

narrative that presents him as a team player. This move might actually be a rhetorical

strategy to make him seem more like an everyday kind of person—less like a hero.

However, such a move might actually make him appear *more* heroic because of the way

it presents him as not being self-centered, but rather a charitable person not attempting to

take all the credit for the successes he enjoys through his music. I suspect this means of

navigating a community helps makes the musician ultimately more likable, which aids

him in developing an audience for his ideas.

I should note that in the case of Fugazi and The Evens, MacKaye's bands are

more than just a musical act, they're family. In the case of the Evens, that band is a

family in the most traditional sense of the word; the band consists of MacKaye and his

wife, Amy Farina. Fugazi, on the other hand, became a family-like entity as a result of the bonds formed through their partnership. MacKaye explained that the band has yet to "break up" because of the fact that they are family. Instead they are on indefinite hiatus: "We were so much more than a band anyway. And it's like…you can close a store, but you can't close a family" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). In this way, MacKaye demonstrates how his bands operate as more than just a collection of musicians.

In fact, I would argue that Fugazi, in particular, developed more as a community of practice than a band. As I presented above, communities of practice have three specific characteristics: domain, community, and practice. To demonstrate how the band evolved as a community of practice, it is important to first describe the process through which the band formed. MacKaye formed the band Fugazi as a result of setting out to *not* form a band. After the band Embrace broke up, MacKaye decided not to be in a band, but to just focus on music.

He first approached Joe Lally when Lally was a part of the band Beef Eater. Another member of the band had told MacKaye that Lally was interested in playing bass guitar more often. As a result, MacKaye approached him and said, "Joe, you want to just play music? I'm not forming a band, but do you want to play music with me?" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Joe agreed and the two began to play music together. With the same line of "I'm not forming a band," MacKaye recruited a drummer named Colin Sears. When Sears stopped playing music with MacKaye and Lally, to rejoin his prior band Dag Nasty, the duo invited Brandon Canty to join their cause to play together without forming a band. MacKaye told Canty, "We're not forming a band; we won't fuck with your schedule" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Eventually, MacKaye, Lally, and

Canty played a show together with Guy Picciotto. MacKaye describes it this way: "it

wasn't until we played a show that we became a band. Until then we just played music.

That's collaboration. And that's what I'm interested in: doing things with people"

(MacKaye, Personal Interview). This collaboration that resulted in the formation of a

band was unique because the motivations for the collective were distinct from other

bands in such a way that makes the group seem more like a community of practice than

only a band. They were in it for the music more so than the reputation (and perhaps also

profits) that comes with being a notable musician. By emphasizing that the musicians

were not forming a band in the way he did and repeating this manta throughout their

formation, MacKaye encouraged the other band members to approach the music in a new

way, a way that stood in contrast with conventional approaches to band formation.

Thus, the shared domain of interest for this group of people was music. The

common element that brought them together was a strong desire to play music regardless

of whether they were in a band. This feature distinguished the members of Fugazi from

other musicians. MacKaye describes musicians' desires to be in a band like individuals'

desires to be in romantic relationships: "[s]ometimes people like just want to be in a

relationship so badly that they don't grow it, they just get in it. Then they realize, oh 'I

forgot the love part'" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). In a similar way, MacKaye had, as

many musicians do, previously joined a band just because he wanted to be a part of

something. He explains "with Embrace, I think the desire to be in a band, aka a

relationship, sort of went past the love part and specifically almost past the music part"

(MacKaye, Personal Interview). Thus, with Fugazi, the individuals who came together to

play music were forming connections as a result of a common domain of interest—not a specific goal.

As a community of practice does, they pursued this joint domain through collaborative work. Members of a community of practice engage in common activities, work together, and learn from one another. The group as a whole benefited as a result of what they are capable of together that would not be possible as individuals. In a similar way, the members of MacKaye's bands work together to make their contributions possible. MacKaye indicates this by explaining, "I am one of the elements that makes it possible. Without me it wouldn't have been possible for those songs to be written. Same with Guy. Or Brandon or Joe. Or Amy. Like those songs could not exist without her; it's a collaboration. So, in the same way, how do I...what do I contribute? The possibility. That's what I contribute" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Thus, they operated as a community that made their music possible. Each of them shared part of themselves to make the product a reality. The group also shared in resources and negotiated issues they faced as a collective. In short, they had a shared practice through which they navigated their endeavors. MacKaye explained that they shared in the responsibility of the band together and believes that this practice is part of the reason for the great longevity of the group: "I think one of the reason for longevity of this band was that each person had an equal tug on the plug. It wasn't one person's decision. It wasn't that one person had more power than anybody else" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Thus, the power of the group came from their combined practice together. In this way, I see these bands creating "something *together*" in the Lunsford and Ede sense.

While the group operated in a way that very much seemed indicative of Wenger's concept of the community of practice, that alone does not make them a guerrilla community. Previously I specified that a guerrilla community of practice would be a group that contains the characteristics of a community of practice but that worked to create something *together* that would address the people's cause. For bands, the most overt way in which they address a people's cause might be through their actual lyrical content and the moments they create for the people. Fugazi, which operated as a clear community of practice, certainly addressed topics that align with the cause of the people that MacKaye has identified. The Evens also exhibit characteristics indicative of a community of practice and have lyrical content that address societal issues that are perhaps even more overtly political than those reflective in MacKaye's earlier bands.

While I do not think that being a community of practice makes MacKaye's bands inherently guerrilla, I do think the way in which these groups came together contrasts with his other bands in interesting and important ways. Ultimately, they have come together to meet specific needs. MacKaye developed Fugazi to bring about a free space to play and value music without letting the focus on fame and exterior recognition taint the production of their expression and art. The Evens responded to an *exigence* created by the political climate of the Bush Administration. In a similar way, MacKaye and Jeff Nelson's record label, Dischord Records might also be perceived as community of practice, as it is an organization or community dedicated to the production and distribution of music that rejected the mainstream notions that music should be controlled by those with the most capital. MacKaye contributed to the founding of new groups for different *exigencies* he observed, much in the way that Guevara formed a new guerrilla

band for each of his contexts and Mwangi recruits different people with different talents depending on the individual composition of his latest advocacy plan. The bands and the label are all communities that seem to have great importance to helping MacKaye develop his own ideas and to make steps toward the cause he advocates for most: for people to be free to progress without mainstream interference or limitation.

MACKAYE'S *TECHNE*

When I first asked MacKaye about the strategies he used to convey his message he resisted the notion that he used strategies. He explained, "I don't think of things in terms of message. I don't think of things in terms of strategies. I write songs about things I'm thinking about. I don't second-guess. It's not... it's definitely not strategic in that sense" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Although MacKaye rejected the term "strategy" and the notion that he was strategic in a particular sense, as he described his work he did begin to reveal how he approached situations in a way that might be considered strategic, especially when he considered his actions a result of his creative response as introduced above. Additionally, there are key ways in which examining his music and his delivery of the music does reveal a *techne* aimed at the gradual progression toward his overall cause.

