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Landscape, mobilities, and performance: an autoethnographic and visual engagement with public protests in Washington, DC

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LANDSCAPE, MOBILITIES, AND PERFORMANCE:
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Abstract

This dissertation examines how geography's traditional approach to studying cultural landscapes, which has been largely reliant upon vision, should also include the embodied practices: the customary and habitual actions that inform human engagement. Using public protests in Washington, DC as an extended case study, I reveal an underlying tension between protest participants' embodied practices and material objects in the built environment. I accomplish this by drawing from over one year's fieldwork in Washington, where I used qualitative approaches, including—but not limited to—participant observation and autoethnography, to engage in public protests as an embodied participant. To support my empirical data, I rely upon theoretical work by geographers and other scholars on mobilities and performativity to argue that protest participants (re)create a practiced landscape, one based on ephemeral and recurring events, and where participants in these events play with and against inscribed notions of Washington's monumental landscape. I show that pubic protests are a normal practice in Washington, and as such are significant to its landscape. In the end, I advocate for geographers to embrace both vision and practice as a means of apprehending cultural landscapes.

Chapter One
An Introduction to Public Protests in Washington, DC

This dissertation examines the spatial relationships of an embodied practice—the customary and habitual actions that inform human engagement—with the material landscape. Using public protests in Washington, DC as an extended case study, I show how people engage with Washington's iconic monuments and other landmarks of state power in its built environment. I accomplish this by drawing from over one year of fieldwork in Washington, where I used qualitative approaches, including—but not limited to—participant observation and autoethnography. Through these qualitative approaches, I have found that public protests in Washington are an ephemeral and recurring practice where people work with and against the material objects of the built environment to (re)create a lived landscape.

My understanding of how protest participants (re)create a lived landscape in Washington is empirically based, and seeks to build on theoretical work by geographers and other scholars on mobility and performance. I show how protesters target specific landmarks that they have metaphorically inscribed with symbolic meaning. Dissent is then expressed in juxtaposition to these landmarks through a variety of mobile- and performance-based expressions, such as by holding signs, chanting slogans, and performing satire, while, in most cases, also walking through Washington's streets. I developed my empirical work using two field approaches: participant observation primarily through visual means, and autoethnography in an attempt to engage with public protests as an embodied practice.

John Wylie (2007, see also Merriman et al. 2008) explains that landscape studies in geography are fraught with an oscillating tension between, as examples, subject and object, proximity and distance, and culture and nature. However, my contribution, drawing from Tim Cresswell (2003), is to introduce the relationship between vision (what we see) and practice (what we do) and ultimately reveal a false tension between landscape and practice. As I will

explain in greater detail, geographers have traditionally examined cultural landscapes visually, focusing on material objects. Often overlooked are the practices that are also a part of the landscape. Of significance to geographers interested in cultural landscapes, and issues of mobility and performance is that I have, using my own embodied experiences along with the digital images from my fieldwork, visualized people's embodied practices during public protests in Washington, and I show how these embodied practices spatially engage with the landscape. My underlying argument throughout this dissertation is that vision and practice are complementary in understanding landscape. By advancing this argument, I will show that the practice of public protest is as much a part of Washington's landscape as its visible material culture of monuments and other symbols of state power.

Public protests in Washington reveal an immediate tension when people express dissent. For example, during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005, protesters were objecting to the U.S. government's military involvement Iraq (Figure 1.1). Moreover, they were expressing their objections in front of the nation's most prominent building—the White House, and home to then president George W. Bush who many protesters saw as ultimately responsible for the war. Public protests therefore create dynamic spatial relationships because of their participants' ability to mobilize in and engage with Washington's built landscape of national monuments and other symbols of state power. Further still, public protests are more than spectacles that take place on Washington's streets but, as I will argue throughout this dissertation, are embodied practices within its landscape.

The left image shows the "front" of the protest as people walked in an orderly fashion behind a large banner expressing the event's main theme. As I will elaborate shortly, and argue in more detail in Chapter 3, public protests are orderly events, which walking—itself a mobile practice—facilitates. The center image features a protester dressed in a devil-like outfit,

mocking the president as an "evil" warmonger. Although most protesters do not wear costumes, this type of performance is expressed by individuals and small groups that engage in satire. I took the center image while walking, which also reveals the mobile nature of engaging in this type of research as a participant observer. The right image depicts the protesters just after most arrived at the White House, where many engaged in chanting slogans. Because the "United for Peace & Justice" event occurred nearly one month after Hurricane Katrina made landfall along the U.S. Gulf Coast, protesters chanted contemporary slogans such as "Make levees, not war" (Field note 4.4.6), a timely play on the popular 1960s protest mantra "Make love, not war." For all three images, what stands out visually is protesters' use of hand-held signs, signs that can be seen at distance and as protesters are passing by.

Figure 1.1: Mobility and performativity among protest participants during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005 (Images 4-20, 4-26, and 4-38, photos by author).

However, holding hand-held signs, chanting slogans, performing satire, and orderly walking are not arbitrary actions; rather, they represent people's engagement with mobile and performative practices, practices that protesters repeatedly exhibited during my fieldwork—and practices that have occurred throughout Washington's protest history (Barber 2002). Hence, varying forms of these practices have been conceived, reiterated, and altered since the inception of public protests in Washington and continue to this day. And when protesters engage in these practices during public protests, which are frequent in Washington, they are (re)creating a

temporary landscape with spatial relationships to objects within a built environment of iconic monuments and other prominent landmarks.

Public protests in Washington range from large-scale events, in some cases mobilizing over 100,000 participants, to much smaller events attracting fewer than a dozen. Further, public protests are highly organized and legal activities that facilitate one's right to peaceably assemble and petition the government. As an example of preparedness, organizers arranged nearly four-dozen portable toilets for the "Bush Step Down!" protest on 4 February 2006 in the National Mall (Figure 1.2). Organizers expected 30,000 people to attend. However, it was cold and rainy that day in Washington and, according to *Washington Post* staff writer Theresa Vargas, only a "few thousand" actually showed up (2006, C6). The significance of this photo is that it depicts a high-level of preparation by activists and volunteers to adequately meet projected attendance— that protests in Washington are most often not spontaneous outbursts but instead orderly and well-planned events.

Public protests in Washington are also well planned in how quickly organizers return an event's site back to "normal." For example, the "Freedom Walk" event on 10 September 2005 commemorated the September 11th attacks with participants walking from the Pentagon, located across the Potomac River in Virginia, to the National Mall in Washington (Figure 1.3). Participants arrived at the event's destination where many stayed to watch a well-known country music singer perform (Montgomery 2005). After the event, a work crew broke down the concert stage, lights, and sound-reinforcement system. Public protests are temporary events with starting and ending times, and although such events occur frequently in Washington, they are not permanent fixtures in the material landscape; yet they (re)create a landscape nonetheless.

Figure 1.2: Portable toilets in the National Mall during the "Bush Step Down!" protest on 4 February 2006 (Image 11-2, photo by author).

Figure 1.3: Portable barricades and concert stage in the National Mall after the "Freedom Walk" event on 10 September 2005 (Image 23-4, photo by author).

In the following sections of this introductory chapter, I will first describe my study area and then define the common terms that I have used throughout this dissertation and explain why. I then provide a general overview of relevant literature on public protests, which I follow with a discussion on geographer Paul Routledge's work on political dissent and later his concept of terrains of resistance. I narrow my focus and survey the varying work by scholars on protests in Washington. I transition into the foundation of this dissertation through a landscape perspective, drawing from Cresswell (2003) who advocates for what he calls "landscapes of practice." Finally, I conclude with a summary of upcoming chapters.

Most organizers' predetermined routes had participants walking on the streets around the north side of the National Mall and as far north as Lafayette Park (Figure 1.4). Some protests' routes might start around the White House or Washington Monument and then travel east towards the U.S. Capitol. At just over 555 feet, the Washington Monument is visible from most protest locations, and one has a clear view of the U.S. Capitol when standing in the National Mall barring any tree cover. Such iconic monuments are built to be seen, for they provide "a face-to-face encounter in a specifically valued place set aside for collective gathering" (Savage 2009, 4). As I will show in the following chapters, monuments offer protesters a visual backdrop where participants are able to spatially juxtapose their protest's theme for or against their interpretation of a monument's meaning.

Definition of Terms

There are a few interchangeable terms that many people associate with public protest, for example when one attends a "demonstration," a "march," or a "rally." At times, protest organizers and activists will use a form of the term "resistance" in the name of their event or as a promotional tool. As examples the 2 November 2005 "Major Bush Protest at Lafayette Park" had the theme "Resist or Die!" or the 18 March 2006 protest named "The DC area Resists and

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Dissents!" Routledge (1996c, 415) uses the term resistance "to refer to any action, imbued with intent, that attempts to challenge, change, or retain particular circumstances relating to societal relations, processes, and/or institutions." Although geographers have engaged with different notions of resistance (see Pile and Keith 1997), I have used the term sparingly in this dissertation and for the following reasons. First, within human geography, resistance is often placed in opposition to oppression (Routledge 2009). Second, resistance appears overused, describing any activity that attempts to subvert a dominant power, from wearing audio headphones in public to participating in political uprisings (Mitchell 2000). Third, there is a "risk of fetishizing resistance" (Jansen 2000, 414), whereby all resistant acts are celebrated and revered.

Figure 1.4: Map of central Washington, DC (created by author).

Instead, and throughout this dissertation, I will use "public protest" to describe a conscious demonstration of objection or dissent by a group or an individual.[1] I do this to distinguish my work from other geographers' contributions, contributions that have drawn upon varying ideas such as Elias Canetti's (1962) "pack" or James Scott's (1985) "weapons of the week" as a part of a broader project on resistance (see Pile and Keith 1997).[2]

Indeed, all public protests are a form of resistance, for protesters are by definition placing themselves in opposition to someone and in defiance of something. However, most public protests in Washington, as with the events I observed, differ in their details from other forms of resistance in that protests are not spontaneous acts but rather scheduled events where protest organizers work with the police to determine in advance where, when, and how people may express dissent (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008). In Washington, protest organizers must file and obtain the proper permits, which is one part of a process that also includes working with law-enforcement officials to plan upcoming events.[3] The permit process requires protest organizers to disclose whether there will be "any planned civil disobedience or arrests." If protest organizers answer "yes," they are required to "indicate the individual/group, number of participants & locations" (Metropolitan Police Department 2003, 2). Hence, public protests in Washington are a specific form of resistance that operates legally and in compliance with the

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[1] I will occasionally use "protest" by itself to avoid excessive alliteration.

[2] Routledge (1997a, 76) describes Canetti's "pack" as a group that "does not openly confront dominating power, it is more secretive, utilizing underground tactics, surprise, and the unpredictability of deterritorialized movement." "Weapons of the weak" are tactics such as: "foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on." Further, "They require little or no coordination or planning;…they typically avoid any direct, symbolic confrontation with authority" (Scott 1985, xvi, quoted in Moore 1997, 89-90).

[3] I will explain Washington's permit process in Chapter 3.

state power structure, and as such "acts of civil disobedience are often now highly scripted" (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008, 7).

For example, during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 26 September 2005, the police arrested approximately four-dozen protesters for failure to disperse along Pennsylvania Avenue's sidewalk, located immediately north of the White House. Here, a police officer escorted a participant to a mobile booking unit where the participant was processed and then transferred to the District of Columbia's Central Detention Facility—an activity that I observed during several events (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5: A protester placed under arrest for civil disobedience during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 26 September 2005 (Image: 6-117, photo by author).

Public protests in Washington are a form of resistance that is well-planned in advance and endorsed by the state (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008) and, as I will show in later chapters, part of the city's history (Barber 2002). Moreover, organizers and protesters stage situations of non-violent civil disobedience where some intentionally break the law, which usually result in

peaceful arrests that are largely symbolic. To be sure, resistance is deeply embedded in public

protests as events and in the actions of those protesters who participate. My objective, however,

is to elaborate upon public protests as an embodied practice that works with and against material

objects in the built environment.

In addition to being a demonstration of objection or dissent, "public protest" frequently

implies inclusiveness in that they are "public" and open to all. Based on my observations, all

participants are welcome as long as people do not express dissent from protest organizers'

central theme. If this happens, the police may segregate some protesters from others. As I will

show in subsequent chapters, however, segregation offers opportunities for some participants to

create additional spaces for dissent, producing spatial tension between protesters and counter

protesters.

I have also refrained from estimating the number of protesters in attendance at each

event. Others have in the past, but such endeavors are problematic and not without controversy.[4]

However, I will use the terms "larger" and "smaller" to describe a protest's size. For larger

protests I am referring to events where participants walk along or are out in the street.

Conversely, for smaller protests I am referring to events where participants are confined to the

sidewalk. The most noteworthy distinction regarding the size of an event is whether or not it

takes place in the street. By their nature of being in the street, these larger events are far more

disruptive because they displace normal vehicular flows and require a massive police and

equipment presence.

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[4] According to Wheeler (1997), organizers of the 1995 Million Man March threatened to sue the
National Park Service (NPS) for what the organizers claimed was a racially motivated
undercount of participants in attendance. The NPS estimated 400,000 attendees; organizers—
naturally—claimed over one million. Shortly after, Congress ordered the NPS to stop
conducting crowd estimates.

For this dissertation, I classified the different actions during public protests in order to simplify a complex event with hundreds, at times thousands, of people. Often, people participate in more than one action, as I did. People also engage in these actions with differing levels of conviction, and an individual's level of conviction may vary throughout a protest. Therefore, I use "participant" to describe all involved, both directly and indirectly, during a public protest. My use of participant refers to an array of people, including protesters, counter protesters, the police, members of the media, researchers, to name a few. I am also including bystanders, although they are typically nonparticipating spectators, they nonetheless are assembling in the same public spaces and have occasionally been rounded up and arrested by the police during protests (see Garcia 2004). Participant, however, is not a miscellaneous category. Rather, participant is forthright in acknowledging that people's actions vary, and such variations are far more complex than a simple dualistic—and therefore antagonistic—relationship between protesters and the police.

Within my classification of participant is what I refer to as "protesters." Politics aside, protesters are groups or individuals engaged in conscious objection towards someone or something. In contrast, I have identified those who oppose protesters as "counter protesters." Counter protesters have the following characteristics. First, with uncommon exception, counter protesters represent fewer participants when compared with an event's overall number of protesters. Second, police actively segregate counter protesters from the larger body of protesters, usually by a physical boundary. Third, counter protesters as a group are stationary during an event. In spite of spatial restraints, counter protesters have a noticeable aural and visual presence that draws the attention of many passing protesters and other participants, and frequently leads to verbal exchanges among groups. "The police" represent the aggregate of individual officers, whereas "law enforcement" represents the aggregate of policing agencies.

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And "the media" refers to a collective of individuals and agencies that gather and disseminate information about an event.

Finally, I am borrowing from geographers Clive Barnett and Murray Low's (2004, 1) definition of democracy as: "the idea that political rule should, in some sense, be in the hands of ordinary people." The form of government in the United States is a federal republic, where political rule is filtered through elected representatives. Public protests in the United States, however, provide a form of direct democracy where citizens may express their political views. Protests in Washington facilitate embodied expressions by those who differ with the state, bypassing elected representatives. As I will show, these embodied expressions are mobile and performative, and, through these practices, ultimately spatial.

As a participant observer, I was able to engage with public protests, generating my own mobile and performative experiences. Many of these experiences stem from walking as a participant but also being mobile with and occasionally performing along side other participants—most of whom were expressing some form of direct democracy by carrying hand-held signs, chanting slogans, or just being present. My experiences have therefore allowed me to construct in tandem with geographers' and other scholars' theoretical work on practice, performance, and mobilities a contribution that, although represented textually and visually, nonetheless attempts to understand public protests as an embodied and spatial landscape practice.

Selected Literature on Public Protests

Germane to this dissertation are those scholars whose research relied upon attending public protests. For example, Fernandez (2005) analyzed law enforcement's legal, psychological, and spatial influence during five anti-globalization protests, including a 2002 event in Washington. Lachance (2003) attended the 2001 "Summit of the Americas" protests in Québec City, describing participants' actions and expressions. Others observed a series of

protests from 1996 to 1997 against the Milošević regime in Belgrade, Serbia: Jansen (2001) examined protesters' appropriation of urban spaces through aural and visual tactics;[5] Spasić and Pavićević (1997) discussed protesters' symbolic actions; and Dragićević-Šešić (1997) focused on protesters' engagement with carnival-like expressions. One commonality among these scholars' work was their use of participant observation, noting developments as they were taking place, adding a level of depth to their analyses.

Theater and performance studies scholar Baz Kershaw (1997) examined the theatrical aspects of high-profile protests that had a cultural-historical significance to understand broader social and political change. Employing a dramaturgical perspective, Kershaw (1997, 260) argued that "the analysis of protest as performance may reveal dimensions to the action which are relatively opaque to other approaches," which for me is the appeal of this type of work. My work, however, is different from Kershaw's in that I have drawn heavily from on-the-ground, empirical data whereas Kershaw drew exclusively from heavily mediated and well-documented events, events that occurred in different places. Moreover, my work was focused on one place exclusively to establish protests in Washington as a recurring practice.

Other scholars have focused exclusively on Washington as a case study for an aspect of protest. For example, scholars have examined the permit process and legality of dissent (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008), authority's use of physical security barriers and people's access to public spaces (Benton-Short 2007), media representations (McCarthy et al. 1996; Smith et al. 2001; Watkins 2001), an event's layered rhetoric among protesters and other stakeholders (Ryder 2006), protest participants' balance between work and pleasure (Nathan Wright 2008), temporal changes in social movements (Everett 1992), and Washington's protest tradition (Barber 2002).

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[5] French philosopher Michel de Certeau (1984) describes a "tactic" as an action by a subordinated group, whereas—and in contrast—a "strategy" is implemented by those with power. I am using tactic as an action that produces a desired result.

Historian Lucy Barber's (2002) work greatly influenced this dissertation as she traced prominent demonstrations throughout Washington's protest history, arguing that the nation's capital has established a tradition in, and set a precedent for, public protests in the United States. As I will explain in Chapter 3, I drew from Barber's passages that discussed walking, from which I argued represented an embodied practice, one that originated during Washington's first protest in 1894 and continues to this day. As with Kershaw's (1997) work, Barber (2002) focused on legacy protests—events that had a cultural and historical significance. In Barber's work, these protests in Washington played a role in changing social policy, which is in contrast to many of the events I attended, most of which were mundane and unremarkable. And although Barber (2002) has participated in public protests, her work does not draw from these experiences. Rather, Barber's (2002) work is an exclusively historic study, but one that points to issues of practice and Washington's built environment.

Combining participant observation with public protests in Washington, geographer Clark Akatiff's (1974, 31) analysis of the 1967 Pentagon March described how protest participants moved through Washington's streets in a "channeling" form. When participants crossed the Potomac River from Washington into Virginia, where the Pentagon is located, Akatiff noted that two groups emerged: the "rearguard"—those who occupied the periphery, listened to speeches and "avoided confrontation;" and the "vanguard"—those who physically confronted the police and risked arrest (1974, 31). Therefore, participants' level of emotional commitment increased the closer they were to the confrontation.

Sociologists John Noakes, Brian Klocke, and Patrick Gillham's (2005) recent work also offers an empirical analysis that examined law enforcement's different levels of control over protest groups during a series of three anti-war protests in Washington. The authors created a continuing scale that ranged from "contained" to "transgressive" (Noakes et al. 2005, 247–8).

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Contained events referred to protest organizers who obtained a permit to legally assemble, had established a reputation for peaceful conduct, and relied upon their own marshals to self-police participants. Conversely, transgressive events referred to protest groups that were unfamiliar to law enforcement, were known for their radical ideologies, or had a history of past confrontations with the police. As Noakes et al. (2005, 251) noted: "The more transgressive the historic tactics and ideology of the group sponsoring the demonstration, the more aggressively the MPDC attempted to control the space in which the demonstration occurred."[6]

Through their empirical analyses, both Ackatiff (1974) and Noakes et al. (2005) revealed spatial complexities among protest participants, spatial complexities that I will elaborate upon with my own experiences with mobility (in Chapter 4). Routledge (1994) has also engaged empirically in his examination of Nepal's 1990 uprising and a series of corresponding protests. Coupled with his observations during the uprising, Routledge's (1994, 561) work integrates Nepal's collective history, cultural cohesion, and social networks, forming what he refers to as a "terrain of resistance" that "constitutes the geographical ground upon which conflict takes place, and is a representational space with which to understand and interpret social action." For Routledge, a terrain of resistance is a critical approach to understanding social movements by investigating why their physical tactics developed in specific locations and the symbolic meanings behind their expressions.

With a particular focus on the Nepali cities of Katmandu and Patan, Routledge noted how protesters took advantage of both cities' morphology. For example, participants gathered en masse on larger streets and used narrow backstreets to move about undetected by the authorities. Also, Katmandu's residential neighborhoods consist of three-to-five-story houses with open-air porches on the top floors. Supporters of the uprising participated in blackout protests by turning

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[6] MPDC refers to the Metropolitan Police Department, Washington's law-enforcement agency.

out their lights. As a result, the darkened environment facilitated stealth communication, and thus assembly, via the porches yet complied with authorities' imposed curfew on the streets (Routledge 1994).

Symbolically, the blackouts also represented solidarity, showed the number of participants in support of the uprising, and boosted moral. Other symbolic expressions included wearing the color black, which in Nepal represents disapproval. Protests wore black armbands and mouth gags, and flew black flags as a symbolic means to show resistance. Musicians altered traditional folk songs, changing the original lyrics to communicate dissent, which was effective in rural areas with widespread illiteracy. In the public squares, protesters displayed photographs of political prisoners, missing activists, and people that had been tortured or killed by the police. Protesters relied on Hindu religious symbols and moral conduct to contradict the king's use of police force against peaceful dissent (Routledge 1994).

Key characteristics of terrains of resistance include the following. One, they center on power inequalities between subaltern groups and the state. Two, they serve as conceptual tools to analyze why social movements occur in specific places, and how the cultural, economic, and political contexts of those places lead to people to become resistant. Three, they attempt to capture the "spirit" of agency (Routledge 1994, 575). And in their attempt, they can become emancipation strategies, as Routledge (1996b, 524) explains: "by analyzing the cultural expressions of resistance we can begin to understand social movement agency through the voices of its participants rather than through the exclusive mediation of elite and establishment discourse."

This dissertation is similar to Routledge's work in that we both examined the prominent material characteristics of our respective places and, within these places, discussed participants' symbolic expressions from the standpoint of participant observers. Also, we used theoretical

frameworks to understand social and spatial phenomena: I drew from work by geographers and other scholars on mobilities and performativity, and Routledge engaged with terrains of resistance (1994, see also 1996b). However, my work is different in that it focuses on practice more than power (I will explain practice in the following sections). Further, I examine protests in Washington as a means to engage with the landscape, not as a way to understand the agency of, or give voice to, protesters or protest organizations. Thus, I am neither advocating for a specific group nor discussing protesters' impacts upon the state or its policies.

As with the previous work (Akatiff 1974; Noakes et al. 2005), I too am interested in describing participants' movements, including my own. And similar to Routledge's (1994) work, I also integrate cultural and historical aspects with empirical accounts. As a point of departure, my work examines public protests as a practice within the material landscape. In this light, public protests in Washington are not only seen as a place of contention between protesters and the police (Akatiff 1974; Noakes et al. 2005) or a form of resistance between social movements and the state (Routledge 1994, 1996b). Rather, protest participants, through their mobile and performative practices, (re)create a landscape in Washington, and in so doing, produce a tension with the material landscape.

For the rest of this chapter, I advocate studying public protests in Washington through participants' practices. I begin by referencing Cresswell's (2004) ideas on place and then transition to geographers' work on cultural landscapes—a body of work based largely on understanding landscapes from a visual perspective. I do this to set up a discussion that follows Cresswell's (2003) argument on the oxymoronic relationship between landscape and practice, which is resolved through "landscapes of practice." I then examine one means to apprehend the practices of public protests using a "more-than-representational" approach advocated by Lorimer (2005). I conclude with an overview of subsequent chapters.

Washington as a Place

Cresswell (2004) explains how place often references a physical location, such as a city, one's home, or a designated area in which to store an item (something in its place). Place may also refer to a social order or hierarchical ranking (someone in her place). For many people, a place elicits feelings of attachment—one's relationship with her soundings. And with this attachment a sense of place develops, creating a "subjective orientation" (Agnew 1987, 6). Places are therefore complicated, intertwined with social processes, politics, histories, and an array of meanings and memories. As such, "place is not just a thing in the world but a way of understanding the world" (Cresswell 2004, 11).

I have come to understand Washington as a place. In doing this, I developed my own intimate attachment to Washington as my home. Most of my experiences in Washington, however, were centered on non-protest activities. Even in the National Mall, in what has become a well-known protest location, I spent more time strolling its grounds with friends, riding my bicycle, or playing sports than I did doing fieldwork. From this standpoint, Washington—and many of its famous landmarks and public places—permeated my everyday life (Cresswell 2003). However, this reveals a tension in the landscape between Washington as an ephemeral space for protest practices and its everydayness of the built environment. Washington, a place considered the protest capital of the United States (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008), one that represents "the monumental core of the nation" (Savage 2009, 4), is therefore ideal to examine practice and landscape.

Many people understand Washington as a place that celebrates nationhood because of the material contributions to its built environment, namely iconic monuments and grand public areas. Jansen (2001) has shown that protest participants tend to gather in specific places, places that have symbolic significance, such as government buildings, police headquarters, and media

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facilities. In Washington, protest participants have traditionally been drawn to national monuments, such as the Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial (Savage 2009). Others have gathered in public areas near the White House, U.S. Capitol, and other representations of state power (Barber 2002). As the federal capital of the United States, arguably the world's most powerful and influential country, many protest participants understand Washington as the center of American politics. Protesters addressing contemporary international issues such as globalization and the war in Iraq, along with contemporary domestic issues—reproductive rights and gender equality (to name a few)—often converge on Washington. In doing so, they perform dissent on the national stage.

Anecdotally, I encountered few participants from the District of Columbia. Rather, people from across the United States traveled to Washington to participate in public protests. During a pilot study, I recall several activists, speaking through a bullhorn, during the "Youth and Student Action Against War and Racism" protest on 19 January 2003 asking participants to shout what state they were from. About three-dozen participants volunteered, but not one stated Washington, DC. I remember walking away thinking this was interesting but trivial. It was not until I moved to Washington that I began to notice its importance. Towards the end of my fieldwork, I asked a middle-aged participant from Texas about previous travels to Washington. She told me it was her "first time east of Ohio and riding a subway" (Field note: 39.1.2). Thus, people come to Washington, taking time out of their lives and spending their own money, specifically to engage in direct democracy and express dissent. Once participants have arrived in Washington (the place), they engage in mobile and performative practices with Washington's material landscape.

Landscape and the False Tension between Vision and Practice

For the rest of this chapter, I will move from describing Washington as a place to describing how Washington, its built environment, and public protests are an example of what Cresswell (2003) refers to as "landscapes of practice." To do this, I will closely follow Cresswell's (2003) argument to show that geographers have traditionally apprehended landscape through vision but that recent ideas about practice can make equally insightful contributions. As I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters, using both vision and practice is informative when engaging with public protests and their mobile and performative aspects. First, however, I want to introduce Wylie's (2007, 1) idea that "Landscape is tension."

Wylie (2007, see also Merriman et al. 2008) explains that geographers' work on cultural landscapes engage in some form of tension. As Wylie (2007) asks: are we in the landscape or is landscape something we see off in the distance; do we inhabit landscapes or merely observe them; do landscapes represent an objective "reality" or are they created in the eyes and mind of the beholder; are landscapes comprised of natural features or part of cultural processes? In my work on public protests, there is an immediate tension between citizens and the state. There is also a tension between the ephemeral and recurring practice of public protests, where participants (re)create space within Washington's built environment. However, the underlying tension of this dissertation, and what I will show, is a false tension between landscape and practice.

Setting the stage for this false tension, Cresswell's (2003) piece initially describes landscape as comprised of two contradictory terms: vision and practice, with vision as the traditional approach within cultural landscape studies and practice as something different, something that all but a few geographers have overlooked. However, landscape and practice are not contradictory terms even though landscape often represents fixity, something already done, and seen by one's eyes; whereas practice is fluid, in-the-moment, and experienced through one's

body. Instead, landscape and practice can productively inform each other in what Cresswell advocates as complementary "landscapes of practice." Cresswell does not provide a definition but elaborates instead upon a research agenda. He states:

> I want to make landscape seem less fixed, less reliant on the visual, less dependent on authoritative 'framing', and to make practice seem less free-floating and more connected to the forces that shape our lives. (Cresswell 2003, 277)

In geography, a connection between landscape and practice has remained relatively unexplored. Wylie (2007) has pointed out that until recently work by cultural geographers on landscape has privileged visual interpretation. Cresswell (2003) traces the discipline's use of visual interpretation through three broad movements, starting in the early twentieth century with Carl Sauer. For Sauer ([1925] 1963), landscapes were material content observable through their natural and cultural forms. Although physical processes over time created the landscape's natural form, Sauer rejected the physical environment as determinant over human adaptation to the land. Instead, he argued that an unconscious and overarching cultural agent inscribed its form upon the natural landscape, evidenced by observable human patterns such as population settlements, housing types, and production methods (Sauer [1925] 1963).

Humanistic geographers turned away from analyzing forms on the landscape to understanding vision of and experience in the landscape (Cresswell 2003). The central challenge was to understand a landscape's underlying meanings; although we may see the same objects in a landscape, the landscape's meanings lie in the eyes of the beholders (Meinig 1979). Hence, landscape presents an observable image, but it is also "a construct of the mind and of feeling" (Tuan 1979, 89). As such the study of landscape becomes highly personal and subjective, relying entirely upon individual ways of seeing.

