THESIS

BLACK LIVES MATTER AS “SOCIAL MOVEMENT”:

THEORIZING THE MATERIALITY OF MOVEMENT OF THE SOCIAL

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ABSTRACT

BLACK LIVES MATTER AS "SOCIAL MOVEMENT:" THEORIZING THE MATERIALITY OF MOVEMENT OF THE SOCIAL

Utilizing Michael Calvin McGee's notion of social movement as a set of meanings that move the social, this thesis builds upon and adjusts the discursive focus of McGee's rhetorical theory of social movement to include materiality, particularly material movement as influential in changing the social. To do so, I build upon theories of sociality, space, and movement to present movement and motion as material texts that hold rhetorical power to inflect and produce our cultural and social understandings of our sociality. Analyzing the Black Lives Matter's Black Friday protest at the Magnificent Mile in Chicago in 2015, this thesis argues that protests—in their material movements—remake public spaces and the societal, spatial, and individual social body to carve out an imaginary and thus sociality in which Black lives matter. The aptly named Black Lives Matter movement is a social movement that makes visible systemic racism that disciplines, endangers, and marginalizes Black lives, with the goal to reimagine a world where Black people are free to exist and live—where Black lives matter. Our current social and spatial imaginary constructs the Black body as a subject of exclusion and allows whiteness to ignore and disregard that Black lives matter. However, during the Black Friday protest at the Magnificent Mile in Chicago in 2015, as this thesis argues, the protesters disrupted the embodied and spatial rhythms of the Magnificent Mile to open a fissure within the shopper's social/spatial imaginary wherein the protesters compelled them to recognize Black lives while urging them to accede that they matter.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Located in "the loop" of downtown Chicago, amidst the chaotic and persistent movement of cars, bicycles, and bodies along Michigan Avenue, the Magnificent Mile is one of the city's top tourist destinations.[1] This upscale shopping district spans 13 blocks lined with "460 stores, 275 restaurants, 60 hotels, and unique entertainments and attractions packed and stacked along its length."[2] The six lane street is congested with traffic where drivers weave their cars between lanes blaring their horns as they hope to expedite their movement. Throughout the day the sidewalk bustles with bodies shuffling side to side flowing forward with a sea of people. Buttressed between other popular tourist destinations like Lake Michigan, Navy Pier, and Millennium Park, shoppers and passersby are constantly bombarded with flickering lights, cacophonous sounds, and persistent traffic, a bombardment shoppers can escape as they migrate from streets to stores.

However, in 2015 on Black Friday, when the biting cold of Chicago, the mass rush of people along the sidewalk, and the enticing sale prices usually drove people from street to stores, a blockade of bodies confronted the shoppers to disrupt "business as usual."[3] This blockade was constituted by members of Black Lives Matter, a growing, nationwide social movement for Black power and organization against police violence, mass incarceration, and institutional racism. The protests were staged on both Black Friday and December 23rd as a part of the movement's "Black X-Mas" protest, which intended to make people pay "attention to the fact that Black humanity is being denied" by stopping "the flow of commerce on a day where a lot of money is going to be spent."[4] To do this, protesters materially altered the routine access and flow of movement through the spaces of the Magnificent Mile, transforming the spatial experiences

and sociality invited in the site. On this day, the flickering lights came from police cars, the cacophonous sounds came from protest chants, and the persistent traffic came behind a line of unmoving protesters. In short, for these two days, Black Lives Matter protesters disrupted, halted, and disallowed the customary movement within the mall that invites privileged motions as a rhetorical act of social movement.

The "Black X-Mas" protests, in 2015, came on the heels of over 15 highly publicized cases and at least 79 other less broadcasted instances of police officers and civilians killing unarmed Black citizens without cause.[5] Black Lives Matter emerged most noticeably after George Zimmerman's acquittal in the Trayvon Martin trial, where Zimmerman was accused of pursuing, shooting, and killing an unarmed Black teenager guilty of nothing other than walking home at night in a hoodie. While prosecutors trained their sights on Zimmerman for the murder, a grand jury refused to indict. In reaction to the grand jury's decision, Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi, and Patrisse Cullors created the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter to address the fact that, as Garza tweeted, "Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise."[6] Black Lives Matter emerged from the internet in order to protest in the streets of Ferguson, Missouri in response to both Michael Brown's death on August 9, 2014 and the eventual Grand Jury acquittal Darren Wilson, the officer who shot him on November 24, 2014. In the years since Ferguson, as the public became increasingly aware of the alarming rate of police officers striking down Black bodies without justification, Black Lives Matter grew as a social movement in size and scale. As of this writing, Black Lives Matters has held over 1,000 protests nationwide and developed a cogent purpose and set of goals that are not limited to police brutality but "include all of the ways in which Black people are intentionally left powerless at the hands of the state."[7]

Many argue that the acquittal of Wilson was the spark that shifted Black Lives Matter from a moment to a movement.[8]

However, while it seems clear that Black Lives Matter is now a movement, the nature of this movement is still lacking in scholarly considerations. Indeed, despite its influence, there are few scholarly publications on Black Lives Matter in rhetorical studies. Of these, the focus lies in analyzing the use and effects of the movement' social media tactics, particularly their employment of hashtags as a form of protest.[9] Additionally, there is some work detailing the changing political voice of Black citizens in contemporary politics as a result of the movement.[10] Yet, there is no scholarship that discusses the rhetorical strategies and significance of the street protests, even though these actions are an important form of opposition for the movement and has consistently garnered mass media attention. While Black Lives Matter's social media platform serves as an important case study to examine how movements are shifting their tactics to meet the contemporary demands in the age of social media they are still heavily reliant on forms of direct action for their message. Therefore, this thesis adds to the sparse work on Black Lives Matter, and does so with particular attention to the rhetoric of protest on the streets rather than the web.

What's more, the tactics of Black Lives Matter represent a significant opportunity to revisit key assumptions about social movements in the field: in particular, Michael Calvin McGee's claim that analyses of social movements should "seek an account of human consciousness, not an account of human organizational behavior," wherein scholars shed the sociological lens of social movements and attend to the discursive movement of the social.[11] Specifically, I am interested in analyzing how and to what effect embodied protest (re)configures space, and therefore spatial practices, to materially as well as discursively move the social. To

examine movement of the social through materiality, I diverge from McGee's assessment of discursive shifts as a marker of effect and examine how movement, understood as "an embodied engagement with both time and space" facilitates shifts in social relations manifested in space.[12] In doing so, this thesis ultimately argues that protests—in their material movements—remake public spaces and the societal, spatial, and individual social body to carve out an imaginary and thus sociality in which Black lives matter.

Given not only Black Lives Matter's existence *as* a movement but its reliance *on* movement – as a material rhetorical act – within their protests, Black Lives Matter offers an exciting opportunity to study the role that movement can play in the study of social movements and raises questions about the function that movement, as a spatial practice, has in influencing social relations and ideologies generally, as well as its role in producing arguments in protest specifically. Some questions I intend to answer through this thesis are: can alterations of space, particularly available movement within space, be an agent of change? How/do tactics of embodied protest produce arguments against engrained norms? How and to what effect does space invite, compel, or discipline bodies and movement? What affect does the body, whether it is marked, raced, taboo, gendered, and altogether socially and materially instantiated, have on possibilities of movement within space and how does this become an agent of marginalization? What role does embodied movements have in producing the social? Throughout this thesis, I attempt to answer these questions by utilizing Black Lives Matter's Black Friday protest to engage with McGee's theory of social movements as a set of meaning through a material lens. In doing so, this thesis ultimately But first, it is important to understand the shifts and conversations in social movement scholarship that informed McGee's work.

Social Movements: Across Disciplines

The interdisciplinary study of social movements is plentiful and features various perspectives including psychological studies about why people decide to join a movement, sociological research discussing movement's group dynamics, and rhetorical analysis of the role of confrontation and symbolic action in persuasion.[13] While the study of movements across multiple disciplines has provided a breadth and depth of perspectives, scholars continue to struggle to define social movements. This is not to say that academics have not proffered definitions. For example, after compiling what they deem to be a comprehensive and interdisciplinary edited volume on the processes and issues relevant to social movements, David A Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi define social movement as:

> collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part.[14]

Definitions like this serve to create some cohesiveness within disciplines in the study of social movements. However, by delimiting specific characteristics, definitions bound what "gets counted and analyzed as social movements."[15] Additionally, our understandings and definitions of what a social movement is becomes the premise upon which methodology, interpretation, and analysis build and progress.

Endeavors to define and characterize movements function to maintain consistency within scholarship and tend to privilege an empirically centered approach. Rooted in denotative explanations of the patterns, trends, and repertoires that "make up" a social movement, the empirical approach viewed social movements as organizations within society. Within sociology, which served as a foundation for early rhetorical scholarship, many began to move beyond attempts "to understand the process of movement formation by analysis of the social structure"

and focused on the organizational aspects of movements.[16] In doing so scholars in sociology and eventually rhetoric confined what artifacts and tactics were worthy of studying to include only official organizations like unions or parties, traditional tactics like pickets and boycotts, and defined effects based upon legislative changes. Essentially, the empirical approach limited the study of any possible movement that did not fit the overly prescriptive and traditional conception of resistance.

However, in the late 70s, scholars altered their conceptions and approach as more grassroots groups lacking consistent organizational structure began to contest cultural and symbolic issues and broke away from the formal organization and tactics that informed previous definitions of social movement.[17] The result was the New Social Movements (NSM) paradigm which strayed from "treating [social movements] as just an empirical phenomenon."[18] Instead, theorists claimed that movements were a set of meanings and approached them as "action systems" that influences the construction of social reality and "affect the system's cultural production."[19] In short, beginning in the late 1970s scholars recognized the importance of understanding social movements as an activity rather than an object, and specifically focused on analyzing the cultural, social, and symbolic meaning of this activity to affect change.