Ultimately, I think MacKaye achieves this gradual progression against the status quo in small moments. He reveals the power of small moments of liberation brought about through punk music and punk concerts in particular. He explains it like this: "what I hope to achieve while playing music is the sense of being lost and free. When I'm in a room with people who also kind of aspire to that or work with us to get there, then I feel a deep kinship with them even if I don't know them because we're doing something

together" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). These are the moments where the societal expectations and parameters are put aside and the free space is truly able to prevail. 1 believe MacKaye's *techne* aims at creating these moments.

One way in which such moments are brought about is through creating music that people can join in with in a very participatory way. As such, much of MacKaye's music over the course of each of his bands has been described as anthemic. MacKaye explains,

> people have talked about my anthemic aspects of my music. And I understand what they mean by that, but really what we're talking about is sing-along. I have always tried to write music for people to sing because that for me...that's like the sort of elevated, transformative moment for me—this, when people are singing together. (MacKaye, Personal Interview)

For MacKaye the moment of liberation is brought about by bringing voices together in expression of these free ideas. As a result, many of his songs present very sing-able choruses that allow even the most newly initiated to join in the singing of the song. The opening stanzas of Fugazi's "Waiting Room," a song MacKaye wrote, serve as an appropriate example of this. The song begins: "I am a patient boy / I wait, I wait, I wait, I wait / My time is water down a drain / Everybody's moving / Everybody's moving / Everything is moving / Moving, moving, moving" (Fugazi, "Waiting Room."*)*. The repetition of words and concepts makes the song easy to learn and the nearly spoken-word delivery makes the song an accessible one to sing regardless of one's prospect as a vocalist.

As this song's lyrics begin to get caught in an individual's head they point to a unique idea—one that contrasts MacKaye with the mainstream. The musician's lyrics position himself in contrast with the mainstream. Everyone else is moving and the repetition of the word "moving" at a fast pace leads us to believe they are moving with great speed. Meanwhile, MacKaye is presented as moving less quickly as the repetition of "I wait, I wait, I wait" is paced must more slowly. Thus, he presents an idea of the pacing of the community and his own pace in contrast. Perhaps the listener is pushed to consider whether the pace at which we typically move is truly the virtue we have come to perceive it to be. Together in a concert environment, the crowd is free to get lost in this thought as they physically feel the change of pace as the energy of the crowd ebbs and flows as a result of the pacing of the music. The technique brings the audience into the moment and shapes the feeling as a result. In this way, we see MacKaye not only using his strategies to bring the audience into a moment but also using strategies that make appeals to the emotions of his audience, generating feelings of excitement, anger, and passion at different moments within the show.

MacKaye additionally unifies his technique with varied circumstances of his context. He developed *ethos* as someone with consistent values in widely providing access to music and pushing against the celebration of self-destruction through his push for all-ages shows that defy the notion that music is an adult commodity or that alcohol consumption and music should be tied together. However, bars ultimately continued to be their ultimate venue as a result of the style of their delivery. MacKaye has to make certain choices to ensure the stylistic approach of his bands could be maintained. MacKaye describes these circumstances by saying, "But we played bars owing to the fact

that our presentation required venues that could deal with sound reinforcement and were legal, safe for 1500-2000 people, didn't have issues with the neighbors or sound problems. That's a venue and the places…and just the structure that we allowed to be created" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). Thus, the artist accepted this forum because he was passionate about the form and style of the music he was developing.

In a similar way, his physical delivery of the music was approached in such a way as to match the style and the message of the music. For example, he discussed the Fugazi song "Suggestion" during our interview. This song wrestles with societal issues surrounding rape. The lyrics begin with MacKaye speaking from a woman's point of view: "Why can't I walk down a street free of suggestion? / Is my body the only trait in the eyes of men?" (Fugazi, "Suggestion."). This early lyric appeals to the audience's emotions regarding the exploitation of women. By the end of the song the artist is pushing against the societal norms surrounding rape culture: "So, we play the roles that they assigned us / She does nothing to conceal it / He touches her 'cause he wants to feel it / We blame her for being there / But, we are all guilty" (*Fugazi,* "Suggestion."). In this way, MacKaye's lyrics implicate everyone in society and sheds direct light on a very challenging societal problem. His presentation of this material is not gentle and he feels quite strongly about the reason for this fact. I felt he was most descriptive of his *techne* overall in the passionate way in which he described his approach to this song. First, he explains the overall reason for his screaming of these lyrics: "There was a physicality to it; sometimes I was screaming because I couldn't breathe; it wasn't because I was so full of rage. I'm not a rage guy. Definitely not a rage guy. But there are things that I am very angry about in the world that I feel are total injustice that I would like to sing about"

(MacKaye, Personal Interview). Thus, on the one hand he was screaming because he had

to physically ensure his voice would be heard and understood over the powerful, loud

music of Fugazi. This took physical force, especially for someone not professionally

trained to project his voice as a singer. However, the passion he had for the message also

pushed him to present it in an extremely passionate way. He explains:

> I feel like you got to lean into it. You gotta fucking make it real. It's not
>
> theoretical. Like to talk about what's going on here. So that's why I think
>
> that when I sing my songs, I'm performing them, part of that performance
>
> is you have music, you have words and you have performance. And they
>
> are three equal components. So…Imagine like a song like "Suggestion," if
>
> the music was the way it was, the words were the way they are, but I sang
>
> it like in a tiny, tiny Tim voice, right? Or let's just say, the lyrics were the
>
> way they are, I sang the way they are, but the music was like pipe organ
>
> music or kabuki music. Each of these things actually are connected and to
>
> the performance. Like I'm not fucking around. I'm very serious about my
>
> music, so there's no irony in here. (MacKaye, Personal Interview)

Thus, in a very real way, MacKaye constructs his approach to the lyrics, performance,

and music through the message he hopes to convey and he examines the way in which

individual choices in his composition (the internal logos of his music) work to support his

overall cause. These elements of MacKaye's *techne* is less overtly guerrilla in the sense

that they need not operate with the elements of secrecy and surprise in the way that

Guevara and Walker must. However, MacKaye is consistent in the way that these

strategies do seem to align to his exigency (which is concerned with a people's cause)

overall. However, developing techniques to respond to an *exigence* is rhetorical, but once more, not necessarily guerrilla in nature. The most guerrilla element of his *techne* might be observed in the means in which he elects to distribute the material despite of the limitations the mainstream music industry. One thing I must further consider is whether the do-it-yourself construction of his independent music label falls in line with what I ultimately believe to be guerrilla. As I suggested in chapter 2, I do not believe do-it-yourself to be inherently guerrilla, so one issue I will need to further address to continue to frame my theory of guerrilla rhetoric is where the line between do-it-yourself and guerrilla stands.