A third movement within geography recognized humanism's way of seeing but also argued that the material landscape revealed coded representations of power in what has been

cited as "new cultural geography" (Cresswell 2003). "New cultural geographers" saw landscape as an ideal embedded within an historical context in relation to social conditions (Cosgrove [1984] 1998). James Duncan (1990) argued that landscapes were similar to texts in that texts were signifying systems. More important for Duncan (1990, 4) was the process in which "landscapes encode information" and in doing so shaped social and political practices. Stephen Daniels (1993) reasoned that images of the landscape—paintings, photographs, and other representations—articulated a nation's identity and upheld its moral order. In this sense, landscape was duplicitous in that it represented a contradiction of ideas—a tension—between material culture and social relations (Cresswell 2003; Daniels 1990).

This work by geographers indicates an array of approaches to the study of cultural landscapes. Yet what these approaches have in common, and the thrust of Cresswell's (2003) argument, is they all have engaged with landscape visually—through their analyses of human patterns, their ways of seeing landscapes through experience and meaning, and their ways of seeing landscapes through historical ideals, metaphorically as signifying texts, and duplicitous representations of nationalism. Moreover, through this overly visual approach, geographers have focused on the objects within material landscapes, and less upon the practices of people. By doing this, landscapes are often understood "in holistic and rather vague terms" (Wylie, in Merriman et al. 2008, 202), and people's everyday lives are reduced or removed (Cresswell 2003).

Landscape and Practice

French philosopher Michael de Certeau, whose work has been influential in geography, describes an observer's point of view of New York City atop the former World Trade Center:

> His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was 'possessed' into a text that lies before one's eyes. It allows one to read it, to be a solar Eye, looking down like a god. (1984, 92)

From this high vantage point, people's individual experiences on the streets are indistinguishable. In this sense, practice is detached. But as Cresswell (2003) makes clear, practice does not eschew vision. Rather, practice requires a more intimate engagement. For public protests in Washington, this means being observant of, through one's vision and other senses, and participating in events on the ground as they are blossoming.

Recently, geographers have engaged with practice as a means to apprehend people's everyday encounters (Gregson, Crewe, and Brooks 2002; Crouch 2003; Latham 2003). Because practices are social, they become normative within the practicing social group as members embody appropriate "interpretations of space," that establish and reinforce specific values (Cresswell 1996, 17). During a public protest, all participants, from veteran to novice, have agency—meaning they are freely able to make their own decisions about how to express dissent—but they nonetheless typically engage in a customary set of practices when they walk down the street holding signs or chanting slogans. Protesting in Washington—as an embodied practice and in a specific place—is, as with most all established practices, a means of engaging with "familiar and recognizable things" (Wylie 2007, 166). Most novice participants quickly learn the rules of practice during public protests. Similar to a guided tour, activists organize events and the police oversee appropriate code of mobile and performative conduct. My initial experiences during public protests were overwhelming. This was due largely to not yet knowing how to appropriately engage, which, along with thousands of others, I learned using both my vision and my body.

Although landscapes may appear already-established and seemingly natural, they are nonetheless implicated by and are continuously maintained through practice. Practice, however, is not an arbitrary experience without some relationship to the material landscape. "Such a landscape," Cresswell (2003, 277) explains, "is very much a product and producer of practice."

Drawing from Cresswell's (2003) "landscapes of practice" and applying it to public protests in Washington, participants' use of hand-held signs, chants, satire, and other expressions are tactics stemming from an American cultural practice of dissent (see Barber 2002). Over time this protest practice has metaphorically inscribed various meanings (e.g., freedom, democracy, and power, to name a few) upon Washington's material landscape of monuments and other landmarks. For many participants, Washington's built environment is a way of objectifying their individual, and an event's ideological, inscriptions through embodying public protest.

To be sure, participants come to Washington to protest in front of or near the White House, the U.S. Capitol, and the Washington Monument because of the meanings understood as inscribed there, but participants also come to Washington because of the embodied experience of its protest tradition. For example, some protests have become legacies not just within activists' circles but throughout the nation, which is why organizers will attempt to resurrect the legacy with follow-up events, such as the 1983, 1993, and 2000 events in honor of the original and now famous 1963 civil rights "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" demonstration (Barber 2002). But more that this: just as the practice of protests has metaphorically inscribed various meanings upon Washington's material landscape, so too has it inscribed its meanings upon protesting bodies through mobilities and performativity. In short, and as I will elaborate upon in later chapters, participating in public dissent is a lived experience. Therefore, we cannot fully understand landscape through vision alone; we also need to understand practice.

The next section briefly describes theoretical notions of how to apprehend practice based in part on geographer Hayden Lorimer's (2005) work on being "more-than-representational." Being "more-than-representational" is one of a few methodological approaches (in Chapter 2) I have used to articulate landscape, mobility, and performativity. But first I will focus on a tension

in the practiced landscape of public protests, one that pits protests as an ephemeral and recurring

practice against Washington's stable built environment.

Apprehending Landscapes of Practice

Part of understanding "landscapes of practice" is through people's interactions with

material objects in the built environment. For example, during the "No Armageddon for Bush"

event, two protesters were pacing on Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House during

the "No Armageddon for Bush" event on 6 June 2006: One held a sign and the other dressed in a

"devil" costume (Figure 1.6).[7] Although fewer than two-dozen participants attended this event,

they nonetheless attracted bystanders' attention, with some taking pictures of the participants. In

this scene, participants (re)created space by gathering in front of the White House where they

became part of Washington's landscape—not as stationary and permanent features (e.g.,

monuments) but rather as contributors to an ephemeral yet recurring practice, a practice that has

become, as I will show, as much a part of the landscape as the built environment.

Figure 1.6: Protesters and bystanders in front of the White House during the "No Armageddon
for Bush" protest on 6 June 2006 (Images: 34-12 and 34-18, photos by author).

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[7] The protest participant on the left is wearing a t-shirt that states: "Don't Nuke Iran." She is
holding a sign that states: "6-6-6: No Armageddon for Bush." The sign has an image of a
mushroom cloud, presumably from a nuclear detonation. In the mushroom cloud is an image of
then President George W. Bush's face. The number 666 refer to the mark of the beast in the
Bible's Book of Revelation.

Public protests in Washington are one example of a practiced landscape, but such socio-spatial phenomena occur elsewhere. Although the term "landscapes of practice" is not stated explicitly, work conducted by anthropologist Helen Regis (1999) shows that "second line" parades in New Orleans resemble public protests in Washington in that both are ephemeral yet recurring practices within their respective landscapes. "Second lines" are parades where participants (the "second line") follow a brass band (the "first line") through the streets. In New Orleans, "second line" parades are weekly-seasonal events where 3,000 to 5,000 participants transform the everyday uses of the built environment by walking along predetermined routes sponsored by working-class, African American social clubs, a tradition that predates the Civil War.

As a mobile and performative practice, "second line" participants take over the streets by playing music, dancing, wearing costumes, and walking along to temporarily reassert positive community values usually overshadowed by high crime, socioeconomic ills, and neighborhood turf battles among street gangs. The practice of "second line" parades interacts with the built environment as many participants stop along a parade route to patronize sponsoring businesses and gather in front of prominent community leaders' houses. When jazz funerals are incorporated into "second line" parades, many participants assemble at funeral parlors to pay homage to past community members (Regis 1999).

Public protests and "second line" parades are one-time events, but both contribute to ephemeral yet recurring social phenomena where respective participants adhere to a customary set of practices. Hence, practice reveals a spatial assemblage of patterns. As Regis (1999) has shown with her work on "second line" parades in New Orleans, and as I will elaborate upon in the following chapters using public protests in Washington as a case study, practice—regardless

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of type—cannot help but engage spatially with the built environment. Through this process, practice and landscape engage in an always-ongoing tension with and against the other.

Part of apprehending ephemeral and recurring events is through methods that allow a place for practice. Wylie (2007) notes a methodological shift in geography from representational approaches to more personal encounters in a practice's embodied acts. In doing, geographers draw from geographer Nigel Thrift and his work on embodied practices, which "shape the conduct of human beings towards others and themselves in particular sites" (1997, 127). For Thrift (1997), embodied practices are a set of general cultural skills that develop through an ongoing relationship between one's mind and body and her social world. Thus, the social world is not inscribed upon a passive individual, but the individual is a thinking, feeling, and reflexive being engaged with others, and with the objects in her social world.

Influenced by Thrift's (1997) project on embodied practices, one set of ideals that has begun to gain acceptance among some in geography is based on what Lorimer (2005) refers to as the "more-than-representational." The "more-than-representational" is a general term to describe an array of approaches that consider "how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences" (Lorimer 2005, 84). Geographer Justin Spinney's (2006, 712) work examines his ascent while cycling Mont Ventoux in France "in order to illustrate how an embodied approach to interpretation can uncover alternative prerepresentational meanings of place." Similarly, David Bissell (2009b) explores the visual practices of the landscape as a mobile passenger inside a railway car. My interest in embodied practices as they relate to public protests and Washington's built environment stems from a desire to understand "what humans and/or non-humans *do*, and how the reproduction and revision of practices underpin the genesis and maintenance of interpretation and thus meaning" (Anderson 2009, 503, original emphasis).

The intention of geographers' use of embodied practices, therefore, is not to abandon visual forms of representation (Adey 2010). Rather, embodied practices are "vehicles for bringing into view the conditions of meaning" (Thrift 2008, 18). Earlier works by Sauer and his followers, humanistic geographers, and "new cultural geographers" have expanded our understanding of cultural landscapes largely through vision. More recently, geographers' engagements with practice have sought to build upon cultural landscapes that take vision into account through a more embodied awareness. As I will show in the following chapters, public protests can be apprehended visually, but they also follow established patterns of performance (Kershaw 1997) based on embodied practices.

What I am going to elaborate upon in subsequent chapters is that protest participants in Washington embody mobile and performative practices, practices that work with and against the material objects of the built environment. I will also demonstrate that public protests are ephemeral and recurring events, which—unlike the iconic monuments—are not permanent fixtures of Washington's landscape; but where protest participants (re)create a practiced landscape nonetheless. Thus, I reveal how practice and landscape engage.

On the ground, public protests are mostly small, detailed, and mobile interactions among participants, yet such events have greatly influenced Washington's landscape. However, to see protests in Washington from the same vantage point from which we see the grandeur of its monuments, one distant and detached, is to miss protests' significance upon the landscape. Instead, and as I will show, we need "an up-close, intimate and proximate material milieu of engagement and practice" (Wylie 2007, 166-7). Ultimately, I argue that vision and practice can inform each other as a means to apprehend cultural landscapes (Cresswell 2003), which I will depict using digital images from my fieldwork as a participant observer.

Introduction of Upcoming Chapters

In Chapter 2, I introduce the methods I used to conduct and represent my fieldwork on public protests. I explain my early pilot studies and transition into fieldwork. I then summarize my qualitative techniques, which include the coding process, use of informal interviews, newspapers, and participant observation. Within participant observation, I examine insider-outsider relationships and introduce autoethnography. I then showcase eight photos from my fieldwork that represent a range of visual representations as a critical engagement with participant observation and the visualization of public protests.

In Chapter 3, I focus on walking as an embodied practice that is integral to protests in Washington and at the same time show that walking has been an historical part of participants' protest activity. I provide a background on the permit process that authorizes protest organizers to use Washington's streets and public spaces for an event. From there I discuss First Amendment rights and other legal mechanisms that have allowed for public assembly. I introduce literature by geographers and other scholars on walking, which transitions into early protests in Washington. Drawing from Barber (2002), I develop the idea that protests have changed form: from processions that emphasized spectatorship to events where would-be spectators have the option to become a more integral part of the protest. I argue that even though the form of protests in Washington has changed, the underlying activity of walking still continues during most contemporary events; and, moreover, that public protests have maintained a sense of order.

In Chapter 4, I draw from theoretical themes in mobilities to explore at a greater depth the many complex and diverse encounters during public protests in Washington, which I showcase using four vignettes based on participant observation and autoethnographic accounts. I reveal public protests as more than participants' on-the-ground movement and show how they

reveal spatial relationships beyond an event's physical location. Public protests' mobile and spatial occurrences uphold a cherished practice of American culture—the right to peaceably assemble and express dissent. Examining the array of mobilities within public protests begins to acknowledge each event's spatial complexity and contributes to a broader understanding of active and participatory democracy.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the performance of public protests. I begin by broadly defining performance and then transition into how geographers have examined performance spatially. Drawing from my fieldwork, I then provide examples of performance during public protests, specifically participants' use of visual materials, such as hand-held signs and acts of satire, followed by chanting and other auditory tactics. I conclude the section on performance by showing that public protests are ephemeral events. For the second half of Chapter 5, I introduce Judith Butler's work and theoretical contributions by geographers on performativity. An extended case study follows where I argue, using performativity as a theoretical tool, that protest participants express patriotism through the American flag, but this expression is a manifestation of a larger, democratic expression and American cultural practice—one that performativity can help explain. Within the extended case study, I also assert that any one expression of patriotism upholds a single yet shared norm among a particular group when in fact patriotism has multiple expressions.

Lastly, in Chapter 6, I argue that most public protests are mundane and unremarkable events in that they rarely achieve their own goals (e.g., ending the war in Iraq). Of interest for geographers is that protest participants contribute to an ongoing embodied practice in Washington, one that works with and against the material objects in its built environment, creating a tension in the landscape (Wylie's 2007; see also Merriman et al. 2008). I then elaborate upon Wylie's (2007) notion of landscape as tension where he argues that the landscape

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tradition in geography has been fraught with, for example, tensions between subject/object and perceiver/perceived. However, landscape does not consist of a binary pairing; rather, it is an intertwining of different tensions. I then advocate that the tension between landscape and practice can work well together to apprehend socio-spatial phenomena.

Chapter Two
Qualitative Methods: Approach and Fieldwork

In this chapter, I will discuss how I conducted fieldwork on public protests in Washington. I begin with my developing interest in public protests and how qualitative methods became the best-fitting approach. I then provide a general definition of qualitative methods and show how other geographers have used qualitative methods to approach mobilities- and performative-based fieldwork that engages in practice. Following this, I elaborate upon my pilot studies and initial approach to fieldwork once in Washington. I summarize my coding process of field data, which includes hand-written notes, and my supplemental use of informal interviews and newspapers. I transition to my use of participant observation and advocate for my sparing use of autoethnography. From participant observation and autoethnography, I draw from geographer's work on visual methods. Using eight photos from my fieldwork as examples, I show the varying ways that I visualized public protests in Washington as a means to apprehend practice. I end with a closing statement on visualization and qualitative methods.

Qualitative Research in Geography

In general, quantitative methods in geography rely upon mathematical procedures, such as statistical calculations, to formulate and test hypotheses, and upon spatial modeling for analysis (see Barnes 2000; Johnston 2009), whereas qualitative methods attempt to apprehend and represent social phenomenon (Smith 2000b). This is not to imply incompatibility between methodologies, as a number of scholars advocate for using both (see Kitchin and Tate 2000; Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003). For my purposes, however, I explored and drew from several qualitative methods that I felt best supported my aim to engage with fieldwork on public protests in Washington. Norman Denzin and Yvonne Lincoln (2000, 3) offer a general definition:

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations,

including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos of the self.

In addition to these functions and approaches, cultural geographers using qualitative methods have an epistemological curiosity, realizing that everyday socio-spatial practices are "always in the process of becoming—of being constructed through a web of cultural, political and economic relationships" (Smith 2000b, 660). Contemporary geographic thought on qualitative methods advocates engagement with the many experiences of social life, all the while acknowledging that such experiences are dynamic, changing, and have multiple meanings. Hence, our yearning for the truth of spatial phenomena is at best "situated and partial" (Pratt 2009c, 604).

One challenge I faced was how to engage with the social experience, and through the experience better understand its larger social meaning. For this dissertation, my objective was to draw from mobilities- and performativity-based themes to apprehend public protests as an embodied practice, one which contributes to the broader tradition of political demonstrations in Washington (Barber 2002) and its monumental landscape (Savage 2009). I sought to achieve this in part by examining public protests as an embodied practice, meaning that I observed through my senses and then articulated using my body the expressions of the surrounding protest participants.

Geographers have conducted similar studies that explored embodied practices as a means to apprehend social and spatial relationships. Bissell (2010) investigated the mobile practice of being a railway passenger. His focus was not on individual passengers, but the unfolding relations among passengers within the spaces of the railway car. Passengers therefore coexist in what Bissell (2010, 272) refers to as "affective atmospheres," which "are perceived and sensed through the body." This speaks more broadly about being mobile together during the shared experience of journeying and travel. Pine (2010) examined Dominican grocers' performed

identities as a means to please and gain acceptance among their predominately African American and Puerto Rican clientele. To better understand the grocers' daily lives, Pine (2010, 1109) conducted one year of fieldwork where he "worked stocking shelves, behind the counter, talked with customers, and generally 'hung out' at the bodegas." This experience revealed that Dominican grocers, through their performed identities, did not fit typical "outsider" stereotypes but were instead part of fluid and heterogeneous mix of urban citizenship.

Although Bissell's work focused on mobilities (2010) and Pine's on performance (2010), they both drew from qualitative-based field methods. Moreover, both approached their work by engaging in the practices to apprehend their respective social phenomena. This dissertation engages similarly, but I want to first elaborate upon how I conducted fieldwork on public protests in Washington.

Fieldwork on Public Protests

In order to prepare for my dissertation field research and to gauge the viability of undertaking a study on public protests, I conducted three brief pilot studies in Washington, DC, Savannah, Georgia, and New York, New York, respectively, where I attended fourteen protests. These pilot studies served three main purposes. First, I needed applicable field experience, such as using a camera, taking notes, and approaching people for information. Second, I wanted some sense of what to expect during a protest, so that I could pack supplies to make the experience more enjoyable—including comfortable shoes, non-perishable food, bottled water, and weather-related attire. And, third, the pilot studies gave me an opportunity to think more deeply about appropriate methods. After several protests, I began to notice common themes, namely participants' use of auditory and visual tactics, law enforcement's spatial influence upon participants, and the antagonistic relationship between protesters and counter protesters. What I learned from the three pilot studies was that public protests are complex events where no two are

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the same. Moreover, I gained confidence in my ability to successfully conduct field research.

Part of this new-found confidence was in knowing which qualitative methods I wanted to use.

I moved to Washington in May 2005 and lived there until October 2006. Once settled, I

began attending protests. Because I needed full-time employment and worked bankers' hours, I

was not able to attend protests scheduled during the weekday. However, most protest organizers

scheduled events on weeknights and weekends, so I was able to attend these events. To do so, I

relied upon four sources for information on upcoming protests. The first source, and the one I

used most often, was Washington's chapter of the Independent Media Center, also known as

Indymedia—an online resource for organizers, activists, and journalists, which publishes a

calendar listing of upcoming events.[8] The second source was handbills or flyers. While

attending a protest, it was common to have someone pass out information on future protests,

which also gave me a chance to briefly talk with people. The third source was stickers or posters

that organizers affixed to light posts or utility boxes. The fourth source was by word of mouth,

either by a participant or friend.

I participated in thirty public protests in Washington during my dissertation fieldwork,

along with fourteen protests that I attended during my pilot studies. I also spent nine days as a

volunteer for Camp Democracy, a seventeen-day, continuous event from 5 to 21 September 2006

located on the National Mall,[9] and five nights as a volunteer at the Washington chapter of World

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[8] Independent Media Center/Washington, DC, http://dc.indymedia.org/ (last accessed 12 January 2011).

[9] Camp Democracy served as a temporary networking facility for activists and an anti-war information center for those interested in the peace movement—including tourists, and other bystanders—as well as provided a forum for speakers, seminars, discussions, and musicians. I volunteered for nine days at Camp Democracy, with some days clocking in at ten to twelve hours each.

Can't Wait.[10] Most events I attended usually lasted two to four hours, with some lasting up to eight hours. And although public protests officially begin and end at specific times, many participants assemble in advance and some stay late. To observe the pre- and post-protest environment, I arrived at least one to two hours early and usually lingered past the end. Thus, my time spent observing and participating in public protests went well beyond each event's scheduled time and represents well over 300 hours of fieldwork.

For each public protest, I brought my digital camera with a fully charged battery, pens, and a small notepad. Within twenty-four hours after a protest—often that night—I downloaded and backed-up the images from my digital camera. I also expanded my field notes, which included notes from my observations and brief discussions with participants. Because I was often walking while taking notes and observational moments during a protest are so fleeting, I was not able to write complete sentences. Instead, I wrote short phrases or key words that would later trigger my memory. The process of expanding my field notes therefore entailed typing that day's notes into my computer, allowing me to elaborate upon any details while they were still fresh—a process that at times took several hours.

To work with my field data, I created a running index of protests. Within this index, I assigned every protest its own identification number, which in turn corresponded to each protest's set of expanded field notes and digital images. For citation purposes, within each protest's set, I assigned all individual field note entries and digital images their own additional identification number, which I could then cross-reference.[11] I printed my expanded field notes

[10] See World Can't Wait for more information, http://www.worldcantwait.net/ (last accessed 24 May 2011.

[11] For example, "Field note: 3.4.5" would refer to the 5th entry on the 4th page in protest 3. Similarly, "Image: 1-2" would refer to the 2nd image in protest 1.

and stored them in a three-ring binder, representing 139 pages. I have electronically backed-up all field data onto two different hard drives, with each hard drive stored in two separate locations.

During my fieldwork in Washington, I took 1,476 digital images, which includes the digital images from my two Washington-based pilot studies.[12] I have included one digital image from these pilot studies in this dissertation (Figure 4.1). I have also included two digitized photographs from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). All other digital images are from my May 2005 to October 2006 fieldwork. And with the exception of adjusting for size to fit this dissertation's format, none of my digital images have been altered; they represent the original frame and color generated from my camera.

I downloaded and stored each digital image in the order that it was taken. Similarly, I wrote in my notepad individual observations (from top to bottom) in the order when each occurred. On occasion, when my surroundings were more frantic, I wrote my observations slightly out of sequence, just to note them. This was a slight risk I took in order to document some observations. However, I can still identify, in relation to the others, when each digital image and most expanded field notes occurred within a specific event, which has enabled me to better understand the temporal processes of public protests.

The recording, storage, and retrieval of my field data has been a systematic process, allowing me to accurately trace and cite the origin of each digital image and text-based field note. As archived material, my computer's software allows me rapidly view hundreds of digital images within minutes. As a result, I have become visually intimate with and able to quickly locate specific images. Therefore, I saw immediate patterns and connections among my digital images to more easily articulate my interpretations. For the 139 pages of expanded field notes, however, I needed an analytical tool to aid in the organizations of my text-based observations.

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[12] I took 1,996 digital images total. This includes all pilot studies and Washington-based fieldwork.

Coding Field Notes

To work with my expanded field notes, I implemented a coding processes where I identified similar words and ideas that I eventually organized into forty-two categories or what Meghan Cope refers to as "descriptive" codes, codes that "reflect themes or patterns that are obvious on the surface" (2005, 224). Moreover, my descriptive codes served as "mnemonic devices used to identify or mark the specific themes in a text" (Ryan and Bernard 2000, 781). I then wrote a brief summary for each code to better conceptualize its essential theme.

As my fieldwork progressed, I began to see the forty-two descriptive codes as subsets relating to larger themes. For example, "Sidewalk" was an early descriptive code in my field notes as I began to notice its important role in public protests. Sidewalks acted as a spatial boundary. During larger events, the police channeled protesters through the streets therefore limiting protesters' access to the adjacent sidewalks. Conversely, during smaller events, the police made sure protesters stayed on the sidewalk: persistent attempts by protesters to walk into the street would have led to arrests. Protesters' simultaneous use of both the street and the sidewalk was an uncommon observation.

"Sidewalk" therefore played a prominent role during my research and was a reoccurring observation within my field notes, but they contributed to a subset of related descriptive codes I called "Barricades," "Bisect," "Geography," and "Form." I coalesced the descriptive codes into a broader analytic theme called "Non-Human Shapers" to describe phenomena influential to participants' movement. Cope (2003, 452) notes that analytic codes "emerge from a second level of coding that comes after much reflection on descriptive codes and a return to the theoretical literature." Once I established my analytic codes, I was able to assign them numbers one through twelve. I took each sheet of paper from my entire set of expanded field notes and made as many photocopies as there were distinct numbers of analytic codes per sheet. Each

analytic code, then, had its own photocopy. I took the photocopies for each of the twelve analytic codes and organized them into their own folder for easy retrieval.

In the end, the coding process went beyond creating mutually exclusive containers for data storage (Kitchin and Tate 2000). Rather, through the coding process, my field notes had become a manageable "web of interconnected themes and categories" (Cope 2003, 448). But more than just a qualitative exercise, coding my field notes allowed me to think through my observations and what I wanted to say about my research, eventually leading to the empirical and theoretical development of mobilities and performance (in chapters 4 and 5, respectively) and this dissertation's continuous theme examining public protests in Washington as a practiced landscape.

Informal Interviews

Originally, I wanted to conduct semi-structured interviews with protest participants but scheduling a later time and an off-site location—where we would be alone and in a quiet place— proved challenging. I had met several people who granted me interviews initially. However, not one person committed, even after follow-up phone calls and emails. I soon changed tactics to what Kitchin and Tate (2000, 214) refer to as an informal conversational interview where the data is generated "from the immediate context of the conversation," and the questions "are asked in the natural course of a discussion." This approach was far more successful because many protest participants came to Washington exclusively for an event and left immediately after, so a later time was unfeasible. Additionally, many protesters are aware of the police infiltrating activist groups (see Rein 2008) and therefore reluctant to give out contact information to a stranger. What I found was if I attempted to schedule a later, off-site interview, people were hesitant to commit, but if I asked them questions directly, on-the-spot, they were more responsive and in some cases eager to talk.

Newspapers

As with interviews, I also wanted to work with archival materials—again, this stemmed from a romantic view of attempting to tell Washington's rich protest history in conjunction with what I thought would be insightful field observations. Soon after moving to Washington, I obtained identification cards to access materials at the Library of Congress and the National Archives. What I struggled to admit was that Washington's rich protest history had already been written, most notably by Lucy Barber (2002) in her weaving of archival materials to show how protesting had become a tradition in the nation's capital. What I really needed was information to supplement my observations. Barber's work provided a foundation, but newspaper staff writers told of first-hand experiences during public protests in Washington, and I have used these sources liberally in the following chapters.

Newspapers are periodicals, often published daily, that report recent information and salient events. Geographers have used newspapers and in a variety of ways. As an archival source, newspapers may provide the only information about a person, especially if that person did not leave a diary or other material items. One component of Dydia DeLyser's (2008) historic work on Oklahoma homesteader Nannita R.H. Daisey revealed how newspapers perpetuated myths about people and places, in this case women of the American West. Newspapers of the time tended to glorify homesteaders, particularly unlikely people doing unusual things, as was reported about Daisey when she jumped from a moving train to claim her parcel of land (unheard of at the time for a woman). For DeLyser (2008, 71), part of the archival process was to "read conventional sources against the grain in an effort to reveal the details of Daisey's life in her own terms."

Peter Jackson (1988) used newspapers to document a shift in racial discourse following a 1976 Carnival riot in London's Notting Hill neighborhood, a transitional neighborhood

associated with poverty and second-generation Afro-Caribbean immigrants. Up until the riot, the British press showcased Notting Hill's Carnival as an integrated event. Immediately after the riot, many newspapers "reflected their own internalized racism" by casting residents, that is people of Afro-Caribbean origins, as hostile and lawless (Jackson 1988, 218). Jackson's examination of newspapers showed that the 1976 Carnival riot was more than participants running amok but suggests a nation's deeper insecurity about race and ethnic difference.

Both DeLyser (2008) and Jackson (1988) used newspapers as a data source but also to engage critically with specific articles to reveal newspapers' glorified and racially covert representations. However, for me, newspapers reporting on events I had attended revealed different things. In my case, I sought out relevant newspaper articles as a data source to complement my empirical and theoretical discussions, similar to how Don Mitchell (1995) developed a complementary narrative describing stakeholders' political battles and street skirmishes over People's Park in Berkeley, California. I found staff writers from the *Washington Post* and *Washington Times* particularly helpful in echoing my participant observations. I also found these same newspapers, along with weekly news publications,[13] indispensible for adding historical context that predated my fieldwork.

Participant Observation

The objective for conducting fieldwork was to generate empirical data using participant observation, which is defined as:

> A research method in which the researcher aims to participate in the process under study so as to gain intimate knowledge of subjects and their habits, which insiders to a realm of practice might not otherwise reveal—or be able to reveal—in contrived situations such as interviews. (Chari 2009, 519)

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[13] Weekly news publications, such as *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report* were quite insightful. These sources provided on-the-ground reporting and spectacular photography, particularly for the *1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom* and anti-war protests during the mid-to-late 1960s and early 1970s.

Hence, researchers engaged in participant observation "are taking part in the activity themselves" (Kitchin and Tate 2000, 221), a qualitative field method that some in geography have engaged during public protests (see Akatiff 1974; Lachance 2003).

I conducted fieldwork in an improvisational manner, usually based on what caught my attention—situations both aural and visual. Other scholars, however, have emphasized a systematic approach. To study how the District of Columbia Metropolitan Police Department (MPDC) controlled space during protests in Washington, sociologists Noakes et al. (2005, 237) occupied pre-established "observation posts" in order "[to] systematically observe each demonstration." With one researcher located in the front and right side, another researcher at the rear and left, and the third researcher circulating in the middle, the three researchers "then moved with the march, noting events as they occurred and taking visual inventories at ten-minute intervals."