Similarly, within the field of rhetoric there are clear transformations of methodology as well as conceptualizations of social movements. The study of social movement rhetoric is a relatively new area of scholarship if we consider that the study of rhetoric itself can be traced back to the 4th century B.C.E. While many other disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, and political science, were studying social movements earlier, it was not until 1952, with Leland Griffin's "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements" that rhetorical scholars began to take movements seriously. In it, he broadens the rhetorical text beyond public address and speeches to

include the more complex phenomena of historical movements and provides a methodology to study the patterns of discourse within that movement. To develop an understanding of what a movement is and how to study it, Griffin poses and answers methodological and conceptual questions, which scholars continue to build from and change.[20]

Griffin was obviously influential in broadening concepts of what scholars consider a rhetorical artifact, but his seminal essay in defining a method of studying historical movements produced contrasting interpretations. Scholars asserting social movements as both phenomenon and meaning have used his specific assertion that a scholar's task is to isolate, evaluate, analyze, and describe a particular historical movement in order to investigate the "pattern of public discussion, the configuration of discourse, [and] the physiognomy of persuasion, peculiar to the movement" as a way to justify their theoretical and methodological approach.[21]

Herbert Simons and Charles Stewart, prominent figures within the functionalist approach of study claimed that they were building upon Griffin's "essentially clinical process" for evaluating the patterns that helps establish the essential functions of social movements.[22] Within this approach, there is a tendency to relegate the study of rhetoric as a way to understand how a social movement, as an empirical object, uses certain rhetorical strategies to fulfill designated functions of the organization. In Simons' article "Requirements, Problems, and Strategies: A Theory of Persuasion for Social Movement" he explicitly links the study of the rhetoric of movements to sociological theory and argues that:

> any movement… must fulfill the same functional requirements as more formal collectivities. These imperatives constitute *rhetorical requirements* for the leadership of a movement. Conflicts among requirements create *rhetorical problems* which in turn affect decisions on *rhetorical strategy*.[23]

Here he asserts that the rhetorical scholar must examine the rhetorical processes the movement must undergo to fulfill functions that parallel formal organizations or agencies. In particular, he

concentrates on how social movements must produce certain forms and types of rhetoric to maintain internal dynamics while approaching external audiences. There were plenty of fruitful discoveries and theories developed from this framework and in general, the functional approach provided an initial vocabulary and set methodology that helped legitimize the study of social movements within rhetoric.[24] In spite of some of the productive theories and concepts that sprung from viewing social movements as a phenomenon, overall the overly prescriptive and rigid formulations and methods limited what could be considered worthy of study as a social movement and also promoted a confined framework that was not amenable to analyzing more discreet rhetorical tactics and effects.[25]

Michael Calvin McGee on the other hand, confronts and shifts scholarship away from the sociological turn promoted by Simons and argues that:

> "Social movement" ought not to be a *premise* with which we *begin* research, defining what we want to see, and, lo and behold, finding it. Rather, 'social movement' ought to be a *conclusion*, a carefully considered and well-argued inference that changes in human consciousness are of such that "social movement" has occurred, or that the rhetorical activity of a group of human beings would produce "social movement" if it were effective.[26]

While few scholars took up McGee's theoretical approach of movements as meaning, they did turn away from the functional approach. In the mid-90s, movement scholarship in rhetoric was revitalized with the activity of emerging anti-globalization movements and interdisciplinary discussions of New Social Movements. Within this iteration of scholarship, focus shifted from sweeping generalizations of social movements towards particular protests, counterpublics, and performance. Beginning in the late 90s, technology and media also became a prevalent factor in a movement's message and tactics; therefore criticism shifted to analyzing movements as spectacle, as evidenced by the turn to the "public screen" inaugurated by Kevin DeLuca and Jennifer Peebles.[27]

Scholarship within the last ten years disproportionately concentrates on the relationship between movements and the media while scholarly work engaging and revamping early critical debates and touchstones within movement rhetoric has decreased. In particular, scholars have done relatively little to build off of the pivotal work of McGee's reconceptualization of not only how we should study movements, but also what is a social movement. Of notable exception is the work of Kevin Deluca and Darrel Enck-Wanzer who expands upon "*what* movement scholars look at when they are examining the rhetoric of social movement" to include analysis of bodies, words, and images.[28] As such, recent movements and movement scholarship occasions a revisiting of McGee's approach to movements through the embodied perspective Deluca and Enck-Wanzer call for. In this thesis, I aim to contribute to this call by revisiting McGee's work and inserting the rhetoric of materiality to a theory heavily based in discourse. In the next section, I outline some of the major tenets of McGee's theory and carve out a space for materiality.

McGee: Movement as Meaning

"Social Movement: Phenomenon or Meaning?" was influential in shifting rhetorical criticism of social movements away from studying movements as an object or phenomenon and towards analyzing it as a set of meanings, as ways in which certain actions produce or alter our human consciousness.[29] McGee rejects analysis that stems from narrowly cast definitions of social movement as an object of study because this scholarship says "nothing at all about the *meaning* of collective life, about 'progress' and 'human destiny.'"[30] In response, he calls for theory and analysis to foreground the "*rhetoric* of social movements rather than a *social movement's* rhetoric" in order to examine not just organizations, but also the movement of the social. [31] When viewing social movement as meaning, McGee sheds the concern of how rhetoric

produces the form and function of an organization and calls instead for an assessment of how "patterns of discourse" change to understand whether and how social consciousness moved.[32]

In order to analyze the shift in human consciousness, McGee points towards "movement" in the meaning of the worlds, or redefinitions of reality, which one can prove by "observing changes in the 'ideographic' structures of social norm-systems."[33] Enck-Wanzer perfectly describes that movement is a measurement of discourse, that "to talk about social movement is to talk about the ways in which discourse represents a shift away from, or challenge to, a dominant social imaginary as evident in narratives, ideographs, and other rhetorics."[34] Rhetorical signifiers like the ideograph—a "vocabulary of concepts" that manifests an ideology and "function as guides, warrants, reasons, or excuses for behavior and belief"— serve as a tool to study cultural and social shifts.[35] Analyzing how patterns of public discourse "move" synchronically and diachronically provides scholars with a means to interpret how and if there is a movement of the social. Yet, McGee does not provide direction as to what constitutes rhetorical activity that would, if effective, produce "movement."[36]

He does however provide a definition of "movement" upon which we can use as a guide for understanding the rhetoric of social movements. After detailing the flaws in historical approaches to movements steeped in sociological phenomenology, McGee points to select treatises from academics like Foucault as "legitimate studies of movement(s)." [37] He specifically cites *The Archeology of Knowledge* to solidify the connection of discourse, meaning, and movement, which are abundant in this work. For example, Foucault describes the importance of tracing the mutability of discourse in order to discover a "plastic continuity, the movement of a meaning that is embodied in various representations, images, and metaphors."[38] However, as Foucault argues, within discourse we must "throw off the sovereignty of the signifier" to include

the materiality of its practice.[39] His work in *Orders of Discourse* demonstrates an altered conception of what is considered discursive and how that may come to affect the movement of meaning in our consciousness. Additionally, Foucault discusses the importance of the material components of bodies and space in regards to power and knowledge.[40] In light of Foucault's perception of discourse and movement, upon which McGee builds his own conception, I call for a reformulation of "movement."

McGee conceives "movement" as "an analogue comparing the flow of social facts to physical movement," but rather than make the flow of social facts and physical movement analogous, I argue that they are co-constitutive.[41] Therefore, I conceptualize "movement" as the ways in which social realities influence and are influenced by people's physical movement within space. Essentially, I build upon the notion that social movement is how our social consciousness changes, but rather than relegate analysis to the realm of the symbolic, I argue that rhetorical scholars should also attend to materiality as an important factor in the movement of the social. Building this theory will be my major task in the following chapter of this thesis.

Artifact: The Black Lives Matters Protest at the Magnificent Mile

My theory of social movement as materiality in this thesis will prove useful in my analysis of the Black Lives Matters protest at the Magnificent Mile on Black Friday. Black Friday is one of the most commercially successful days of the year as the enticing sales bring people out in droves to malls and shopping centers.[42] It is a day that reflects the capitalistic identity of the United States. The headlines that plaster the news after Black Friday usually describe scenes of hostility and violence among shoppers, but in 2015, Black Lives Matter changed the story by protesting shopping malls around the country. The spark for this particular protest began a year before when a Chicago police officer shot Laquan McDonald, a Black male,

16 times. One year later, the courts released the dash cam footage of the shooting that, in contrast to the testimony of the police officer, showed McDonald walking away from the police when he was shot. The unsightly footage, coupled with the yearlong delay of its release, reinvigorated the Black Lives Matter movement.[43] So, on Black Friday, instead of a blockade of people impatiently waiting for the doors to open and chaos to ensue, shoppers were met by a wall of protesters blocking the entrance to malls and shopping centers. As the Black Lives Matter's webpage exclaimed, "It was not business as usual."[44]

Black Friday protests ensued in large cities and major malls around the United States, including, but not limited to, the Mall of America in Minneapolis, Westlake Center in Seattle, and the Magnificent Mile in Chicago.[45] Since they were in reaction to the death of Laquan McDonald in Chicago, I will limit my analysis to the protest at the Magnificent Mile shopping strip in downtown Chicago. To gain insight on this protest, I will rely extensively on media representations, accounts, and archives of the protest—including images, videos, tweet updates, and news reports—from the *Chicago Tribune* between November 27th, the day of protest, and November 30th.[46] While The Black Friday protest made national headlines with coverage from top networks organizations like MSNBS, CNN, BBC, ABC, and Fox News as well as top newspaper like the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today*, I chose to utilize articles and the live tweet from the *Chicago Tribune* as an archive of the event for three reasons. First, the *Chicago Tribune* provided the most comprehensive and multimediated coverage of the event as it unfolded with its live twitter blog where 6 different reporters tweeted images, videos, anecdotes, and updates minute by minute. As each reporter detailed different areas of the protest, the live blog provides an accumulative catalog of the protest from the various moments, places, and events throughout the span of the protest. Second, the *Chicago Tribune* offers a local

perspective of the protest so they are attuned to the issues and tensions surrounding the protests. Finally, as one of the most historical and architecturally distinct buildings along the Magnificent Mile, the Chicago Tribune building and its attendant media network has deep roots within the space and thus offers a more in-depth depiction of the locations and movement of the protest.

Additionally, to examine the spatial rhetoric of the Magnificent Mile I visited and analyzed the space over a period of two days in January. Throughout my visit, I spent numerous hours in the cold chill of Chicago walking up and down the sidewalks, in and out of stores, and across streams of traffic to engage with the movement and invited practices of the space. I also identified key areas of protest from images and visited those locations to compare the space of protest with the space of everyday shopping. By engaging with the space outside of the protest I could observe and understand the everyday rhythms and movements of the people and space. Embodying the "normal" operations of the space, as a white woman, I was able to reflect upon my own privileged movements in the mall. While I was not at the protest, which limits an embodied understanding of the disruptions of movement, my ability to cross the street or walk into a store uninhibited by the protesters allowed me to consider the effects of the discrepancy of movement of the everyday motions in a white space as a white body versus the altered possibilities of movement during the protest.