Overall, MacKaye's work has an *exigence* that I find to be fairly complimentary to the work of Guevara and Mwangi. MacKaye pushes against the powers of the mainstream and the status quo that has been accepted. He longs for progress. However, the means in which MacKaye approaches this exigence diverges from the approach that I first associated with the guerrilla as a result of Guevara's work. MacKaye's strategies are far less directly antagonistic toward an institution. Instead, they push against the institution through a kind of rhetorical refusal rather than an overt attack. MacKaye demonstrates a fairly non-guerrilla technique in response to an *exigence* that is more clearly guerrilla. In this way, MacKaye's approach contrasts greatly with Walker's quite guerrilla technique that responds to a less overtly guerrilla *exigence*. This contrast has important implications for my overall theory of guerrilla rhetoric. To develop this theory more fully, I will have to return to the questions that the work of both MacKaye and Walker raised in these two case study chapters and determine what conclusions might best help me to productively re-see and revise my theory of guerrilla rhetoric.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS: CROSS CASE ANALYSIS AND APPLICATIONS

"Arrange yourself. Reorder again. Nothing has changed.

Select, inspect, and pull it apart. All the flavors taste plain.

If I can't find you through all your things, how am I gonna

show you that we are free? Trace, translate these names.

They're all the same. No one isn't only six billion

monkeys."

--The Evens

At the start of this project, I put forth four preliminary research questions that I

hoped the "thought experiment" that is presented in these pages would help to answer. I

presented a preliminary theory of guerrilla rhetoric based upon bringing together

rhetorical theory and the work of Ernesto "Che" Guevara. This blending helped me to

develop a hypothesis answer to the first of my research questions: "based upon principles

of guerrilla warfare, what would a guerrilla rhetorical approach entail?" This initial

theory articulated the way in which rhetorical situation, *exigence*, *kairos*, audience,

community of practice, and *techne* might be seen through the lens of Guevara's work.

With this foundation in mind my exploration of my two case studies allowed me

to begin to describe how the two case studies used rhetorical strategies. This

characterization then allowed me to consider if and how they used the guerrilla tactics I

first articulated and how their work pushed against the framework of my theory. In this

chapter I present my conclusions regarding their strategies in comparison to the guerrilla rhetoric I first proposed and then use this foundation to help me to justify a revised theory of guerrilla rhetoric. What I attempt to do here is to allow what I have observed in these two men's approach to help inform what I now want to accept regarding my theory. I do this somewhat tentatively, acknowledging that these two cases are very localized and reflect only two people and their rhetorical approaches. Even so, these two people have helped draw my attention to places wherein my original theory benefited from further consideration and helped shape the ways in which I might have overlooked things I now think are more valuable to address.

As I began to examine the rhetorical strategies of the two cases of chapters 4 and 5, one thing that became strikingly apparent to me was the means in which the journeys of these two men, Asad "ULTRA" Walker and Ian MacKaye, paralleled one another, but also the places wherein their paths greatly diverge. These commonalities and point of departure have been useful in helping me to determine additional issues I should explore for my theory. As such, in this chapter I will first briefly review key concepts presented throughout this project and bring my observations from considering their cases together. This discussion then allows me to further explore essential themes that are pivotal for presenting a revised theory of guerrilla rhetoric.

First, in the case of *exigence* the two men present contrasting motive and, ultimately, causes. While Walker is motivated by obtaining a voice in a context wherein he has been largely rendered voiceless, MacKaye is interested in creating moments wherein groups can come together to explore ideas that move against the flow of that accepted and institutionalized within the culture. This difference is fundamental to my

evolving understanding of guerrilla rhetoric overall. As I discussed in chapter 4, Walker's cause initially was quite self-focused and only became more focused upon the community as he came to see himself accepted, first as a crewmember, and later as a member of the larger social community. This initial self-interest, however, is in stark contrast with Guevara's introduction into the guerrilla cause, which developed for a people with whom the guerrilla had little initial attachment.

When I compare the *exigencies* of these two men I tend to believe that MacKaye's is most closely reflective of the motives expressed by Ernesto "Che" Guevara in articulating his motives for going to war. Guevara's understanding of the cause of the people came from coming to understand the discrepancy between what resources some people had and the great absence he observed in others. His cause derives from his ability to envision a world wherein this lack was not so pronounced. In a similar way, MacKaye's externalist perspective leads him to question that which individuals in a society accept as the norm and that which might be possible if people were to look outside the norm. In a way, both Guevara and MacKaye seem to be thinkers who long for a reality outside of what it is they observe in the societies they inhabit. This causes both men to strive to create contexts wherein progress such as they envision might be made possible. While Guevara approached this through guerrilla bands, MacKaye wages his war against complacency through a different kind of band.

Walker, on the other hand, is very much entrenched in and perhaps in some ways a victim of the circumstances of class warfare of his community. Initially he seeks to improve his own conditions and then later develops a concern for protecting and serving his community. However, his own welfare has to be his first concern because he came to

the city alone and with few resources to aid him. While MacKaye also grew up in a Washington home, he did so in the northwest portion, with two parents who were present in his life and invested in him. This investment is clear through the stories he tells, such as the one wherein his mother hires the local bully to teach MacKaye to play guitar so he would not only develop musically but also his social welfare would be improved. In contrast, Walker was sent away from his parents' home in Maryland after his parents divorced. He was sent many states away to an uncle in New Hampshire. Although I have few details about the circumstances of this family choice, it seems apparent from his characterization of his childhood that his early years were not within a harmonious or affluent family. Additionally, the fact that he would select homelessness over the continued presence in his uncle's New England home seems to point toward continued familial conflict.

Because of this social positioning, I do not opt to liken Walker as readily with the guerrilla leader, Guevara. Instead, Walker seems more indicative of the people of Cuba on whose behalf Guevara waged war and whose support he sought to gain. More to the point, however, Walker's position reminds me quite a bit of Mwangi's position, prior to his achievement as a photographer. While Walker might have had everything to gain from a little war fought in support of himself and his community against the oppression and neglect they experienced, his own status within the society was not yet secure enough for him to make leading such a war his goal. Indeed, in the artist's version of Maslow's hierarchy of needs there are only four categories: food, shelter, security and expression. These are the focus of his life. Other elements of enrichment, such as those that would appear in the top two categories of Maslow's actual hierarchy of needs, self actualization

and esteem are only realized through one's access to self expression. Rather than striving for other high order needs such as the ability to overcome prejudice, he seeks only to have a voice.

Ultimately it became apparent to me that the social positioning of the two men greatly influenced their approach to their rhetorical situations and, more importantly, their causes and their understanding of who is included in their notion of "the people." As I consider Walker and MacKaye together now with Guevara, I believe both men had the potential to respond to an *exigence* that was guerrilla in nature. I believe MacKaye's *exigence* responds to a perceived separateness that directly relates to a cause of a people—even though not all of the people will perceive this separateness in the way MacKaye does. While I anticipated MacKaye's guerrilla exigence would stem from the DC context, however, it actually more so stems from the artist's own externalist viewpoint. As a result, MacKaye might find a guerrilla *exigence* in any context and his understanding of the people is hardly limited; his values are such that he believes all people should be pushing toward progress.