Scholars using participant observation often generate on-the-ground descriptions of social phenomena. For instance, during a series of anti-government protests in the Serbian capital of Belgrade from 1996 to 1997, Jansen (2001, 50) described a protest as "one massive human caterpillar that crawled through the Beograd [Belgrade] streets," and Erdei (1997, 112) noted "an endless human sea jammed Terazije square." Hence, words such as "crawled" and "sea" reveal protest participants' spatial mobility.

In addition to describing socio-spatial events, scholars have engaged participant observation as a vehicle for political action. Routledge (1996a; 1997b) participated as an academic-activist protesting the M77 motorway extension in Glasgow, Scotland, which would have bisected a revered green space. Not explicitly mentioned by Routledge as participant observation, his empirical data allowed him to develop a theoretical understanding of space, protest, and resistance. Routledge (2001) has also collaborated with other activists who opposed

government construction of a series of hydroelectric dams along the Narmada River in India, potentially resulting in the displacement of over five-dozen villages. For Routledge (2001, 116), such "collaborative methodologies" are beyond the academy where "Reality is lived instead of serving as an abstract object for study."

Activists and other collaborators allowed Routledge to get close to and take part in their political struggles, something which often presents a challenge for researchers wanting to engage in a more active form of participant observation. Peter Jackson (1983, 44) has stated that participant observation is "an attempt to transcend the epistemological gulf between 'insider' and 'outsider'"—a presupposition upholding a dualistic relationship. However, as Crang (2003, 496) contends: "I am weary of work that divides positionality formulaically into being insiders (good but impossible) and outsiders (bad but inevitable)." Drawing from her experiences as a long-term staff member at Bodie State Historic Park in California, Dydia DeLyser (2001) revealed the wavering perceptions of insider-outsider status by self and others, as she straddled the roles of academic researcher and fellow coworker.

From what I have observed during my fieldwork, there are insider-outsider relationships, particularly among activists, organizers, and veteran protesters, but these relationships occur along a fluid continuum where one individual may be more of an insider than another. For my research, however, I was not interested in activism or political organization (unlike Routledge 1996a, 1997b, 2001); rather, I was interested in public protests as a mobile and performative practice. And as a practice, all participants engaged in some manner, even the researcher. Thus, it was participants' embodiment of a practice, more so than their insider-outsider distinctions, that led me to better understand these mobile and performative events. It is from this position of an embodied practice that I attempted to stretch the meaning of participant observation (Dewsbury 2010) and sought "to collapse the conventional distinction between researchers as

agents of signification and a separate category of research subjects as objects of signification,"
(Butz and Besio 2009, 1671). To do this I engaged autoethnographically, which helped me to
differently apprehend and articulate embodied protest practices juxtaposed with material objects
in the built environment.

Autoethnography

This section explores autoethnography as a qualitative approach, an approach that I used
in conjunction with participant observation. Recently, geographers have engaged
autoethnographically to undertake research on mobile practices (see Bissell 2010).
Anthropologist Deborah Reed-Danahay (1997, 9) defines autoethnography as "a form of self-
narrative that places the self within a social context." Norman Denzin 1989 (cited in Reed-
Danahay 1997) describes autoethnography as a blending of autobiography and ethnography. Put
another way, "*Autoethnography is an autobiographical genre of writing and research that
displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural*" (Ellis and
Bochner 2000, 739, original emphasis).

Geographers David Butz and Kathryn Besio (2009; see also Butz 2010) offer a detailed,
five-component typology of autoethnography. These are: (1) autobiographical accounts of a
researcher's experiences as a means to understand larger social phenomena and where the
researcher is also the primary research subject, paying attention to her emotional and other
affective registers; (2) reflexive narratives on a researcher's epistemological insights about her
position within the research and the social world that she is attempting to represent; (3) non-
academic and counter-hegemonic narratives by subjects who become the objects of their own
research, producing "self-representations that are meant to intervene in ethnography and other
dominant discourses about them" (Butz and Besio 2009, 1667); (4) an indigenous group member
with academic training who researches her own group with an intention to challenge dominant

representations by those outside the group; and (5) a researcher's examination of people with whom she shares resembling social circumstances, such as similar ethnicities and genders.

Autoethnography acknowledges the self within writing about culture (hence, "auto" and "ethnography")—and in this sense autoethnography is a "heuristic devise" (Butz 2010, 138) aimed at being a self-reflexive participant observer and working within the traditional ethnographic approach of "long-term in-depth engagement with specific communities or societies" (Hart 2009, 218). Self-reflexivity, therefore, is a means to apprehend "the epistemological characteristics of information that is assembled in relation to the research field and of the resulting representations" (Butz and Besio 2009, 1666).

Autoethnography is itself a research practice (Butz and Besio's 2009), one that I came to depend upon. Public protests, regardless of size, are busy events and participants' actions are fleeting. As a result, I missed things while writing field notes and taking pictures, for this diverted my attention away from the experience to focus instead on the processes of writing and photographing—processes that captured only fragments. So to complement writing field notes and taking pictures, I participated in public protests to understand how many participants engaged with the built environment. My participation was similar to yet different from what I observed as a typical participants' experience. At most events, I walked along with participants, either on the street or sidewalk. During much of this time, I did not take field notes or pictures but instead observed my surroundings and reflected on the sensations of being in a protest. On rarer occasions, I took on a more protester-like role by chanting slogans and engaging in other forms of aural expression.

The majority of my time in the field, however, engaged in ways that were different from most participants. Even though I spent a lot of time walking in protests, I also stood off to the side writing notes and taking pictures, observing what was happening as a protest was passing

me by. Also, I did not always adhere to law-enforcement's boundaries; I did this to gain a different perspective on an event (many in the media did this as well). Since I did not look like or act similar to the typical protester, the police usually allowed me a greater mobility (in Chapter 4). Moreover, I did not always agree with an event's political ideology, and I was not interested in activism (unlike Routledge 1996a, 1997b, 2001). As a result, I was able to talk with and be around a variety of participants, including counter protesters.

From my participation, I was then able to contextualize my experience—as a reflexive protest ethnographer—within the broader historical tradition of protests in Washington (see Barber 2002). Therefore, most of my time during an event was spent autoethnographically, meaning that I was engaged in a transformative process of both learning how to research practice and learning the practice itself. I did this for example by becoming mobile with the participants through walking on the streets en masse, or feeling my metaphorical inscriptions upon the memorial landscape when thousands of participants chanted slogans—all the while exhilarated by taking part in a practice that (re)created public space. I was and still am challenged in articulating such autoethnographic moments, and although I devoted more effort to apprehending the practice than documenting the experience, these moments began to influence what I wrote in my field notebooks and captured with my digital camera.

Along the same line, but not stated explicitly as autoethnography, Wylie (2005, 2006) writes about his solitary walks along coastal paths in the United Kingdom. Here, Wylie (2005, 239) is not describing things in the landscape, nor is he necessarily describing his experiences; rather, his text and images represent an intermediary between self and surroundings, what he refers to as being "In the thick of it." In this sense, I am using autoethnography as an intermediary to touch upon the phenomena that attracted my senses as a participant engaged in public protests and the perceptions of my world that I brought with me into the field coloring

those phenomena. Thus, I am attempting to apprehend complex spatial practices during public

protests as an embodied participant, both physically and culturally—in the field and during the

writing of this dissertation.

In using an autoethnographic approach, questions arise about what and how much to

reflect upon (Holman Jones 2005). For this dissertation, and similar to my use of newspapers

and informal interviews as supplemental resources, I have drawn from some autoethnographic

moments to develop specific points. However, I used digital images as a primary research

approach to represent my fieldwork, which I will discuss in the following section, as a means to

visualize protest participants' embodied practices in their (re)creation of space in Washington.

Visualizing Public Protests

DeLyser and her colleagues (2010, 4) describe qualitative methodologies where "the

researcher uses her- or himself as a 'research instrument'—collecting data, but also filtering,

feeling, experiencing, and analyzing field experiences and challenging personal understandings."

Engaging with practice relies heavily upon interpretation. As MacKian (2010, 360) points out,

"We choose what to observe, what to record, what to render invisible." The representation of

data, then, is a highly selective and subjective process. For me, understanding my interpretive

thought process is as important as the work I am attempting to visually represent. Borrowing

from these approaches, and under the auspices of participant observation, I have selected eight

still digital images—or photos—photos that I took during my dissertation fieldwork. I will use

these eight photos as examples to critically engage with a range of visual representations. I do

this to set up the following chapters whereby visualizing public protests, when complemented

with participant observation and theoretical underpinnings, is a means to more robustly articulate

complex spatial practices.

As visual representations of my fieldwork, the quality of my photos ranges from aesthetically pleasing, at least to me, to blurry and undecipherable, but each tells its own story. Some of my aesthetically pleasing photos are shots framing protest participants juxtaposed with the monumental landscape, for instance the White House. These are pictures that I think most people would find familiar, for they reinforce the stereotypical image of public protests in Washington. Other photos are blurry, with little value to the average person, and would lead most viewers to conclude that they are mistakes, but these photos have been some of the most insightful for my work.

I used my photos as a means of documentation. In this use, they are a form of visual field notes, reinforcing what I had seen and complementing what I had written. Many times, the photos revealed information that I overlooked or had forgotten. Furthermore, the photos have allowed me to refer back and visually reengage, often extracting additional ideas. Perhaps most importantly, my photos have become a valuable tool in thinking and writing about public protests.

To some, public protests in Washington are spectacles. I asked a television camera operator what captures his attention when he is shooting video. He responded that he seeks the "sensational," stating that the "squeaky wheel gets the grease" (Field note: 27.4.3). Another visual tactic to capture such spectacles is through photography, one that I have relied heavily upon for this dissertation. For example, the four media photographers taking pictures of just-arrested protesters being loaded on to a bus by the police during the "Declaration for Peace" event on 27 September 2006 (Figure 2.1, left). I remember being amused on how quickly the media photographers assembled—all vying for a publishable shot of something spectacular. What becomes mediated, and later archived, is a narrow representation of often sensational

moments, which overshadows the more mundane, yet equally revealing, qualities of public protest.

As with the media photographers, I was drawn to and took pictures of spectacular moments. However, my empirical fieldwork has also focused on participants' everyday practices to depict how they engaged with the built environment in a mundane way. One woman took a picture of her friend standing next to a protester during the "Drive out the Bush Regime!" event on 5 October 2006 (Figure 2.1, right). The protester was wearing a face mask depicting then president George W. Bush—with a pair of devil horns fixed atop his head—and holding a sign that states: "Do you smell the Bill of Rights burning?" The protester and the woman's friend are posing in front of the White House.

Figure 2.1: Media photographers and a participant taking protest pictures during the "Declaration for Peace" event on 27 September 2006 (left) and the "Drive out the Bush Regime!" event on 5 October 2006 (right) (Images: 28-132 and 30-77, photos by author).

In Washington, many people take pictures during public protests, especially at or near places that are iconic, such as the White House. Here, I am adopting Crang's (2010, 218) argument regarding tourism and photography; he states: "if we…think through the practice of picturing we might see it less as about representing the destination than about doing tourism." Thus, the photographer is not a peripheral observer snapping pictures of a spectacle (Figure 2.1,

right image). Although she and her friend may have been tourists who serendipitously

encountered a public protest, they—as with the protester she was photographing—were

nonetheless participants in an embodied practice that takes into account the monumental

landscape.

Visual Methods

Gillian Rose (2007), in her book *Visual Methodologies*, notes that much scholarly work

examining the production of visual images overlooks the author, or, in the case of my work, the

photographer. As Rose (2007) notes, knowing a bit about the photographer helps to better

understand the production behind the image. The first protest I attended after moving to

Washington was the "NSPS Rally" on 12 July 2005 located in Lower Senate Park, directly north

of the U.S. Capitol (Figure 2.2). I say attended because during my early fieldwork I was still

getting a feel for how to do research on public protests. Admittedly, I spent several minutes

wandering the park for the right angle and another couple minutes zooming in and out to size-up

the ideal frame. I also took two photos. In this contrived photo, I attempted to create a postcard

image of a public protest, bookended with vibrant blooms and the iconic dome of the U.S.

Capitol in the background.

The "State of Emergency Protest" on 31 January 2006 reveals a different perspective

(Figure 2.3). During this event, and as I will explain later in Chapter 5, I was banging on a pot

with a dowel to make noise. Because my hands were full, I did not take many photos. The

photos I managed to capture were blurry, partly because my digital camera does not take good

night images, and partly because I was often in motion, as a protester, so my shots were not

steady. Unlike the previous, contrived photo with the U.S. Capitol in the background, this photo

was more impulsive—literally a point-and-click snapshot without much attention to angle or

Figure 2.2: My "postcard" image of protesters with the U.S. Capitol in the background during the "NSPS Rally" on 12 July 2005 (Image: 18-6, photo by author).

Figure 2.3: A point-of-view representation of fieldwork during the "State of Emergency Protest" on 31 January 2006 (Image: 10-6, photo by author).

framing. What this image reveals is perhaps the closest visual, point-of-view representation I can achieve as a researcher-protester.

As a practical matter, Rose suggests that photos should reflect a good quality, both in terms of composition and reproduction. Although good is difficult to define, Rose states "it does seem to me that these methods require a fairly high level of photographic skill really to be effective" (2007, 249-50). Many of my photos are not good, at least in a skillful sense (Figure 2.4). The Washington Monument should be framed in either the left- or right-third of the photo, both the top and bottom of the photo are cropped, and—when increased in size—there is a commercial plane flying in the background. But is this photo effective?   For my purposes, this is an effective photo because it represents what Rose (2007) calls a supporting method where the image is a form of photo-documentation. With this photo, I am showing protest organizers' use of spatial symbolism during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 25 September 2005: American flags draped neatly over make-shift cardboard "coffins" along side rows of Christian crosses are juxtaposed with an iconic monument towering in the background. This photo is part of a larger theme within my research, which addresses participants' spatial arrangements of material items in creating anti-war statements.

Although some photos may seem nonsensical, they reflect an unintended yet embodied form of research (Figure 2.5). At this time of my fieldwork, I experimented with bringing my bicycle to public protests for greater mobility. A protest organizer asked me to take pictures during the "Bechtel off the Planet" event on 28 September 2006. Seconds before I took this photo, a taxi stopped curbside in front of the Rayburn House Office Building. Several protesters swarmed the taxi in an attempt to confront its passenger—presumably a high-powered executive from the Bechtel Corporation on his way to a meet with a member the House of Representatives. With my right hand steering my bicycle and the left holding my camera—finger positioned on

Figure 2.4: An "effective" example of photo-documentation during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 25 September 2005 (Image: 5-6, photo by author).

Figure 2.5: An embodied example of research during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 25 September 2005 (Image: 29-56, photo by author).

the shutter button—I inadvertently took a photo of the ground while attempting to cycle towards

the developing confrontation.

Here the camera is an extension of me doing research, as Crang (2010, 222) points out,

"not as detaching and enframing but connective and performative." At the shutter release, I

captured an unbeknownst depiction of my attempt to engage in mobile research. Here is a

"more-than-representational" (Lorimer 2005) visualization of my anger and frustration as I tried

to catch up with the protesters. When I arrived, I missed the confrontation and felt embarrassed.

I realized upon reviewing the photos later that this was a way to relish a failure (Dewsbury

2010)—a failure that I could have electronically deleted but instead chose to keep as a way to

visualize practice.

Capturing images on a digital camera is more economical than the cost of film and film

development that traditional analog cameras require. For me and my fieldwork, this meant that I

did not have to conserve resources, which—in turn—allowed me to take photos at will without

concern for waiting for a good shot. Mobilities scholar Jonas Larsen (2008) describes a

technological difference between a digital camera and an analog, film-based camera. Digital

cameras offer users fast results as images may be viewed immediately after they were taken.

One advantage to this is the option to delete unwanted images. As Larsen (2008, 149)

articulates: "Immediate displaying, cost-free deletion/re-picturing and casual picturing mean that

digital cameras offer instantaneous results and second chances; so many photographs' lives may

be airy and short-lived."

Larsen (2008) argues that the advancement of digital technology coupled with an

increasingly mobile world via the Internet offer new opportunities for users to capture and

disseminate images globally. If this is so, digital technology democratizes public protests by

facilitating image dissemination, which, as with the written or spoken word, is a form of free

speech. However, the act of free speech, in this case expressing oneself with public photography, is not without ethical considerations.

Photographer Dona Schwartz (2002) initially drew suspicion from activists preparing for an upcoming protest in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Perceived as an outsider, she asked permission to take photos, a request that the activists originally declined. Even when the activists set up a communal lunch in a public park, Schwartz still encountered hesitation but was eventually granted permission to take activists' pictures during a later protest. More than asking permission, Schwartz (2002, 32) felt an ethical obligation over her representations, stating:

> Now that I could photograph unimpeded I faced a new challenge—to avoid producing fodder for a prefabricated account and to use the impending photo opportunity to tell the more complexly woven story behind this visually seductive façade.

I also used an ask-first approach when taking pictures of individuals or small groups, especially if we were away from the main body of the protest. I was denied by only one person, a police officer. Asking permission to take someone's picture is an ethical consideration. What predetermines these ethical considerations, and more broadly what or who to take pictures of, are self-conscious, autoethnographic moments that examine one's place within participant observation.

Crang (2010, 220) suggests that photos are "mementos of presence" because they represent a shutter-speed increment of time but do not necessarily record what people have done. Outside these moments are gaps or absences, so visual methods in general and photos in particular, as Rose points out (2007, 250), "need accompanying text." As examples, the police will arrest protesters (Figure 2.6). Part of the arrest process includes officers escorting arrestees to police busses for transport to nearby precincts for booking. I find both photos compelling and have projected both during professional talks. As with most of my fieldwork photos, these were

snapshots—I was taking a picture and quickly trying to get out of the way (so I would not be arrested for obstruction).

Figure 2.6: The emotional qualities of protesters under arrest during the "Declaration for Peace" event on 26 September 2006 (left) and the "Declaration for Peace" event on 27 September 2006 (right) (Images 27-129 and 28-110, photos by author).

So in trying to provide accompanying text, I am reminded that photos also hold an emotional quality, one that, as Rose (2007, 248) states may "evade verbal or written expression." Thus, photos have textures—the interwoven strands that reveal a fleeting moment in life and glimpse at a state of being. What I was taking photos of—what I was trying to capture in using visual methods as a participant observer during public protests, was an attempt to reflect "the emotive and affective response of people" (Crang 2010, 220).

This is a recurring practice of symbolic resistance as the police arrested protesters for trespassing (Figure 2.6, left) and refusal to disperse (Figure 2.6, right). These photos are from different events, with different participants, and in different locations, yet they show a broader pattern of practice, a practice that is highly organized and legal. Although such events are ephemeral, this pattern of practice continues as participants (re)create a lived and embodied landscape with each new protest.

Closing

While teaching at the University of Bologna, sociologist Douglas Harper (2000) and his student rode bicycles through town to explore forms of social control. As they were riding along the busy streets, Harper was taking pictures as a method of visual narration. Harper (2000, 725) explains, however, that visual narratives are "a result of choices and decisions" by the individual and do not represent objectivity. As with my photos, they were what piqued my interest at a specific time and location and are therefore biased to what I felt was important. Although they reflect an embodied practice of public protest, they are without a doubt only one set of images out of perhaps thousands of representations.

Photographs as a visual method contribute to a larger suite of qualitative methods, which has proliferated into "an embarrassment of choices" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, 18) within the social sciences. The methods and techniques I selected represent careful consideration before— and trial-and-error during—my pilot studies and fieldwork in Washington. These selections also represent contemplation on how to represent what I gained from fieldwork and during the writing stages, which includes my coding process, the autoethnographic nature of being a participant observer, and the process of visualizing public protests.

Indeed, this work follows Cressewll's (2003) discussion of vision and practice as seemingly antithetical terms, yet vision and practice work as complementary approaches to understand "landscapes of practice." My fieldwork and analysis has been based largely on vision, which is part of a qualitative methodology—a methodology that has become a standard practice within cultural geography. Moreover, what I have shown in this chapter is that by using eight photographs to visualize public protests, I can not only reveal some aspects of public protests as a practice, but that visual methods are themselves a practice.

This chapter on qualitative methods sets up the underlying approaches and techniques used to tell my story of walking as a protest tradition (in Chapter 3), and engage with theoretical literature in geography, and other fields, on mobilities (in Chapter 4) and performance (in Chapter 5) to support my claim that public protests in Washington are practiced landscapes. Drawing from Dewsbury (2010), it represents my methodological attempt to make vision and practice meaningful.

Chapter Three
Walking as a Practice of Public Protest

On 16 December 1773, a group of British colonists disguised as Native Americans boarded three ships, overtook each vessel's customs officer, and threw 340 chests of tea into the waters of Boston Harbor. Colonist John Adams elaborated in his diary the next day that such an act of resistance "is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid, & inflexible, and it must have so important Consequences and so lasting, that I cannot but consider it as an Epocha in History" (quoted in Labaree 1964, 145).

Historian Benjamin Woods Labaree (1964) writes that the Boston Tea Party was a catalyst for the American Revolution and as such has become a profound event embedded within American history. Known for challenging a dominate state, the Boston Tea Party's history in many ways underlies the spirit of American protests as it established a precedent for public dissent. In tracing this history, some have claimed: "The United States was founded by protesters" (Everett 1993, 1). Indeed, even after the founding of the United States, Thomas Jefferson stated that "a little rebellion now and again was a good thing" (Bruner 2005, 137, citing Maier 1970, 25). And from this revolutionary and rebellious influence, public protests became a significant aspect of contemporary American culture and practice (Barber 2002).

However, although the Boston Tea Party and contemporary protests in Washington may share in the spirit of public dissent, they differ remarkably. The Boston Tea Party was a covert act of sabotage by an outside group against a more powerful state. In contrast, by carrying hand-held signs, changing slogans, and walking in public areas, contemporary public protests in Washington are overt acts that seek peaceful engagements with the state as an empowering means to create changes from within. Hence, the state allows for and even helps facilitate dissent.

However, the Boston Tea Party's contribution to contemporary public protests is that it, along with a host of other well-known events, has helped to construct a tradition of dissent in the United States. Most recently in Washington, conservative news entertainer Glenn Beck's "Restoring Honor" on 28 August 2010 and television satirists Jon Stewart's "Rally to Restore Sanity" and Stephen Colbert's "March to Keep Fear Alive" both on 30 October 2010 represent contemporary examples of this continuing tradition—a tradition that would likely have little cultural impact without the preceding events from which to build upon.[14]

This protest tradition is not unique to Washington or to the United States. Amassing of crowds to redress grievances or to topple governments are recurring themes within modern political history, which as of this writing we observe in Egypt during spring of 2011.[15] I focus on Washington because events here are, and have been for many years, highly organized and legal. Public protests in Washington also reflect a larger and culturally accepted form of dissent within the United States. By these measures, public protests in Washington may serve as a guide for others towards open and safe expressions of dissent.

Sociologist and social movement scholar Sidney Tarrow (1989, 14-15, original emphasis) argues that the political and social catalysts for public protests are cyclical, stating: "Protest becomes a protest *cycle* when it is diffused to several sectors of the population, is highly organized, and is widely used as an instrument to put forward demands." Documenting a cyclical pattern for public protests is challenging, especially in the United States with a long and rich protest history—and when many single events have gone unreported—but there have been

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[14] Stewart and Colbert's events were parodies of Beck's rally, working against Beck's politically conservative and well-known ideology. As parodies, Stewart and Colbert's events lacked any political impact and because of this will become largely forgotten, as with but a few of Washington's protests.

[15] Hosni Mubarak stepped down as president of Egypt on 11 Friday 2011 because of political pressure brought on by thousands of protesters during an 18-day demonstration (see Kirkpatrick 2011).

general themes. Washington, as the nation's stage for pubic protests, represents the culmination

of these themes as participants from across the United States have traveled to the capital and

expressed dissent. Indeed, many of these general themes overlap, as related activist networks

organize public protests in Washington. Therefore, I will overview a few of these prominent

themes to historically situate my time in Washington, which centered upon a resurging anti-war

movement against U.S. military involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq.

People have traveled to Washington to express dissent since Coxey's "Army" in 1894.

And since its beginnings, Washington has hosted a string of parades and protests, including the

1913 "Women's Suffrage Procession and Pageant" followed by a temperance parade also in the

same year (Barber 2002). In the 1920s, demonstrators picketed outside of the White House to

protest American political prisoners during World War I,[16] activists organized an anti-lynching

march in 1922, and the Ku Klux Klan marched in Washington in 1925 and 1926 (Barber 2002).

In 1932, during the Great Depression, World War I veterans marched to petition Congress for

advanced payments of their military services (Barber 2002), and Father James Cox similarly led

a march of unemployed men to petition Congress for public work's projects (Heineman 1999).

In the 1940s, what would have been the "Negro March on Washington," scheduled in

1941, was cancelled because of a last-minute agreement between the march organizers and the

Roosevelt administration. During and after World War II, pacifists and peace activist protested

in Washington; their pressure increased after the war, as they demanded amnesty for imprisoned

draft resistors. Labor unions demonstrated against the Taft-Hartley Act, which prohibited

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[16] Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Online Catalog,
http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3d01820/ (last accessed 2 June 2011).

various boycotts and strikes (Barber 2002). And participants held anti-lynching marches near the U.S. Capitol to protest the lynching of four African Americans in Georgia.[17]

African Americans and other participants began demonstrating in Washington for civil rights, specifically the "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom"[18] in 1957 and over issues of school integration in 1959.[19] Although civil rights demonstrations occurred throughout the United States, they culminated in Washington during the 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom." In the mid- and late-1960s, however, worsening socioeconomic conditions for many African Americans, coupled with the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., led to hundreds of urban riots in the United States (Rucker and Nathaniel 2007). During this time, protests in Washington transitioned and a cycle of anti-war marches emerged whose participants demonstrated against the U.S. government's involvement in Vietnam. By 1971, in the anti-war movement's apex, Barber (2002, xiii) states that "the act of protesting in the capital of the United States had become an American tradition."

In 1966, the National Organization for Women (NOW) formed, and woman began breaking away from the 1960s counter culture and anti-war movement to support NOW and other emerging, stand-alone organizations based on women's issues such as equal-employment opportunities and reproductive rights, and by the mid-1970s NOW had gained recognition as a political force. However, right wing reaction to NOW increased, especially since NOW organized demonstrations supporting ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and favored the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade*. The ERA was defeated in 1982 and

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[17] Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Online Catalog, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/97519566/ (last accessed 2 June 2011).

[18] Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Online Catalog, http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3c26522/ (last accessed 2 June 2011).

[19] Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Online Catalog, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004670156/ (last accessed 2 June 2011).

feeling that reproductive rights were also under threat, NOW organized a series of protests in Washington, beginning in 1986 followed by the "March for Women's Lives" events in 1989, 1992, 1995, and 2004 (NOW 2011).

Also related to the anti-war protests in the 1960s were people and organizations interested in nuclear disarmament. Earlier, under the Eisenhower administration in the late 1950s, local activists opposed the opening of Enrico Fermi, a nuclear reactor located outside Detroit. Citizen groups expressed dissent through legal channels, more so than on the streets (Giugni 2004). However, the Committee for SANE Nuclear Policy (SANE)—in conjunction with anti-war activists—organized the "SANE March on Washington" in 1965 (Halstead 1978).[20] Reemerging Cold War tensions in the early 1980s prodded activists to demonstrate against nuclear proliferation, especially since the development of sophisticated missile systems under the Reagan administration (Giugni 2004). As a result, activist groups organized a protest against nuclear armament in Washington over the 1982 Memorial Day weekend (Perl 1982).

The first large-scale protest in Washington focused on sexual inequalities was the 1979 "National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights." Exponential deaths from HIV/AIDS and political attacks from the religious right were two catalysts leading to a second protest in 1987. A third protests in Washington in 1993 occurred when many Americans had become more accepting of gays and lesbians in mainstream culture, although some civil rights were slow to adjust as with the military's policy of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Issues on gay marriage, adoption, and hate-crime legislation led to another protest known as the "Millennium March" in 2000 (Ghaziani 2008).

The late 1980s and the entire 1990s saw events focused on gender and sexual inequalities and issues of globalization coupled with the emergence of new organizations (see Shepard and

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[20] SANE in this case is not an acronym but rather a shortening of the organization's name.

Hayduk 2002). AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) rose to prominence during this era. Not willing to advocate just for rights, ACT-UP sought to directly confront homophobia with the slogan "Silence = Death" and performance-based protest tactics such as same sex "kiss-ins"(Reed 2005), in some instances ACT-UP members protested without first obtaining permits, and, during a 1991 event, some participants chained themselves to the White House fence (Greene 1991).

Participants in the "Battle of Seattle" kept many delegates from attending meetings and effectively shut down the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) annual meeting, which drew approximately 50,000 people and representatives from 700 organizations (Reed 2005). Protesters' success in Seattle influenced other activists and provided new attention to the anti-global and anti-capitalist movements, especially in Washington where the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) are headquartered. Washington has had several protests against the World Bank and IMF, with the 16 April 2000 event as Washington's answer to Seattle (Montgomery 2000)

Although Washington has hosted several anti-globalization events, other events have been recurring as well, particularly inaugural protests in 2001 and 2005, with the 2001 event the largest since Nixon's inauguration (Montgomery 2001; Fernandez and Rich 2005). However, the most frequently recurring events have been centered upon anti-war themes in response to U.S. military involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq. In fact, what organizers had planned to be an anti-globalization protest against the World Bank and IMF scheduled on 29 September 2001 developed into a resurgence of anti-war events (Fernandez and Dvorak 2001). Activists in Washington still planned events with anti-globalization themes (Fernandez and Fahrenthold 2002; Fernandez 2004), but the emphasis at the time had become focused on protesting the Bush administration's policies in Afghanistan and the build-up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

Another way to understand public protests in Washington is by examining overall trends over time. Everett's (1992) work statistically analyzed public protests reported by the *Washington Post* between 1961 and 1983, revealing several trends with protest events in Washington. First, the number of protest organizations, organizations such as ACT-UP and NOW, has increased. Second, protests in Washington have become more peaceful, with fewer incidences of reported violence and arrests. Third, participants' activities during protests have changed, from rallies (events where participants gather in a single location) to marches (where participants walk from one location to another). Fourth, the median size of protests has increased, meaning that on average more participants are attending each event.