My movements through the space highlights an important reality of this thesis, that I am a cis-gendered white able bodied heterosexual woman writing about a movement that fights for the rights of the spectrum of Black people including queer, trans, and disabled people. The privilege I carry with me allows me to move unfettered through almost all spaces, with relative certainty that I will not be a victim of violence or discipline. There are many dimensions of oppression that I have never experience and am unable to understand or analyze and may unknowingly be

complicit in. Additionally, as a white academic I also have the privilege to write about this movement at the risk of taking the movement's voice away. While I cannot shed the privilege that my body and identity holds, I instead choose to use this privilege to advance these questions in support of the Black freedom struggle. In this way, I attempt to follow the advice of Audre Lorde who argues that "unused privilege is a weapon in the hands of our enemy."[47]

In limiting my case study to protests in Chicago rather than all Black Friday protests around the United States, I can connect not only the specific contextual dimension of the McDonald case to the tactics and goals of specific protests, but, with Chicago's long history of racial issues that are engrained in spatial tensions—which I will address further in chapter 3— I am also able to draw upon historically engrained issues of race that continue to persist within the city. Evidenced by President Donald Trump's persistent mention of racial tensions within Chicago, the city carries a reputation and preconception dating back to the formation of the "Great City" that holds weight in our contemporary understanding of issues of race in the United States.[48]

Beyond the deep-rooted racial tensions within Chicago, the Magnificent Mile, as an urban mall is a particularly powerful place to analyze the intersection of power, protests, and bodies. The Magnificent Mile, like other urban malls, constructs the space to create "value for businesses and institutions… by protecting and enhancing the physical urban environment" and "to maintain and protect the aesthetics and public use of this dynamic business district."[49] In action, the protection of aesthetics translates to accepting certain bodies and types of movement that increase value for businesses and enhance the urban environment. Those that comply with the ideologies of the space are read as "in place" and a part of the social text. As Jones and Foust assert, "consumer capitalist discourses inscribe themselves upon the body (actor-in-practice),

reproducing consumer performances that then become legible scripts for meaning and interaction on the part of other consuming subjects."[50] The disciplining factors within the space then attempts to erase non-consumers, or those marked as out of place, from the social text, thus detrimentally restricting who is allowed to construct a social being-ness within that particular space. The Magnificent Mile, as a mile-long stretch of affluent shops, restaurants, and hotels, aligns with the ways that urban malls construct particular social relations and therefore serves as an exemplary case study to analyze the ways that space constricts and disciplines who, how, and where bodies can move.

However, the urban mall, through its multiple potentialities of movement can also be a space that resists the ideologies and practices of the space. Greg Dickinson and Brian Ott present the case for movement as a possible agent of resistance in the urban mall by "highlighting how the embodied performances offer a tantalizing array of tactical negotiations that, at the very least, suggest potential lines of flight."[51] To them, while spatial rhetorics move and urge us towards neoliberal globalization at the level of symbols and material, our movement and embodied performance alters the spatial experience. Specifically, they theorize that "to alter the direction (vector) and/or speed (velocity) of one's movement through space is to alter the material experience, and thus affective intensities."[52] By swerving through or pausing in the space, our embodied performance negotiates the neoliberal urges of speed and efficiency, thus the ways in which we move through space has a deep impact on the social potentialities as well as ideologies inherent in them. While majority of research regarding urban malls focus on aspects of everyday life, protest movements like Black Lives Matter utilize dimensions of movement as a powerful force to confront and make visible racism in the United States.

Black Lives Matters originated to confront the vulnerability of Black lives within the United States. The case of Trayvon Martin exemplifies the ways that the Black body's movement through spaces, particularly white spaces, are disciplined, thus endangering the lives, safety, and freedom of Black people. Originating in reaction to the fatal disciplining of movement, Black Lives Matter is an ideal movement from which to study social movement as materiality because a) disrupting material movement is a common tactic of theirs b) they are relevant and contemporary and therefore easier to examine than historical movements and c) As will be discussed in chapter 3, Black bodies in particular have a compelling interaction with space/place.

Critical Perspectives

To investigate this artifact, I will be drawing on an assortment of critical perspectives that inform and frame my analysis, including critical rhetoric, materiality, and contemporary social movement rhetoric regarding bodies and space.

Critical Rhetoric

To begin, one of my main purposes as a critic is to unmask power relations within the framework of critical rhetoric. Raymie McKerrow, in his seminal essay "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis," calls for a shift in how we view and analyze texts, noting that the role of the critic should be "to unmask or demystify the discourses of power" in order to better understand how power/knowledge interacts in society.[53] There are four features of critical rhetoric that I continue to reflect upon as a critic throughout the thesis. They are: 1) a "critical spirit" that continual questions relations of power and domination in our social practices, 2) a demystifying function to analyze the "manner in which discourse insinuates itself in the fabric of social power," 3) an eye towards critical opposition wherein the critique has "something which it is

‘against’” and 4) has consequences and identifies “possibilities of future action.”[54] Consequently, within this orientation, my thesis aims to question the ways in which embodied protest potentially opposes as well as upholds the domination and power infused within spatial and social relations in hopes to offer possibilities for future protests.

The initial task of the critic is “one of re-creation—constructing an argument that identifies the integration of power and knowledge and delineates the role of power/knowledge in structuring social practices.”[55] While McKerrow focuses on power as structured through discourse, he also identifies that a principle of critical rhetoric must view discourses of power as material, in that “ideology is a property of the social world” where “agents have the capacity to interact in that world to modify the discourse.”[56] In later work, he expands inquisition into power as material by proposing questions like "what constraints or allowances does a particular 'place' impose on who can say what with what impact at what time?," a question that Carole Blair, one of the most influential scholars in the study of space/place in rhetoric, answers. [57] She argues that “we cannot account for power, even as enacted or disabled by discourse, by resorting to understanding symbols and meanings.”[58] In fact, Blair believes that to define rhetoric and discourse solely within the realm of signs and symbols is inadequate to account for rhetoric’s “capacity for consequence, and its partisanship.”[59] Consequently, to confine the study of our relation to and resistance of discourse and power within language and speech restricts our analysis and critique of protest. Thus, for this thesis, I focus upon the way that power, as material, structures social as well as spatial practices that discipline and constrict movement of Black bodies. To critically analyze the power and domination insinuated in space, it is important to understand principles of the rhetoric of space/place, particularly the importance of bodies, subjectivities, and movement.

Materiality

Before detailing the general principles that guide my rhetorical analysis of space, I want to detail my understanding and definition of space in relation to protest utilizing the influential work of Michel de Certeau, Henri Lefebvre, and Doreen Massey. To begin, I look at the space of protest rather than the place of protest. The difference of place and space, according to Michel de Certeau is that "space is a practiced place" meaning place is a configuration of positions, whereas space actualizes the place through the "ensemble of movements deployed within it."[60] Lefebvre describes these ensembles of movements as spatial practices, or the daily routines and urban reality of human action within the space.[61] Essentially, place is the bounded and material structures of a defined location, which still has rhetorical power and implications, but space speaks to human actions and interactions within the place.

Doreen Massey advocates an even broader definition of space:

> First, that we recognise space as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the initimately tiny... Second, that we understand space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity... Third, that we recognise space as always under construction. Precisely because space on this reading is a product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily embedded material practices which have to carried out, it is always in the process of being made.[62]

While place is intricately tied to space, and vice versa, by focusing on space over place we are able to analyze the social constructions of the space. In essence, we are able to analyze how the materiality and embodiment of the space relates to how our bodies and actions are disciplined to further the ideological power embedded in the space. The actions of a protest in a place speak to how they redefine the boundaries and locations of the place, but actions of protest in space speak to the shifting social interactions within the boundaries.

In relatively recent years, rhetorical scholars have begun to address spaces as more than a backdrop and scene for rhetoric, but as rhetorical in their own right. Blair develops five questions for critics to reflect on as they analyze the rhetoric of materiality and space. They are: 1) what proximity and relationship should the critic have to the text (does being there matter), 2) how does the critic identify features that have rhetorical influence, 3) what boundaries should the critic establish between an insightful versus gratuitously polemical reading of the text, 4) "where do critics establish a balance between rhetorical efficacy and ethical consequence," and 5) how do critics make their text matter to those who read them?[63] Throughout this thesis I consistently reflect upon these questions as a guide to my material and spatial criticism. Further, other scholars like Greg Dickinson and Georgia Aiello provide important insight into the significant components and relations that influence not only the rhetoric of space, but also the resources that create and constitute ourselves.

Greg Dickinson explains the ways that we as a collective and individuals are always under construction and always creating ourselves through an interdependent tripartite relationship between, bodies, subjectivities, and space, wherein "the subject is both embodied and emplaced, for the subject goes nowhere without its body, and the body must always have a space of its appearance."[64] Hence, so as not to limit and misread bodies, subjectivity, and space individually, one must study all three interdependently for they all affect and are affected by one another. Later, Dickinson and Aeillo argue that while embodiment and materiality of space are intricate in the rhetoric of space, it is movement "that weaves together body's weft and spaces warp."[65] For them, "urban communication occurs as part of the weaving together of the (material) city and human (body) through movement," and they detail a methodological approach reliant on the scholar's entire body moving through and within the space to engage

with how the city and human connect. I constantly reminded myself to fully engage with the city and utilized all sensorimotor experiences to analyze the rhetorical forces of the Magnificent Mile and in my thesis I focus on the tripartite relationship between bodies, subjectivities, and space through an analysis of how the Magnificent Mile, through movement, constructs the Black body as a subject of exclusion.

Social Movement

Studies on materiality within social movements began through scholars work in extending conceptions of what is considered rhetoric to include body rhetoric, street protest, and confrontation, but they did so as a way to define differences of form between social movements and institutions.[66] In contemporary scholarship, there are places that utilize the broadening conception of rhetoric to answer the question: what rhetorical tactics are utilized for social movement? As two particularly pertinent areas of scholarship regarding the rhetoric of social movement is that of how bodies and space/place rhetorically function to produce arguments designed to shift consciousness.

First, recent scholarship attends to rhetoricity of the body—particularly the body in space—as a part of and a tool for movement arguments. For instance, Deluca claims that using bodies, particularly vulnerable, taboo, transfigured, and dangerous bodies, in protest can create image-events that not only flags media attention, but also creates, as quoted in Manes, a "mind-bomb that 'shred[s] the existing screens of perception and work to expand 'the universe of thinkable thoughts.'"[67] He argues that using the body as a resource for argumentation defies "conventional legislative and material goals."[68] In doing so, these movements are "eschewing conventional goals in favor of contesting social norms, deconstructing the established naming of the world, and suggesting the possibilities of alternative worlds."[69] It is also important to note

how the protester's body is culturally and socially inscribed or marked as a part of the argument. In analyzing the maternal body in protest, Allison Prasch describes how the protesters' subjectivities as mother drew on the cultural reverence towards the maternal in militant protest. These women's inscribed maternal body performing in protest argued that the mothers and their "starving, dying children" were the true victims of war.[70] The acts of the bodies, through their cultural and socially inscribed meaning, ruptures expectations and asserts an alternative conception to redefine our reality.