In contrast, Walker's context had all the conditions that made me believe he might perceive a guerrilla *exigence*. However, his actual rhetorical practice responds to an *exigence* that is too self-interested to fit well with my initial conception of the guerrilla. I believe Walker had the potential to become a guerrilla rhetor within his context, but lacked the security early on to be a leader of such a cause. His later work with murals and other more community-focused projects seems to reflect a stronger sense of a guerrilla cause—one oriented on providing for a community—and this trend in his work appropriately came as his security grew and solidified as well. I think it is likely that had

a guerrilla figure such as Boniface Mwangi taken up the guerrilla cause within Walker's community when he was young or if Walker's own social positioning had changed as Mwangi's had, Walker would have been a guerrilla band member and would have developed into a more overtly guerrilla rhetor. Likewise, if his social position would have changed, I believe he might have been able to broaden his understanding of who the people were—beyond just his crew and his community. Ultimately, this finding that social position does seem to impact the development of a guerrilla rhetor does make me see a stronger tie to closed fist rhetoric than I perhaps wanted to admit before—ultimately guerrilla rhetoric too does seem to depend on at least the leader to have some position of power. However, I do stand beside the notion that the guerrilla is unique from the closed fist rhetor because these leaders are using their power to provocatively work toward the cause of a people, rather than simply subvert authorities as a statement.

More importantly, perhaps, I have come to realize that my initial theory of rhetoric assumed all guerrilla rhetors were the guerrilla leaders, rather than guerrilla members. What I have come to see through my case studies is that it might serve me well, if I am to believe guerrilla rhetoric operates within a community of practice and to account for the rhetorical contributions of guerrilla figures who do not become (by choice or by society's say) the figurehead of the movement. I see continued support for this consideration as I examine the means in which the approach to audience of my two case study participants has shaped my understanding of the guerrilla overall. When I examined notions of audience in relationship to Guevara I was struck how the opposing force seemed to be a primary audience whereas the members of the cause were more of a tangential audience. For MacKaye and Walker, however, the opposing voice is much less

central while members of the rhetors' own groups were much more central. Ultimately, I think this makes sense because of the direct conflict of guerrilla warfare. However, as I have explored the ways in which Walker and MacKaye construct audience I have come to see guerrilla rhetoric as less conflict-oriented than guerrilla warfare. Warfare is inherently conflict-driven and my own approach to guerrilla rhetoric initially was inherently conflict-driven as well. I assumed if all guerrilla concepts come from a position of disempowerment or oppression then conflict ought to be apparent within those notions. However, I believe I too readily accepted that the guerrilla rhetors would elect to "fight" for their cause through direct confrontation. I too quickly assumed that the guerrilla must be a rebel prepared to push *out* of a position of powerlessness and to push *against* the powers of the perceived oppressor in a direct and confrontational manner.

I did not allow the reality that one's rebellion might be more nuanced. Thus, I was surprised when I found that neither Walker nor MacKaye were interested in obtaining access to governing or policing forces within their societies. Neither one seems interested in obtaining access to Power DC or even the attention of those in that domain, for example. In contrast, they concern themselves more directly with their more localized community and giving to those communities. Does this make them less guerrilla? I do not ultimately think so. Initially I imagined direct opposition was important because of the goals of Guevara's war in Cuba, which aimed at overtaking the Batista government. I focused on the aim of the war at large in using Guevara's work to articulate concepts within guerrilla rhetoric. What I didn't fully consider was the goals of the guerrilla himself. Guevara was clearly an impressive military theorist and after the war was over he rose to power in Fidel Castro's new government. Guevara's skills were not best used

within this environment and Guevara opted instead to return to the battlefield, first in the Congo and then, when unsuccessful there, in Bolivia. Although Guevara believed in the causes of the people, he was ultimately more interested in supporting people as they fought for their causes than becoming a part of the institutions that replaced those that his guerrilla bands opposed. Running the government as it evolved was not a goal of his.

Taking this fact into further consideration leads me to rethink how I have framed the goal of the guerrilla overall. I have come to believe that institutional access is never the goal of the guerrilla. Instead, I believe the guerrilla is inherently focused on progress and awareness. This emphasis, I can see now, is present in the guerrilla rhetoric of Mwangi, who aims not to become president, but to encourage citizens to question the president. In a similar way, I do not believe Guevara would have been happy with Castro's governing any more than he would have Batista's, or ultimately any other leader. The revolutionary ultimately was always looking for a space wherein progress could be made. In this way, I see him very much in the light of MacKaye who is always seeking the free space wherein new ideas and movement toward human progression can be found. In a similar way, I see Walker not accepting what local and national institutions have communicated about himself and those in his community. He may not seek to have the government intercede but he brings awareness of his presence to his community and advocates for others like him to do the same. He recognizes the disconnect between the institutions and his community and focuses himself on how to invest in the generations of young people coming up in his community after him, not by advocating that they adhere to the guidelines put forth by the governing body around him, but by holding them to issues of decorum recognized within his distinct community.

The community is of great importance to all three men: Guevara, Walker and MacKaye. I do think both Walker and MacKaye operate within contexts that I consider to be communities of practice. Some form of community is an extremely important part of both of their work. Because of the importance of the collective to the work of the modern guerrilla, I would hesitate to view someone who worked in isolation to be guerrilla in nature. It still seems to me that working individually toward a cause would be more representative of a vigilante than a guerrilla. I believe the guerrilla ultimately is one who shares in some kind of cause with other members of his or her community and thus invests in the growth of each member toward that cause. However, not all members of the community are going to have the same role within the group and as a result I think this will impact their rhetorical response.

In that same vein, one issue related to the overall rhetorical situation that I do think is still important to note is the relationship between the statuses of the two case study participants. On the one hand, Asad "ULTRA" Walker set out to achieve notoriety through his graffiti writing and achieved some status through his work, but is inconsistently included in chronicles of the graffiti scene of Washington, DC. On the other hand, the history of hardcore punk in Washington is hard to construct without some mention of Ian MacKaye. I have yet to find such an account that fails to include MacKaye. While Walker aimed for legendary status, MacKaye achieved this status despite the fact that he commonly seems to bristle at his characterization as a legend.

If I had attempted to select a figure from within the graffiti scene of DC to represent an equivalent level of status as that of MacKaye to DC punk, I would have had to select Cool "Disco" Dan as the subject of my chapter 4 case study. Indeed, this artist,

whose real name is Dan Hogg, is even the subject of a documentary that clearly points to

his status in the District of Columbia: *The Legend of Cool "Disco" Dan*. Unfortunately,

however, Hogg is a tragic hero. Despite his notoriety for his single-color scrawling

throughout DC for decades, it is hard to describe Hogg's story as one of success. The film

demonstrates that his story is ultimately a heartbreaking one. Although he has come to be

a cultural symbol in the area, he is also an example of the continued problems at the heart

of this context. At the close of the film, the filmmakers report that Hogg is once again, as

he has been multiple times throughout his troubled life, homeless. Hogg has long

struggled with mental illness, specifically with both bipolar and schizophrenia (Yates).

What strikes me about Hogg's case is he has successfully accomplished that which

Walker desired so greatly when he was young, but whether or not he is considered

successful by conventional societal terms is quite debatable.