This has not been an exhaustive review of public protests in Washington, but it does reveal a few noteworthy themes. First, it has shown the recurrence of certain themes such as equality issues for women and anti-war movements. Second, it has shown that new themes are continually emerging. Although many of the protests I attended centered on the War in Iraq (and many still do), activists have recently organized protests against government spending and high taxes, as with the "tea party" events (Lambro and Jourdan 2009; Gardner and Ruane 2010). Third, protest organizations are continually emerging. For example, Code Pink (2010a) and American Friends Service Committee (n.d.), which I will discuss in more detail in a series of vignettes (in Chapter 4) reflect contemporary protest organizations active in Washington—with each having their own way of expressing dissent in Washington.

What I have shown in this brief timeline has been the large-scale events, events that drew thousands of people. Not discussed were the thousands of other protests that also occurred in Washington. These events probably did not attract large crowds and are therefore not as memorable, but they still contributed to the practice of public protests. These examinations of the peaks of a protest cycle only tell a small part of Washington's tradition of demonstrations.

My research, by contrast, while it included some large and well-reported events, also included smaller protests overlooked by the (national) media. Indeed, most protests I attended were not reported in Washington's major newspapers or broadcast media. What is missing from those other accounts is the recognition that these peaks rest upon a consistent practice, a practice that my research took pains to engage and document, in research that represents both the large- and small-scale events, which I engage as participant through walking as an embodied practice.

In this chapter, I use walking as a means to tell an unexamined yet important historical component of public protests in the United States. I take this approach to show that walking has been a practice for participants throughout Washington's protest history—a practice that has also developed to become more inclusive of spectators. Moreover, walking is a mobile and performative activity, one that (re)creates ephemeral practiced landscapes. Such practiced landscapes are dynamic as various participants such as protesters, counter protesters, the police, and others interact and share Washington's public areas. I illuminate a few of these interactions by drawing from my fieldwork as I embodied the practice of walking as a protest participant. I reveal that participants have engaged in walking as an embodied practice throughout Washington's protest history, and that this established practice is significant to Washington, as significant as its monumental landscape.

I accomplish this by tracing through Lucy Barber's (2002) work entitled *Marching on Washington* and highlighting germane examples. Her emphasis is on the development of public protests as an American tradition, one with persistent and accumulative beginnings for contemporary events that are largely scripted and orderly. I also draw from the national print media and Washington-area newspapers to complement Barber. To visually represent my points, I have inserted images from the Library of Congress along with images from my fieldwork.

My time spent in Washington was during a period in which protests were commonplace, and where participants were derogatorily considered by some to be "professional protesters" (Knott 2006, B2), implying a group of people who habitually attend events. Indeed, I saw many of the same faces during my field work. However, many people are not from Washington. Coupled with a large number of events, writing Washington's protests history is challenging. Even Barber (2002) was highly selective in her comprehensive work. Therefore, my interest here is neither to summarize influential events, nor to compile a protest inventory. Instead, I focus on three formative protests, which I will introduce shortly, and a series of influential anti-war protests during the late 1960s and early 1970s. I chose these events because of their contributions to the development of walking as a practice of public protests in Washington.

To show walking as an embodied practice, I have also drawn, in an autoethnographic manner (see Butz and Besio 2009), upon my observations and experiences as a protest participant. I borrow from anthropologist Tim Ingold (2004) to discuss the measurable and multiple rhythms of walking in a crowded and highly mobile event. Further, I briefly relate my physical and emotional sensations of being a protest participant.

This chapter is organized in the following manner. I begin by setting up the legal mechanism that facilitates orderly public gatherings in the United States. I then cite relevant literature on walking by geographers and others. I segue into a broad historical overview of protests in Washington with a focus walking, which leads to a discussion on protests as orderly events. This is followed by empirical accounts of contemporary protests based on my fieldwork, which moves into a theoretical engagement with my embodied walking as a protest participant. I end this chapter with a few closing thoughts and then briefly introduce the following chapters.

Protest Permits, the Law, and Public Space

As I stated in the introduction of this dissertation, public protests in Washington are highly organized and legally permitted events. Underlying Washington's protest history are often-overlooked legal and policy foundations that ensure First Amendment rights coupled with a permit process to help maintain public order, which I will discuss briefly.

In planning a protest, organizers intending to have twenty-five or more participants are required to file permit applications with the appropriate authorities.[21] Permits must be filed ten days before large events (e.g., those events where participants might block traffic) and two days before smaller events (Mitchell and Staeheli 2005). During the permit process, stakeholders provide details such as an event's date, time, and beginning and end locations along with a connecting parade route (if there is a march), with authorities either approving or denying a permit. Several activists told me that authorities accept permit applications on a first-come, first-served basis, so filing a permit for a large event often requires a year's notice, especially since Washington's public spaces are in high demand, not only for protest organizers but all organizers of special events, such as concert promoters and film crews. One activist remarked that it takes authorities six months to approve permits when organizers want to offer food at an event (Field note: 36.1.5).

Scholars refer to these pre-planning arrangements between protest organizers and law-enforcement authorities as a policy of "negotiated management" (McPhail et al. 1998; McCarthy and McPhail 2006). Under negotiated management, the police facilitate the movement of protest participants within specific, pre-determined public spaces and thereby ensure participants' First

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[21] Washington, DC, has multiple city (i.e., "state") and federal jurisdictions, creating a spatial mosaic of law-enforcement agencies, namely the Metropolitan Police Department, the National Park Service, and the U.S. Capitol Police. Protest organizers may have to file permits with one or all three agencies, depending on where an event is scheduled to take place. For agency-specific permit applications, see the Metropolitan Police Department (2003; 2006), the National Park Service (2010; n.d.), and the U.S. Capitol Police (2009a and b).

Amendment rights (McPhail et al. 1998) while reducing physical encounters between police and protesters (McCarthy and McPhail 2006).

Complicating negotiated management, however, is Washington's mosaic of legal jurisdictions shared among different law-enforcement agencies, namely the Metropolitan Police Department, the National Park Service, and the U.S. Capitol Police, each requiring organizers to file separate permits if an event crosses jurisdictional boundaries. As Mitchell and Staeheli (2005) explain, some activist groups hire professional consultants to negotiate the complexity of organizing a large event in Washington with law-enforcement officials.

In addition to the permit system, protest organizers engage in a lengthy planning process that develops months before an event. The initial stage in planning an event is what Fernandez (2005, 102) refers to as a "call to action," which is an official declaration of a protest organization's intent to plan an event. From here, an organization networks with other like-minded organizations and mobilizes local activists in the event's host city (Lachance 2003). During this time, members of the organization set up lodging accommodations for out-of-town participants and scouts locations to hold meetings and other activities; it is also an opportunity to do organizational fundraising (Lachance 2003; Fernandez 2005). From my experience, this was a time for an organization's local volunteers to hand out flyers on the street and ask business owners to place posters of an upcoming event in their store windows.

Several days before the event, activists organize civil disobedience and medical trainings along with legal workshops for participants (Lachance 2003). Organizers schedule spokes meetings designed to bring together interested stakeholders and discuss the event's logistics. This is also when the organization's members and volunteers create costumes or props for use during the upcoming protest (Fernandez 2005). Again from my experience, an organization's

senior members may issue press releases and attempt to gain media interviews as a means to create public awareness about an event.

Law enforcement also begins a lengthy planning process. In places unaccustomed to hosting large protests (e.g., Savannah, Georgia, the location of my second pilot study), the police engage in outreach measures with local residents and business owners to provide information on the upcoming event. Law enforcement will offer crowd-control training for its officers, and different agencies will coordinate resources and analyze information from past events (Fernandez 2005). In some instances, the police may infiltrate organizers' spokes meetings and other activities to gain intelligence (Fernandez 2005), especially if law enforcement perceives that an upcoming event will have participants known for destructive tactics (Mitchell and Staeheli 2003).

Negotiated management stems from U.S. Supreme Court rulings that uphold public assembly. Known as public-forum doctrine, these rulings contribute to the "content, time, place and manner of exercising First Amendment rights in public fora" (McCarthy and McPhail 2006, 230). Beginning with *Hague v. Congress of Industrial Organizations* (CIO) in 1939, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of peoples' right to assemble in public streets and parks for political expression or organization (Mitchell 2003; Staeheli and Mitchell 2008). For public protests in the United States, *Hague v. CIO* "established that the streets and parks of cities were a 'public forum' whose use by groups could be regulated but not completely restricted" (Barber 2002, 115)—a ruling that legally guaranteed First Amendment rights, rights that became an integral characteristic of American protest culture.

But public fora are not spatially equal. Current legal doctrine specifies three types of physical settings for public protests. The first is "traditional" where assembly is regulated only by time, place, or other logistical concerns. Traditional public fora are open for all and include

public streets and parks. The second is "limited" and pertains to government-dedicated spaces

for public assembly such as municipal airports or university free-speech zones. Both traditional

and limited public fora are the least restrictive regarding speech content. The third is

"nonpublic" and represents government-owned properties that allow for reasonable restrictions

on assembly and speech, such as prisons or military bases. Not included is private property,

which is beyond the First Amendment's purview of assembly and speech (Post 1987, cited in

McCarthy and McPhail 2006; see also Mitchell 2003).

To be sure, law in the United States spatially influences public and private space,

resulting in varying geographies. However, as Blomley (1989) explains, law does not

exclusively shape space. Rather, law is a fluid body of work that, along with space, shapes—and

is shaped by—political and social institutions. In this sense, geography and law are mutually

inclusive, with a potential ranging from empowerment to oppression (Blomley 2000).

In the democratic practice of protesting in the United States, geography and law are often

a form of empowerment. Scholars have noted that protest participants chant "Whose streets?

Our streets!" during events in the United States (Marcuse 2006; Schwarts 2002), including

Washington, DC (Noakes et al. 2005). As Zajko and Béland (2008, 731) explain, this "popular

protest rallying cry…perhaps best signifies the continued importance of spatial contention within

the practice of political protest." From my observations, the chant is performed by participants

while on the street and declares a collective right to public space. Through this practice, protest

participants are embodying First Amendment tenets whereby "Congress shall make no

law…abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press" coupled with "the right of the people

peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances" (U.S.

Congress 1992, 13). Therefore, borrowing from Waitt et al. (2009), walking—under the

auspices of the First Amendment—is a way of (re)creating space.

On Walking

Protest participants (re)create space, at least temporarily, by walking. For example, participants walked north along 15th Street NW during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 24 September 2005 where they occupied the area around the White House for several hours (Figure 3.1). What is not depicted, however, is the disruption to vehicular traffic and what non-participants might consider "normal" functions of Washington's streets. Hence, the (re)creation of Washington's protest landscape by walking, especially during large events, reveals a tension between a mobile and recurring practice and the practice of a stable and everyday built environment. I focus now on walking as doing.

Figure 3.1: An example of protest participants walking during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 24 September 2005 (Image: 4-32, photo by author).

Anthropologist Tim Ingold identifies three shifts in human evolution that distinguish *Homo sapiens* from other hominids. The first and second are our enlarged brains and greater dexterity of the hands. The third represents "a suite of anatomical changes…that underlie our

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Anthropologist Tim Ingold identifies three shifts in human evolution that distinguish *Homo sapiens* from other hominids. The first and second are our enlarged brains and greater dexterity of the hands. The third represents "a suite of anatomical changes…that underlie our

ability to stand upright and walk on two feet" (Ingold 2004, 316). For many, walking is seemingly effortless—a taken-for-granted activity that is often characterized as mundane, yet it denotes individual agents engaged in varying mobile practices. More eloquently, "Walking itself is the intentional act closest to the unwilled rhythms of the body, to breathing and the beating of the heart. It strikes a delicate balance between working and idling, being and doing" (Solnit 2000, 5).

Scholars too have referred to walking as an embodied form of doing (Ryave and Schenkein 1974; Lorimer and Lund 2003), an experience that in part makes us human (Lorimer and Wylie 2010). Walking, then, spans a range of landscapes and lifestyles, from negotiating the urban (de Certeau 1984) to a seemingly less-complicated *peripatetic*, or wandering around (Adams 2001)—both ends offer a means to engage with places. Regardless of where, walking is a way to simultaneously think and move "at about three miles an hour" (Solnit 2000, 10). Borrowing from sociologist John Urry (2000), walking for some offers improvisational opportunities for social encounters, which—for this work—was an essential part of being in necessarily public protest events.

In geography, walking has been a means to engage students in research (Lorimer 2003; Bassett 2004). As a qualitative approach examining public protests, walking has been part and parcel of my field work. In this sense, "Walking appears as a mode of inquiry, a politics and an aesthetic practice (and often a fusion of all three)" (Bassett 2004, 399). Walking as doing is therefore more than mere transportation—getting from one place to another—but can reveal a cultural practice. In Washington, public protest as a cultural practice engages with spatial issues related to public assembly, the tradition and evolution of protest form, and the theoretical dimensions of body, mind, and movement. Walking, then, underlies these components and reflects upon physical and permitted expressions of democratic dissent.

Dissent, however, is not a matter of unbridled human agency, where participants are able to walk around any public area to protest. In many ways, contemporary protests in Washington are highly staged, meaning they are spatially arranged where participants must walk only within pre-determined boundaries. Thus, as I will show in the following section, not all public spaces are accessible to participants during a protest.

Scholars have noted that walking is an essential characteristic during public protests (Dragićević-Šešić 1997; Jansen 2001). But more than spontaneous wandering, walking is a means to challenge the dominant uses of an urban environment (Jansen 2001), to temporarily claim control of public space (Erdei 1997), and to sustain protest participants' enthusiasm (Spasić and Pavićević 1997). Walking is a physical manifestation of democracy in action, for those who have it and for those who are fighting for it. Hence, "one walks to demonstrate one's commitment" (Solnit 2000, 216).

Parades as an Early Protest Form

The act of walking underlies pedestrian-based mobilities, such as during parades, which allow for group expression in public spaces. In many cases, parades are representations of a collective, cultural identity to, for example, assert class values (Goheen 2003) or reveal Afro-Creole polyvocality (Regis 1999). Parades also allow marginalized groups to claim urban territory (Regis 1999; O'Reilly and Crutcher 2006; Enguix 2009). The state may also use parades to showcase its nationalist propaganda (Hagen 2008) or maintain its national identity (Kong and Yeoh 1997). However, parades are not necessarily spatially segregated between marchers and spectator. For example, during Madrid's LGBT pride parade, marchers and spectators engaged with each other by dancing, singing, and throwing balloons, "establishing a playful link that dilutes frontiers between participants/audience" (Enguix 2009, 22). Regis's (1999) work on "second lines" in New Orleans describes a parade form where spectators join the

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marchers. "Second lines" consist of a sponsoring benevolent club and their hired brass band as the "first line" and the participants—or joiners—that follow as the "second line." In this sense, the spectators become part of the mobile parade. As Regis (1999, 473) explains: "The importance of these joiners is underlined by the fact that the entire event is named after them. A club and brass band without followers may be a procession, but it is no second line."

The tradition of parades in Washington was partly determined by its design. French architect Pierre L'Enfant planned the new capital with parades and other ceremonies in mind to attract spectators and forge nationhood. For example, Pennsylvania Avenue connected the U.S. Capitol with the White House for parades, and the National Mall hosted military drills (Barber 2002). Perhaps Washington's most spectacular parades at the time were presidential inaugurations. Historian Paul Boller (2001) notes that Ulysses Grant's second term in 1873 marks the original inaugural parade, which featured a military procession. Military-themed inaugurations continued but were soon joined by civilian organizations in 1881. Grover Cleveland's inaugural parade, however, was more of a spectacle with "fancy floats and lively stunts, replicas of the War of 1812's famous frigate, *Constitution*, trained seals, dancing horses, dog acts, and G.O.P. elephants." It was also the first inaugural parade with female marchers (Boller 2001, 177-8).

By the turn of the 20th century, inaugural parades established a precedence of form in Washington, as they "had become elaborate ceremonies illustrating the growing power of the presidency, the national government, and the United States" (Barber 2002, 51). However, it was not until Jacob Coxey and his "army" of unemployed men walked from Massillon, Ohio, to Washington, arriving on 1 May 1894 that the first public protest in the nation's capital took place (Barber 2002).

The economic depression that began in the early 1890s resulted in skittish investors, bank failures, and high unemployment among working people. To help remedy the depression, Coxey drafted his "Good Roads Bill," which proposed building a national road network. If funded by the federal government, Coxey reasoned, such a large-scale project could employ thousands. Coxey had persuaded a populist legislative member to introduce his "Good Roads Bill" to Congress, but it failed. California firebrand Carl Browne, however, convinced Coxey to walk to Washington and petition Congress in person—a radical idea in that traditionally activists had mailed their demands. Moreover, Browne suggested that Coxey bring with him all available unemployed men to collectively petition. Coxey and his followers, who observers named "Coxey's Army," then traveled to Washington with the intention to petition Congress to build a national road network (Barber 2002).

Camped just outside Washington, "Coxey's Army" entered the District of Columbia on 1 May 1894. District police cleared spectators so the procession could pass. Coxey led the procession, and his "army" marched in rows along Pennsylvania Avenue mimicking the custom during military parades. When "Coxey's Army" arrived on the Capitol grounds, they were met by hundreds of police officers and thousands of spectators. Coxey attempted to climb the Capitol's steps and deliver a prepared speech, an attempt that was denied by the police. The police arrested Browne for jumping over a low wall and resisting arrest. On 2 May, both men were arrested on warrants for displaying banners and walking on the Capitol ground's grass during the previous day's march, violating an 1882 statute.[22]

District authorities had derailed Browne and Coxey by enforcing punitive laws and sentencing short-term incarceration. And Congress did not approve any road projects to put to work the hundreds of unemployed men. In this sense, "Coxey's Army" had failed.

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[22] Barber (2002) describes the "banners" as 2-by-3-inch lapel pins that both men were wearing on their jackets.

"Nevertheless," Barber (2002, 40) explains, "they established the precedent for a new type of national public political protest."

Beginning with "Coxey's Army," early protests in Washington were in parade form: a procession would pass by spectators, and in some cases spectators numbered in the thousands. According to Barber (2002) "Coxey's Army" had an estimated 30,000 spectators in 1894, and on 3 March 1913 approximately 100,000 spectators watched participants march along Pennsylvania Avenue during the "Woman's Suffrage Procession and Pageant." Figure 3.2 is a digitized image from the Library of Congress depicting one of two-dozen suffragists' floats traveling away from the U.S. Capitol and towards the White House. The estimated 8,000 suffragists, most of whom were walking, were flanked by spectators. Although the spectators lining Pennsylvania Avenue appear spatially segregated from the procession, the spectators are nonetheless engaged with the marchers. Some of the mostly male spectators taunted the marchers, and a few men lobbed sexist comments (Barber 2002). "Whereas spectators go to parades in expectation of witnessing rather than contributing to the pageantry and display," Kong and Yeoh (1997, 226) argue, "they become part of the performance through a marking of their bodies." By their verbal engagement, some of the male spectators marked their bodies as in opposition to, or even hostile towards, the suffragists.

However, technological advancements in the early 1960s brought a change to spectatorship. First, television cameras became portable, allowing camera operators and news reporters greater mobility and thus greater coverage of an event. Second, nascent satellite networks had the ability to broadcast live television. Organizers of the 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" issued over 2,000 press passes to national and international reporters to interview activists and other participants. Additionally, the three major television

networks[23] provided regular reports and live coverage.   As a result, the march had at the time,

the "most extensive coverage of a protest in history" (Barber 2002, 163). As Barber (2002, 164)

explains, this means that:

> In the past, protests had emphasized individual and collective discipline displayed to an immediate audience and then conveyed by the media. Instead of performing for an audience, these marchers on Washington took their inspiration from the other marchers and the intense attention of the media.

To be sure, technological advancements and a flocking media acted as a conduit: now protesters'

voices could reach distant audiences in real time. But, the 1963 march also offered people who

were once spectators an opportunity to become participants. And how people became

participants was, significantly, by walking. As a result, public protests in Washington would

have fewer stationary spectators and more mobile participants.

Figure 3.2: Suffragists flanked by spectators during the "Woman's Suffrage Procession and Pageant" event on 3 March 1913 in Washington, DC. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC. Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-26724. This image has no known restrictions on reproduction.

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[23] The three television networks included: the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC).

Pedestrianism and Order

The names of protests hint at pedestrianism. Although the 3 March 1913 "Woman Suffrage Procession and Pageant" and the 28 August 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" were quite different events, both are well-known protests and both bring to mind participants traveling Washington's streets on foot. In general terms, a procession refers to the forward and even movement of a group. Similarly, a march indicates the formal and measured advancement of an organized body. Hence, both procession and march imply walking—and a sense of order. Even during less-formal events where people are free to walk at their own pace, law enforcement collectively channels (Akatiff 1974) protest participants along specific streets.

Participants walked in organized rows during the 3 March 1913 "Woman Suffrage Procession and Pageant" (Figure 3.3). The procession was headed by a grand marshal who led participants in rows of four, a configuration they practiced beforehand. Social reformers of the day enjoyed unified yet visually engaging processions. Since mob violence and riots represented undisciplined political will, organizers and participants of nascent public protests needed a peaceful, respectable approach. Thus, the military-like form of the suffrage procession "signaled controlled, disciplined citizens who could bring dignity to public life" (Barber 2002, 60).

Protests that followed still adhered to a disciplined, military-style procession. The "Bonus Army," consisting of World War I veterans, petitioned Congress in 1932 for early payments of their entitled bonus monies that were due in 1945. During several protests, the men marched in military form, generating "visual support" for their grievances (Barber 2002, 86). Similarly, activists for the "Negro March on Washington" scheduled for 1 July 1941 understood

that an orderly procession would project a sense of unity as supporters intended to march on

Pennsylvania Avenue.[24]

Figure 3.3: Suffragists walking in organized rows during the "Woman's Suffrage Procession and Pageant" event on 3 March 1913 in Washington, DC. Source: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC. Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-35138. This image has no known restrictions on reproduction.

By the 1960s, however, the formal, military-style parade of public protests had changed

to a group of participants walking along pre-determined routes, and the "March on Washington

for Jobs and Freedom" exemplified this new style. One reporter described the march as

"informal, often formless—yet it somehow had great dignity" (*Time* 1963, 13). Barber (2002)

attributes the new protest style to an increase in the number of participants attending events

coupled with a decrease in the length of events' pre-determined routes. For example, "Coxey's

Army" ranging from 600 to 1,000 marchers, along with an estimated 30,000 spectators who lined

the streets, paraded for several miles within the northwest quadrant of the District on their way to

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[24] Organizers cancelled the "Negro March on Washington" when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, which prohibited racial discrimination in employment and military contracting (see Barber, 2002).

the Capitol Grounds in Washington. In contrast, during the "March on Washington for Jobs and

Freedom," approximately 200,000 participants assembled at the Washington Monument and

walked to the Lincoln Memorial, a distance of just one mile (Barber 2002). One difference, one

that would become the standard in protesting, is that organizers for the 1963 march did not

arrange participants in tidy rows, as was done in previous protests. Rather, participants traveled

informally along the march's route.

To ensure order during the "March on Washington," organizers recruited marshals, and

local and federal officials mobilized approximately 5,000 law-enforcement officers, which

reflected a shared concern among stakeholders "that a march subject to public control would best

convey the marchers' commitment to legal change" (Barber 2002, 150). Despite the large crowd

and lack of available shade for many participants most people were cordial while walking and

exchanged pleasantries. Barber (2002, 164) reiterates that "Participants commented on how their

fellow marchers moved through the crowd, murmuring 'excuse me,' 'sorry,' and 'thank you'."

Thus, although the 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" adopted a new protest

style of informal walking on a large scale, the event overall was still orderly, even as thousands

of participants walked within Washington's monumental landscape.

By the mid-1960s, protesters began engaging in guerrilla theatre, a tactic where "the

audience and the actors move from place to place physically as the play progresses from scene to

scene" (Sanderson 2003, 2). One outcome was to produce a "theatrical style of protest that [was]

designed to bring the horrors of the war close to home" (*Newsweek* 1971, 25). Beyond aesthetics

and spectacle, activists used guerrilla theatre in a symbolic, premeditated, and non-violent

manner to confront those in power (Davis 1966; Schechner 1970). One example of guerrilla

theatre was performed by the anti-war organization, Vietnam Veterans Against the War

(VVAW), who—armed with toy machine guns and dressed in military uniforms—staged mock

battles on Pennsylvania Avenue to "connect Washington to the battlefields of Vietnam" (Barber 2002, 191).

Because of the mobile- and performative-based tactics participants borrowed from guerrilla theatre, not all protests in Washington during the 1960s had been orderly, nor was walking an essential characteristic. Beginning in the late 1960s, and as the U.S. government's involvement in Vietnam was escalating, anti-war protesters began to split into two groups: those who continued to use the streets and other public spaces to peaceably assemble and those who felt that traditional protests were no longer effective and engaged in unpermitted, often illegal, acts of civil disobedience (Barber 2002).

The most noteworthy acts of civil disobedience occurred during the "Spring Offensive" in late April/early May of 1971, which was part of a series of protests, music concerts, and other events in Washington. One objective for some protesters was an attempt to shut down the U.S. government by disrupting traffic (*U.S. News & World Report* 1971), with the underlying logic that if federal employees could not get to work, the government and its war efforts would be paralyzed. In his memoir, John W. Dean III, White House Counsel to President Richard Nixon, noted that he requested a helicopter flyover during an early-morning protest on 3 May 1971. Dean invited John D. Ehrlichman, chief domestic-affairs adviser to President Nixon, and several assistants to accompany him. "We saw burning cars in Georgetown," Dean recalls, "a confused maze of little figures running through the streets" (1976, 43). Reporters and other on-the-ground observers also described situations where protest participants were less than orderly.

Washington Post staff writer, Paul Valentine (1971, A1), reported that:

> More than 7,000 persons were arrested in widespread hit-and-run skirmishes with police and federal troops in Washington yesterday as antiwar protesters made an unprecedented attempt to bring the government to a physical halt.

Similarly, another staff writer for the *Washington Post*, Bart Barnes (1971, A14), noted:

On M Street NW [in Washington], bands of youths would dash periodically into the street and intersections to block traffic.

In a taped interview, protest participant Dave McReynolds described to author Fred Halstead (1978, 618) a street skirmish during the "Spring Offensive" between the police and protesters on the Fourteenth Street Bridge, a main thoroughfare connecting Washington with suburban Virginia:

There was no way to hold the march together. Some of the May Day kids by this time had started trashing, throwing sticks at the cops. The [tear] gas was too thick. We ran.

One similarity among the four accounts above was that protest participants were neither orderly nor walking; they were disorderly and running. The print media echoed this chaos:

Spring was difficult to enjoy in Washington last week. Amid the whiffs of tear gas, the wail of sirens and wandering bands of youths calling themselves guerrillas, the capital endured an odd and bitter little siege. (*Time* 1971, 13)

To be sure, participants during the "Spring Offensive" were mobile, almost too mobile as some groups broke with the tradition walking in a procession and engaged in different forms of dissent—blocking traffic, throwing debris at the police, and running in the streets. Typically, the practice of public protests in Washington occurs on an ephemeral yet recurring basis, when participants arrive at an event, walk through the streets, and then leave. The "Spring Offensive" was an enduring and persistent event, lasting multiple days, where organizers set up tents in the National Mall and staged all-night music festivals (Barber 2002). Such encampments represented an occupation of protesters that in many ways also defied the traditional practice of walking in not being typically mobile. In the end, the "Spring Offensive" revealed just how settled walking as a protest practice in Washington had become.

Walking and Public Protests: An Empirical Discussion

The orderly flow of protest participants walking on Washington's streets is also important, for anything less than orderly might jeopardize the reputation of public dissent,

placing into question future events. As a Capitol Hill staffer once told: "Nobody in DC likes

protests," and this is because protests can be so disruptive towards the taken-for-granted

vehicular mobilities in and around Washington and its immediate suburbs. Washington is unlike

other large U.S. cities in that it does not have an interstate system slicing through its central built

environment. Most interstates, such as Interstates 66 and 395 are spurs into downtown and

become part of the surface-street network once in the District of Columbia. Therefore, vehicles

during larger events must coexist with protesters.

Public protests are a way of (re)creating a shared space. While on the street, many events

require that protest participants and drivers of motorized vehicles form an orderly co-existence—

something the police facilitate. During the "Hands off Venezuela & Cuba" protest on 20 May

2006, for example, participants walked on Columbia Road, a busy secondary street that transects

the Mt. Pleasant and Adams Morgan neighborhoods (Figure 3.4). At this section, Columbia

Road is a two-way street consisting of three lanes: two lanes for traffic flow and a turn lane in

the center. Protest participants walked along the southbound lane and vehicle drivers

maneuvered along the north. Bicycle officers rode down the center lane alongside the protest.

This protest is what I consider a "larger" event in that participants walked down the street and

not the sidewalk, yet organizers and law-enforcement officials did not plan for an event that

would be large enough to occupy all of Columbia Road. The result stems from a negotiated-

management style of policing (see McPhail et al. 1998; McCarthy and McPhail 2006), resulting

in an orderly compromise where protesters were able to publicly assemble and where drivers

experienced minimal disruption.