Similarly, protesters can (re)constitute spaces in ways that push "the boundaries of the spatial imaginaries into realms that are unexpected and challenging."[71] A movement can temporarily claim a space in ways that contradict, challenge, and critique the dominant ideology implanted in it. Within rhetorical studies, Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook provide a recent and thorough analysis of place-as-rhetoric in protest, which "assumes that the very place in which a protest occurs is a rhetorical performance that is part of the message of the movement."[72] Defining place as material, embodied, and ephemeral, they contend that place is under constant (re)construction, (re)enforcement, and (re)interpretation through the embodiment of the material space.

Isaac West continues to bridge the gap between space/place and bodies as he speaks to the resistance of power relations of the space in his discussion of the PISSAR (People in Search of Safe and Accessible Restrooms) coalition. He suggests that communication scholars have taken a two-dimensional approach to the study of space and place wherein they "treat place and space as the site of rhetorical practice, noting it as a material constraint without exploring the interpenetrating rhetorical relationship between individuals in place and space."[73] He argues for a three-dimensional approach that views the material constraints as "integrally linked to the

rhetorical production of identity and agency."[74] Contemporary scholarship opens the possibility of analyzing the rhetoric of bodies, space, and identities as argumentative forces in and of themselves within protest, an opening I hope to expand with concepts of movement.

Preview of Chapters

Given my stated goals, the remainder of this thesis will unfold as follows. Chapter Two will serve as my theory-building chapter in which I review extant scholarship on materiality, space/place, power, and movement in relation to their constitution of the social. By the end of this chapter, I will have examined how our social being and sociality are co-constituted by the material relationships between space, movement, and bodies to underscore why, and establish a clear articulation of how, scholars should analyze social movement's material reconfigurations of space, bodies, and movement, which literally alters movement of the social to "move the social." In Chapter Three, I will contextualize how the movement of Black bodies have been disciplined and constrained both historically and contemporarily, specifically focusing on Chicago and the Magnificent Mile. In doing so, I trace the shifts from legislative to cultural restrictions in order to underscore the ways that the racialization of space and spatialization of race produce a social and spatial imaginary that is inhospitable and violent towards Black lives. Chapter Four then turns to my analysis of Black Lives Matter's Black Friday protest at the Magnificent Mile where I argue that by disrupting movement in the space protesters urged shoppers to recognize and acknowledge their masked privilege to confront the historic and contemporary reality of racism that dictates Black body's movement into and within space. Finally, my last chapter discusses the possibilities that analysis of social movement as material has to further our understanding of activism, race, and material rhetoric.

Chapter 2: Moving the Social into the Material

One of the most influential elements of McGee's conceptualization of social movements is that, as Kevin Deluca iterates, it offers a foundation for "a rhetorical theory of social movements, as opposed to Griffin's historical theory or Simon's sociological theory."[75] Rather than focus on a historical survey of public address or the organizational dimensions of particular movements, a rhetorical theory of social movements evaluates the "changes in human or collective consciousness or changes in the symbolic interpretation of the environment" to explain social change.[76] The shift that McGee proposes altered what was considered a social movement as well as how they were analyzed. As to what is considered a "movement," movement as meaning accounted for specific issues that New Social Movements present, like informal organizational structures, altered rhetorical tactics and strategies of protests, and broadened contexts of protest to include everyday life and the private sphere.[77] For example, Deluca argues that within Simon's functionalist perspective rhetorical scholars would not be able or even think to study important environmental movements like Greenpeace or Earth First!.[78]

Additionally, McGee offers a critical heuristic that engages movements within a materialist notion of rhetoric. McGee was one of many in a long history of people that discussed the daunting question of "what is rhetoric?" He takes a materialist conception of rhetoric, which views rhetoric as a process rather than a product. Instead of rhetoric being a speech given at a particular time, place, and to a particular audience (a product), the materialists believe rhetoric is always already a part of our lives, that it is "as omnipresent as air and water."[79] We are always already a part of, constructed by, and producers of rhetoric that alters our human experience on a micro, macro, and sociocultural level. Rhetoric and discourse does not simply describe or speak

about our social world, but it constitutes and shapes it. For McGee, discourse is “a social function which permits interactivity among people. It is a medium, a bridge among human beings, the social equivalent of a verb in a sentence.”[80] Consequently, using a materialist perspective of rhetoric as a foundation to build a rhetorical theory of social movements, McGee shifts the focus away from analyzing the discourse produced by a movement and towards how a movement’s involvement in the social produces change. Put differently, a social movement is a part of the process of human experience and a rhetorical theory of social movement analyzes how they move the social.

While I agree with McGee’s theorizing of social movements through a materialist lens, I also believe that McGee unduly limits the critic’s examination of social movement as a set of meanings by focusing solely on discourse and not attending to materiality. For McGee, “movement” is the measure of changes in discourse itself that “represents a shift away from or challenge to a dominant social imaginary as evident in narratives, ideographs, and other rhetorics.”[81] I propose that critics also examine 1) how social movements, through protest, alter and disrupt material movement (the ways that materials such as bodies, cars, doors…etc move), which then 2) challenges dominant social practices, norms, and imaginaries. In this chapter, I focus on how materiality, as a rhetorical agent, shapes, constitutes, and imagines our sociality within power and ideology while expanding notions of material texts to argue that movement and motion rhetorically produce, reflect, and inflect our practices, and therefore understandings of, sociality and the social.

Broadening what constitutes a text within McGee’s framework is not a new concept. Notably, Deluca added visual rhetoric as an important component of social movement rhetoric with his concept of the “image event,” Dana Cloud pointed critics towards the extra-discursive

through her analysis of silence in the ‘34 Uprisings, and Darrel Enck-Wanzer offers the concept of intersectional rhetoric to examine verbal, visual, and corporeal elements of protest.[82] Since this thesis focuses on material movement, with particular attention to the body, I find that expanding on Enck-Wanzer’s intersectional rhetoric would be a worthy endeavor. In the article “Trashing the System: Social Movement, Intersectional Rhetoric, and Collective Agency in the Young Lords Organization's Garbage Offensive” he contends that studying social movements and movement of the social from a solely discursive perspective limits what the critic can see. He states, “it is important to try to shift our critical optics (at least slightly) about street movement rhetoric so that we might see beyond how <bodies *plus* words> function, and begin seeing how <bodies-words-images> intersect to form (an)other rhetoric of resistance that is qualitatively different than a critic might have assumed.”[83] Through the concept of intersectional rhetoric, which analyzes the visual, verbal, and corporeal as interwoven elements of protest, Enck-Wanzer argues that attending to more than the verbal or symbolic scholars can expand our critical heuristic to analyze a fuller experience of social movements that “articulate unique agencies.”[84] Consequently, he opens a door to examining movement of the social beyond discourse by asserting the importance and intersectionality of words, images, and bodies. In this thesis, I extend what makes up a “text” to include the material rhetoric of bodies, space, and movement in protest. To do so, this chapter first briefly outlines material rhetoric to establish the constitutive influence that materiality has on producing the social. Then, I detail the material influence that space and movement have in culturally producing our social body, with specific attention to the ideology, power, and oppression implicated with both.

Material Rhetoric

Once again, McGee speaks to material rhetoric, but through a sense that rhetoric materializes or produces discourse. He asserts that, “rhetoric is 'material' by measure of human experiencing of it, not by virtue of our ability to continue touching it after it is gone.”[85] In this statement, he clearly detaches material from one of its definitional uses, “concerned with matter or the physical world,” and focuses more on the verb—“to bring into physical or bodily form.”[86] Therefore, I recognize that within McGee’s material conception of rhetoric he is still only referring to discourse, but with more scholarship on material rhetoric we can break down his depiction of rhetoric to easily and importantly fit within the “thingness” of materiality. Specifically, he depicts rhetoric within an onotological framework, that humans experience rhetoric and through this experience we are “conditioned to a pattern of social and political opinions.”[87] But, we experience the world through materiality, through things.

From the things that compose the world around us—our clothes, our houses, the trash can next to our desks— to the composition of us, our bodies, we experience and are a world of matter. To connect McGee’s conception of rhetoric to materiality, I argue that material things, as well as discourse, co-produce human experience within a pattern of social and cultural norms. Rather than focusing solely on humanism, studies in materiality recognize what Jane Bennet calls “thing-power” which requires an “attentiveness to (nonhuman) things and [that] their powers can have a laudable effect on humans.”[88] If you have ever had to duck your head to get through a doorway, missed a step on a stairway, or even had to open a door, you have been affected by material things.

On a more “laudable” level, Bennett argues that existence is peculiar to a thing, that materiality is “irreducible to the thing’s imbrication with human subjectivity.”[89] Things

command our attention and, in our interaction with things, we are called into a certain mode of being that, in part, configures our subjectivity. Isaac West, for example, details how the materiality of bathrooms, the presence (or lack) of grab bars or the height or sinks or soap, calls people of disability "to place their own bodies at risk by publicly marking their difference as pissing and shitting beings."[90] The construction of restrooms is steeped in the cultural and social norms of ableism and their materiality configures a pattern of being that forces people to comply and engage with them or be deemed different, for "material things…co-produce the culture of which they are a part."[91] Therefore, things and their (non)presence, like discourse, affect our human experiences within a set of cultural and social patterns.

It is also important to remember that things not only affect the human, but humans themselves are material.[92] We are made up of material, from our bones, hair, skin, and neural pathways that interact within the world. Dickinson and Aiello describe how the materiality of our bodies is consequential for the individual and society. They state:

> Language use makes and remakes the brain by restructuring neural pathways. Meanwhile, culturally structured and meaningful movement such as walking, sitting, or running remakes the muscles, joints, and tendons and restructures proprioceptive senses and abilities, or the body's engagement with the surrounding material environment which translates into particular forms of muscular memory and spatial awareness.[93]

Our bodies are constantly interacting within materiality and in each interaction, our own materiality (re)forms and develops patterns of movement in the world. Think, for example, about getting into your car where your body seems to perform itself and your hands know where the door is and how to pull it. As we act upon things, pulling the car door open, things are acting upon us, our arm reaches, tenses, and pulls the door open.

Our material body often enacts the cultural and social patterns of human experience. As Butler argues, "the body is not merely matter but a continual and incessant *materializing* of

possibilities. One is not simply a body, but, in some very key sense, one does one's body."[94] The way we move in the world is, in part, conditioned by the expected cultural and social norms developed in our society, and we "do" these performances. For example, our bodies do and perform sexuality and, in this performance, we alter our material body. Fiona Buckland, in discussing the queer body, argues that in the everyday movements through the city, the body is inscribed into a certain lifeworld and the queer body specifically contends with social and cultural heteronormativity. The queer body must mask its queerness or risk discipline and violence onto the body. She discusses a particular interview where a gay man described his walk to a dance club and the maneuvers he had to make to safely pass through a straight neighborhood, he had to take his hat off, zip up his leather jacket, and change the gait of his walk in order to pass as straight. While he was telling this story, his body re-enacted the movements because actions are embodied movements that, when consistently performed, often become a part of your materiality and being. [95] Materiality of things, including our bodies, call us into being and in doing so co-produce the cultural and social norms through which we create our human experience. The ways that a material, or "text," "inserts itself into our attention… encouraging or discouraging us to act or move, as well as think, in particular directions" is a profoundly rhetorical process that "acts on the whole person, not just the 'hearts and minds' of its audience." [96] The rhetoricity of materiality comes from the ability for matter—things—to act upon, call attention to, and engage in people's thoughts, actions, and being. In these engagements, we pursue and enact human experience, and human experience is marked by the fact that we human beings are social beings, that we experience together.