Walker, on the other hand, might be considered more conventionally successful

by society's standards. He has a steady position with an art gallery and has successfully

sold art work and even had his own solo show. He has a family who he now prioritizes

and for whom he attempts to set a positive moral example. The fact does remain that he is

not the most influential of the writers of the district. In some ways it seems as though his

essential *exigence* shifted as he aged from producing fame for himself to being supportive

of his community and his family. In these respects we might argue that he has been more

successful. However, the illegal nature of his defining genre does complicate this path

even today, since he was asked to step down from his community outreach project

because of concerns about his arrest, specifically because he was someone who was in a

position to set an example for children.

As the owner of a record label and a member of several multiple-album bands, MacKaye, by contrast, might be considered more conventionally successful. In fact, during our interview, MacKaye commented upon his estimated net worth: "the Internet says I am worth 25 million dollars, according to celebritynetworth.com, which I have no idea where that came from" (MacKaye, Personal Interview). After our interview MacKaye's worth on that site was reduced to a, still sizable, five million. The musician's worth from a conventional societal standpoint is quite great. This fact has led me to consider the way in which the end result of the two men's rhetorical pursuits contrasts. I wonder what might account for this notable difference.

I wonder whether the social positioning of the men in their early life is primarily responsible or whether the rhetorical form they have selected is additionally responsible. Both graffiti writing and punk rock suffer from unpopular reputations within the larger community. Punks might be considered immature, perhaps adolescent angst, unruly, or obnoxious to the outside eye. Likewise, graffiti is commonly seen as adolescent rebellion, vandalism and destruction to externalists (even MacKaye presents this point of view at the end of our interview, despite giving me a copy of *The Legend of Cool "Disco" Dan*, which his record label sells). The fact remains that there is a key difference in the societal response to graffiti and punk: one is illegal and the other is not.

The illegal nature of the graffiti form points to additional societal issues that are worthy of consideration in revisiting the power issues related to the potential for a guerrilla rhetoric. Graffiti is most certainly a form of public art. It sits in cities alongside billboards and advertisements in store windows. These advertisements, of course, are bought. Those with power gain a voice and access to a rhetorical domain in cities through

Figure 6: Banksy's "If graffiti changed anything – it would be illegal" piece. Photograph by Duncan Cumming.

the exchange of capital. Graffiti's primary crime is putting a voice forth in a context without paying to have that opinion heard. Although the United States boasts of its freedom of speech, written rhetoric is hardly free. It is bought and sold. Putting forth a voice in a written form without purchasing that right to a voice is problematic in our nation's cityscapes. Ultimately, the tie to the financial allows the messages distributed in this city to be controlled more readily. I think this fact in the construction of graffiti

within a city is important especially in relationship to the thin line between terrorism and the guerrilla.

To those in positions of power and those monitoring the privileges of those who have gained access to these positions within a city, they promote a narrative that graffiti is problematic. A well-known piece by the street artist Bansky, which is presented in figure 6, points to the nature of this problem: "if graffiti changed anything – it would be illegal." This piece of street art points toward the guerrilla nature of graffiti in a way. To those who value the free space where all ideas are welcome and to those who believe in the cause of all members of a community, graffiti is a guerrilla practice. However, to those who push against these notions it might not be seen as a space for progress, but a vehicle to coerce others into the cause or sympathies for the rhetors composing the graffiti and or their community. In this light, governing officials might be more likely to perceive the form as somewhat terrorist in nature; after all, the United States Code's definitions of terrorism ultimately seem to push against movements that would bring about change in policy or opinion of the people ("Definitions of Terrorism in the US Code"). The Code specifies coercion as being the common element that causes an act to be terrorist in nature; while I do not perceive graffiti as directly threatening in a physical sense, it does threaten conventional narrative and thus might be considered a form that threatens ideological perspectives.

As I have taken this into account further, I have come to believe that what rhetors *make* in their rebellion is what makes them guerrilla—more so than *how* they make it. This determination helps me to understand why I might wish to call MacKaye guerrilla even though his *techne* might not demonstrate clearly guerrilla properties. After all, what

they produce is what makes them dangerous—not necessarily their process. This distinction has helped me to determine the difference in guerrilla *techne* and do-it-yourself techne. The two forms might overlap in approach in many ways, in fact some guerrilla techne might be do-it-yourself in nature, but guerrilla is unique in that it threatens some conventional narrative, while do-it-yourself simply provides an alternative means toward a goal.

I do believe Walker and MacKaye, ultimately, both create texts that are dangerous even if they do not appear to rebel in each moment. In some respects, the rhetorical response of MacKaye and Walker reminds me more of the indigenous peoples resisting Spanish colonizers that Michel De Certeau describes in his introduction to *The Practice of Everyday Life*. He explains that on the outside these indigenous people might have appeared to accept and even submit to their oppressors. However, De Certeau explains, "[t]hey were *other* within the very colonization that outwardly assimilated them; their use of the dominant social order deflected its power, which they lacked the means to challenge; they escaped it without leaving it. The strength of their difference lay in procedures of 'consumption'"(Kindle Locations 64-65). While De Certeau emphasizes the way in which this group's power came from the way in which they picked up and used what was being impressed upon them and made something of those laws and rituals that was their own, these guerrilla rhetors *make* something within an opportune (kairotic) moment that allows them to escape the power of oppression even if it is only a temporary construction, such as the moment MacKaye feels at a show or the one wherein Walker overhears his work being talked about.

In this way they pick up new tools, rather than the master's tools. Indeed, their approach using alternative discourse forms reflects how Audre Lorde pushes against the salience of the tools of the oppressor. She explains, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. And this fact is only threatening to those women who still define the master's house as their only source of support" (Lorde 112). To continue with her metaphors, the guerrilla rhetoric rejects not only the master's tools and his house, but attempts to subvert his game all together. MacKaye is overtly suspicious of the "game" sold by the mainstream, while Walker questions the narrative he has been taught about himself and his community. Both men, however, reject the game played in Power DC in some ways, but not entirely. To reject to play the game might be said to be the role of the rhetorical refusal. However, guerrilla rhetoric stands apart from the rhetorical refusal. Guerrilla rhetoric looks for moments in which to push against or subvert the game, but does not reject the game altogether. The concept of "genuine change" cannot be defined only according to the master's guidelines. This too reflects Lorde's thinking as she says "an old and primary tool of all oppressors to keep the oppressed occupied with the master's concerns" (113). These case studies led me to see that the guerrilla rhetor ought to reject the concerns of the masters in small, often surprising moments to make room to advocate for the concerns of his or her cause instead. They might not deliver one rhetorical text and discover their cause effected immediately.