Not all participants walk during an event. As I stated earlier (in Chapter 1), the police

may segregate certain groups that oppose an event's central theme. Such groups are generally

modern-day hecklers, or counter protesters, whose intent is to express opposition towards an

event's overarching theme. With most protests that I attended in Washington, the privilege of walking is dependent upon orderly behavior. Therefore, as a preventative measure, the police segregate counter protesters who are made to stand off to the side. I have seen physical altercations (Field note: 4.5.5) and heated verbal exchanges (Field notes 30.2-3) when the police have not taken such precautions.

Figure 3.4: Protest participants, the police, and vehicular traffic sharing the street during the "Hands off Venezuela & Cuba" protest on 20 May 2006 (Image: 17-23, photo by author).

The "Defend the People of Palestine & Lebanon March" on 12 August 2006 shows protest participants walking north along 15th Street NW, just east of the Ellipse (Figure 3.5, left). As with the 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," protest participants were informally walking down the street. On the sidewalk, where I stood to take this picture, dozens of police officers occupied the empty space (Figure 3.5, center)—but missing were the hordes of spectators typical during earlier events, as for instance with the 3 March 1913 "Woman's Suffrage Procession and Pageant" (see Figure 3.2). But similar to the heckling male spectators

during the suffragists' procession, the "Defend the People of Palestine & Lebanon March" drew

around a dozen, stationary counter protesters, many of whom held signs with taunting messages

and a few bantered with the passing protesters (Figure 3.5, right). Overall, counter protesters are

allowed to peaceably assemble and engage in free-speech activities. Hence, during a protest

walking as an embodied practice is a privilege, not necessarily a right.

Figure 3.5: A peaceful coexistence among protesters, counter protesters, and the police during the "Defend the People of Palestine & Lebanon March" on 12 August 2006 (Images: 20-116, 20-115, and 20-129, photos by author).

Walking is also a metaphor for life. For example, these participants were walking south

along First Street NW during the "Declaration for Peace" on 27 September 2006 (Figure 3.6), an

event based on the visual representation of bringing the war home, similar to techniques used in

guerrilla theatre during the 1960s to symbolically confront those in power (see Davis 1966;

Schechner 1970). Here, protest participants carried cardboard "coffins" covered with American

Flags. Other participants carried "coffins" wrapped in black cloth to indicate death.

Symbolically, the "coffins" represented human casualties from the war in Iraq, and the

participants walked for those who no longer could. The slow procession of participants carrying

"coffins" past the U.S. Capitol in the background represents, for me, a spatial juxtaposition

between those who authorized a war, and those who died fighting as a result of that

authorization. Perhaps this is why walking as a form of protest is still so powerful: our upright

and lively bodies—a vertical form—is in contrast to the horizontal and stationary bodies of the fallen.

There are, and have been, alternative forms of public protest in Washington that do not rely on walking. For example, the annual Memorial Day event known as Rolling Thunder that caters to motorcycle enthusiasts who ride en masse on the streets of Washington.[25] Or in 1979 when farmers associated with the American Agricultural Movement formed a procession of 135 tractors, referred to as "tractorcade," on the streets surrounding the White House (Feaver 1979a; 1979b). During my field work, I observed the "Hybrid Cars" event on 3 December 2005 where drivers of environmentally "green" vehicles drove in a procession around the White House to promote clean energy (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.6: Protesters carrying "coffins" in front of the U.S. Capitol during the "Declaration for Peace" event on 27 September 2006 (Image: 16-43, photo by author).

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[25] Rolling Thunder is a non-profit organization dedicated to educating the public about American prisoners of war and those still missing in action: http://www.rollingthunder1.com/index.html (last accessed 4 March 2011).

Although these examples are exceptions to the norm of walking, they nonetheless engage in the (re)creation of public protest as a practiced landscape. In the case of Rolling Thunder, the loud, revving engines of participants' motorcycles contributed an aural presence in addition to the visual (because the hybrid cars were quiet, drivers had to honk their horns). However, regardless of method, participants from across the United States engage in a mobile practice when they converge on Washington to protest—and once they arrive at the event engage again most often by walking.

Figure 3.7: A convoy of protest participants driving hybrid cars during the "Hybrid Cars" event on 3 December 2005 (Image: 9-1, photo by author).

In the next section, and using autoethnographic accounts of a practiced landscape, I want to build upon participant observation through walking as a protest participant in Washington. I do this by engaging with theoretical work by various scholars, which leads to a brief, reflexive examination of my first time walking as an embodied protest participant.

Walking as an Embodied Practice

In his presidential address at the Association of American Geographers 52nd annual meeting, Carl Sauer (1956, 296), discussing the empirical nature of geographical fieldwork, pointed out that "The mode of locomotion should be slow, the slower the better, and be often interrupted by leisurely halts to sit on vantage points and stop at question marks." Sauer (1956) based his approach from being in the field, as an explorer whose purpose it was to observe and interpret the surroundings. Hence, movement in geography is necessarily slow, where fieldwork requires time to gain a sense of the natural and cultural landscape. Sauer's (1956, 289) positions the geographer as a mobile observer who "enjoy striking out on foot." Walking in this sense enables the geographer's visual engagement with her surroundings.

Similar pedestrian mobility represents a contemporary interpretation of the 19th century *flâneur* as a figure who experiences the city through walking. Solnit (2000) describes the *flâneur* as an observant (often male) pedestrian wandering and exploring the arcades of Paris while on his, slow solitary walks as a means to understand the rapidly changing world of modernism (Berman 1982). The *flâneur's* visual practice of walking provided him an embodied sense of steel and glass arcades that housed a flourishing consumer culture. Thus, pedestrian movements are more than observing bodies, but bodies where "we experience and feel the world" (Edensor 2000). As de Certeau (1984) stresses, walking is a practice of enunciation; it affirms a mobile presence. For the *flâneur*, such a mobile presence in public—at the pace of a stroll—represented a resistance to the social spaces of a burgeoning modern landscape (Solnit 2000). Walking for Sauer (1956) and contemporary understandings of the *flâneur* represent notions of spatial practices within the landscape, spatial practices—that while embodied—also rely upon vision. Sociologist Erving Goffman (1971) argues that urban pedestrians scan their immediate surroundings to avoid colliding with passers by. For Goffman (1971, 12), pedestrians are

continuously engaged in a scanning process enveloped by personal space, which is "an elongated oval, narrow to either side of the individual and longest in front of him, constantly changing in area depending on traffic density around him." As a participant, walking in a protest means the ability to simultaneously engage in multiple, measured rhythms—to be able to chant, look around, walk, and do other things, all without bumping into neighboring marchers. This is what Ryave and Schenkein (1974, 268) refer to as the "navigational problem" as urban walkers make their way through public spaces. In part, walking is a visual activity, requiring the walker to focus not on the self—as in precisely monitoring one's steps on the ground—but instead to pay attention to other people (Ingold 2004).

But walking in a protest is also an aural activity. Although chanting is voluntary, many participants take part. Chanting conforms to a collective yet specific and highly measurable time signature. Each chant has its own repetition of notes and rests. Additionally, quite a few participants will emphasize a specific word with a thrusting of an arm into the air—all while walking. However, participants are not marching, as in the formal advancement of an organized body—such as a marching band—and therefore their bodies are not moving in a mechanical-style manner. Unlike what might be seen at a military parade, all four appendages of protest participant are not in unison while chanting. Rather, the legs are doing the walking in a different rhythm, which is in response to the changing dynamics of a protest's flow. Or as Ingold (2004, 332) [26] puts it:

> Rhythmic rather than metronomic, what they beat out is not a metric of constant intervals but a pattern of lived time and space. It is in the very 'tuning' of movement in response to the ever-changing conditions of an unfolding task that the skill of walking, as that of any other bodily technique, ultimately resides.

Personal space becomes apparent while walking in a large crowd, as I was in Figure 3.8. This point-of-view image required that I walk and look through my camera's viewfinder

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[26] Ingold 2004, 332, paraphrasing Ingold 2000.

simultaneously, at the expense of my normal peripheral vision and of those around me. However, I do remember setting up other shots that, as I was walking, the rhythm of the participants around me changed; the pace became suddenly slower. Although I came close, I never bumped into another participant. These types of adjustments occurred frequently in my personal walking rhythms as I responded to others' movements around me. More than my walking legs or my swinging arms, but my whole body was "continually and fluently responsive to an ongoing perceptual monitoring of the ground ahead" (Ingold 2004, 332).

Figure 3.8: Walking in the protest during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 24 September 2005 (Image: 4-29, photo by author).

I do not recall being too inconvenienced while walking among other protest participants: the flow and spacing of bodies seemed at times effortless to me. Crowded perhaps, but my stride responded to others around me. And although we all had different-sized bodies, presumably with different walking styles, we had a collective rhythm. I did, however, experience one exception. As I was walking in the "March to Stop Anti-Immigration Attacks" on 7 September

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2006, a man, for a reason unknown to me, flailed his right arm, hitting me in my upper-left shoulder. I was busy writing field notes, so I did not look up, but he apologized seconds later (Field note: 22.4.2).

The act of walking also produces physical and emotional sensations felt by the individual, which is part of a broader relationship with one's self and the immediate environment. Adams (2001, 188) describes the body's ability to sense a hill through one's leg muscles during assent as "a direct imprinting of place on self." Such "more-than-representational" (Lorimer 2005) sensations are challenging to articulate without some attention paid to autoethnographic reflection. I remember clearly my initial pilot study on 18 January 2003 at the "International ANSWER" protest in Washington. It was my first time in Washington, and I was underdressed for the cold weather. Before the march, my body shivered, and my fingertips and toes hurt. However, once the march started I was in awe to be among thousands of people walking in the streets. Not too long after I realized that I had transitioned from being cold to feeling exhilarated. I was a walking in a protest, reading people's signs, and listening to their chants. I turned my head to look behind and saw the Washington Monument; we were then passing the U.S. Capitol when I noticed its ornate details for the first time and felt excited that I was in Washington. Walking meant the possibility of encountering something new—a sensation I embodied during every protest since.

Conclusion

Walking as a practice of public protest involves multiple, interrelated variables including physical movement, spatial form, and democratic rights that establish a "normative ideal" (Blomley and Clark 1990, 437) of peaceable and public assembly—one that holds to, yet is part of, a developing tradition. Compounding this, walking as doing becomes a "situated practice" (Lorimer and Lund 2003, 140) in that each protest involves multiple politics and different

participants. Wylie (2005, 235) notes: "Clearly there is no such thing as 'walking-in-itself', no certain physical motion which is, as it were, elementary, universal and pure. There are only varieties of walking." Certainly there are as many varieties as there are participants. One commonality, however, was that during protests, we all walked in the same direction.

People come to Washington from across the United States, and some still walk. In 1978, several hundred Indigenous Americans took part in an event called the Longest Walk. The group walked 2,700 miles from California to Washington for a seven-day event with ceremonies, workshops, and protests. Their goal was to promote indigenous cultural traditions and protest congressional legislation that, if passed, would result in depravation of land and renege on established treaties (Valentine 1978). Similar to Coxey and his followers' walk to Washington nearly a century before, the Longest Walk demonstrates the commitment people still have to the ideals of public protest. Part of this commitment is a willingness to gather in Washington to assemble and express dissent.

Life columnist Hugh Sidey, noted, "It could be that protest is at last being recognized as a part of the American way of democratic life" (1971, 2B). Several years later, *Washington Post* columnist Haynes Johnson (1978, A3) stated:

> Whatever the politics of the moment, or lack, selfish individualistic introspective '70s as opposed to activist mass movement '60s, one thing remains constant, Washington has become, in season and out, the demonstration capital of the world.

Such media accounts affirm that public protests have developed into a time-honored tradition and part of an American cultural practice. Some, however, feel that public protests in Washington have become too much of a tradition. In response to the "International ANSWER" event—my first protest in Washington—Hank Stuever (2003, C1) of the *Washington Post* wrote: "For all the energy present Saturday, a march on Washington always seems to feel like a rerun." And this is precisely because pubic protests are ephemeral and recurring, where participants

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(re)create a practiced landscape with each new event. But regardless of whether protests appear mundane, engaging in an embodied practice reveals they nonetheless have meaningful impacts upon their participants, as Solnit (2002, 216) recalls being "deeply moved by walking through the streets en masse."

This chapter on walking as a practice of public protest sets up the following two chapters. The next chapter, Chapter 4, looks at the ways in which participants' physical movement (i.e., walking) is facilitated and constrained during an event, but also the varying mobilities within this physical movement and, in addition, the seemingly stationary nature of immobility. The subsequent chapter, Chapter 5, examines participants' performances of aural and visual tactics as a means to (re)create space and how these spaces result from a repetition of shared norms. A final chapter, Chapter 6, declares public protests in Washington are mundane and unremarkable events, thus maintaining them as a significant practice, and then builds upon the notion of landscape and tension.

Chapter Four
Mobilities and Public Protest

The "International ANSWER" protest in Washington, DC, on 18 January 2003 was my first protest as a student-researcher and my first time in Washington, and I was overwhelmed (Figure 4.1). Protesters and other participants gathered on the National Mall, and, after listening to several political speeches, the crowd began to travel east, along what I later learned was Independence Avenue. The moving crowd was thick, with many just an arms-length apart. As we walked, I noticed a park to the left. The grounds were elevated from the street, with its relief supported by a two-foot-high retaining wall. I jumped up on the retaining wall and looked to the west, where I could better view the protest. What I saw, and why I felt so overwhelmed, was a dense and narrow mass conforming to the width of Independence Avenue and stretching for several blocks, all the way back to the National Mall.

Figure 4.1: A dense, moving crowd of protest participants during the "International ANSWER" event on 18 January 2003 (Image: 1-66, photo by author).

Many of my early observations and thinking about public protests focused on spatial form. In this sense, public protests are often, as with parades and other processions, narrow and elongated. Within this narrow and elongated form, however, is the vast movement of participants walking on Washington's streets. Researchers from the University of Belgrade observing the 1996-1997 Serbian uprising described protesters as "a broad and unstoppable river, with no beginning or end" (Spasić and Pavićević 1997, 78). Although this river metaphor is colorful, it needs further examination. More than just flowing water, a river consists of dynamic and interrelated processes, which includes but are not limited to deposition, erosion, and transportation of materials. Similarly, protesting—also a dynamic and interrelated process—is more than just form and movement, as it has been associated, but represents an embodied practice reliant upon mobility.

From Movement to Mobilities

Susan Hanson's (2009) entry in *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (2009) describes mobility as having two traditional branches: physical and social. Briefly, physical mobility is defined as "the movement of people, ideas or goods across territory," and social mobility refers to a "change in social status" (Hanson 2009, 467). In this broad overview, mobility is a spatial-temporal phenomenon useful for examining human migration and social networks over varying scales (Hanson 2009). Yet scholars drawing from traditional push-pull factors have often associated physical mobility with migration. Seen as an abstract and positivistic perspective, Cresswell (2006, 3) has been critical of taken-for-granted accounts of movement as something that happens between locations, a process that is "contentless, apparently natural, and devoid of meaning, history, and ideology."

To be sure, analyses of overall spatial patterns, where large-group actions are generalized and quantified, can offer a wide-angle account of such phenomena as commuting, migration, and

tourism. However, as Cresswell argues: "The movement of people is never just velocity—getting from A to B—it is imbued with an interrelated set of power relations and meanings" (2001a, 24). Public protests, as with any mobility, are more than just the movement of abstract bodies walking on a city's streets. Rather, protesters and other participants engage in a meaningful cultural practice, one that embodies the values of an American tradition, such as the rights to peaceably assemble and freely express dissent. Hence, mobility "is a way of being in the world" (Cresswell 2006, 3), one that—in the case of public protests—means engagements by many participants performing multiple actions. Therefore:

> To speak of mobility is in fact to speak always of mobilities. One kind of mobility seems to always *involve* another mobility. Mobility is never singular but always plural. It is never one but necessarily many. In other words, mobility is really about being mobile-with. (Adey 2010, 18, original emphasis)

Implicitly, mobilities underlie past research on public protests in Washington where scholars examined the spatial configurations produced by physical movement and constraint (Akatiff 1974) and the spatial relationships between law enforcement and protesters (Noakes et al. 2005). However, geographers not examining pubic protests have demonstrated that mobilities include objects rooted in place (Adey 2006) and bodies during inactivity (Bissell 2007). This chapter addresses public protest and mobilities with plurality in mind, where I will explicitly include and expand upon physical movement and engage with geographic literature that explores mobilities that appear physically immobile.

Geography's recent wave of research on mobilities has largely overlooked public protests as mobile spatial phenomena. In this chapter, I will use mobilities theoretically to explore at a greater depth the many complex and diverse encounters during public protests in Washington, which I showcase using four vignettes based on participant observation and autoethnographic accounts. As such, public protests are more than participants' on-the-ground movement, but they also reveal spatial relationships beyond an event's physical location. Moreover, public protests'

mobile and spatial occurrences underlie a cherished democratic practice of American culture, one that continues to change. Examining the array of mobilities within public protests begins to acknowledge each event's spatial complexity and contributes to a broader understanding of active and participatory democracy.

A Mobilities Paradigm

Mobility has proliferated in geography, most notably with the journal *Mobilities* emerging in 2006 (Hanson 2009; Blunt 2007). As a research agenda, mobility scholars engage in an array of spatial phenomena, suggesting a mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2006). Thus, the predominant thrust within this mobilities paradigm is a "fluid interdependence" between varying modes of transportation and often, taken-for-granted social practices (Sheller and Urry 2006, 212). As Hannam et al. (2006, 1) articulate:

> The concept of mobilities encompasses both the large-scale movements of people, objects, capital and information across the world, as well as the more local processes of daily transportation, movement through public space and the travel of material things within everyday life.

Proponents of the mobilities paradigm (see Hannam et al. 2006; Sheller and Urry 2006) strive for a reinvigoration of the social sciences by examining how mobility differentiates among, between, and within societies. This work also investigates the transfer of information spurred by technological advancements in communication networks, the Internet, and the media (Larsen et al. 2006). Moreover, the mobilities paradigm attempts to reveal how underlying cultural, social, and political institutions spatially influence, and presuppose, movement (Urry 2007), which is exemplified by Washington's permit process. For my purposes, and what I will show in the following four vignettes, mobilities represent an array of practices (see Adey 2010) that are particularly salient to public protests.

The following four vignettes are drawn from my fieldwork in Washington, and it is within these vignettes that I will explore varying mobilities during public protests. Vignettes 1

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and 2 introduce physical movements that represent a "transversal of space" (Cresswell 2006, 4).

Specifically, Vignette 1 looks at law enforcement as an influential agent that facilitates and

constrains protest participants' physical mobility. Vignette 2 shows that protest participants'

physical mobility may vary among individuals within the boundaries of law enforcement.

Moving away from physical movements, Vignettes 3 and 4 address "relative immobilities"

(Adey 2006, 83) during public protests. For example, Vignette 3 elaborates upon how protest

participants, using their stationary and placed bodies, created an anti-war message for a broader

audience. Following this, Vignette 4 explores the silence and non-movement of inanimate

objects, in this case footwear, that also conveyed an anti-war message but more importantly

allowed for personal interaction between object and participant. I conclude with final thoughts

for this chapter.

Vignette 1: Law Enforcement and its Spatial Influence on Physical Mobility

This vignette is a general overview of law enforcement's spatial influence during public

protests, a spatial influence that both constrains and facilitates protest participants' overall

mobility. For Cresswell (2006, 2), "mobility involves a displacement—the act of moving

between locations." During large public protests in Washington, participants' mobility means

that everyday functions are temporarily suspended—or displaced—where those involved in

routine travel are forced to find an alternate route. Streets are closed and traffic is rerouted: The

everyday uses designated for bicycles, busses, cars, taxies, and trucks are transformed to

accommodate the thousands of protest participants. Protest participants are no longer limited to

the sidewalk as are everyday pedestrians. In these ways, the practice of protesting often disrupts

the taken-for-granted uses of the street.

Legal public protests in Washington are also highly regulated events. The police

spatially influence protesters and other participants as they move within a protest's pre-

determined route, which minimizes displacement. To do this, law enforcement erect physical boundaries to channel the overall flow of participants from one location to another. As such, metal barricades create a stark distinction between where protest participants may and may not assemble, what Noakes et al. (2005, 249) describe as a "partitioning of space."

Spatial influence by law enforcement has been described as a means to physically control protesters (Fernandez 2005) and for that matter political dissent (Staeheli and Mitchell 2008). Indeed, the police are active agents in constraining protest participants' physical mobility. However, the police also facilitate overall mobility within a protest's pre-determined route. As examples, both images are looking west along Pennsylvania Avenue as it runs between Lafayette Park to the north and the White House to the south (Figure 4.2). Lafayette Park was the assembly area for the "Defend the People of Lebanon and Palestine" protest on 12 August 2006 where protest organizers encouraged participants to walk out of the park and on to the street so the event could begin (Field notes: 20.4.1-2). The metal barricades were not necessarily a means to constrain but rather to better organize and eventually facilitate participants' movement out of Lafayette Park and down Pennsylvania Avenue NW (Figure 4.2, left). Additionally, metal barricades help reduce any open spaces, making an event appear better organized and well attended. Moreover, the close proximity among protest participants, in conjunction with physical movement, gives a stronger sense of solidarity. Mobility, in this case, gives a feeling that something is being done.

Rounding the corner from Pennsylvania Avenue NW south onto 15th Street NW, protest participants encountered several counter protesters standing on the sidewalk, a few of whom shouted "Your religion stinks" (Field notes: 20.5.1). As a result, the pace of the march slowed when some protesters stopped to verbally engage with the stationary counter protesters. Law-enforcement officials, however, had already stationed approximately two dozen motorcycle

officers—their motorcycles parked behind them—aligned shoulder-to-shoulder, creating a

barrier between the protesters and counter protesters (Figure 4.2, right). Officers allowed

individual protesters to briefly express themselves, just as long as they did not linger (Field note:

20.5.3). After a few minutes, officers mounted, started, and maneuvered their motorcycles end-

to-end, forming a larger buffer to further segregate the counter protesters from the passing

protesters. As a result, officers helped facilitate the march's overall mobility by using their

bodies and motorcycles as a physical barricade to separate disparate groups of participants.

Figure 4.2: Law enforcement's spatial influence—stationary metal barricades (left) and mobile
motorcycle officers (right) during the "Defend the People of Lebanon and Palestine" protest on
12 August 2006 (Images: 20-53 and 20-95, photos by author).

Protest participants also facilitate movement within events. Again, during the "Defend

the People of Lebanon and Palestine," several participants encouraged people to keep walking

and restrained protesters who had become agitated by counter protesters' taunts. Some protesters

shouted "Don't stop the march" and "Ignore them. Keep moving" referring to those protesters

arguing with the counter protesters (Field notes: 20.4.4; 20.5.4; and 20.6.2). Here, most

protesters were working within the system of barricades and compliant with the police in order to

facilitate their overall mobility.

Not all protest participants, however, are interested in mobility. Sit-ins became well known during the 1960s civil rights movement where African Americans resisted segregation laws through nonviolent acts of civil disobedience, namely occupying and refusing to leave private businesses (Martin 2004; Reed 2005). Towards the end of the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 26 September 2005, the police established another physical boundary when some protesters refused orders to disperse but instead participated in a contemporary sit-in (Field note: 6.2.7), similar to the now-famous sit-ins during the 1960s (Figure 4.3). Using yellow police tape, officers created an arrest area on the sidewalk of Pennsylvania Avenue NW and then arrested all participants within its perimeter. Now the sidewalk instantly became an illegal space based on protest participants' refusal of mobility, while—just on the other side of the police tape—other participants still had their mobility to walk around, chant, and take pictures. Hence, the lack of movement in what is normally a mobile public space has created a temporary space of symbolic resistance.

The "United for Peace & Justice" event was a permitted and therefore a legal protest, otherwise the police would not have allowed people to assemble. Participants' symbolic resistance expressed by their "sit in" during this event shows how arrests are built in to the permit process, a process that has become a legal practice by law-enforcement agencies to ensure participants' First Amendment rights of free speech and peaceable assembly. During the permit process, protest organizers would to have disclosed whether they anticipated any civic disobedience, the number of people involved, and their location (see Metropolitan Police Department (2003; 2006)). Fernandez (2005) had shown that law-enforcement agencies gather intelligence on protest organizations and analyze past tactics. If the organizers for "United for Peace & Justice" knowingly encouraged civil disobedience during this event, without prior disclosure, their future permit requests would be in jeopardy. One concern, expressed by

Staeheli and Mitchell (2008), is that the permit process in Washington has become a means to control public spaces by eliminating any possibility for spontaneous civil disobedience. Instead, acts of civil disobedience are permitted and highly scripted events.

Figure 4.3: Protesters' lack of mobility and temporary space of symbolic resistance during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 26 September 2005 (Image: 6-124, photo by author).

Figures 4.4 and 4.5 represent a series of images during the "DC Area Resists and Dissents" protest on 18 March 2006, creating a "visual narrative," one that depicts a sequence of events (Harper 2000, 724). In both narratives, protest participants were walking down one lane of Massachusetts Avenue NW, a well-traveled, two-way street. The street's double-yellow line acted as a boundary between the protest participants and oncoming traffic.

The motorcycle officer and protester represent a verbal exchange (Figure 4.4). The protester, wearing a back pack and black sweatshirt with the hood over his head, had been walking on and slightly beyond the double-yellow line. A motorcycle officer rode up along side and presumably ordered the protester to stay within the march's boundary. However, because of

the noise of the protest and rumble of the motorcycle, I could not make out much of the exchange aside from the officers saying something similar to, "That was the best you got" (Field note 12.1.4). The image on the left shows the protester raising his left hand in expressive animation; the center image shows the protester ignoring the motorcycle officer, followed by the image on the right image where the motorcycle officer, using his right arm, ordered the protester back. The protester heeded, and the motorcycle officer accelerated down Massachusetts Avenue NW to the next group of protest participants.

Figure 4.4: A verbal exchange between a motorcycle officer and a protester (Images: 12-27, 12-28, and 12-29, photos by author).

Similarly, the same motorcycle officer and a group of protest participants represent a mild, physical exchange, which again stemmed from law enforcement managing the march's boundaries (Figure 4.5). As with the previous group, this group of protest participants were walking on the double-yellow line and ignoring the presence of the motorcycle officer behind them. Using the nose of the motorcycle's side car, the police officer gently nudged one resistant protester in the back of the legs to have him move to the right of the double-yellow line.

Law enforcement engage in processes of spatial management over where protest participants may or may not assemble. In this case, and as Cresswell (2010, 24) points out, "Mobility is channeled. It moves along routes and conduits often provided by conduits in space." For participants marching in the "DC Area Resists and Dissents" event, mobility was highly regulated by law enforcement. This should not imply that mobilities within these routes

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and conduits were smooth. Most often they are not. The visual narratives (Figures 4.4 and 4.5), as well as the other examples above, reveal that public protests—when they involve physical movement, as opposed to stationary events—do have a directional motion, meaning they go from start to finish. Within this directional motion, however, participant mobilities are what Bissell (2009a, 182) refers to as "differently-mobile." Borrowing from Bissell's idea and applying it to mobilities of public protests, such differently mobile participation means that law enforcement, protesters, and others react and engage in dynamic ways, dynamic ways that create spatial and temporal relationships. Public protests in Washington take place within well-established boundaries. As a distant observer, participants' collective physical movement may appear uniform. Up close an event's boundaries and movements pulse with individual mobilities.

Figure 4.5: A physical exchange between a motorcycle officer and a group of protesters (Images: 12-31, 12-33, and 12-34, photos by author).

Protest participants' physical movement is largely dependent upon walking. Conversely, law enforcement has access to all public spaces and additional choices in facilitating their physical movement, such as bicycles, horses, and motorcycles. Law enforcement may also access vast communication networks to mobilize a large number of officers. Thus, law enforcement as an agency and its individual officers are efficient in their ability to become mobile. Vincent Kaufmann (2002) describes such a capacity for becoming mobile as motility—a human agent's potential for mobility, her options to access mobile means, and her skills for its effective use. Thus, motility is a hybrid form "where people are physically, virtually or

residentially not quite at rest and not quite on the move" (Beckmann 2005, 85). Looking east at

E Street NW, as protest participants traveled north along 15th Street NW during the "United for

Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005, depicts law enforcement and motility with more

than a dozen police officers sitting on their motorcycles ready to become mobile, as protest

participants travel north on 15th Street NW (Figure 4.6). And this is the power of motility: The

officers do not need to position themselves along side protest participants as a means to enforce a

physical boundary. Rather, law enforcement in many cases needs only a presence, for it is their

potential for a nimble response—their motility—that makes most participants within a public

protests police themselves.

Figure 4.6: Motile police officers with the capacity to become mobile during the "United for
Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005 (Image: 4-23, photo by author).

Although I have argued in Chapter 3 that many public protests involve participants

walking, not all participants are continuously engaged in physical movement, nor are non-

moving participants completely at rest. The brief examples in Vignette 1 represent a range of

mobilities, showing that public protests are more than flowing bodies. To be sure, pre-determined routes may shape protests overall; and much of law enforcement's actions that facilitate and constrain participant mobilities are about physical control or "how police restrict protesters' actions once they are in the streets" (Fernandez 2005, 132). But such restrictions vary depending on law enforcement and others' perceptions of protest participants, which I will discuss in Vignette 2.

Vignette 2: Differences in Protest Participants' Mobilities

Vignette 2 steers from physical boundaries towards differences in protest participants' mobilities. Here, I draw from two examples from my fieldwork. The first examines anarchists as participant outsiders; and as such, their mobility is in jeopardy. The second reflects back on my experience during events where I had a greater range of mobility than other participants. These two examples reveal participants' capacity for being "differently-mobile" (Bissell 2009a, 182) during public protests by one's behavior and others' perceptions.