The Social

The Social as Rhetorical

As Judith Butler argues, “at the most intimate levels, we are social; we are comported toward a 'you'; we are outside ourselves, constituted in cultural norms that precede and exceed us, given over to a set of cultural norms and a field of power that condition us fundamentally."[97] I began with this quotation because it serves as a foundation for my understanding of what it means to be social, in that the social 1) constructs ourselves as individuals and 2) develops and forms our institutions, laws, norms, and the public. In short, the social is the enactment and understanding of the who, how, and where that forms a collective.

To begin, Butler argues that we are constantly in a state of being undone and redone into and within our social interactions. While we may feel like individual people—we spend time by ourselves, we have our own internal thoughts, we make decisions without consulting others—we are never fully knowable or completely ourselves, for “we are undone by each other.”[98] That is to say, in every interaction and relationship we change and restructure ourselves in a new light, we *are* the interactions we have with others. We are “given over from the start to the world of others,” our bodies, our identity, our beingness is not our own.[99] Instead, we are “beyond ourselves, implicated in the lives that are not our own,” we are in a constant state of becoming, wherein we undo and (re)suture ourselves within each social interaction and relationship.[100] Indeed, if you have ever heard the voice of a loved one when making decisions, whether it be what to eat for breakfast or what college to go to, you have undone yourself to become with that other person. Their being and imaginary voice implicates itself in your actions and thus ways of being. The “I” that chooses oatmeal rather than cereal opens and creates a “we” with the nudging voice that says oatmeal is healthier. Essentially, the relations we develop and interactions we

have within the social world clasps into and transforms who and what we are, thus creating a beingness that is never fully complete nor completely our own. Hence, our relations, whether it be a conversation over coffee with a dear friend, a passing moment with a stranger, or an interaction with protesters, influence and direct our constant state of becoming individually and socially. While this seems to exist on an abstract or theoretical level, our sociality has consequence in developing more concrete dimensions of our life like politics, institutions, and norms.

Ancient philosophers like Isocrates and Aristotle utilize concepts of the social as a way to distinguish animal from human and argue that through our sociality we develop a political community concentrated on developing a good and just society. For Isocrates, humans are relatively inferior creatures if we compare them to other animals in attributes like strength and speed. But, what sets us apart from animals, what makes us humans is the "power to persuade each other and to make clear to each other whatever we desire" for, as Isocrates argues, "not only have we escaped the life of wild beasts, but we have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts."[101] In this coming together, we embark on, what Aristotle describes as a collective journey "with a view to some particular advantage, and to provide something that [we] need for the purposes of life."[102] The collective journey, with a focus on creating a society that provides us with purposes for life, for Aristotle, is how the political community "seems both to have come together originally and to endure."[103] Creation of the polis stems from enacting the social. For Isocrates and Aristotle, this means deliberating and speaking both to, and as a public in order to form a political community. Therefore, the ways in which we are social hold consequence in the formation of our institutions, our laws, our values, our norms, and most importantly the public.

Admittedly, I was initially uncertain of which term I should use through this thesis, social or public. I believed there was the slightest distinction that would allow me to most accurately describe and justify my use of one versus the other. While there is a myriad of scholarly definitions of public, and McGee points towards human consciousness as the main component of social, I hesitate to detach the two terms from each other.[104] Indeed, influential scholars have used the two terms almost mutually exclusively. For example, Doreen Massey, defines spaces as "*genuinely* public" based on the negotiations and playing out of *social* relations.[105] Accordingly, I understand the social and public to be interwoven entities; the social produces the public while the public informs and produces the social. That is to say, we are social in public which always already formulates what it means to be public and the public informs and instructs how we perform our sociality. Therefore, using Dickinson, Blair, and Ott's contention that rhetoric "organizes itself around the relationship of discourses, events, objects, and practices to ideas about what it means to be 'public'" I argue that material rhetoric, particularly that of space and movement, has the potential to shape what it means to be public and therefore informs the social, thus constituting ourselves individually and politically.

The Social as Spatial

Our sociality, and thus our individual and political be(com)ing, happens within space. Our interactions are not within a void, but occur in coffee shops, shopping malls, homes, restaurants—in space and place. Doreen Massey articulates the importance of space as social when she states, "we cannot 'become'… without others. And it is space that provides the necessary condition for that possibility."[106] Michael Hyde argues that from and within our social interactions we develop and formulate an ethos where we come to "know together." Hyde harkens back to the original definition of ethos as "dwelling places," to point to the fact that the

social interactions we have where we come to "know together" occurs within certain times and places. These dwelling places "define the grounds, the abodes or habitats, where a person's ethics and moral character take form or develop."[107] Thus, our social interactions, which form our moral and ethical character and make us human, not only occur within, but are also shaped by space and place. We socialize in everyday spaces like shopping malls, where the movement through and gathering within the space, as Greg Dickinson argues, "feel[s] like public practice in a public space… where contemplation is a shared experience and public activity."[108] We experience space with others. Our practices within public spaces offers us a place to interact and formulate our morals and ethics— our humanness because space is social and the social is spatial

Beyond just offering a place to be social, space shapes, produces, and configures the social.[109] Space and place are not simply a container, location, or vessel that holds people, things, actions, and events. Even though historically space has been confined as a backdrop or setting in which life happens, contemporarily space and place are considered to be co-produced and co-constituted with culture, norms, values, and sociality.[110] We do not merely reside in space, but instead interact and shape it as the space in turn interacts and shapes us, for "space unfolds as interaction."[111] Within our interactions with space we negotiate its multiplicities, be it within our own bodily trajectories or our interactions among others. For Massey, the multiplicity of space, or the conceptualization of space as "open, multiple and relational, unfinished and always becoming," configures a spatiality that requires negotiations which develop interconnectivity and constitutive relationality.[112] She argues that:

> this approach to the understanding of the social, the individual, and the political itself implies and requires both a strong dimension of spatiality and the conceptualisation of that spatiality in a particular way. At one level this is to rehearse again that the fact that any notion of sociability, in its sparest form multiplicity, is to imply a dimension of spatiality. This is obvious, but since it usually remains implicit (if even that), its implications are rarely drawn out. The very acknowledgement of our constitutive

> interrelatedness implies a spatiality; and that in turn implies that the nature of that spatiality should be a crucial avenue of enquiry and political engagement.[113]

Through Massey's iteration of sociality and space we can understand the ways in which, through space, we develop a social character together that is partisan and political. Rhetoric is always partisan in that what is (not) said, (not) present, (not) done creates and constitutes a set of values, ideas, and norms.[114] Therefore, the multiplicity intertwined with the rhetoricity of space is constantly inflecting sets of values that call us to act out a certain sociality which has political ramifications. Giorgia Aiello offers an example of a space that both shifts within its multiplicity and in doing so compels an altered version of the social. Through her study of the transformation of Manifattura Delle Arti from wound to enclave, Aiello depicts the social and political aims and results of converting the space and its sociality into a globalist advancement of capitalism.[115] Shifts in landscape and spatiality also shifts who resides in the space as well as what performances are acceptable, all of which implicate itself in producing a sociality that is at the same time steeped in power and ideology.

Ideology, Power, and Space

Michel Foucault, while he was never able to, said that he would like to write a history of space, "which would at the same time be a history of power."[116] He is not the only person to recognize the importance that space has on power. Raka Shome similarly states that, "space is not merely a backdrop, though, against which the communicating of cultural politics occurs. Rather, it needs to be recognized as a central component in that communication. It functions as a technology--a means and medium--of power that is socially constituted through material relations that enable the communication of specific politics."[117] Space is not just a container of social interactions, but it also as a force that shapes, influences, and produces the social. Yet, space, in shaping the social, also excludes, denies access to, and disciplines who and how people

can be social. Thus, space can create a social system and way of being steeped in oppressive ideologies and norms that marginalizes communities.

In Henri Lefebvre's book, *The Production of Space,* he details the significance of social space as productive of power and ideology. Ideological power, according to Lefebvre, specifically necessitates the rhetorical power and structure of space to invite, compel, and construct social actions in line with the ideology.[118] The ideology of neoliberalism, for example, suffuses its precepts into free market spaces like shopping malls that are "self-enclosed, streamlined, and sanitized structures single-mindedly devoted to consumption."[119] When we window shop only to find ourselves entering the store to purchase an item we are engaging with the architectural design of large windows lining the hall showcasing commodities. Therefore, the way we act, engage with, and think about the mall enunciates notions of free market consumerism and individualism.[120]

Additionally, Lefebvre argues that *"(social) space is a (social) product*" as well as a productive force, thus "in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence domination, of power."[121] Lefebvre explains that space has productive power similar to that of commodities and capital, but that it also has the power to produce thought and action.[122] Through this production, space can be a means of control, domination, and power. Beyond being a structure of ideology and power, "space is a component of power that penetrates all other social frameworks, and, although not every social relation can be reduced to space, space is nonetheless a force that helps constitute other social relations."[123] Consequently, space serves as a structure, producer, and component of power, which functions by constituting our social relations through normative practices, behaviors, and expectations.

Within space we are subjected to ideology and power, all of which compel us towards a homogenous set of actions that enact and work within ideology and power. Edward Soja describes Lefebvre's activist contention of the "right to the city," which is a "right to difference, to be different, against the forces of homogenization, fragmentation, and hierarchically organized power."[124] But within the production of space difference is disciplined and homogenization is accepted and expected. To understand the ways that (social) space as a (social) product produces a homogenized set of actions and expectations we must turn to Foucault's concepts of discipline and surveillance as a function of power.

Unlike the highly visible institutional power of law and law enforcement, disciplinary power "is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility" through (self)-surveillance.[125] Foucault discusses the Panopticon in his book *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison,* to exemplify the productive power of surveillance to produce and discipline norms. The basic premise is that Bentham, an architect, developed a panoptical structure for the surveillance of prisoners. It was in the center and the prisoners were never aware of when a guard was or was not watching them so they behaved in accordance to the rules and regulations. To extrapolate this, the panopticon demonstrates the disciplining function of surveillance. The possibility that someone may be watching us disciplines us to act in accordance with the norms in our day-to-day life. Further, the omnipresent nature of the panopticon requires little external surveillance, but instead, in fear of being seen doing something outside of the norm, we are constantly surveilling and disciplining ourselves.[126] In fear of being disciplined, we continually discipline others as well as ourselves to embody certain norms, values, and habits through surveillance.