Guerrilla rhetoric is a more subtle form. Like the indigenous peoples, guerrilla rhetors are able to use their form to discover, for themselves and those around them, if

Table 1

The Initial Theory of Guerrilla Rhetoric vs. The Revised Theory

	Initial Theory	Revised Theory
Rhetorical Situation	• The guerrilla rhetor must be able to be flexible and responsive to novel situations but must also understand the discursive tradition in which he or she operates and analyze the elements of that tradition that are useful to adopt and those that will need to be defied in order to approach his or her cause.	• The rhetors, on the one hand, understand and respond to the limiting nature of their context, but also create moments that resist or defy the limitations of that context. The latter seems most important to the guerrilla cause, however. • In this way, integrity trumps receptivity in terms of the guerrilla rhetorical situation.
Exigence	• The guerilla motive stems from a passion for a socially situated perceived danger, ignorance or separateness that interferes with the perceived people's cause.	• Institutional access is not the goal. • Inherently driven by a desire for progress and awareness.
Kairos	• Unifying times with situations, guerrilla rhetors create opportunities for change through rhetorical acts that address a perceived people's cause.	• The moment is of essential importance for the guerrilla rhetor; in some respects tapping into a kairotic moment is of vital importance.
Audience	• The guerrilla responds to a two-fold audience: the people and the oppressor in an effort to encourage participation and to affect the oppressor so as to leave him or her either unsettled or inspired to join the cause.	• The oppressor may not be a primary audience member considered by the guerrilla rhetor. The emphasis is upon the people and the self more than the opposing force. • Recruiting the oppressor does not seem to be a goal.
Community of Practice	• The community should work together toward a common cause; they should engage in a practice together as a result of their dedication to the cause; and they should adopt guerrilla strategies and tactics from one another as part of the community's responsibilities to itself.	• Not being in a community might be a sign that a rhetor is *not* guerrilla. • Individual guerrillas might have contrasting roles or positions within the community.
Techne	• The strategies put forth in a situation, which might be taught systematically, to help the guerrilla rhetors make incremental progress toward their cause.	• The *techne* of the guerrilla accounts for their creative response to the circumstances they face and to the moments they attempt to construct.

only in small moments, an escape or shift in the oppression without leaving the context completely. They can make this possible in part by rejecting the values of the oppressor and operating in spite of them. It might be in these small moments that push toward freedom that the potential for additional moments, albeit minor moments, might be possible. Although these might be minor, I do think they help reflect the guerrilla more authentically, based upon what I have observed thus far. As a result, table 1 characterizes briefly the key claims made regarding the theory of guerrilla rhetoric in chapter 3 and then presents observations and changes I now am advocating for as a result of thinking through how guerrilla rhetoric might operate in actual contexts. It should be noted that this theory of guerrilla rhetoric is a framework of the concept thus far. The framework has been revised as a result of observed cases, but it is certainly not a definitive stance on the subject. This theory of guerrilla rhetoric is the result of the exploration of a very narrow analysis of two very specific cases within a very specific context. It certainly is possible that the guerrilla rhetoric of similar populations within other cities, such as New York, Los Angeles or Chicago, or even within DC, might look different and might lead to the further revision of these concepts, but for this moment, this articulation feels appropriate to what I have come to understand about the guerrilla thus far.

Ultimately, this approach of concept formation is indicative of Michel Foucault's notion of the "Formation of Concepts." My own initial and revised theory is representative of Foucault's notion of "forms of succession" (*Archeology of Knowledge* 56). To borrow from Foucault, what I have drafted in this chapter is the articulation of

what one observed and, by means of a series of statements, recreated a

perceptual process; it was the relation and interplay of subordinations

between describing, articulating into distinctive features, characterizing, and classifying; it was the reciprocal position of particular observations and general principles; it was the system of dependence between what one learnt, what one saw, what one deduced, what one accepted as probable, and what one postulated. (57)

Thus, what I have presented here is quite personal and the result of consideration of a particular set of data within a particular, specific context. My own approach to guerrilla rhetoric is flavored in many profound ways by who I am and the nature of my own context as I approach this theory, the data, and literature upon which it is based. My own personality, preferences, and identity influence how I perceive this data. I come to this data as someone situated in writing studies, as an incredibly sensitive eternal pacifist, and also through the lens of my own history within the context of an adolescent punk rock scene, specifically a scene that followed and grew out of the contributions of Ian MacKaye. While I see great strengths and potential in this theory as it stands now, I recognize its potential to be a somewhat insular approach. Additionally, my emphasis on the guerrilla rhetoric of two specific people within a precise geographic space is also a limiting factor. I have come to see how guerrilla rhetoric is very context specific and must be conceptualized in a very local manner.

As a result, I look forward to seeing how others might take up the approach articulated here, but also how they might appropriate certain portions of it while refining or even rejecting other elements. I hope that others will take up the work I have begun here and further explore how guerrilla principles can be examined in other rhetorical contexts. While my two cases within the District were the starting place for this theory,

they need not be considered the only places wherein this form of rhetoric might be explored. In fact, for the remainder of this chapter I would like to make two central claims. First, there are many additional rhetorical sites that might be theorized about through the lens of the guerrilla rhetoric. To provide a starting place for others, I will suggest and briefly explore a few that I believe would be productive for thinking about through this lens. Secondly, there are rhetorical contexts that might not be typically described as guerrilla in nature but wherein rhetors within those contexts might conceivably benefit from taking up a guerrilla approach to their context. As a result, I will focus greatly on exploring how guerrilla rhetoric might be taken up within two contexts within the academy.

While I have studied the work of a graffiti writer and a punk rocker within the Washington, DC context, I am intrigued to learn more about how what I have observed in this specific context might operate within other cities known for having similar scenes. Most specifically I would be interested to compare the graffiti and punk scenes of New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles to what I have observed in Washington. The power dynamics and social tensions of these cities are each unique, just as that of Washington have proven to be. I wonder if the contrasting exigencies of these populations would lend themselves to distinct guerrilla characteristics or whether the findings from the Washington context would prove generalizable.

Additionally, I think a revealing study might look at similar art forms within the District and these others cities to see how guerrilla rhetoric might be exhibited in other forms. For example, while I have emphasized punk specifically here, it would be informative to explore how hip-hop or go-go music within the same context use guerrilla

qualities. Likewise it would be revealing to see how traditional graffiti forms compare

with pictorial urban art such as street art and street sculpture, or the more recent

development of yarn bombing. Such a comparison of other urban art forms would help

answer questions I am still left with as a result of this project. For example, is the work of

the formally trained art school graduate Swoon guerrilla in nature when she operates

alone? Do her floating art vessels (boats made of recycled materials and piloted by a

team of friends) become more guerrilla-like as a result of their collaborative

construction? To move beyond the connections to music and art, however, I additionally

see great potential in analyzing how the principles of guerrilla rhetoric might be used to

characterize the work of certain advocacy groups. Within Washington, there are no

shortage of advocacy groups. Not all, however, would I immediately associate with

guerrilla tactics. What might we learn about advocacy, however, by examining

institutions such as Greenpeace or Yes We Code through the lens of guerrilla rhetoric?

Would our understanding and perception of the success or failure of the Occupy Wall

Street movement evolve if we perceived it as a guerrilla enterprise aimed at awareness

more so that overt, immediate institutional change?

I write these concluding remarks the morning before the 39th Annual Capital Pride

Parade marches through Washington's Dupont Circle featuring for the first time in

American history "a US Armed Forces color guard marching alongside rainbow flags in a

gay pride parade" (Davis). This step occurs just five years after the District saw the

legalization of same-sex marriage. As I have watched the Human Rights advocates

overcome obstacles along the way to Washington's marriage equality law and continue to

watch the journey within my home state of Virginia as well as other places across the

country, I have come to see guerrilla-like characteristics throughout LGBT movement.