Vignette 1 has shown law enforcement's overall ability to facilitate physical movement during a public protest. From this Vignette 2 argues that mobilities are not based exclusively on a rigid, one-size-fits-all tactic of law enforcement in which protest participants maneuver their autonomous bodies. Rather, participants do more than just show up or mobilize; they bring themselves to a protest, creating a mobile collective of individuals. To Cresswell this means: "Mobile people are never simply *people*—they are dancers and pedestrians, drivers and athletes, refugees and citizens, tourists or businesspeople, men and women" (2006, 4, original emphasis), stressing the confluence between the physical body and the means by which mobility is represented or perceived. For example, in the United States, dire economic conditions during the 1870s prompted some men to leave their homes in search of work. As these jobless men traveled the from place to place, social reformers began referring negatively to them as tramps. Mobility

during this time was becoming part of America's national identity, but the tramps' mobility however was different; their transitory predicament implied a placelessness, representing "a mobile body inscribed with multiple signifiers of deviance and transgression" (Cresswell 2001b, 20), and seen as a threat.

Similarly, anarchists are often seen as a concern by the media, police, and other participants during protests. Although contemporary anarchism involves diverse interests (Williams 2007), anarchists' behaviors are often generalized and vilified in the media. For example, staff writers for the *Washington Post* described an early-morning bout of vandalism where approximately fifteen people wearing dark clothing broke the windows of two different banks. The vandalism coincided with a series of protests against the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). Although the staff writers did not directly link anarchists with the vandalism, they did describe a group of anarchists participating in a protest later that day as "dressed in black" (Chandler et al. 2009, C1). More poignantly, *Washington Times* columnist Tom Knott wrote an editorial the Thursday before the "United for Peace & Justice" events, which were a series of anti-war protests scheduled for the last Friday through Sunday in September 2005. In his editorial, Knott (2005, B2) stated:

> Try to be on your best behavior, everyone. We know the anarchists among you sometimes like to throw rocks through storefront windows and set the occasional fire, because anarchy somehow complements the give-peace-a-chance message.

In some instances, law enforcement officials also view anarchists negatively. In a 2001 article on the World Bank and debt relief, *Washington Post* staff writers discussed a series of upcoming anti-globalization protests. With a focus on police preparedness, the staff writers drew from a statement by Terrance W. Gainer, Executive Assistant Chief of Police. The article reported that: "Gainer said the police are taking the protests seriously, and are prepared for a small element of 'criminal anarchists' among the protesters" (Pearlstein and Fernandez 2001, E1).

Grainer's statement implies differences among protest participants. Those who are active organizers recognize varying animosities among protest groups (Field note: 48.1.1), with some groups seen as too radical and others not radical enough. Divisions also exist among protesters, which are visible when on the streets. Approximately forty anarchists dressed in black attended The "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005, similar to the earlier description by Chandler et al. (2009). Some anarchists also wore black sweatshirts with hoods pulled over their heads and/or black bandanas or other materials covering much of their faces, exposing only their eyes (Figure 4.7, left). In private, people have told me how some anarchists use a face covering to conceal their identities from authorities. Ironically, attempting to conceal one's identity makes them stand out among the participants.

The anarchists eventually broke away from the protest (Figure 4.7, right). I flanked the anarchists as they walked east along H Street NW; we rejoined the other participants a block later. Upon rejoining the other participants, a young woman associated with International ANSWER, one of the protest's main organizers, was handing out flyers. Several passing anarchists said to the young woman, "ANSWER is not the answer" (Field note: 4.4.5). Seconds later, a middle-aged woman told the anarchists to be peaceful (Field note: 4.5.3).

Figure 4.7: Anarchists dressed in black during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 24 September 2005 (Images: 4-43 and 4-48, photos by author).

Law enforcement may focus on less-conventional participants, such as anarchists, whose protest tactics may use direct action (Fernandez 2005). We Are Everywhere (2003, 202), a collective of writer-activists, describes direct action as the following:

> To engage in direct action means literally embodying our feelings—performing our politics with our whole body. Placing ourselves directly in the cogs of the mega-machine transforms the body into both weapon and statement of resistance—whether it's to delay a bulldozer that's destroying woodland or to enter a corporate HQ [headquarters].

Underlying direct action is a fierce spirit of autonomy and self-reliance, eschewing the permit process and those who abide by it, whether they are organizers or participants. As one self-described anarchist told me: "Some things are to be seized" (Field note: 42.1).

This seizing partially explains the anarchists' side march along H Street NW—separate from the permitted and pre-determined "United for Peace & Justice" protest a block away. In this sense, the anarchists were not spatially united with the other protest participants but rather acting in defiance. Such defiance can lead to spontaneous movement—a freedom of mobility— or attract the attention of authorities who then, as noted in Noakes et al.'s (2005) fieldwork, restrict mobility by prohibiting access to public spaces such as sidewalks.

Negative images about anarchists are perpetuated largely from media vilification but also by their occasional acts of defiance. Although law-enforcement agencies are influential in facilitating and constraining participants' overall mobility within an event's pre-determined route, certain groups—that the police perceive as a potential threat—are targeted and sometimes detained. Hence, as Fernandez (2005, 133) observed during various anti-globalization protests, "physical control is not applied evenly."

Fernandez (2005) makes an important point about mobility, one that I experienced as a researcher, which is: I had a greater range of mobility than did other protest participants. The second half of Vignette 2 explores my greater range of mobility with two brief examples from my fieldwork. The first is from the "Hands off Venezuela & Cuba" event on 20 May 2006

where dozens of police officers riding motorcycles and bicycles had blocked 16th Street NW in

both directions to vehicle traffic to accommodate hundreds of protest participants (Figure 4.8).

However, the police constrained the participants to the north-bound side of the two-way street

and did not allow protesters to cross the double-yellow line, for the Cuban embassy was on the

other side, an intended target by the protesters. Along with the police, protest marshals, wearing

day-glow green vests, assisted in monitoring the spatial boundaries established by the police.

The protest marshals acted friendly yet adamant about asking participants to stay behind the

double-yellow line and to keep the sidewalk clear, resulting in a long and narrow column of

participants (Field note: 17.3.1).

Figure 4.8: Differences in participants' mobilities during the "Hands off Venezuela & Cuba"
event on 20 May 2006 (Image 17-11 and 17-13, photos by author).

Initially, motorcycle officers rode along side the moving participants to maintain the

boundary of the double-yellow line. I initially thought this boundary would remain heavily

enforced by the police, but then several media and a few others quickly ran across the street

towards the Cuban embassy. I remember thinking that crossing the double-yellow line might

lead to arrests. After several minutes, and no arrests, I too crossed 16th Street NW—multiple

times—and eventually stood in the street to take pictures, as did other photographers (Field note:

17.3.3). While I was standing in front of the Cuban Embassy, no one in authority ordered me to rejoin the other protesters.

Law enforcement also granted access to certain protest participants but not others. When participants in the "Defend the People of Lebanon and Palestine" event on 12 August 2006 turned south on 15th Street NW from Pennsylvania Avenue NW, they encountered several counter protesters standing on the sidewalk (Figure 4.9). When I walked towards the counter protesters, approximately two-dozen police officers had lined up shoulder-to-shoulder (top left). The protester in the white shirt had also walked directly towards the counter protesters pointing his finger and shouting (top right). He stopped directly in front of the police still pointing his finger and shouting, and—as with the other more-assertive protesters—the police eventually told him to move along. After a few minutes, the police began to create more of a buffer between the stationary counter protesters and the growing number of passing protesters. The police ordered the media onto the sidewalk (field notes 20.5.6-7), and I followed. Here, I am standing on the counter protesters' side of the police buffer looking at the passing protesters (bottom left). Finally, I am standing to the right of a counter protester holding his bible and preaching to the protesters (bottom right).

What this sequence depicts are varying mobilities. Both the man in the white shirt and I were protest participants, and we both walked up to the line of police officers at the same time. However, we had different encounters: The man in the white shirt was confrontational towards the counter protesters while I was taking pictures and writing in my notebook. As a result, he was asked to keep moving where I was largely overlooked. Moreover, the police never questioned me when I followed the media onto the sidewalk, nor was I questioned by any of the counter protesters, even when I was standing among them.

Figure 4.9: Differences in participants' access and varying forms of mobilities during the "Defend the People of Lebanon and Palestine" protest on 12 August 2006 (Images: 20-64 (top left), 20-66 (top right), 20-84 (bottom left), and 20-93 (bottom right), photos by author).

My participation in public protests, for the most part, was that of a researcher with the intention to be compliant and non-confrontational. With participant observation, note taking, and digital photography as primary field methods, my appearance and behavior was similar to someone in the media. Three times I was knowingly affiliated with the media. The first time was by a group of municipal police officers in Savannah, Georgia, during a pilot study. The two others were by protesters in Washington (Field notes: 26.3.1; 29.3.3). One protester at the "Defend the People of Lebanon & Palestine" event did confront me while I was standing among the counter protesters taking pictures, just before the police had increased the size of the buffer

zone. She approached, looked at me, and screamed, "Kill us" (Field note: 20.5.8). Seconds after I realized she had mistaken me for a counter protester.

My experience during the "Hands off Venezuela and Cuba" and "Defend the People of Lebanon and Palestine" events gave empirical insight that protest participants have different mobilities. Appearing outside the stereotypical role of a protester—that is holding signs, chanting slogans, and so on—yet within the standard for compliance and peacefulness, enhanced my spatial mobility, especially during large events where there was greater anonymity. To be sure, my mobility as a non-protester was quite different than for those performing in the stereotypical role of protesting.

In his examination of suffragists Margaret Foley and Florence Luscomb, Cresswell points out that: "The way people are enabled or constrained in terms of their mobile practices differs markedly according to their position in social hierarchies" (2005, 448). Here, Cresswell is referring to gendered hierarchies, stating how free will alone was not the sole enabler of the two suffragists' mobility. Rather, advancement in travel, such as the automobile, along with the articulation of voting rights for women, also contributed. It was this combination of mobile people, technology, and ideas that forged the progress of the suffragist movement. Similarly, the decision to cross a boundary was more than just my free will—it was also the police granting me more mobility than they granted the other participants.

Mobility can also be hierarchical (Urry 2007) where protest participants are assessed by law enforcement on a vertical continuum, ranging from compliant and peaceful to defiant and destructive. Anarchists, however, are often cast as defiant and destructive, especially by the media. Although I did not observe any defiant and destructive actions by anarchists, they have nonetheless been accused of such actions during protests in Washington (see Fernandez and Quentin 2005; Chandler et al. 2009). At issue, then, is perception. For anarchists, symbolic

clothing, such as dressing in black, and a negative reputation may preclude their mobility—or at least draw the attention of law enforcement, as Noakes et al. (2005) have shown.[27]   As a result, law enforcement's perception of participants varies: Some participants may experience reduced mobility or "friction" (Cresswell 2010, 26), while others, as with my experiences, may not. Hence, even within the same protest, authorities grant participants varying mobilities.

Mobility and Immobility

For Vignettes 3 and 4, I depart from the physical mobilities during a public protest where law enforcement facilitate and constrain participants within a pre-determined route and begin to explore what John Urry (2007, 53) refers to as "immobile platforms." Such immobile platforms are infrastructures and networks that facilitate movement (Urry 2007) and can include, but are not limited to, airports (Adey 2006; Cresswell 2006; Kellerman 2008), gas stations (Normark 2006), and train stations (Bissell 2009a). As such, they are fixed and embedded "immobile infrastructures that organize the intermittent flow of people, information, and image, as well as the borders or 'gates' that limit, channel, and regulate movement or anticipated movement" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 212). In conjunction, "mobile machines" such as cellular telephones, automobiles, and airplanes allow a user to become mobile and maintain mobility (Sheller and Urry 2006, 210), yet these mobile machines still depend upon immobile infrastructures, such as relay towers, road networks, and airport runways, respectively. Beckmann (2005, 84) notes that mobility has a dependency upon immobility, stating: "it is precisely because certain subjects and objects are immobilized that others can travel."

For example, airports and Internet servers are both physically situated—the airport as a place and an Internet server in a place, yet they both facilitate the movement of people, luggage,

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[27] An Anarchist told me during my pilot study in Savannah, Georgia, the color black symbolizes anarchy. Additionally, anarchists tend to band together during protests. This combination of being in a group where all members of that group are dressed in black stands out as distinct from other protest participants and with some raises suspicion.

data, and so forth. This is not to imply a binary relationship between mobility and immobility, such as the moving traveler within the stationary airport; rather, they are complementary based on relational difference. As Adey (2006, 90) suggests:

> Objects, things, buildings, landscapes and, in this instance, the airport, are not viewed as merely static and fixed. They are made up of thousands, millions, billions of movements that interact with one another in many different ways.

Adey (2006, 83) argues that "there is never any absolute immobility, but only mobilities which we mistake for immobility, what could be called relative immobilities." And although these relative immobilities provide a means of stability for which mobility travels, these seemingly fixed-in-place facilitators of mobility are what Adey (2006, 90) calls "(im)mobilities" in that they take "into account not only the differences between movement, but their contingent relatedness."

Scholars have used different metaphors to describe networks, mobilities, and societies, yet much of this work has lacked "empirical specification" of how such metaphors function in the world (Sheller 2004, 47). In Vignettes 3 and 4, I will provide empirical examples based on my fieldwork. For Vignette 3, I examine how protest participants used their stationary bodies to create an anti-war message. Unlike hand-held signs and other forms of individual practice, each stationary body was one piece of a coordinated and larger assemblage of arranged bodies spelling out the phrase, "Mom says NO WAR." The result was not necessarily meant for instant, on-the-ground appreciation. Rather, the aerial image of "Mom says NO WAR" has been archived electronically and can thus be revisited beyond its original time and place via the Internet. For Vignette 4, I am interested in placed objects designed to represent the casualties of war, what I will refer to as a protest installation. I am using the term installation as a layperson to describe objects that have been assembled in a specific place, so a user can experience a sense of immersion with the objects, their meanings, and their surroundings. With that stated I take the

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idea of a protest installation and apply it to the notions of mobility and immobility. I will do this by exploring how this seemingly immobile protest installation transcended feelings of life and death while they resonated loudly an anti-war ideology.

Vignette 3: Stationary Protest Bodies and Seemingly Immobile Practices

Code Pink (2010a), described as "a women-initiated grassroots peace and social justice movement," organized a Mother's Day protest in 2006 entitled "24-Hour Mother's Day Vigil at the White House" on 13 May 2006.[28] After a brief rally in Lafayette Park, Code Pink members and other participants marched to the Ellipse, an expansive, circular open space located south of the White House.[29] As we marched east on Pennsylvania Avenue NW and turned south on 17th Street NW, several protesters greeted passers by saying "Happy Mother's Day" (Field notes: 15.1.1-4). When participants arrived at the Ellipse, Code Pink members had already created a large, rectangular perimeter using elongated cardboard boxes arranged end-to-end representing life-sized human "coffins." Over each coffin was draped an American flag (Field note: 15.2.5). Once inside the rectangular perimeter, Code Pink members, inspired by aerial artist John Quigley (n.d.), coordinated protest participants to lie on the ground in a specific arrangement—which spelled out "Mom says NO WAR" (Field note: 15.3.1), with the words "NO WAR" in capital letters.

Code Pink's display took place in public, but organizers maintained a rigid boundary, making the event semi-private and participation exclusive. While in preparation for the aerial photography, no one was really free to join or to leave, which created a temporary insider/outsider relationship. As a passive observer during this event, I had no choice in being an

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[28] Mother's Day is the second Sunday in May. The "24-Hour Mother's Day Vigil at the White House" was a weekend-long event. I conducted this fieldwork on Saturday 13 May 2006.

[29] The Ellipse is perhaps better known as the location of the annual National Christmas Tree Lighting ceremony.

outsider. However, for the installation to succeed, participants' personal mobility needed to be highly uniform and constrained, which is in contrast to typical protests that thrive on individual spectacle and spontaneity.

Protest participants lined up into position with the American-flagged "coffins" as the aerial image's frame (Figure 4.10, left). An oblique, on-the-ground angle shows the bottom-side of the "N" in "Mom says NO WAR." From this perspective, the placement of human bodies in a still, silent, and seemingly lifeless display surrounded by American flag-draped "coffins" with the White House at the top of the image is provocative (Figure 4.10, right). According to the Democracy Cell Project (n.d.), a non-profit organization that promotes citizen participation and progressive politics, photographer Sam Utne is credited for the aerial image. Taken from a helicopter, the aerial image of the Ellipse shows protesters' bodies spelling "Mom says NO WAR" with the White House in the upper-right corner—together depicting an anti-war statement juxtaposed with, and in opposition to, state policies represented by the symbolic icon.[30]

Code Pink has modified what organizations such as NOW have done in the past, which is to establish an alternative to the mobile practice of public protests in Washington. Unlike the traditional mobile participant, these participants' stationary bodies are momentarily fixed in the landscape similar to the White House in the background. On the ground, the juxtaposition for me between the anti-war statement and the symbolic icon became more striking, as I was not distracted by the continuous movement of people. Also, the participants rested collectively, as a singular body, giving the visual impression that the approximately 200 individual protesters created a larger event than what would have occurred had they been mobile.

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[30] See Democracy Cell Project (n.d.) in References for a link to the image. The image is also available at Code Pink's website at: http://www.codepinkalert.org/article.php?id=984, accessed 8 February 2011. I have sent an email to Code Pink asking permission to use their image. I have not received a response at this time.

Figure 4.10: Code Pink participants on the Ellipse during the "24-Hour Mother's Day Vigil at the White House" on 13 May 2006 (Images: 15-11 and 15-15, photos by author).

Kesselring's (2006) work on freelance journalists reveals a number of mobile practices. Germane to Code Pink's "24-Hour Mother's Day Vigil at the White House" protest, Kesselring identifies what he refers to as virtual mobility management where freelance journalists rely upon the Internet and other technologies to connect with informants. Kesselring (2006, 274) describes one freelance journalist who works from her home office: "In a certain sense she seems to be immobile. She is a nonmover and does not travel." For the "Mom says NO WAR" component, participants' lack of physical movement appears immobile relative to conventional, movement-based practices of protesters walking down the street. However, Code Pink's participants were active in that the collective arrangement of their bodies created a virtual performance extending beyond the space of the Ellipse and time of the Mother's Day event.

The Democracy Cell Project (n.d.) is just one of a few web sites storing Utne's aerial image (see also Code Pink 2010b; Sacramento for Democracy 2009; Dishpan Chronicles n.d.), with some sites having blogs for people to comment. This virtual mobility allows organizers and protest participants a wider audience, especially in the news media (Cottle 2008). Public protests remain dependent upon physical mobility, for organizers and protesters participating in the "24-Hour Mother's Day Vigil at the White House" event still walked to the Ellipse. However, the

"Mom says NO WAR" display appears seemingly immobile but was transformed to become virtually mobile with the potential to empower community networks (Longan 2005) and facilitate connections among strangers (Wilken 2010).

Some mobilities scholarship calls for a reexamination of public and private spheres, arguing that certain modes of travel, such as by automobile, and advancements in communication and information technologies are better understood as public-private hybrids (Sheller and Urry 2003; Sheller 2004). Mobile-based technologies allowed protest organizers and participants during the "Mom says NO WAR" display to perform a public-private hybrid with their bodies, beyond direct sight and earshot of an immediate public but also potentially into the private lives of those not physically present at the event. In this case, "People can now access 'public information' from 'private spaces' because of the availability of digital networks of electronic data and images" (Sheller and Urry 2003, 116). To be sure, images of public protests have existed long before our current technologies, as Barber (2002) has noted with the televised live broadcast of the 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom." Our current technologies, however, have facilitated new forms of democratic expression, such as with the Internet and blogs, where someone may view and engage with a public event from a private location—for those who have access.

These new forms of democratic expression eschew the embodied practice of (re)creating landscapes however seemingly immobile, so perhaps Sheller (2004, 50) is too favoring towards public-private hybrids, as she argues that "Publics are no longer usefully envisioned as the open spaces or free spaces in which diverse participants could gather—the democratic spaces of the street, the square, or the town hall." Such democratic spaces, however, often facilitate opportunities for in-person interactions, interactions that may produce immersed lived experiences. Vignette 4, then, examines how the silence and immobility of physical objects,

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specifically boots and shoes of fallen soldiers and other casualties of war, resonated a loud anti-war message in the public spaces of the National Mall in Washington.

Vignette 4: Silence and Immobility

During four days in May 2006, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker organization dedicated to the political ideologies of nonviolence and social justice, created an exhibit—what I am calling a protest installation—entitled "Eyes Wide Open" on the grounds of the National Mall in Washington.[31] The organizers had an information booth along with a stage for political speakers and musicians, but its main theme were the thousands of black military boots and random pairs of shoes arranged in tidy rows as "an exhibition on the human cost of the Iraq war" (AFSC n.d.). And, as with an art installation, people were free to walk within the rows and closely examine the boots and shoes, as many did (Figure 4.11).
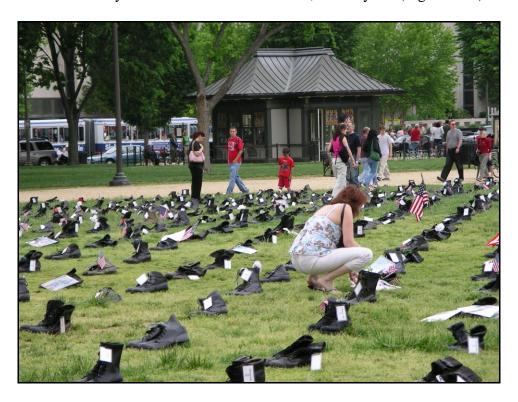

Figure 4.11: A participant looking at a pair of military boots during the "Eyes Wide Open" event on 13 May 2006 (Image 16-49, photo by author).

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[31] I conducted this fieldwork on 13 May 2006, which occurred on the same day, and prior to, Code Pink's "24-Hour Mother's Day Vigil at the White House."

Each pair of black boots represented one U.S. military casualty, which, according to a sign adjacent to the installation, accounted for 2,437 service men and women. Attached to every pair of black boots was a white identification tag stating rank, name, age at death, and state of residence (Figure 4.12, left). For me, and as I will elaborate in the following paragraphs, I was struck by the age at death and state of residence printed on each identification tag: age at death reminded me of my mortality and state of residence piqued my curiosity about people and places. The random shoes represented a sample of the Iraqi civilian casualties, which also had white identification tags, but many of their names and ages were unknown. Organizers also placed smaller shoes among Iraqi civilian casualties to represent children (Figure 4.12, right). Here, organizers listed the name of "Zahra Ahmed Alsaode" on a white identification tag and attached it to a pair of small, red rain boots. Regardless that Zahra's age was listed as "unknown," the small boots were a striking reminder that children have also been killed in the war in Iraq.

Figure 4.12: A pair of military boots and a child's-sized pair of red rain boots during the "Eyes Wide Open" event on 13 May 2006 (Images: 16-10 and 16-4, photos by author).

That afternoon of 13 May, I strolled around the installation, walked along with a group of silent protesters, observed, jotted field notes, took pictures, and chatted with several people. What I noticed first was silence. I have attended dozens of protests on the National Mall, been to concerts, played kickball, and enjoyed fireworks—the Mall is not usually a quiet place.

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Although I could hear the sounds of accelerating bus engines and car horns off in the distance, the silence in and around the installation was, for me, moving (Field note: 16.1.1). Thinking back, the protest installation differed from other events that encourage participants to engage with sound. Silence was not a lack or an absence but instead a presence—a presence spatially focused on the immediate but still realizing its surroundings.

The sound composition entitled *4'33"* by American composer John Cage reveals silence as more than the absence of sound. Cage's performances of *4'33"* were in themselves silent, for he did not play any actual notes. Rather, his audiences sat in music auditoriums surrounded not by the absence of sound but by aural sensations, or background noises, produced in their environments for four minutes and 33 seconds (Ingham et al. 1999; Smith 2000a). Similarly, the protest installation produced no sound, but its silence was enhanced by the differentiation between it and the distant yet audible city noise. Although the boots and shoes appeared silent and still, I could hear the omnipresent mobility of Washington as automobile engines accelerated, planes flew overhead, and drivers honked their horns at those who were not mobile enough.

Participants interacted by walking within the rows of boots. Several individuals knelt down to hold and read nametags while others placed boots upright that had fallen limp (Field note: 16.2.1). Many took pictures and some wept (Field notes: 16.6.3-5). I asked an AFSC volunteer if the boots were once worn by the deceased. He pointed out that if they were actual boots from the war in Iraq, they would be tan, similar to the color of desert sand and added that some families of fallen soldiers donated boots but most were from random donors (Field note: 16.1.5). Regardless whether the boots were authentic, footwear denotes physical movement and mobility.

Boots are to be worn; they imply work—of doing. Boots also imply protection, safeguarding the feet from an array of potential hazards while doing work. Moreover, military boots reflect modernity and mobility: modernity of the state and its ready mobility to attack or defend. Organizers arranged the black boots in a uniform and precise order resembling the street grid of a city (Figure 4.13), evoking modern and mobile sensibilities (see Cresswell 2006). The U.S. Capitol in the background housed the legislative body that voted overwhelmingly to mobilize for war. Once in battle, the wear and tear of military boots represents movement, each blemish a story of mobility. Instead, the installation's military boots and civilian shoes represented a ghostly presence of the dead and their immobility—an immobility that also signified the cost of the war in Iraq, not in a quantifiable, monetary value but the in the priceless loss of human life.

Figure 4.13: Rows of military boots with the U.S. Capitol in the background during the "Eyes Wide Open" event on 13 May 2006 (Image 16-9, photo by author).

Even though the boots and shoes were physically immobile, and for me all the deceased were strangers, I still felt confronted by imagined relationships with people and places. Urry (2000) describes how television has blurred what is public and what is private, citing Princess Diana of Wales as an example of a public figure who has metaphorically entered the private homes and lives of millions. Diana's fairytale wedding and tragic death were events that still resonate with many people, most of whom have never met Diana. "As a consequence," Urry (2000, 69) states: "we imagine ourselves sharing events, experiences and personalities with many others, with whom we constitute certain kinds of community." In this sense, wandering within the installation triggered a sense of imaginative mobility—one that, because of the immobile footwear, represented military and civilian deaths thousands of miles from Washington.

Although the organizers of the "Eyes Wide Open" exhibit constructed their installation on the National Mall in Washington rendering the exhibit physically immobile, the notions of death represented by the hundreds of boots and shoes resonated beyond the battlefields of Iraq. AFDC has created similar "Eyes Wide Open" installations in more than 60 other U.S. cities (AFDC n.d.). Perhaps its success is the ability to engage one's imagination in making abstract deaths tangible. Being in the United States and seeing the boots, without any military affiliation, produced a spatial connection with another place independent from physical experience, in this case Iraq.

Bissell (2007, 278) argues that mobilities scholarship is dominated by "productivist" notions that imply passivity when not being mobile. Rather, Bissell suggests moving beyond mobile-immobile relationships to instead "consider relative embodied *activity* or *action*" (2007, 284, original emphasis). Although the physically immobile boots and shoes represented lives lost, the fallen are nonetheless active in the memories of their respective families and friends. In my position, as a stranger, "mobility and immobility are profoundly relational and experiential"

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(Adey 2006, 83) in that the fallen had become acknowledged by the white tags indicating each

soldier's name, age, and hometown—and with some pairs of boots, people had attached placards

showing images of soldiers and their families (Figure 4.14). Hence, the mobile-immobile action

of the fallen reinvigorated a new awareness for participants, as it did with me, who engaged with

the installation.

Figure 4.14: Boots representing a fallen soldier, accompanied by a bouquet of flowers and mosaic of images depicting the soldier and his family during the "Eyes Wide Open" event on 13 May 2006 (Image: 16-22, photo by author).

Conclusion

In conclusion, public protests are expressed by their mobility, but mobility is more than

just physical movements among participants as they walk through a city's streets. Public

protests also reveal the underlying influence of law enforcement's ability to spatially facilitate

and constrain mobility. However, constraints are not dichotomously positioned against

facilitation, where mobility becomes a zero-sum game. Constraints on mobility and access to

public spaces are common during protests, even legal and permitted events, but this should not

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imply that all actions by law enforcement curtail participants' right to peaceably assemble. Rather, law enforcement is in place to facilitate participant's movement, particularly during large events with thousands of people.

In showing the complexity of public protests, participants' mobility also varies. The "Hands off Venezuela and Cuba" and "Defend the People of Lebanon & Palestine" protests revealed how I had a greater range of mobility by not being perceived as a protester, thus facilitating a spatial privilege. I could have, as I did during other events, taken on a more protester-like role, which would have constrained my mobility, as it had done with others.

I have described in Chapter 3 that for me walking in a public protest produced feelings of exhilaration. Although Adey (2010) writes that, as a practice, we are rarely aware of our mobilities. However, I knew that I was taking a chance when I walked out into the street during the "Hands off Venezuela and Cuba" protest or when I crossed the police buffer at the "Defend the People of Lebanon & Palestine" event. Both times I walked gingerly and felt exposed, concerned that I might be confronted by a police officer, yet I did it anyway. Mobility therefore elicits embodied sensations—here I was testing my mobility, and it was thrilling.

Protest organizers also use a lack of physical movement—or immobility—to perform public protests. Code Pink's "24-Hour Mother's Day Vigil" arranged participants in a still manner to project their anti-war message to a larger audience. With Code Pink's event, technological advancements facilitated a virtual presence in the public realm, whereby "individuals increasingly exist beyond their private bodies" (Sheller and Urry 2003, 116). In a similar use of immobility, but fostering a different public-private relationship, organizers for AFSC constructed a stationary protest installation entitled "Eyes Wide Open" where participants were allowed to engage with the boots and shoes that represented those who died in the war in Iraq. Participants were also able to act spontaneously in their engagement with the installation in

that some walked along the perimeter, while others knelt to touch the leather boots and read the names of the fallen. The silence and immobility of objects symbolizing the thousands of lives lost because of war resonated beyond the battlefields of Iraq; and although the installation was located in the public spaces of the National Mall, the experience was, at least for me, intensely private.