Space and place constructs and instructs expectations and norms for how to interact and behave within it that casts aside difference. Tim Cresswell argues that it is through these expectations of behaviors within space that construct, maintain, and evolve ideological values.[127] Certain behaviors are considered appropriate or acceptable while others are cast as out-of-place and are subjected to discipline and surveillance. Through these expectations, space and place—and their taken-for-granted nature—construct a normative landscape that determines what is right, appropriate, and worthy.[128] To continue with the strain of the shopping malls, Jones and Foust argue that the 16th Street downtown mall in Denver is a structured space that encourages a performance of consumerism while erasing and disciplining non-consumer identities that do not conform to neoliberal ideologies.[129] Thus, one result of ideology and power of both the creation of spaces and spatial practices is a production of difference. If one does not abide by the expectations, then social norms and constructs consider them out of place and disciplines their movement into and within the space.

Our interactions in and through space occur, according to Dickinson, within the interdependency of a tripartite relationship among bodies, subjectivities, and space wherein "the subject is both embodied and emplaced, for the subject goes nowhere without its body, and the body must always have a space of its appearance."[130] Hence, so as not to limit and misread bodies, subjectivity, and space individually, one must study all three interdependently for they all affect and are affected by one another. The body and space inform and are informed by our subjectivities because "for the subject to take up a position as a subject, it must be situated in the space occupied by its body. This anchoring of subjectivity in its body is the condition of coherent identity, and moreover the condition under which the subject *has a perspective* on the world"[131] Subjectivities are produced through socialization and normalization of spatial practices deployed

by the body. The embodied deployment of practices in space that produce our subjectivities are done through movement.

"Movement" and Space

For space to be social however, the users must be in and enact the space, for "all human experience emerges from the facticity of being a body-in-the-world" and being a body-in-the-world intrinsically means that we are bodies in space.[132] We move through and in the material and symbolic dimensions of space, each of which simultaneously urges us to enact and perform in certain ways. To interact and engage with a city, we must move through it. In fact, Giorgia Aiello and Greg Dickinson argue that "movement makes possible and reveals the city and the human body… [that this] is the process by which we become known to ourselves and the way in which the city becomes known and knowable."[133] The process of moving through the city is a physical and temporal experience that increases our understanding of the city and ourselves historically and presently.

More so than understanding and knowing a city and ourselves, movement provides us with a certain amount of agency through our ability to perform the space. Michel de Certeau, describes how movement creates multiple potentialities of enactment as well as embodied understandings of space through his analysis of "walking in the city." For Certeau, places, which he specifies into "proper places," depict a logical construction of a stable set of relations and functions. To him proper places are a "mastery of time" because it stagnates change and movement through its stability and autonomy.[134] Through our individual trajectories, operations, and movements, the spatial order of a proper place becomes actualized space. For example, the order of a proper place holds that we cross the street at the crosswalk. However, we have the ability and agency to shift and actualize the space differently through the act of jaywalking, thus

we become an "operator" of space.[135] The movement of a pedestrian through a city practices the space in ways that conflict, interact, and resist the order and rules designated by the place. To use Certeau's words:

> If it is true that a spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities (e.g., by a place in which one can move) and interdictions (e.g., by a wall that prevents one from going further), the walker actualizes as well as emerge. In that way [they] make them exist as well as emerge. But [they] also move… them about and [they] invent… others, since the crossing, drifting away, or improvisation of walking privilege, transform or abandon spatial elements.[136]

These spatial practices do not just adjust elements within the space, but they also "secretly structure the determining conditions of social life."[137] Thus, our movement within space not only enunciates the grammar of a place, but also influence the ways that space conditions social life.

While we hold agency in how we choose to move and enact space, there are material and symbolic forces that constrain and direct movement, which urges us to enact and inflect certain values within space. Planners, architects, and experts materially and symbolically design, plan, and construct space to impose the order, ideology, knowledge, and values of a society. This is a part of what Lefebvre calls the representations of space. [138] The materiality of a statue or memorial in the middle of a sidewalk strongly urges the body to walk around or inspect the object so as not to run into it, much like the symbol of a stop sign urges us, by law, to cease movement.[139] In our compliance with these urgings, we engage with the ideologies and values, whether good or bad, that are inherently imbued and constructed within space. An inability to move fluidly throughout the city limits and confines our interwoven nature with our material reality and social body.

Aimee Carillo Rowe, provides an example of the inability for some bodies, particularly marginalized and marked bodies to move in certain space. She argues that the Mexican-American border is a material force that delegitimizes and constrains movement of marked Black

and Brown bodies while liberating unmarked white bodies through the progression of an ideological U.S. nationalism predicated on the retention and necessity of whiteness.[140] Borders according to Gloria Anzaldua "define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish *us* from *them"* and represent a "vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary."[141] Therefore, rhetorically, the material and discursive components of the U.S.-Mexican border demarcates boundaries and produces and instantiates U.S. nationalism through the practices that the space compels. These practices consist of disciplining, through violence, the movement of Brown bodies. The border legally restricts movement between countries, but the discourses surrounding the border and the materiality of the space invites actions and practices of exclusion and violence that restricts movement outside of the law. Space has a productive role in the creation of ideology and also holds great rhetorical influence on the practices and people allowed in the space which uphold these ideologies.

Movement and Motion

The way we move in and through space is important in enunciating, enacting, and operating the space's ideology and power, but the actual act and process of moving is also transformative within the body, individual, and society. Brian Massumi offers an insightful theorization of how movement affects culture and the social. He specifically hopes to build upon cultural studies and "refresh… their vocabulary" by augmenting the notion of movement within the traditional framework of positionality.[142] Positionality views the body as a site on a grid of "culturally constructed signification," wherein our subjectivities are mapped out as white versus Black, gay versus straight, male versus female.[143] After tracing common conceptions of the body through positionality, which implies a stagnant and punctuated subjectivity, Massumi argues that we are missing the process upon which a position takes form.[144] For him, movement is both an

ontogenetical and ontological process of becoming of culture and the social.[145] That is to say, through movement we develop positionality in a state of becoming (ontogenetic), while emerging as a nature of being (ontological).[146] In adjusting the conversation towards movement rather than positionality, we are able to analyze change, transition, or transformation because we begin with the notion that we are always already developing and emerging into a position through movement, which is a state of changing relationality in space and time.

Movement is always a mode of process that implies possibility and potential. Until something stops moving, it can be anything because as we move there are infinite points of possibility and in each enactment of that point we are open to more possibilities, until we cease to move. As Massumi states, "*a thing is when it isn't doing.*"[147] Using Henri Bergson's example of Zeno's arrow, Massumi describes the movement of an arrow as a passage across points and each point of flight subsumes an infinite number of intervening points which the arrow occupies along its passage. Until the arrow stops by hitting the target it is never in a point, but in a passage across all of them. Only until it hits the target can a thing concretely be where it is and what it is. With the risk of oversimplifying Massumi's theory, another example is a cup of coffee. While resting on the table, it is a cup of coffee, but as you pick it up and bring it to your mouth its position, or thingness, changes. It is now, in your mind, a drink. But even throughout the movement from the table to your mouth, the cup of coffee has potential and possibility to be anything. At any point in the movement you could spill it, thus altering its position as a cup of coffee or a drink into a mess. Throughout the process of movement, its thingness is developing (ontogenetically), but it's being does not emerge (ontologically) until it reaches a moment of stasis.

Within cultural studies, positionality and movement stem into social and cultural determinations of gender, race, sexual orientation…etc through a coinciding process. Massumi describes this process as:

> If passage is primary in relation to position, processual indeterminancy is primary in relation to social determination… Social and cultural determinations on the model of positionality are also secondary and derived. Gender, race, and sexual orientation also emerge and back-form their reality. Passage precedes construction. But construction does effectively back-form its reality. Grids happen. So social and cultural determinations feed back into the process from which they arose.[148]

Essentially, our movement—within space, through our body, in relation to things—denotes a passage that holds infinite potential and possibility. The ways that we move enact certain potentialities over others. Through this passage, we *become* within a certain social and cultural determination, which then retroactively formulates the reality of what those determinations entail, as well as what we become. I return to Fiona Buckland to offer an example. The man who changed his gait while he walked through the streets in order to pass as straight was making a passage through the potential points of movement. The term passing itself, depicts the importance of movement in cultural and social determination. In this case, passing means embodying the movements of a straight person. Therefore, while he raised his foot from the ground to the air and back to the ground he moved in a way that constructed him socially and culturally as straight. Yet, in that passage he (re)constructed the reality of straightness. Through his movement, he constructed the social and cultural determination of heterosexuality as a particular way of walking and then altered the construction through his passing. Within these movements there is an ontogenetic formation of the ontological social and cultural positionality of both homo and heterosexuality. Put differently, through movement we form our individual positions within cultural and societal expectations while we simultaneously constitute that position by enacting movement's potential/possible points in the passage.

In movement, there is a telos, an ultimate end, that results in stasis wherein we are not doing. The passage through points occurred and we emerge through that movement. But, the process of passage constructs the end position of stasis. I argue that this process within movement is motion. Specifically, I define motion as the enactment of possible points and trajectories that create a particular movement. Take grabbing a water bottle as an example. Movement implies our body moving to reach and grab a water bottle, that is the movement's ultimate end, and in stasis, the hand has reached and grasped the bottle. However, throughout the movement, our body enacts a passage through potential points, that is our motion. We can make a direct motion towards the water bottle, or, say if we want to add flare to the movement, we could take a wide sweeping motion. The motion we take to grab the bottle is an enactment of possible movements, but we usually do not consciously think about the infinite possible motions of grabbing a water bottle. While Massumi never makes this claim, he nods to the concept of motion within movement when he writes:

> When a body is in motion, it does not coincide with itself. It coincides with its own transition: its own variation. The range of variations it can be implicated in is not present in any given movement, much less in any position it passes through. In motion, a body is in an immediate, unfolding relation to its own nonpresent potential to vary.[149]

Through motion we are in a state of transition with various potentials for action, which in turn implies a potential for being/becoming. Our motion enacts the process of becoming inherent in movement, thus in each movement and motion we take we become different. Yet, when I go to grab for a water bottle, unless I want to add flare, my body performs a direct motion towards grabbing the bottle because it is habit.

Massumi defines habit as "an acquired automatic self-regulation. It resides in the flesh. Some say in matter. As acquired, it can be said to be 'cultural.' As automatic and material, it can pass for 'natural.'"[150] When I leave my office cubicles there are two doors that I can choose, and

each time I round the corner my body seemingly directs me towards the door to the right. My body carries me through the movement, and I only think about the direction of departure when I am, for some reason, forced to use the left door upon which my body hesitates and the movement/motion feels unusual. The repeated motions of turning to the right has habituated my body to move to the right rather than the left. The motions we take while moving are also steeped in cultural and social expectations, which formulate to create habits.