Three groups in particular come to mind from the late 1980s through the 1990s gay rights

movements that I believe it could be productive to theorize about through the lens of

guerrilla rhetoric: the AIDs Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), Queer Nations and

Lesbian Avengers. According to their website, the ACT UP organization was awarded a

dance and performance award in 1988 called a Bessie. The awarding body described the

organization this way: "[f]or meeting the challenge of the AIDS epidemic and its crisis of

conscience with vigilant acts of political and cultural provocation--thereby giving voice to

the essential creative will of our humanity." (*ACT UP*). Like the cases I explored in this

project, ACT UP evolved out of the political environment brought about by the Reagan

Administration. AIDs sufferers were largely voiceless and without many choices for

treatment and intervention. ACT UP formed and began using direct action to creatively

raise public awareness. The Queer Nation group developed as an off-shoot of the ACT

UP movement and took on similar strategies to raise awareness and combat violence

against and oppression of LGBT persons ("Queer Nation NT History."). The third group,

the Lesbian Avengers, is a similar group that, like Queer Nation, was an offshoot of ACT

UP and valued similar methods, but did so in the interest of "lesbian survival and

visibility" ("Lesbian Nation: A Brief History."). Ultimately I think an examination of

these movements and the means in which their work has aided the LGBT community as

instances of guerrilla rhetoric would help us to further understand how the rhetoric of

direct action groups works. Are these groups truly indicative of the rhetoric of the closed

fist? Or are their exigencies and strategies distinct enough that labeling them instead as

guerrilla rhetors might be productive? Having not explored these issues deeply for my

own understanding, I cannot yet answer this question, but this is the type of examination that I hope this framework of the guerrilla rhetoric might help future scholarship to examine.

I anticipated this application for the guerrilla theory of rhetoric when I began this project. What I did not think about as I began this endeavor was the way in which groups who are not yet engaged in guerrilla rhetoric might use it as a lens through which to develop their own creative response to situations they face or hope to address. What if, like a Wenger's community of practice, we were to use the theory of guerrilla rhetoric to help develop and refine our approaches to situations wherein distruptions in power were notable? This emerging question has become the part of the project that I am now most interested in exploring next myself.

As I turn back to my own context, I see great potential for the applications of guerrilla rhetoric. As an administrator in the English department of a large community college without an official writing program, I have struggled to find my voice, mission and approach as a department leader. As I look to four-year administrators and corporate leadership models for guidance, I find there to be incompatibilities that make applying other leadership frameworks lacking. What would happen if I were to take the guerrilla rhetoric approach as refined by the leader of a powerfully influential punk rock movement as my guide, rather than these more mainstream models? Is guerrilla administration a better answer to the challenges I face? In a similar way, as I work with part-time faculty at my institution who are grossly underpaid while expectations of them continue to build, I wonder what they might learn about navigating their own circumstances by looking to a version of Walker's approach, which places the self and

the immediate context (one's classroom, perhaps) as the central figures to the cause. While this cause might not be traditionally guerrilla in the way I first imagined it, I do think people in disenfranchised positions might learn much from Walker.

Thus, as I conclude this project, I have come to realize that my work with the guerrilla has only truly begun. It is my hope that I can continue to examine and learn from additional contexts wherein guerrilla rhetoric might potentially flourish, but even more so that I can help others tap into the power that this rhetorical form might have for influencing unlikely contexts that are in need of a new paradigm—or perhaps just the potential of a free space.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

The following form was distributed to and signed by each case study participant in

keeping with the research protocol described for and approved by the Institutional

Review Board (IRB) for approval to conduct research using human subject. This

protocol (ODU IRB # 13 – 134) received full approval on October 9, 2013.

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT
OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY

STUDY TITLE: Earning the Guerrilla Moniker: Toward a Theory of Guerrilla Rhetoric

INTRODUCTION
The purposes of this form are to give you information that may affect your decision
whether to say YES or NO to participation in this research, and to record the consent of
those who say YES.

You are invited to participate in a research study investigating the communication
practices of alternative groups in Washington, DC. This study is being conducted by
Cheri Lemieux Spiegel, PhD candidate in English at Old Dominion University. You
were selected as a possible participant in this research because of your long-term (at least
30 years) participation in a group (punk rock or graffiti) of interest to this study. Please
read this form and ask questions before deciding whether or not to participate in the
study.

RESEARCHERS
RESPONSIBLE PRIMARY INVESTIGATOR:
Dr. Kevin Eric DePew, PhD,
Associate Professor of English
Old Dominion University
Department of English

INVESTIGATOR:
Cheri Lemieux Spiegel,
PhD Candidate
Old Dominion University
Department of English

DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore how the communication practices of punk rock and graffiti communities operate within the Washington, DC context and to theorize about their commonalities.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to meet with Ms. Spiegel for one interview during the fall of 2013. During these meetings, Ms. Spiegel will ask you about your communication practices and participation in a Washington, DC group. The researcher will prompt the discussion with specific questions. Each of the meetings will be audio-recorded and transcribed, and you will be given the opportunity to review the transcripts and final write up for accuracy or to eliminate any information that you wish to exclude. These meetings attempt to gauge communication strategies you use a member of either a punk rock or graffiti community. The interviews will last about two hours and will occur during times that are conducive with your schedule.

As a follow up to the interview, Ms. Spiegel will ask to observe you during activities that you and she deem appropriate to learn more about your communication approach in practice and may ask to conduct a follow up interview. During these observations, Ms. Spiegel will observe quietly, taking notes, so as not to interrupt you and will excuse herself if at any point you desire the observation to end. With your permission, Ms. Spiegel may also take video and/or photographs during these observations (please see the Informed Consent Document for Use of Photo/Video Materials for more detail). These media will be used as visual cues during analysis, but also may be used in the write up and/or future presentations and publications regarding this subject. As with the interview transcripts, you will be given the opportunity to review the resulting material for accuracy or to eliminate any information you wish to exclude.

Observations and interviews will not exceed a total of ten hours of your time. Times and locations will be agreed upon based upon what is most appropriate to your context and conducive to your schedule. No more than ten participants (n = 10) will be taking part in this investigation.

EXCLUSIONARY CRITERIA

There are no exclusionary criteria that could prevent you from participating in this study.

RISKS AND BENEFITS

RISKS: If you decide to participate in this study, then you may reveal some sensitive or incriminating information during the course of data collection. The confidentiality of the information provided during this investigation cannot be guaranteed due to the small sample size and the potential to attribute subjects by name (see CONFIDENTIALITY below for more detail). Of course, you have the option of declining to answer any question that feels unduly uncomfortable, and you may choose to end the interview (or, indeed, your participation) at any time.

BENEFITS: There are no direct benefits for participating in this study. By reflecting about your communication practices directly, you may learn more about your own

communication style and strategies that you might not have considered previously. This project may bring about greater exposure to causes and organizations that you deem important within the Washington, DC context. It will aim to develop understanding of the political climate of Washington, DC, which could bring more supporters to the causes that you believe in. No direct, concrete benefits can be promised, however.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The researchers do no guarantee confidentiality in this study. You will be provided the opportunity to choose whether or not your name and identifying information will be recorded in the research documentation or whether a pseudonym of your choosing will be utilized. You will additionally have the opportunity to approve and photographs or video that appear in the write up or subsequent presentations or publications. You will have the flexibility to be able to modify your choice in this approach throughout the research process as fits your preferences and perception of risk.