I have shown in this chapter that protest participants engage mobilities in a variety of ways. Indeed, mobility is the standard with walking as the traditional practice among participants. To generate additional attention, however, organizers have developed other creative forms that upset the mobile tradition yet still attempt to (re)create space, as during the "24-Hour Mother's Day Vigil" event and "Eyes Wide Open" installation. Here, organizers' use of stillness was not positioned against movement and mobility (see Bissell 2007) but engaged participants in equally meaningful ways. In the next chapter, I build upon participants' mobile practices to show how groups and individuals perform protests, and how these performances also interact with material objects in the built environment and (re)create space in Washington's monumental landscape.

Chapter Five
Performing Public Protests

During the "Drive out the Bush Regime!" on 5 October 2006, dozens of protesters had set up a staged "crime scene" using yellow police tape along Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House (Figure 5.1). One participant shouted loudly towards the White House: "George Bush, come out with your hands up" (Field note: 30.6.2). Four protesters dressed in horizontally black-and-white-stripped outfits resembling prison uniforms. Connecting the protesters was a thick, black plastic chain that, along with the uniform, portrayed a prison chain gang. Each protester wore a giant papier-mâché head depicting a cartoonish caricature of the president and three high-ranking members of his Cabinet.[32] A fifth person wearing a "George W. Bush" mask and dressed as the Devil occasionally took a plastic pitch fork and poked the "Dick Cheney" caricature in the back. All the while, protesters marched in a semi-circle around the prison chain gang chanting, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, George Bush has got to go" (Field note: 30.6.4). A few minutes later, one protester, speaking through a megaphone and referring to the Bush administration, announced: "This regime is guilty," and most protesters responded by repeatedly chanting "guilty" (Field notes: 30.6.4-5).

The Chain Gang, as they were called, was engaged in a performance satirizing the president and three high-ranking members of his cabinet as criminals whose military involvement in Iraq[33] they deemed unlawful. In lay terms, performance is often synonymous with entertainment, as "a tangible, bounded event that involves the presentation of rehearsed artistic action," and by this definition performance falls sharply along active and passive roles

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[32] During my fieldwork in Washington, DC, between June 2005 and October 2006, these high-ranking members included: President George W. Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

[33] Although U.S. troops were also in Afghanistan, the protests I attended from 2005 to 2006 focused overwhelmingly on Iraq.

where an actor performs and the audience observes (Bial 2004, 57). Figure 5.1 shows the actors—the Chain Gang—performing in front of an audience. However, people were also engaged in the performance as they spoke through a megaphone, unrolled yellow police tape, and repeated chants—or, as most people did, stood around and watched. Those who embraced the out-of-the-spotlight roles were participants nonetheless. In this chapter, I will show that performing public protests is a cultural practice that enacts a form of American democratic ideals. But more than just observable actions, this cultural practice also reveals specific and embodied norms through its performative expressions.

Figure 5.1: A protest "crime scene" in front of the White House during the "Drive out the Bush Regime!" protest on 5 October 2006 (Image: 30-129, photo by author).

In this chapter on performing public protests, I begin by broadly defining performance and then transition into how geographers have examined performance spatially. Drawing from my field work, I then provide examples of performance during public protests, specifically participants' use of visual materials, such as hand-held signs and acts of satire, followed by

chanting and other auditory tactics. I conclude the section on performance by showing that public protests are ephemeral events. In the second half of this chapter, I introduce Judith Butler's work along with theoretical contributions by geographers on performativity. I argue, using performativity as a theoretical tool, that participants' engagement with patriotism is a reiteration of shared norms—one that performativity can help to understand. To support my argument, I will show how participants' expressions of patriotism (re)create space and elaborate upon some of the contentious relationships between anti-war protesters and counter protesters. In the end, these performances—as I have interpreted them—are part of an embodied practice of ephemeral and recurring protests, creatively working with and against material objects in Washington's monumental landscape.

Performance's Broad Spectrum

The title of this section borrows from performance studies scholar Richard Schechner (2004, 7), and his argument that performance, as distinguished from other kinds of entertainment—the lay term I used to describe the actor-audience relationship during a performance—represents "a broad spectrum of activities including at the very least the performing arts, rituals, healing, sports, popular entertainments, and performances in everyday life." Performance, then, is more than observing or participating in an act. As Schechner (2004) suggests, performance is a means of deeper examination of cultural and historical processes. It is through performance's broad spectrum that I have borrowed a theoretical framework to understand public protests in Washington, DC.

Performance's Broad Spectrum

For sociologist and historian Charles Tilly (2008), performance is a means to understand a group's collective grievances, grievances directed towards more powerful institutions or the state, and how these grievances can change over time. Such grievances are part of a learned

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performance of collective actions that reveal themselves through a host of situations, such as

petitions, workers' strikes, and protests, comprising what Tilly refers to as a repertoire. As a

repertoire, a group may rely upon different situations, meaning that the "same people who march

through the streets also sometimes petition" (Tilly 2008, 14)—as did, for example, Jacob Coxey

with his "Good Roads Bill" and subsequent march to Washington (Barber 2002). (In Coxey's

case, his interest was in petitioning Congress for a federal jobs program; the bill and protest were

means of expressing his petition.)

Tilly's (2008) use of repertoire is congruent with my use of practice—the customary and

habitual actions that inform human engagement—and from Tilly I will make the distinction

between performance and practice. For Tilly, performances are part of a repertoire. During

public protests, for example, how people perform—from participants marching in a highly

organized procession in front of spectators to a less-formal group of participants walking within

a pre-determined route—will change over time, but the overall practice (or repertoire) is more

durable in that it tends to remain the same. To be sure, there are strong and weak repertoires, but

if a repertoire does change, notes Tilly (2008, 202), it "occurs[s] incrementally rather than in

sudden bursts." Walking, therefore, has been one of the underlying practices of public protests

in Washington, even though participants' performances continue to reveal changes. Examining

performance's broad spectrum as seen in public protests in Washington, DC, then, is an attempt

to understand how participants' expressions of dissent form part of a recurring yet ephemeral

practice that (re)creates space in Washington's memorial landscape.

To use performance as a theoretical tool to engage with public protests is also to

acknowledge how participants use public space, and, moreover, who is allowed and not allowed

to participate. In my field work, I have found that public protests in Washington are generally

inclusive—bystanders can become part of these events. Participants frequently invite bystanders

to become engaged in protesting. For example, just after the start of the "United for Peace &

Justice" protest on 24 September 2005, hundreds of bystanders had gathered on the sidewalk

along 15th Street NW, many with cameras taking pictures of the passing protesters. Some

protesters directing their attention towards the bystanders and began to chant: "Join us for peace,

off the sidewalk and on the street," which sounded like both an invitation and a demand (Field

note: 4.4.2). Protesters would also lend their extra signs to participants. During the "Local is the

Global: Confront Those Who Profit from Poverty" protest on 14 September 2006 an organizer

announced through his megaphone: "If you don't have a sign, you can borrow one of mine"

(Field note: 24.1.4). At larger events, such as the "Silence of the Dead, Voices of the Living"

protest on 13 May 2006, organizers had piles of free hand-held signs for participants to use

(Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Organizer's hand-held signs available to protest participants during the "Silence of
the Dead, Voices of the Living" protest on 13 May 2006 (Image 16-19, photo by author).

Barber (2002) has noted that even though protest organizers strive to include multiple

coalitions and diverse populations during their events, organizers may still find themselves at

odds with other groups. For example, some criticized anti-war protests in the 1960s for being

overly white and male and a1992 pro-choice demonstrations came under fire for its

disproportionate representation of affluent, white females (Barber 2002). Later in this chapter, I

will expand upon how groups representing different political ideologies perform patriotism and,

as a result of their performances, are segregated from each other by the police. With that in

mind, performance's broad spectrum is just that—an array of related actions, creating layers

within public protests and their participants' actions.

Performance in Geography

Geographers have used performance as a theoretical tool to understand how embodied

human activity is enmeshed within social and cultural practices (Pratt 2009a). As a theoretical

tool, performance relies upon the body to express day-to-day meanings and experiences,

reflecting normative practices yet allowing for creative improvisations that take place in real

time, or what Thrift (2000, 577) refers to as "The art of producing the now." As a research

method, performance is communicated through the body doing, which is different from—but

nonetheless complements—other qualitative methods that are communicated through text, such

as focus groups and interviews (Thrift 2000). Similarly, Pratt (2009a, 526) emphasizes

performance as "witnessing," which relies less on a subject's formal description of her

surroundings and more on her doing within her cultural and social world.

Geographers have been actively engaged in using performance in their empirical work on

spatial practices. Much of the literature in geography engages with conscious performances by

the subject, such as Pine's (2010) work on immigrant Dominican grocers appeasing their

predominately American-born customers. Underlying such performances are notions of

citizenship—to learn and adapt not only to a new country but catering to specific norms within economically disadvantaged neighborhoods. Mahtani (2002) shows how performing "mixed-race" identities reveals complex social and bodily practices. Moreover, such practices are potentially disrupted, making their performances ephemeral. Turner and Manderson's (2007) study, in turn, examines how performance is embodied through reiterative exposure to hegemonic norms of what some law students aspire to become when they mingle with professional attorneys. In the three examples above, as with protest participants, performance (re)creates spatial relationships among people as they express and embody specific cultural practices.

To represent performance visually, geographers and others have used photographs to capture images of participants during social-justice demonstrations (Houston and Pulido 2002) and diagrams to trace where law students networked within prestigious social gatherings (Turner and Manderson 2007). Similar to their work, I too will articulate people's socio-spatial performances by drawing from field notes and photos. I do this to reveal how protest participants engage in visual and aural performances to (re)create a practiced landscape in the midst of the monumental landscape. I begin with the sights of public protests and some participants' uses of their own material objects to engage with the built environment.

Sights of Public Protests

The individual hand-held sign has become an iconic image—and staple—of performing public protest in Washington. For example, protest marshals for the 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" urged participants to carry signs with the event organizers' pre-written statements. And, to give the protest more of a sense of urgency, statements on the pre-made signs concluded with the word "NOW!" in all-capital letters and punctuated by an exclamation point. "In this new style of demonstration," Barber (2002, 164) explains, "signs

took on a new role, allowing the large crowd to convey a unified message," a uniform message that was being broadcast to a still larger audience by the media.

Protest participants carried hand-held signs as a part of the "Silence of the Dead, Voices of the Living" protest on 13 May 2006. I have intentionally selected an image that does not show the messages on the back of the signs and for this reason: What an individual sign states is of less significance than the number of participants carrying signs (Figure 5.3, left). As with the civil-rights protests in the 1960s, the greater number of people carrying signs conveys a sense of unity. Taken from the front of the protest, many participants are carrying signs, yet it is difficult to read an individual sign's statement—granted this is due to camera angle, distance, and framing coupled with the image's size. However, what is visible is the appearance of participant unity where individuals have banded to together to express dissent and collectively perform the established tradition of American public protests (Figure 5.3, right).

Figure 5.3: Protest participants walking on the National Mall during the "Silence of the Dead, Voices of the Living" protest on 13 May 2006 (Images: 16-36 and 16-25, photos by author).

Signs also allow for bodily extension. Here, I am borrowing geographer David Bissell's (2009a) concept of prosthetics and passengers' physical mobility within train stations in

Britain.[34] In Bissell's case, prosthetics represent passengers' tote carriers, such as bags and

suitcases, used during travel. For Bissell, prosthetics become an extension of the passenger, and

as such, give the ability to transport personal belongings, yet the prosthetic also impairs

movement. To some degree, signs are cumbersome,[35] but as a prosthetic device, signs enhance

performing protest by making one's statement heightened and more visible, similar to billboards

along a highway.

Participants' signs during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005

stand out as some signs appear to hover overhead among the mass of moving bodies (Figure 5.4).

The sign as a prosthetic extension serves to not only show a uniform message to bystanders or to

the media, but the signs also represent collective support among likeminded participants. In this

way, signs:

> [B]ecome tools of resistance, as words and pictures are included in the repertoire of
> artistic props. Slogans, quips, and humorous musings about world leaders attract the eye
> of fellow protesters who once again experience the protest as both a fellow marcher and
> an audience member. (Lott 2003, 198)

In addition to signs, satire is a playful means of protest, one that pokes fun at political

folly. Here, also during the "United for Peace & Justice" on 24 September 2005, a participant is

wearing a mask to depict then President George W. Bush, and atop his head is a king's crown

(Figure 5.5). The crown is painted in gold, presumably to resemble the precious metal, and

encrusted with imitation plastic jewels around the bottom perimeter with the numbers "666"

written on the front likening the president to the Devil from the Bible's Book of Revelation. The

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[34] Bissell does not explicitly reference the origin of prosthesis as a theoretical trope, although an
earlier work by French social theorist Bruno Latour (2004, 67, original emphasis) describes a
nonhuman "speech prosthesis." For an overview of prosthesis as a theoretical trope, see Jain
(1999).

[35] I recall boarding a METRO train with several passengers toting protest signs. Their signs
were so large that they partially blocked the isle and prohibited others from sitting in the adjacent
seats.

"George W. Bush" character is holding an inflatable Earth under his right arm, and in his left

hand (not shown) is a plastic oil container for automotive engines, which he occasionally drank

from—presumably to show his thirst for oil. Walking behind the "George W. Bush" character is

a participant wearing a mask to depict then Vice President Dick Cheney. The "Dick Cheney"

character is acting as a puppeteer controlling the strings of marionette "George W. Bush."

Unlike traditional marionette performances, the puppeteer here is revealed. Both are wearing

round pins on their right lapels: the "George W. Bush" character's pin states "If I only had a

brain" and the "Dick Cheney" character's pin states "If I only had a heart." Both statements

represent a double entendre: the president as somewhat dim, and the vice president as heartless.[36]

The two statements also reference L. Frank Baum's 1900 novel *The Wizard of Oz* and the desire

for the Scarecrow and the Tin Man to find a brain and heart, respectively.

Figure 5.4: Protesters' signs as prosthetic extensions during the "United for Peace & Justice"
protest on 24 September 2005 (Image: 4.18, photo by author).

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[36] See Washington Post staff writer Philip Kennicott (2003) for protest participants' use of
puppets to satirize political figures.

The "George W. Bush" and "Dick Cheney" characters are performing a political satire, one that is playful and for some entertaining. These participants are performing public protests by exposing the folly of elected officials while simultaneously disassociating themselves from conventional activism; as a result, they are engaged in "ironic practices" that are "part of a strategy to *denounce*, but *without preaching*" (Lechaux 2010, 176, original emphasis). One of Lechaux's (2010) case studies examined Billionaires for Bush, a satirical group that often perform wearing tuxedoes or evening gowns and smoking cigars and/or drinking Champagne. Displaying signs or engaging in banter, participants in Billionaires for Bush appear to support conservative ideologies and conspicuous excess. The result is playful and reflects "an ironic embodiment of what the organization denounces, i.e., the excessive accumulation of wealth" (Lechaux 2010, 178).

Figure 5.5: Protesters engaged in satire during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005 (Image 4-24, photo by author).

Other means of performing public protest are a direct action against authority—direct

action being a tactic of non-violent confrontation where a small group of protesters attempt to

temporarily destabilize the power relationship between the police and protest participants (Bogad

2010; Routledge 2004). For example, members of the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army

(CIRCA) dress as clowns and playfully engage with law enforcement by blowing kisses at

officers, kissing police riot shields (leaving a lipstick mark), and cleaning officers' boots with

feather dusters (Bogad 2010; Routledge 2004)—tactics that normal protest participants would

not likely do because of the threat for arrest or worse. CIRCA's intentions, however, were

twofold: first, to show protester playfulness juxtaposed with police seriousness; and, second, to

use their playfulness to counter media images that frequently portray protesters as violent and

destructive (Bogad 2010).

Public protests are often encoded with multiple meanings and symbolic actions

(Routledge 1996a), which manifest through performance. Activists and other participants

protested a proposed highway extension through a forested green space south of Glasgow, UK.

Based on the archaeological site Stonehenge, participants half-buried nine automobiles front

down; one in the center and eight circling the perimeter, creating a "*hybrid symbol of resistance*"

that Routledge refers to as "Carhenge" (1996a, 101, original emphasis).[37] The cars were

eventually lit on fire as a means of celebration and resistance; their ironic immobility in lieu of a

proposed highway extension designed to facilitate physical movement and their charred shells

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[37] "Carhenge" is reminiscent of the landscape art created in 1974 by artists Chip Lord, Hudson
Marquez, and Doug Michels known as Cadillac Ranch and located in the High Plains near
Amarillo, Texas, where Lord, Marquez, and Michels placed a row of ten, half-buried Cadillacs
front down. Lord, Hudson, and Michels were partners in Art Farm, a San Francisco-based group
interested in experimental architecture and design. Cadillac Ranch was commissioned by
Stanley Marsh 3, a local advocate for public art (see Gruwez [1995] 1998; Evans-Cowley and
Nasar 2003).

symbolizing environmental degradation complemented each another as a warning to what participants envisioned as "Carmaggedon" (Routledge 1996a).

One example of hybrid symbolism occurred when investigative journalist, Seymour Hersh (2004), reported on abuses that some U.S. Military officers inflicted upon Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib prison, located twenty miles outside of Baghdad.[38]   In March of 2005, and after much media attention regarding Abu Ghraib, then President George W. Bush went on record for the first time stating: "This country [the United States] does not believe in torture" (quoted by Priest 2005, A1). Four protesters performed hybrid symbolism based on media images from Abu Ghraib during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 26 September 2005 (Figure 5.6). Here, protest participants, wearing orange prison jumpsuits and heads covered with black hoods, were kneeling on the ground; their hands tied behind their backs and held by plastic restraints. The juxtaposition between the White House in the background with the brightly colored "prisoners" is striking: the White House as the place where the Executive Branch of the United States government makes decisions regarding military issues in Iraq, and the protesters performing prisoner conditions as a means of expressing dissent against the president and his administration. And because of its juxtaposition, it became an ironic performance space representing freedom of speech and public assembly through torture and imprisonment.

This also shows how protesters and participants created a temporary performance space during an event. Participants had surrounded the protest performers, creating a buffer and similar to Bial's (2004) description of an actor-audience relationship earlier in this chapter. Media photographers and others took pictures of protesters with the White House in the background. Although not a playful performance as with CIRCA (Bogad 2010; Routledge 2004)

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[38] The CBS television show, *60 Minutes 2*, also broadcast several images described in Hersh's essay the week before his publication in *The New Yorker* on 10 May 2004 (see Hersh 2004).

or as celebratory (Routledge (1996a), protesters in the orange jumpsuits at the "United for Peace

& Justice" event nonetheless (re)created a visual denunciation of power (Lechaux 2010).

Figure 5.6: Protesters performing torture in front of the White House during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest on 26 September 2005 (Images 6-23 and 6-25, photos by author).

Sounds of Public Protests

Geographers and other scholars note that the reliance upon sight and the visual has

dominated inquiry within the social sciences (Back 2003; Smith 2000a; Ingham et al. 1999).

Sound in cultural geography, especially music, is often subordinate to analysis of lyrics and their

meanings—its texts—or as an underlying component of social gatherings such as music

festivals; rarely is sound examined for its sonic qualities or its ability to help enable the

construction of social spaces (Revill 2000). Yet sound, and how participants perform sound, is

an important component of public protests.[39]

Aside from walking, the easiest way to participate in a public protest is by chanting along

with others. Unlike visual forms of performance, chanting does not require physical accessories,

just a willingness to engage. Chanting takes several forms, perhaps the most stereotyped is the

call-and-response form. Stemming from sub-Saharan Africa, this vocal and instrumental

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[39] I am defining sound as atmospheric waves audible to the human ear, including subjective definitions of music, noise, etc.

tradition begins with an initial phrase by a single lead singer or musician, followed by a response phrase delivered by a group of singers or musicians who then alternate to and fro (Southern 1997). During the "Release Jailed Zimbabwean Trade Unionists" protest on 18 September 2006, one participant—amplified by using his bullhorn—initiated the following call-and-response: "What do you want?" he called. The participants responded: "Justice." He called again: "When do you want it?" The participants shouted: "Now" (Field note: 25.2.9). Chanting, through its unification, forces those participating in the chant into a temporary role of conformity. To do otherwise would create undecipherable noise.

This is not to imply that undecipherable noise is not a useful tactic during public protests. During the "State of Emergency Protest" on 31 January 2006, I had temporarily joined a group called World Can't Wait whose intention was to disrupt the president's state of the union address to Congress, which was broadcast live from the U.S. Capitol building. As a group, we did this by gathering just west of the U.S. Capitol building, attempting to make enough noise outside to produce an audible layer of noise during the live broadcast. Many protest participants brought drums or other things to bang on. I brought a metal pot and a thick piece of wood doweling that made an annoying, high-pitched 'tink' sound (Field notes: 10.1.3; 10.2.1). The idea was that, if dissent could not be seen on the live broadcast, it would surely be heard.[40]

During public protests, sounds have a distinct advantage over sights. First, with the exception of candlelight vigils, most signs are difficult to see at night. Protesters can create sound and/or noise at anytime. This gives protesters an advantage when they, under the cover of night, want to remain relatively anonymous and avoid police detection (Jansen 2001). For

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[40] I remember a few participants during the "State of Emergency" protests discussing whether our noise was audible on the live television broadcast. Using their cell phones, some participants contacted friends who were watching the president's state of the union address. Evidently, we were not audible.

example, during the 1990 democratic uprising in Nepal, nighttime blackout protests allowed

Kathmandu residents to verbally pass messages to one another across rooftops (Routledge 1994).

Second, sound allows protesters to create new territories upon already physically

controlled spaces (Jansen 2001). Protesters used whistles and other noise makers to express

dissent during the 1996-1997 Serbian uprising (Spasić and Pavićević 1997)—a tactic that

engages in a form of non-violent resistance (Erdei 1997). And, similar to my involvement

during the "State of Emergency" protest, protesters expressing dissent against the Milošević

regime gathered around state-run media buildings and used noisemakers to disrupt news

broadcasts (Jansen 2001; Pavlović and Bogdanović 1997).

A third advantage is that sounds need only to be within earshot to be participatory (Smith

2000a). In urban areas where buildings and other structures may limit a protest's visual

component, sound—literally—carries (Revill 2000). In this sense, it is possible to hear a protest

before seeing it. For example, I attended the "Counter Protest in DC Against Anti-Muslim

Group" on 30 April 2006. This counter protest was a response to a group protesting in front of

Al-Jazeera's television studio. The protest attracted several participants holding signs, yet I was

drawn to what sounded like people chanting, chanting that seemed to emanate from the White

House three blocks away. Then, on the next block, I saw groups of people walking towards the

White House, similar to what I had seen in the past, as if another protest was about to begin. I

decided to leave and caught up with a group who, it turned out, were not heading to a protest but

instead participating in a walk for breast cancer (Field notes: 13.1.4-5; 13.2.5). Thus, sounds, for

some protest participants (myself included), have had an alluring quality.

Sound is also projected through musical instruments, as with shows a man playing a

trombone at the "Drive out the Bush Regime!" protest shortly after participants constructed the

"crime scene" that I described at the beginning of this chapter (Figure 5.7). The trombone is

both his prosthetic and democratic voice while he participated in the protest. People during this

event had brought other instruments, specifically a clarinet and drums, and were playing

improvised music together. I also noticed people smiling, laughing, and engaging in

conversation; it appeared to me that participants were having fun (Field note: 30.6.8), similar to

the carnival-like atmosphere that others have noted about public protests (Dragićević-Šešić 1997;

Spasić and Pavićević 1997).

Figure 5.7: A protester playing a trombone during the "Drive out the Bush Regime!" event on 5
October 2006 (Image: 30-142, photo by author).

Smith (2000a) suggests using performance to examine music where musicians and

listeners create emotional spaces; and although meanings may vary among participants, a sense

of unity underlies the experience. For the "Drive out the Bush Regime!" event, only a handful of

participants brought their own instruments, and no others got to wear a papier-mâché bobble

head, but all participants had an opportunity to contribute to the protest's collective performance

through some exertion of sound.

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With few exceptions, public protests in Washington—their sights and sounds—are ephemeral performances.[41] For the most part, participants arrive; they participate; and, they leave. As Rose (1999, 250) states: "Performance, as an iterative act, assumes that no performance outlasts the moment of its acting; the act must be repeated in order to reassert its meaning and power again." Lafayette Park was both the staging point and terminus for a march around the White House during the "Defend the People of Lebanon & Palestine" protest on 12 August 2006. In the foreground, some participants discarded their signs into a trash receptacle, revealing the ephemeral nature of public protests (Figure 5.8). The image also shows a characteristic of the use and deposition of prosthetics, prosthetics that once aided in the protest's performance but have since become an encumbrance (Bissell 2009a). International-studies scholar, Anthony Lott (2003), describes public protests as an artful act of resistance with performers engaged in spontaneous improvisation, a description that implies an ephemeral quality. Lott (2003, 199) articulates: "Their signs will not find a place on the gallery wall, their songs will not be copied to disc, and their dramas will not receive billing at the community stage." The sights and sounds of participants that, just moments before, populated the streets of Washington performing a public protest have receded back to the sidewalks and the shade of Lafayette Park.

For these next sections, I will discuss feminist scholar Judith Butler's work on "performativity." I will then draw from performativity to theoretically engage with protesters' varying notions of patriotism that I exemplify with an extended case study. In it I will show that

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[41] One exception is Conception Picciotto who has continuously protested in front of the White House since 1981. She resides as "1601 Pennsylvania Ave." and is referred to as "The President's Neighbor." See, http://www.prop1.org/conchita/index.htm (last accessed 31 August 2010). Similarly, geographer John Paul Jones (2000, 456) tells a story about Jacqueline Smith who has been "living in protest" across the street from the Lorraine Motel (Memphis, TN) since 2 March 1988.

participants perform certain ideals of patriotism within strongly influential performative expressions, expressions that (re)create temporary protest spaces.

Figure 5.8: Hand-held sign disposal after the "Defend the People of Lebanon & Palestine" protest on 12 August 2006 (Image 20-157, photo by author).

Performativity and Public Protests

Butler's work on performativity has been influential for geographers attempting to understand embodied practices (Nash 2000). Here, I am drawing from Butler's (1993, 24, original emphasis) concept of performativity as a "*reiteration of norms*." Performativity for Butler stems from discourse analysis, where she focuses on gender as shaped by the citational practices that inscribe dominant social notions of sexuality (i.e., heterosexuality) upon the body, notions that are learned in social context and yet most often appear natural (Gregson and Rose 2000; Nash 2000; Pratt 2009b). Thus, to Butler, gender is less guided by individual agency as it is subjected to "historically embedded" identities and shared cultural practices (Pratt 2009b, 527).

Following other geographers (Rose 1999; Gregson and Rose 2000), I will use Butler's concept of performativity to articulate how space and embodied practices are interdependent in their (re)creation. From this, I argue that protest participants' visual and aural performances can also be conceived performatively—as reiterations of norms. Drawing from additional empirical data, I show that participants' use of material objects (e.g., the American flag) and aural tactics (e.g., chanting "USA") temporarily inscribe commonly accepted notions of patriotism upon their (re)created spaces. Other geographers have engaged in similar work. For example, Haller (2003) examined the masculine performance of demolition derbies and antiproduction, where cars are battered beyond function to then be repaired for the next event, and Smith (2000a) has argued that musical performances are not just aesthetic experiences but are also ways of creating temporary spaces.

In the following case study on performativity and patriotism, I evaluate two protest groups with divergent political ideologies that participated in a weekend of protests in Washington. I refer to one group as "anti-war protesters" to describe participants who were opposed to the U.S. war in Iraq, and the other group as "counter protesters" to describe participants who mobilized in support of the U.S. military operations in Iraq.

Performativity and Patriotism: (Re)creating Space

Scholars in the social sciences have analyzed statistical relationships comparing displays of the American flag with varying levels of nationalism and patriotism (Skitka 2005; Kemmelmeier and Winter 2008). Although these analyses present quantifiable results, they do not engage with how people experience patriotism and how the American flag engages that experience. As geographer Gerald Webster (2011) has empirically shown, the American flag and its many, stars-and-stripes variations are prominent features in the material landscape and represent notions of patriotism, especially since the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks upon the

United States. I am defining patriotism as one's love for her country (Kemmelmeier and Winter 2008, citing Bar-Tal 1993). Patriotism is personal; it is subjective and therefore open to an array of experiences, meanings, and practices. This general notion of patriotism was also an underlying theme during many of the public protests I attended in Washington, for it evoked the spirit of democracy in practice. In the following paragraphs, I will show how divergent groups and individuals engaged performatively with patriotism and how these engagements (re)created temporary protest spaces.

During my fieldwork in Washington, many of the verbal exchanges between anti-war protesters and counter protesters were based upon perceptions of patriotism. For example, since the 1990s yellow ribbons tied around trees and other objects have come to represent support for military personnel engaged in war, a practice that gained momentum during the U.S. operations in the Persian Gulf War. By 2003, a trend developed as many in the United States had placed magnetic representations of a yellow ribbon with the words "Support our Troops" on their vehicles to show solidarity (Jefferies 2003). During many of the larger anti-war protests I attended in Washington, counter protesters held signs stating "Support our Troops" to show solidarity with the service men and women in Iraq and Afghanistan in concert with support of the war as an act of patriotism.