Habits co-constitute the world around us, including its social, cultural, political, economic, and physical dimensions. Habits engender themselves into our body and our being/becoming. My body changes because of the habit of turning right to leave my office. Yet, my habits not only shape my body, motion, and movement, but they also fold into, constitute, and produce the social, cultural, and political world around us. A particularly pernicious example is that of white privilege, which Shannon Sullivan argues is, in part, "an unconscious habit" that "constitutes the way of 'bodying' as well as ways of thinking."[151] Habit as a predisposition and then transaction with the world shapes and constitutes race, gender, sexual orientation. Sullivan uses the example of slavery to depict the constructive potential of habits. To her, slavery, understood as habit, "constituted the slave's disposition to transact with the world as enslaved, as not needing or wanting freedom and as understanding his or her enslavement as appropriate and natural."[152] In turn, white habits were structured as "domestic dictator" wherein their habits are entrenched in the disposition of ruling over others without resistance.[153] Contemporarily, we see these racial constructions in unconscious habits like the white stare, which is an unconscious habit of dominance in the form of surveillance. Through the habit of staring, we create a burden of visibility and constitute what is socially (ab)normal.[154] Frantz Fanon discusses his experience of a child saying "look a negro!" to their mother, which produced him as other to her and to

himself, thus affecting him ontologically. In the dominating stare of the white child, Fanon had to configure himself as "[B]lack in relation to the white man."[155] Sullivan depicts habits as a part of the fabric of our world and states, "if the self can be understood as a complex tapestry of woven fibers, habits are the various threads that make up the tapestry as a whole. Or, to stretch the metaphor, habits are the various threads that help constitute each other as they make up the tapestry."[156] Habit represents a predisposition to the world as well as a transaction within it. As we move through spaces and among others, we are habituating our bodies within while simultaneously producing our cultural and social realities. Often, our habits fold into and progress dominant ideology, power, and practices, and thus can be a practice of producing a sociality of marginalization and oppression.

Throughout this chapter, I have made multiple moves to advance the overarching claim that social being and sociality are co-constituted by the material relationships between space, movement, and bodies and therefore deserves attention when analyzing how social movements, through the material reconfigurations of space, bodies, and movement, literally alters movement of the social to "move the social." First, I expanded upon what comprises McGee's notion of moving the social from materialist concepts of discourse to include material rhetoric, which I argue serves an important role in co-producing human experience within a pattern of social and cultural norms. Then, I detail the ways that our sociality—our interactions, practices and relations with others—constructs the individual "I" into a collective and incomplete "we" which forms our institutions, laws, norms, and the public. Third, I attend to the fact that we are social in space to establish that space produces, shapes, and constitutes our sociality and underscore the power, ideology, and oppression implicated in this relationship. Finally, I outline the ways that our movement in space and motions of our body effect and co-construct our cultural and social

reality, by materially inscribing norms and habits of how to transact with the world into the space as well as our bodies. Consequently, our sociality does not simply occur in space, but is informed, transformed, and constituted by its materiality as well as its enabled and invited spatial practices. In this chapter, I presented movement and motion as material texts that hold rhetorical power to inflect and produce our cultural and social understandings and patterns of who, how, and where we come to associate and form a collective—the social.

We come to understand and formulate ourselves as a certain type of collective, in part, through our social and spatial patterns and imaginaries. These patterns and imaginaries help make sense of and enable who we (do not) believe ourselves to be, fashions our norms, actions, and expectations within the collective, and socially orders and is ordered by material practices.[157] In essence, they influence and formulate our sociality. Thus, sociality is structured, practiced, and materially instantiated. In this chapter I discussed the formation of sociality through patterns and practices, but in the next chapter I turn more towards the material instantiations that construct our social and spatial imaginaries in relation to race. As Lipsitz notes, the imaginaries that produce the social "enact a public pedagogy about who belongs where and what makes certain spaces desirable" and therefore can develop a sociality that is exclusive and marginalizing. In the next chapter, I focus on the ways that material movement—that is the lack of spatial and embodied access to move— in Chicago has played a role in developing a social/spatial imaginary that criminalizes and delegitimizes Black lives.

As contemporary social movements, like Black Lives Matter, resist these cultural and societal norms they may reconfigure the material production of what it means to be social, thus moving the social. Black Lives Matter are fighting against a long history of race issues in the United States, which is also a long history of issues of space and movement, wherein Black

movement has historically been regulated, constricted, and disciplined. With the understanding that history implicates itself within our spatial movements, which then affects our sociality, the next chapter outlines a brief history of issues of space and movement for Black people in the United States to underscore the continuing issues in our contemporary moment.

Chapter 3: Space, Movement, and Race

As I argued in the previous chapter, space and movement are influential in producing the social. However, both space and movement are not equally available, accessible, or operated by every person. In fact, the United States has a long history of directing, restricting, constraining, and disciplining Black people's movement into and within spaces. Beginning with the slave trade, whether it be through physical violence and force, legislative policies, or discriminatory practices, white people in the United States have and continue to assert power over Black movement and create separate racialized spaces. Our interactions and understandings of space, which is interconnected with race, creates a "public pedagogy about who belongs where [and] has disastrous consequences for our shared social life."[158] Therefore, the spatialization of race and racialization of space not only inflicts poverty and inequity upon communities of color, but it also occludes a social life that invites congregation rather than segregation, thus limiting a more inclusive and thriving sociality.[159] Deeply influenced by George Lipsitz's belief that "understanding the causes and consequences of racialized space can advance the cause of racial justice," this chapter outlines the relationship between space, movement, race, and social/spatial imaginaries in the United States. I focus on the ways that Black movement in space has been and continues to be materially restricted, constrained, and disciplined in the United States broadly and within Chicago narrowly, In doing so, I elucidate the material instantiations of segregation and its disciplined fixedness throughout history and within contemporary Chicago and demonstrate how they develop a white spatial imaginary that constructs the Black body as a subject of exclusion and allows whiteness to ignore and disregard that Black lives matter.

Race in the United States

In 1619, a dark mark on our history stained each strand and fiber that built and constituted the fabric of the United States. In late August of 1619 a ship called *White Lion* boarded in Jamestown carrying the first cargo of "20 and odd" Africans, thus beginning the slave trade in the United States.[160] 450,000 Africans would be shipped to the United States where white people would force them and their future generations to serve life sentences as slaves.[161] Africans first experience in the United States was that of being forcibly removed from their homeland, shipped to the New World, and implanted in the space of white owned land, fields, and plantations. While enslaved, their bodies, their movement, and their space was not their own. Instead, slaves were not allowed to leave their plantations without written permission of their masters, and if found wandering without said permission the slaves were returned to their masters to face punishment.[162] Not only were slaves unable to freely move into spaces outside of the plantation, but within their plantations slaves were surveilled by their owners and faced cruel punishment for petty offenses including "associating with whites or free [B]lacks."[163] The restricted movement into and within spaces seeped into restricted socialization. Slaves were not allowed to marry, have relations, or interact with white people and any move to do so could result in whipping, branding, maiming, and even dismemberment.[164]

Outside of the plantation, free Black people were still unable to move freely into and within spaces. In both Northern and Southern states, legislation prohibited free movement across borders and within public spaces. In Southern states, laws required "that the free Negro carry on his person a certificate of freedom; without this document he might be claimed as a slave."[165] In Northern states there were Black Laws as well as stiff immigration policies that limited the movement of Black people into the region and required similar documentation of freedom while

in public. Most prevalent however were Jim Crow laws (i.e. segregation laws) and its attendant customs that strictly separated Black and white spaces. As Meier and Rudwick explain, "Blacks were widely excluded from the public parks and burial grounds. They were relegated to the balconies of theaters and opera houses and barred from hotels and restaurants."[166] Mob violence in the North as well as risk of fine or imprisonment in the South disciplined and constrained Black movement within public and white spaces. After the abolishment of slavery in 1865, these patterns of constraining Black movement and thus socialization into and within spaces through discipline changed only in name and tactic.

After the Compromise of 1877, which historians argue ended the Reconstruction Era, Black people "found themselves increasingly the victims of discrimination, proscription, and mob violence."[167] Additionally, there was a resurgence of legislative enactment of Jim Crow segregation, evidenced by the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case in 1896 that ruled segregation constitutional through the validation of "separate but equal." With this ruling, there was a rush of segregationist laws in transport services, penal and welfare institutions, parks and other recreational facilities, and employment industries like textiles.[168] Even though in 1954 *Brown v Board* overturned "separate but equal" segregation and movement throughout that time was constrained on the level of legislation as well as customs and violence. Segregation not only limits the movement of Black people into and within white spaces, but it also produces a sociality that disciplines interaction and congregation between Black and white people. The tragic case of Emmett Till, who was brutally lynched and left in the Mississippi River at the age of 14 for "flirting" or socializing with a white woman in a white space, unfortunately demonstrates the linkage that segregation of spaces has in producing a social world that is inhospitable and dangerous to Black people.

The Civil Rights Movement played an influential role in dismantling some of the legislative obstacles of discrimination that denied Black citizens equal access and opportunity. Included among them was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that banned discrimination in employment, the 1965 Voting Rights Act prohibiting practices designed to disenfranchise marginalized groups, and the 1968 Fair Housing Act which made it possible for previously excluded groups to accumulate assets and wealth.[169] Yet, issues of race persist and since the 1970s and the passage of these laws politicians, pundits, and the public have argued that the continued inequities are no longer legislative, but instead are the fault of Black Americans who have not been able to capitalize on the new-found opportunities. As Lipsitz explicates, those who believe this contend that "equal opportunity exists… so unequal outcomes have to be attributed to what they perceive to be the deficient values, beliefs, and behaviors of Black people themselves."[170] Of course, this logic falls short from the start, for equal opportunity still does not exist and people of color still face repercussions of past discrimination, inequality, and racism.