The researcher will keep all documents, photographs, transcripts, and audio/visual files in a password protected computer. Only the researcher and her advisor will have access to this content while the dissertation is written. The data will be fully analyzed by December 2015, and any reports or documents with identifying information that you wish will then be erased or destroyed. Ms. Spiegel will seek guidance from you at the end of data collection regarding your preference for how your identity is portrayed, or suppressed, in the event of subsequent publications or presentations.

Of course, the records for this study, which may include your identifying information, may be subpoenaed by court order or inspected by government bodies with oversight authority.

COSTS AND PAYMENTS

The researchers are unable to give you any payment for participating in this study.

NEW INFORMATION

If the researchers find new information during this study that would reasonably change your decision about participating, then they will give it to you.

WITHDRAWAL PRIVILEGE

It is OK for you to say NO. Even if you say YES now, you are free to say NO later, and walk away or withdraw from the study -- at any time. The researchers reserve the right to withdraw your participation in this study, at any time, if they observe potential problems with your continued participation.

COMPENSATION FOR ILLNESS AND INJURY

If you say YES, then your consent in this document does not waive any of your legal rights. However, in the event of harm arising from this study, neither Old Dominion University nor the researchers are able to give you any money, insurance coverage, free medical care, or any other compensation for such injury. In the event that you suffer

injury as a result of participation in any research project, you may contact the responsible principal investigator or investigators at the following phone numbers:

Cheri Lemieux Spiegel (Investigator): 703-323-4212
Dr. Kevin Eric DePew (Responsible Primary Investigator): 757-683-4019

Additionally, you may contact Dr. George Maihafer, the current IRB chair at 757-683-4520 at Old Dominion University, or the Old Dominion University Office of Research at 757-683-3460 who will be glad to review the matter with you.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT

By signing this form, you are saying several things. You are saying that you have read this form or have had it read to you, that you are satisfied that you understand this form, the research study, and its risks and benefits. The researchers should have answered any questions you may have had about the research. If you have any questions later on, then the researchers should be able to answer them: Cheri Lemieux Spiegel (Investigator): 703-323-4212; Dr. Kevin Eric DePew (Responsible Primary Investigator): 757-683-4019.

If at any time you feel pressured to participate, or if you have any questions about your rights or this form, then you should call Dr. George Maihafer, the current IRB chair, at 757-683-4520, or the Old Dominion University Office of Research, at 757-683-3460.

And importantly, by signing below, you are telling the researcher YES, that you agree to participate in this study. The researcher should give you a copy of this form for your records.

Subject's Printed Name & Signature	Date

INVESTIGATOR'S STATEMENT

I certify that I have explained to this subject the nature and purpose of this research, including benefits, risks, costs, and any experimental procedures. I have described the rights and protections afforded to human subjects and have done nothing to pressure, coerce, or falsely entice this subject into participating. I am aware of my obligations under state and federal laws, and promise compliance. I have answered the subject's questions and have encouraged him/her to ask additional questions at any time during the course of this study. I have witnessed the above signature(s) on this consent form.

Investigator's Printed Name & Signature	Date

APPENDIX B

FIGURE COPYRIGHTS

1. Nairobi City Market Graffiti by Spray Uzi Crew and Boniface Mwangi. Photograph by Dan Kori: This panoramic image has been cropped to one third of the original for inclusion in this document. The photographer made the original image available on Flickr under a creative commons license. The original can be viewed at https://www.flickr.com/photos/d_kori/8043414226. The image license is available at http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/legalcode.

2. Guerrillero Heroico. Photograph by Alberto Korda: This image was taken on March 5, 1960, published within Cuba in 1961, internationally in 1967. It is now in the public domain. Details regarding the license of this image are available through *Wiki Commons* at http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Heroico1.jpg.

3. Stenciling on the door of the Fridge. Photograph by Cheri Lemieux Spiegel. This image was taken by me, the author of this document, on the day of the personal interview with my first case study participant.

4. Sidebusting around Banksy piece in Boston. Photography by Eric Spiegel. This image is used with permission from the photographer.

5. An ULTRA "throwie" from the alley off U Street and 14th Street NW. Photograph by Daniel Lobo: the photographer made the original image available on Flickr under a creative commons license. The original can be viewed at https://www.flickr.com/photos/daquellamanera/4745529719. The image license is available at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/legalcode.

6. Banksy's "If graffiti changed anything – it would be illegal" piece. Photograph by

   Duncan Cumming: the photographer made the original image available on Flickr

   under a creative commons license. The original can be viewed at

   https://www.flickr.com/photos/duncan/12498801935. The image license is available

   at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.0/legalcode/.

VITA

Cheri Lemieux Spiegel
Department of English
Old Dominion University
Norfolk, VA 23529

EDUCATION

PhD in English, Old Dominion University, 2014
MA in English, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2006
BA in English, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, May 2004

RECENT ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Associate Professor of English, Northern Virginia Community College (2014-present)
Assistant Professor of English, Northern Virginia Community College (2011–2014)

ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS

Assistant Dean of Composition, Northern Virginia Community College (2014-present)
Program Head of English, Northern Virginia Community College (2011–2014)

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Spiegel, Cheri Lemieux. "Constructions of Banksy: Issues of Identity in the Age of
    Social Media." *Identity and Leadership in Virtual Communities: Establishing
    Credibility and Influence.* Eds. Joe Essid and Dona J. Hickey. IGI Global. 2014.
DePew, Kevin Eric, Sarah Spangler, and Cheri Lemieux Spiegel. "Getting Past Our
    Assumptions about Web 2.0 and Community Building: How to Design Research-
    Based Literacy Pedagogy." *Emerging Pedagogies in the Networked Knowledge
    Society: Practices Integrating Social Media and Globalization.* Ed. Marohang
    Limbu and Binod Gurung. IGI Global. 2013.
Spiegel, Cheri Lemieux. "Using Rhetorical Media to Meet Outcomes and Satisfy
    Stakeholders." *Computers and Composition Online.* Fall 2012.
Spiegel, Cheri Lemieux. "Representing Clarity: Using Universal Design Principles to
    Create Effective Hybrid Course Learning Materials." *Teaching English in the
    Two-Year College.* Vol. 39.3 (2012): 247-255.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

"Give Me Liberty: Guerrilla Rhetoric for Writing Programs and their Administrators."
    Conference on College Composition and Communication 2014.
"A Circle of Praxis: Multigenerational Mentorship in Writing Program Administration"
    with Louise Wetherbee Phelps (chair), Mark Blaauw-Hara, and Eric Sentell.
    Council of Writing Program Administrators Conference 2013.
"The Rhetoric of Dischord: Appropriating the Guerrilla Moniker for Punk Culture."
    National Popular Culture and American Culture Conference 2013.
"The Writing is on the Wall: Using DIY Narrative to Empower and Engage Student
    Writers." Conference on College Composition and Communication 2013.