As a counter narrative, activists in the anti-war movement distributed bumper stickers depicting an American flag with the words "Peace is Patriotic" (Dreier and Flacks 2003, 398). Anti-war protesters in general directed their dissent at the Bush administration's decision to go to war, not at the American troops. In fact, a small number of anti-war protesters were Iraq-war veterans. Compared to the counter protesters, the anti-war protest participants engaged in a different practice of dissent and held divergent ideals for what was patriotic. As an example, during the "United for Peace & Justice" on 26 September 2005 protest participants gathered on

the sidewalk of Pennsylvania Avenue NW, just north—and within direct sight—of the White House. The police gave orders to leave the sidewalk area, at which point several dozen protesters began to sit down. Law enforcement reacted by using police tape to create a perimeter around the resisting protesters (Field note: 6.2.7) and proceeded to arrest everyone inside at which point participants shouted, "We are proud of you" and "You're patriotic" (Field note: 6.3.6).

Over the fourth weekend in September 2005, anti-war activists organized the three-day "United for Peace & Justice" event. According to Charles H. Ramsey, the District of Columbia's Chief of Police, over 100,000 people participated in Saturday's protest (Smith and Abel 2005). During the same September 2005 weekend, supporters of the U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan organized a series of counter protests entitled "Support the Troops and Their Mission Weekend"[42] but with fewer participants—as one reporter cited just over 200 people (Dwyer 2005). Within the counter protests was the event "Rally to Honor Military Families" on 25 September 2005 (Figure 5.9), located in the National Mall, immediately west of 7th Street NW.[43]

The "Rally to Honor Military Families" event included a public-address system and podium for political speeches accompanied by a giant American flag for the backdrop. When I arrived, a few dozen anti-war protesters had gathered on the east side of 7th Street NW. With a

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[42] See Looking at the Left for images and more information, http://www.lookingattheleft.com/page/6/ (last accessed 7 March 2011). Some in the blogosphere referred to the "Support the Troops and Their Mission Weekend" as a counter protest and in response to the "United for Peace & Justice" protest, http://www.outsidethebeltway.com/support_the_troops_weekend/ (last accessed 16 April 2011). For clarity, I will refer to the "United for Peace & Justice" event as the anti-war protest(ers) and the "Support the Troops and Their Mission Weekend" event as the counter protest(ers).

[43] The U.S. Capitol building represents the center point of the District of Columbia's four quadrants. The "Rally to Honor Military Families" event (see Figure 4.9) was along 7th Street and straddled the boundary between the northwest and southwest quadrants. For simplicity, I am referring to this ambiguous boundary as 7th Street NW.

police presence of approximately two-dozen motorcycle officers, 7th Street NW became a boundary to segregate the two divergent groups. As the "Rally to Honor Military Families" event was winding down, a few counter protesters had turned their attention to the growing, and increasingly vociferous, anti-war protesters across the street. Now both groups taunted each other verbally from their respective sidewalks along 7th Street NW (Field notes: 5.1.2).

Figure 5.9: Counter protesters with the U.S. Capitol in the background during the "Rally to Honor Military Families" event on 25 September 2005 (Image 5-12, photo by author).

Along the east side of 7th Street NW, anti-war protesters chanted: "We love our troops—we want them home" (Field note: 5.1.4). In response, a few counter protesters held up white signs with red letters stating, "Support our Troops!" (Field note: 5.2.1). Other counter protesters chanted: "Bin Laden for president" (Field notes: 5.2.5), which I interpret as a play on former President George W. Bush's address to Congress days following the September 11th attacks on the United States. As the president stated in his speech: "Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists" (Office of the Press Secretary 2001), referring to countries that gave refuge to al

Qaeda-based terrorists. As a rhetorical device, "Bin Laden for president" declared any dissent by anti-war protesters towards U.S. foreign policy, and—for that matter—ideologies of status quo Americans, as sympathetic to terrorists and thus unpatriotic.

Social psychologist Michael Billig (1995, 18) argues that feelings of patriotism are cultivated by rhetoric, stating "To be recognizably brimful of patriotism one must have discourses of patriotism—that is, the phrases and stances which can be conventionally identifiable as 'patriotic'." In this sense, both sides had rhetorical tactics to use against the other. For example, anti-war protesters began to chant "War is not pro life" and "Thou shalt not kill," which played upon inherent contradictions within socially conservative ideologies. Counter protesters responded by singing the chorus of the 1942 Frank Loesser hit "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" followed by the "The Star-Spangled Banner" (Field note: 5.3.6). In all the exuberance, the police continued to maintain the 7th Street NW boundary between the two groups and allowed both groups to assemble on their respective sides (Field note: 5.3.1)—clearly demarcating separate protest areas based on how each group performed its notions of patriotism.

When two presumably anti-war protesters attempted to walk into the "Rally to Honor Military Families" assembly, a counter protester acting as security directed the couple towards 7th Street NW (Field note: 5.3.4). The counter protester in the white t-shirt confronted the two anti-war protesters (the young male wearing the red t-shirt and the other a young female directly behind him and not seen in this image). Both anti-war protesters obeyed the counter protester's order to leave, although I remember the young male saying something about freedom of speech as he and his female friend were walking away (Figure 5.10). The anti-war protester's claim about freedom of speech is a good point, for the National Mall is a public space.

Similarly, staff writers for the *Washington Post* observed the police removing another anti-war protester from the "Rally to Honor Military Families" assembly. The anti-war protester

told the taunting crowd of counter protesters that he was a patriot, and that he was being denied access to a public place because of the anti-war statement written on his t-shirt (Smith and Abel 2005). Although the participants attending the "Rally to Honor Military Families" event represented a small minority within the larger, three-day "United for Peace & Justice" protests that Saturday (Smith and Abel 2005), they were nonetheless the majority within their (re)created space. With this majority status, the counter protesters defined acceptability (Sibley 1995; Cresswell 1996), a definition constructed from their performative norms. Here, participants in the "Rally to Honor Military Families" predicated inclusion or exclusion based on one's performance of patriotism, creating temporary micro geographies within a larger public protest.

Figure 5.10: A counter protester chases away two anti-war protesters from the "Rally to Honor Military Families" event on 25 September 2005 event (Image 5-40, photo by author).

Drawing from Butler's concept of performativity, Campbell and Harbord (1999, 230) argue there is not a quintessential essence of gender—one that holds a standard from which to compare all others but instead "imitations of an imitation with no original." The norms of

gender are therefore repeated in a reiterative process (Butler 1993) and as such, "they imitate the myth of originality itself" (Butler [1990] 1999, 176). Similarly, and borrowing from these notions, the United States does not have a patriotism template. Rather, as Dreier and Flacks (2003) argue, patriotism does not originate from a single ideological camp but is instead a conglomerate of multiple contributors, politically left and right.

Performativity, because it is reiterative, allows for opportunities for change, what some geographers have considered "slippage" (Gregson and Rose 2000; Nelson 1999). For Dewsbury (2000, 475), performativity "is the gap, the rupture, the spacing that unfolds the next moment allowing change to happen." Such a change, or displacement for Butler's ([1990] 1999) work on gender, creates the possibility of subverting a hegemonic norm. As I stated at the beginning of this section, protest participants express certain ideals within strongly influential performative practices. Regarding patriotism, this means that a slippage or gap may generate a change; but it could also produce multiple—even dichotomous—performative practices, such as with the diverging ideas of patriotism espoused by the anti-war protesters and the counter protesters during their respective "United for Peace & Justice" and "Support Our Troops and Their Mission Weekend" events.

Evidence of slippage is seen with an American flag-peace symbol hybrid. The peace symbol came to fruition in 1958 as disparate activist groups merged to protest the development of nuclear weapons. Participants in the activist group, called the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, planned to march from London to a weapons factory in Aldermaston where they hoped to persuade workers to stop production. To brand the new movement, graphic artist Gerald Holtom borrowed the British Navy's semaphore signals for the letters N and D to represent "nuclear disarmament," which—when superimposed—created one vertical line with two complementary 45-degree appendages stemming outward from its center (Miles 2008).

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As an example of this hybrid, an anti-war protester stands cloaked in a representation of the American flag during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005—at a point in the protest when participants had gathered in Lafayette Park, across from the White House (Figure 5.11). His version of the American flag featured red and white alternating stripes, but the peace symbol replaced the fifty white stars. The large cloth on which he was standing was also decorated with red and white stripes and overlaid with a giant peace symbol. Borrowing from Billig (1995, 103), the peace symbol has become a form of flagging—a "re-presenting" of a symbol, not necessarily in the traditional and nationalistic manner, as Billig argues in his work, but one created through a performative subversion. In this sense, the American flag-peace symbol hybrid expressed love for one's country but questioned the state's policy to engage in war—all the while associating patriotism with peace. And as a material object, participants used the large cloth to re(create) a temporary space of dissent juxtaposed to the White House across the street.

Although the anti-war protesters and counter protesters that participated during the fourth weekend of events in September 2005 had diverging political ideologies, they nonetheless adhered to a reiteration of norms when expressing their notions of patriotism. As examples, anti-war protesters and counter protesters, both standing on opposite sides of 7th Street NW, were waving American flags during the "Rally to Honor Military Families" (Field note: 5.2.7). Similarly, law enforcement set up a row of metal barricades along Pennsylvania Avenue NW, law enforcement had set up a row of metal barricades. A line of police officers stood in front of the barricades to separate the anti-war protesters walking on the street from the counter protesters standing on the sidewalk during the "United for Peace & Justice" protest (Figure 5.12). Groups of anti-war protesters stopped to confront the counter protesters, and both sides would taunt each other and exchange insulting hand gestures. Most interesting, however, was that at one point

both sides began to chant "USA" (4.5.6-7) and seemingly at each other (see Dwyer 2005). In the

two examples, both groups were in visual and aural proximity of each other, which facilitated

confrontation. Perhaps as a result of this closeness, it appeared that both groups were competing

in patriotic performances and (re)creating micro geographies of public protest.

Figure 5.11: A protest participant cloaked in a representation of the American flag during the
"United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005 (Image 4-37, photo by author).

In his work on the Irish identities of Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland,

folklorist Jack Santino (1999, 515) argues that, even though bitter enemies, both factions "share

the same repertoire of public symbols and actions; that is, they all draw upon a shared style." As

Santino (1999) observed, allegiance to the group was manifest through parades, protests, and

murals. Public protests in Washington are similar. Both groups in my case study were

ideological rivals, either against or in support of the war in Iraq, yet each drew from similar

protest tactics, whether flying American flags or chanting "USA." Hence, beyond the groups'

ideological differences—the thrust of their confrontations—they were both in their own ways

reiterating the same performative expressions of public protest.

Figure 5.12: Police officers segregate marching protester from counter protesters during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005 (Image 4.62, photo by author).

Closing Thoughts on Performance and Public Protests

I want to return briefly to the "Drive out the Bush Regime" protest and the papier-mâché

bobble heads where I was standing on the sidewalk, just north of the White House taking notes

and pictures of an escalating debate between several anti-war protesters and a group of counter

protesters. I noticed a guided tour walking along Pennsylvania Avenue NW between the White

House and Lafayette Park, and I overheard the tour guide state: "This is the stage for debate.

Everyday there is theater" (Field note: 30.4.1). To be sure, Washington's memorial landscape

has become "the nation's premier setting for political assembly and protest" (Savage 2009, 252).

In this chapter, I have shown that protest participants use performance to express dissent.

However, more than just arbitrary and spontaneous actions, participants engage performance

through an embodied reiteration of shared norms, and in doing so; they play off the meanings they have metaphorically inscribed in various material objects of the built environment—where "specific performances bring these spaces into being" (Gregson and Rose 2000, 441). These practices are therefore performed in juxtaposition for or against iconic landmarks, as participants (re)create new spaces within Washington's monumental landscape.

Chapter Six
Washington, DC: A Landscape of Practice and Tension

The "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005 drew between 100,000 to 300,000 participants, depending on who you asked, and was Washington's largest anti-war protest since March 2003, the beginning of the U.S. war in Iraq (Dvorak 2005). With the iconic Washington Monument poking through the tree line, thousands of participants walked along 15th Street NW on their way to the White House before walking down Pennsylvania Avenue, where they would eventually disband at the National Mall (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: Protest participants walking north along 15th Street NW during the "United for Peace & Justice" event on 24 September 2005 (Image 4-22, photo by author).

This was a large event, and protest organizers arranged for participants to walk in the streets. As a result, law enforcement diverted Washington's regular vehicular traffic, and police officers were out in force—on foot, motorcycles, and horses. This event was also significant in that, although it did not stop the war in Iraq, it drew people from across the United States, received national media coverage, and for me set an early precedent of protest spectacle. In fact,

none of the subsequent protests I attended during my fieldwork in Washington ever quite matched the "United for Peace & Justice" event as far as size, energy, and excitement. However, "United for Peace & Justice" was significant for another reason: it revealed just how infrequently large protests occur in Washington. As I will elaborate upon in the following section and thread through the rest of this chapter, public protests as a regular in practice in Washington are overwhelmingly insignificant in that they may draw only a handful of local participants, receive little if any media coverage, and frequently lack a collective energy—they can be somewhat mundane and unremarkable. As such, most public protests blend into Washington's everyday activities; so much so many are nearly invisible.

Public Protests: Mundane and Unremarkable

The "Local is the Global: Confront Those Who Benefit from Poverty" event on 14 September 2006 represents a public protest that was largely insignificant, not because its participants lacked organization or their cause was not important. Rather, this event—and the thousands like it that have contributed to Washington's protest history—had little if any impact upon the issues it sought to confront (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Protest participants walking on the sidewalk in downtown Washington during the "Local is the Global: Confront Those Who Benefit from Poverty" event on 14 September 2006 (Images 24-18 and 24-14, photos by author).

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During this event, participants walked along Washington's downtown sidewalks denouncing World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies with chants such as "Develop people, not property" (Field note: 24.2.3). Several participants carried hand-held signs, several more carried large banners, and a few others distributed flyers to passing pedestrians. September 14th was a Thursday, and this protest occurred in the late afternoon as many people were leaving work, yet I did not note any cars honking at the protesters and most bystanders seemed indifferent, although some would glance over (Field note: 24.1.3).[44] It was a drizzling, early-fall day in Washington, and most people looked as if they needed to be someplace, perhaps home. Nothing seemed out of the ordinary, even though protesters were noisy and highly visible. In fact, I wrote in my field notes that it seemed like an "average day" in Washington (Field note: 24.2.7).

Some of Washington's public protests have contributed to profound changes in U.S. domestic social policies. For instance, both the 1913 "Woman's Suffrage Procession and Pageant" and 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom" galvanized stakeholders that led in part to voting rights for women and civil rights for people of color. These legacy events, however, have been the exception. Protests by the thousands have gone unmentioned in the annals of Washington's history, yet—collectively—these events are what have maintained the (re)creation of Washington's protest landscape.

Compared with the legacy protests, the events I participated in were far more mundane. For example, the "Protest Israel's Military Aggression in Lebanon" event on 30 July 2006 where a group of approximately three-dozen activists held a protest across the street from the Israeli ambassador's home in Washington, or the "Save Darfur: Stop the Genocide" event on 30 April 2006, which attracted hundreds of people to the National Mall. In spite of their efforts, the State

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[44] It has been my experience that protesters encourage passing motorists to honk in support of an event's cause. Occasionally, some motorists will instead honk in opposition.

of Israel continues to have uneasy relations with its neighbors, there are still many thousands of internally displaced persons and refugees in and around Sudan's Darfur region, and the World Bank and IMF continue to maintain the same policies that the protesters found objectionable.

As Barber (2002, 225) describes: "The conventionality, familiarity, and predictability of marches have encouraged journalists to treat marches as unremarkable events, to pay less attention to their political demands, and to give them minimal coverage." This has led some activists to feel that public protests offer little political change (Barber 2002). The focus of this dissertation, however, has not been about protests implementing political change. Rather, the focus has been to recognize public protests in Washington as ephemeral and recurring events, so much so that their physical presence is often taken for granted and seen as normal or "in place" (Cresswell 1996). And because of their often mundane and unremarkable physical presence, the practice of public protests is as much a part of Washington's landscape as its visible material culture of monuments and other symbols of state power. In this light, what makes public protests in Washington so interesting for geographers is not the few large events that attract thousands of people but the many small, unknown events—such as the "Local is the Global" protest—that draw just a few.

My interest has been to show, using public protests in Washington as an extended case study, how embodied practices engage with the landscape. In this sense, I am following Cresswell (2003, 280) when he states:

> The challenge for cultural geographers of landscape is to produce geographies that are lived, embodied, practiced; landscapes which are never finished or complete, not easily framed or read. These geographies should be as much about the everyday and unexceptional as they are about the grand and distinguished.

In accepting Cresswell's challenge, I recognize that landscapes are more than fixed objects apprehended only by visual registers, and that practices are not usually carnival-like spectacles understood solely through experience. I have sought to engage with public protests as an

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embodied practice, an embodied practice that—through its mobile and performative characteristics—(re)creates ephemeral and recurring landscape, one that is juxtaposed with physical objects in the built environment of monuments and landmarks of state power. By examining public protests in Washington as "landscapes of practice" (Cresswell 2003), I have sought to contribute to a growing body of literature by geographers and others on embodied practices in the landscape through walking (Wylie 2002, 2005), cycling (Spinney 2006), and journeying (Bissell 2009b) that have expanded upon predecessors in the discipline who focused on the built environment and material culture (see Sauer [1925] 1963; Meinig 1979; Tuan 1979; Cosgrove [1984] 1998; Duncan 1990; and Daniels 1993). And although the literature in geography suggests a "methodological shift" away from visual interpretation and analysis to more embodied and participatory forms of research (Wylie 2007, 166)—to what some in geography have begun to describe as "more-than-representational" (Lorimer 2005)—practice has always been integral to and present within the constitution of landscape.

Many Americans have been drawn to Washington because of the cultural significance of its built environment. As Savage (2009, 10) states: "The memorial landscape of Washington is the one place, above all, where people come to find the nation and to engage with it as citizens." But one's engagement with objects in the built environment does not preclude engagement with practice. Rather, it is practice, Savage (2009, 11) argues, that "makes the memorial landscape come alive, for in that interplay the landscape ceases to be a mere symbol of America and becomes an actor in the nation's drama."

Throughout Washington's protest tradition, organizers have juxtaposed their events with the monumental landscape, a practice that dates back to 1894 when "Coxey's Army" walked to Washington and petitioned Congress on the grounds of the U.S. Capitol (Barber 2002). In some cases, practice has predated certain monuments, as with the anti-war protests against U.S.

involvement in southeast Asia during the 1960s and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial dedicated later in 1982 (Savage 2009). Hence, participants' mobile and performative practices have been part of the monumental landscape all along and are equally significant when attempting to apprehend public protests in Washington.

In my empirical examination, I visualized public protests and engaged in their practices, keeping in mind their tradition (Barber 2002) within Washington's iconic monumental landscape (Savage 2009). While others have focused on single, large-scale events occurring in different places (see Kershaw 1997; Fernandez 2005), I have participated in an array of protests in Washington, from the spectacular to the mundane and unremarkable. For me it was through experiencing an array of events, particularly the mundane and unremarkable, that eventually revealed public protests in Washington as a continuing (re)creation of landscape.

I have not suggested that the study of practice supersedes material objects in the built environment. Instead, and as I have shown, practice and landscape are closely intertwined. Moreover, public protests in Washington have always been tied to both practice and landscape (Barber 2002), and they still are, which I revealed empirically. More broadly, this work has demonstrated that geographers can and should engage landscapes through both vision and practice, as Cresswell (2003) suggests. And doing so may enlighten work that might otherwise privilege one but not both.

Dissertation Overview

This dissertation has shown how landscape includes embodied practices. Using public protests in Washington's as an expanded case study, I revealed an underlying tension between material objects in the built environment (i.e., the monumental landscape) and protest participants' mobile and performative practices, practices centered on expressions of dissent. I argued that, although public protests are ephemeral and recurring events, participants nonetheless

(re)create a practiced landscape, one that—as with the monumental landscape—is an essential part of Washington.

In the introduction (Chapter 1), I described public protests as highly organized and legal events that facilitate one's right to peaceably assemble and petition the government. In Washington, protest organizers negotiate with law-enforcement officials through a permit process that establishes a route and time parameters, among other details. And because permitted public protests are legal, I did not pit protesters against the police, as others have done (see Fernandez 2005).

I also drew from Cresswell's (2003) argument that landscape and practice are antithetical in that the paired terms appear seemingly contrary—landscapes as static and practices as fluid— yet both inform the other through what he refers to as "landscapes of practice." I used "landscapes of practice" as a concept to introduce and articulate how mobile and performative participants spatially engage with iconic monuments in the built environment, such as the Washington Monument and White House. By doing this, I placed a shared emphasis on vision and embodiment as a means to engage more robustly with the landscape.

In Chapter 2, I elaborated upon how I conducted fieldwork in Washington, with the intention to blend visual and "more-than-representational" (Lorimer 2005) senses to articulate how landscape includes practice. I discussed my use of qualitative methods, emphasizing participant observation and autoethnography. I justified these approaches as a means to apprehend some of the spontaneous moments inherent in public protests that are not captured by other means, namely interviews. Following Dewsbury's (2010) call to try and perhaps fail, I used eight photos as examples of visualizing public protests. I did this to showcase how photos, including my own, can evoke embedded meanings (Rose 2007), meanings that represent a sense of practice by those participating.

In Chapter 3, I drew heavily from Barber (2002) and her detailed account of public protests as a tradition in Washington. Less explicitly, her work engages with notions of practice, where Americans converge on Washington as the nation's stage, with its monumental landscape providing an iconic backdrop. Within this practice, Barber (2002) reveals that public protests have changed over time—opportunities for more direct participation by spectators, advancements in media technology, and an increased use of individual hand-held signs—but an underlying yet unexplored aspect of public protest, one that has remained consistent, has been walking.

In telling my history of public protests in Washington, I honed in on walking because it is often overshadowed by the spectacle of signs, chants, and satire. However, walking is the exemplary expression of dissent in that it embodies the First Amendment right of public assembly, not just while participating in an event, but safely getting to and leaving from an event with little consequence from authorities at whom dissent is often directed. Walking is therefore one thrust behind public protest; it is the foundation upon which mobility and performance take place. Because of this, walking assumes a mundane status, yet it represents, both visually and in practice, the everydayness of public protests in Washington. As a research agenda, walking allowed me to participate spatially as a mobile and performative participant, where it granted me an on-the-ground perspective in which to take pictures and write field notes. And in addition, walking—an inherent activity in past and contemporary public protests—walking allowed me to engage with an embodied sense of practice.

In Chapter 4, I examined walking as practice of mobility. However, beyond just traveling from points A to B (Cresswell 2006), I showed how the police facilitate and constrain participants' physical mobility on Washington's streets. I also argued that how one performs her

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mobility as a participant can shape authorities' perceptions, thereby granting or denying access to certain spaces and to certain people. Hence, not everyone has the same mobility.

Mobile practices, however, are not limited to physical movement but also encompass (im)mobilities, which recognize contingent differences among movements (Adey 2006). Drawing from this, I discussed two case studies where protest organizers created events based on stillness: the first arranged participants' bodies to spell out "Mom says NO WAR," while the second displayed boots and shoes to represent the fallen in the war in Iraq. Organizers for both events promoted an anti-war message and located their events juxtaposed among iconic buildings of the monumental landscape.

Because most protests are mobile events, individual expressions of dissent such as signs and chants are fleeting in that they are usually in motion. The anti-war organizers began in a similar manner in that participants from both events walked to specific locations to express dissent, but upon arrival they became immobile, emulating the same immobility of the built environment. Using their bodies and footwear as material objects, they too became part of the monumental landscape and in doing so challenged the dominant inscription of benign nationalism with a competing anti-war message.

In Chapter 5, I cited scholars in performance studies to argue for performance as a broad approach, one that has interested geographers as a theoretical tool to examine embodied practices. Drawing from my fieldwork, I then provided examples of performance during public protests, specifically participants' use of visual and aural tactics, such as carrying hand-held signs, engaging in acts of satire, and chanting slogans, and how these tactics spatially related to the built environment.

I then borrowed from Judith Butler's concept of performativity as a reiteration of norms to argue that protest participants with different political ideologies, namely anti-war protesters

and counter protesters, temporarily inscribed commonly accepted notions of patriotism upon their (re)created spaces. By performing these norms, participants embodied their issues during that specific time; and in doing so, they revealed spatial differences based on their notions of patriotism juxtaposed with and against the built environment.

Thus, Washington's built environment is more than an assemblage of material objects, or specific sites that attract protesters, but presents instead meaningful sites where practice and landscape converge. In this sense, performativity is at the heart of public protests in Washington where participants (re)create space with each new event, producing an ephemeral and recurring "landscape of practice" (Cresswell 2003) that, although not an everyday practice for each participant, appears normal and follows broadly accepted patterns of behavior.

Landscape and Tension

Tension has been a central theme throughout this dissertation. Using public protests in Washington as an extended case study, I have explored how practice and landscape—specifically participants' embodied practices and material objects in the built environment—engaged in an always-ongoing tension with and against each other. John Wylie's 2007 book *Landscape* elaborates upon landscape tensions by citing one of French artist Paul Cezanne's paintings of Mont Saint-Victoire as an example. Cezanne created over sixty works of the same landscape (one of which is on the book's cover), yet every piece is different. Connecting this example to geography, Wylie (2007, 1, original emphasis) remarks:

> The tension that animates Cezanne's landscape is one that has also recurrently haunted landscape studies in cultural geography. It is a tension between proximity and distance, body and mind, sensuous immersion and detached observation. Is landscape the world we are living *in*, or a scene we are looking *at*, from afar?

Wylie's (in Merriman et al. 2008, 202, original emphasis) "Landscape *is* tension" is premised by an attempt to apprehend what it means when we refer to the term "landscape." As others in geography have reasoned, landscape can be understood by observable material culture

(Sauer [1925] 1963), in the eyes of the beholders (Meinig 1979), and read through encoded texts (Duncan 1990). For Wylie (in Merriman et al. 2008), the tension in the landscape represents social and spatial phenomena that may never find resolution. However, Wylie is not pessimistic, nor is he declaring abandonment. Rather, Wylie suggests landscape is a continuous and intertwining tension of materials and senses, "And in this way it becomes the catalyst for different types of creative geographies" (in Merriman et al. 2008, 203).

The tension throughout this dissertation has revolved around how landscape includes embodied practices. More specifically, I have shown how protest participants in Washington engage in mobile and performative practices juxtaposed with material objects in the built environment, and how these practices (re)create ephemeral and recurring practiced landscapes within the monumental landscape. Though public protests in Washington have been an ongoing practice (Barber 2002), until recently geographers privileged visual approaches in their studies of cultural landscapes—a tension I addressed in this dissertation by drawing from Cresswell's (2003) ideas behind "landscapes of practice," which advocates for an equitable attention to vision and practice.

What I have demonstrated is that both vision and practice are important, that looking at the landscape and embodying practice work well together—where vision represents performative practices (e.g., the images in Kershaw (1997), see also Dewsbury 2010) and mobile practices produce an embodied vision (Wylie 2002). In this dissertation on public protests in Washington, I have attempted to study practice along with the material landscape through sensory and embodied encounters, as have other geographers.

By apprehending these encounters in the monumental landscape through mobile and performative frameworks, I have shown that public protests are nearly an "everyday" practice in Washington. Protest organizers and law-enforcement agencies facilitate participants' legal right

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to peaceably assemble and petition the government. As a result, participants are allowed to express dissent and do so within highly organized parameters, which include beginning and ending times and locations, pre-established routes, and law-enforcement agencies experienced in policing large events (Barber 2002). Because public protests are highly organized, their disruption is generally minimal (Barber 2002) and when an event is finished, organizers and others return Washington's built environment back to "normal."

However, "normal" in Washington is not just about the built environment or the monumental landscape but the continuing ebbs and flows of people. Although public protests may be mundane and unremarkable, often seen as largely insignificant, their "most effective use," Barber writes, "has arguably become personal affirmation and movement building" (2002, 227). When I asked a participant why people travel to Washington to protest, he told me that the decisions made in Washington decide the future of so many people. Protesting in Washington, he elaborated, allows a place for likeminded people to connect and express solidarity—to then go back home, in his case to Vermont, feeling energized about politics (Field notes: 42.1-2).

This informant revealed a human characteristic of public protests in Washington as an ephemeral and recurring practice. Unlike the stationary objects of the monumental landscape, practice is a revolving mix of participants—some are first-time novices others are well-trained veterans—but regardless of experience, citizens travel to Washington, as they have done for generations, to express dissent (Barber 2002) through a reiteration of shared norms. Thus, public protests in Washington are about embodied practices and the monumental landscape, together. And herein lies part of Wylie's (2007) tension: the tensions among vision, embodied practices of mobilities and performativity, and material objects of the monumental landscape. But by examining this tension, I have shown that public protests are a normal practice in Washington and a fundamental part of its landscape.

To study public protests in Washington, however, is to study an overt practice taking place in a high-profile landscape. With little exception, protest participants carry signs and chant slogans because they want to be seen and heard. Similarly, participants assemble near iconic monuments because such monumental landscapes are so well known for their deeply inscribed meanings. Thus, the tension between practice and landscape is one of sharp contrasts. But what about tensions that have subtler shades of difference, or practiced landscapes that are visually and aurally obscured, even intentionally covert?

Surely such tensions, no matter how subtle or covert, exist in other landscapes. Perhaps, then, by engaging with mobile and performative practices, geographers and others examining cultural landscapes can elicit social phenomena among material objects in the built environment. Or perhaps attempting to visualize these tensions can reveal how embodied practices and material landscapes work together in a process of cultural and spatial (re)creation. Regardless of the approach, what I have shown using an extended case study of public protests in Washington, DC, is that vision and practice work together in ways that apprehend tension, tension that has always been within landscape studies in geography, yet have just begun to be explored.

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Vita

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