As I have demonstrated, there is a long historical and ongoing process to racialize space and spatialize race where the "lived experience of race takes place in actual spaces, while the lived experience of place draws its determinate logic from overt and covert understandings of race."[171] Lipsitz argues that concrete policies and practices serve to further segregate neighborhoods and communities based on race and elicit a racial connection to whiteness as natural, legitimate, and necessary – as the "geography of the pure," while communities of color, the "geography of the differentiated," are coded as lesser, dangerous, and unworthy.[172] Specifically, he points out that "housing and lending discrimination, the design of school district boundaries, zoning regulations, policing strategies, the location of highways and transit systems, and a host of tax subsidies do disastrous work by making places synonymous with races."[173] By

continuing to segregate spaces in terms of race, we are giving white people "privileged access to opportunities for social inclusion and upward mobility" while producing "grossly unequal access to education, employment, transportation, and shelter."[174] Additionally, we are producing a social imaginary and shared moral geography that depicts whiteness as legitimate, natural, and pure while dispelling marginalized communities as impure and immoral. In doing so, the spatialization of race and racialization of space serves to further entrench the white spatial imaginary which "seeks to hide social problems rather than solve them."[175]

The social problems that the white spatial imaginary effectively hide are, in part, the racist practices that eliminate equal opportunity in the form of seemingly race-neutral policies and discriminatory financial practices that disproportionately affect communities of color. Because of laws like the Banking Reform Act of 1999 which freed banks from regulation, Black people, regardless of their creditworthiness or class, are more likely to receive subprime loans than lower class white citizens.[176] Practices of redlining increases insurance costs for inner-cities, makes it more difficult to procure a mortgage loan at higher interest rates to buy or improve dwellings.[177] Housing and lending discrimination forces people of color to pay more for homes that are lower quality, appreciate slower, and tend to be in segregated neighborhoods with "disproportionate exposure to polluted air, water, food, and land," ill-equipped and underfunded schools, and difficult access to employment that is exacerbated by high transport costs for substandard public transit systems.[178] These practices effectively relegate Black populations to underprivileged areas with little access to other areas.

Access to other areas is restricted through material barriers like the gated community as well as through discipline and surveillance that criminalizes the Black body for entering a white space. The white spatial imaginary attributes and associates urban decay to the behavior of Black

people rather than discrimination or public policy. The Black body then carries the stigma and imaginary of the violent inner city with them as they enter other spaces, especially white spaces. In many cases of violence against Black people, we see claims that the violence was justifiable because the sheer act of entering the space was a crime against its inhabitants.[179] Black bodies are expected to remain at the margin and when they stray into the center they are violently disciplined for their movement. Trayvon Martin, for example, walked through a neighborhood that he was not "supposed" to, a neighborhood at the center, and was shot and killed. Many people, news pundits, and even a juror for the case justified George Zimmerman shooting Martin because he looked suspicious as he was walking along the streets.[180] With the continued segregation and criminalization of Black space, movement, and bodies, Black people face an inhospitable and violent social reality, where, when a Black person walks through a white space not only do they face the possibility of violence and death, but the violence is also justified and excused within the white social and spatial imaginary. Trayvon Martin is not an isolated incident. Similar to the Jim Crow era, within our contemporary moment Black bodies are violently disciplined to remain in their segregated and underprivileged spaces, thus decreasing possibilities of creating a social reality that is hospitable and inclusive of Black lives—a social reality where Black Lives Matter.

Race in Chicago

Chicago is one of the most diverse and segregated cities in the United States. Following a similar and interconnected trajectory of the United States, Chicago historically restricted and disciplined Black movement through periods of physical displacement, legislative policies, and social stratification. Additionally, Chicago has a history of resistance to and protest against the inequities, racism, and subjugation that each time-period advanced. In this section, I outline the

historical restriction of Black movement into and within spaces in Chicago as it interweaves between constraining Black bodies physically, legislatively, and socially.

Between 1840 and 1850, hundreds of Black people poured into Chicago seeking refuge from slavery and Chicago became an important connection point between the South and Canada along the Underground Railroad. Southerners dismissed Chicago as "a sink-hole of abolitionists" because of its reputation for assisting slaves in their journey to freedom.[181] As a portal to freedom, abolitionists in Chicago created a system that became one of the most influential cities for escaped slave. However, the city also continued to enforce laws that physically constrained movement and forced slaves to pass through Chicago on their way to Canada. For example, the "Illinois Black Code required every Negro who remained in the state to post a thousand-dollar bond and to carry a certificate of freedom."[182] For a time when Black people could not obtain freedom let alone employment, this law essentially deterred any settlement while enforcing movement to go through, rather than remain in, Chicago. Still, many former slaves, about a thousand, obtained freedom and set up roots in the city of Chicago to form a mini Black community along the Chicago River.[183] Throughout the Civil War, Chicago's abolitionist white population had relatively amicable ties with the Black population as they fought for the Union, but after the war, and as more Black people migrated into Chicago, the relationship became more contentious. Anxieties over the influx of Black migrants became apparent throughout the World Fair.

In 1893, Chicago hosted the World's Columbian Exposition for the first time and the world came in flocks to witness the awe of the "White City." Daniel Burnham, the architect and planner of both the Great Fair and later the Plan of Chicago, viewed the fair as an opportunity to dispel worries and stereotypes of urban life as dangerous, dirty, and depraved, thus developing a

new spatial imaginary. In fact, "one of his favorite themes was the reaction of the American public to the Fair architecture, their admiration for the beauty and unity of the harmoniously grouped classical buildings." He liked to contrast "the White City of the Fair and the black, real cities of America with their chaotic appearance and lack of over-all planning."[184] This aesthetic was not lost on the visitors of the fair, with an estimated 620,000 people attending the first day.[185] As people juxtaposed the Black City to the north, replete with garbage, smoke, and crime, with the White City of the fair where visitors "found clean public bathrooms, pure water, an ambulance service, electric streetlights, and a sewage-processing system" they began to excitedly envision what "a city could and ought to be."[186] While discourse about the fair centered around cleanliness and safety, the racial implications of the separation of the Black versus white city represented the sentiments surrounding the arrival of Black migrants from the south during the 1890's and forecasted the continued segregation and discrimination against race that continue today.[187]

Branching off the success of the World's Fair, Burnham continued to privilege and strive for the beautification of Chicago in his 1909 Plan of Chicago. A hallmark of this plan was the development of what is known as the Magnificent Mile today, which displaced Black populations and helped create the continued segregation that we currently see. According to Carl Smith, The Plan of Chicago attempted to address the economic issues present in Chicago, not by addressing social flaws, but by redesigning city space to promote easier access to commercial and consumer goods through the reconfiguration of the commercial downtown area, what is now The Magnificent Mile. The borders of Lake Michigan and Twelfth Avenue (now Roosevelt Road) impeded patrons access to the shopping district which meant that "if the city did not act, it would not only fail to attract new business, but also current commerce would move

elsewhere."[188] To fix this problem, the city constructed the Michigan Avenue bridge, now named the DuSable Bridge, in 1919 by "widening Twelfth Avenue from 60 to 118 feet between Michigan Avenue and Canal Street and from 60 to 108 feet between Canal Street and Ashland Avenue" and linking these two sections with a bridge to connect the North and South side of the city.[189] While many herald this bridge as one of the most important structures built in Chicago, it was not without consequences for the Black population that resided in nearby areas. To fulfill this plan, the city had to purchase and displace 353 houses that lined Twelfth Avenue, which was home to a "narrow Black Belt" that eventually was forced into the larger more distant South Side Black Belt. [190] This is but one example of the forced movement of Black populations to the Southern Black Belt, which took place with each influx of Black migrants after 1865.

Between 1910 and 1920 over 50,000 Black people migrated into Chicago, thus exacerbating not only the issues of overcrowding, but also of white anxiety. As Black communities began to "infringe" upon white neighborhoods there was a combination of white flight and violence. In less than a three-year span there were fifty-eight bombs hurled into Black neighborhoods, and within public spaces that bordered white and Black neighborhoods there were constant fights, rising to an epidemic level. Because of physicality and violence, Black bodies refused to move within white spaces and maintained "segregation as a convenient method of keeping the peace."[191] As Black citizens began to encroach into white spaces they were physically disciplined and relegated to their own neighborhoods. However, Chicago experienced the inevitable bubbling of racial tensions created through its segregation and displacement practices with the 1919 race riot.

The six-day riot began after Eugene Williams, a young Black swimmer, was stoned by a hostile white citizen, and drowned off the South Side beach. There was a clear, but unwritten,

line between the white and Black beach that the young man almost crossed and, in order to discipline and preserve segregated spaces, was murdered. In the end, there were 15 white and 23 Black casualties, and over 500 injuries.[192] After years of tension from Black and white people sharing public spaces, these riots took on a personal note, and the violence seemed to be an inevitable clash of animosities over past enslavement, white anxiety, spatial isolation as well as expansion, labor relations, and general racism.[193] William Tuttle describes the event: "as rumors of atrocities circulated throughout the city, members of both races craved vengeance. White gunmen in automobiles sped through the [B]lack belt shooting indiscriminately as they passed, and [B]lack snipers fired back. Roaming mobs shot, beat, and stabbed to death their victims."[194] The physical enforcement of movement along with the physical displacement of Black bodies, produced a reaction of physical violence between individuals and against races.

After the 1919 riots, white citizens "pursued by de facto means what they could not achieve by de jure methods."[195] Specifically, some citizens instituted the "Atlanta Solution," which "strengthened barricades by deed and residency restrictions… and manned those barricades with firebombs, isolated threats and victimization."[196] The concerted effort of real estate brokers and militant citizens that embraced the "Atlanta Solution" further entrenched the racial divide, but it was not until after World War II that the government made a concerted effort to implement and maintain segregation through housing legislation.

After World War II there was a second mass migration of Black people into northern cities like Harlem and Chicago. From the surge in population, the "established" boundaries of Black neighborhoods were "shattered" as the neighborhoods became overcrowded and had to expand.[197] In reaction, the city underwent a process of redefining racial borders between Black and white neighborhoods. To accommodate the growing population, the government began

funding housing projects within Black neighborhoods to provide more, if not underdeveloped, housing options for Black migrants within the confines of the segregated neighborhoods. While these actions were initially met with applause because of the increase in housing options, eventually the National Housing Agency was denounced for ‘deference to the principle of residential segregation.”[198] Government funded efforts to create housing within the parameters of the racially segregated spaces both limited the options for Black people to leave the “second ghetto,” as well as promoted white flight from the suburbs.[199] The Chicago Housing Administration (CHA) effectively solidified and thickened the borders of the South Side Black Belt and the West Side ghetto.

In doing so, the spatial isolation of Black neighborhoods required the creation of an “’institutional ghetto, a city within a city, to serve them.”[200] St. Clair Drake and Horace Clayton call this the Black Metropolis, which “is the end result of one hundred and fifty years of intense competition among native-whites, negroes, and foreign born for living space, economic goods, and prestige.”[201] The construction of the “color line” forced the Black Belt to develop their own communities, with their own businesses and banks. There is absolute value of a strong Black community “that existed outside of white people,” and Black civic leaders during the 50s and 60s declared that they had no “*yearning* to visit white people in their homes and to be visited by them.”[202] However, as Natalie Y. Moore explains, it is only one side to the picture:

> Black people didn't choose to be separate. White people forced them into second-class citizenry. And that led to substandard housing, overcrowded schools or even white hospitals rejecting black patients. Chicago didn't have a visible 'white only' or 'colored only' signs glued to public places, but the city designed a way for blacks not to fully participate in the freedoms of North.[203]

Unlike the South, there were no Jim Crow laws that instituted segregation, instead, Chicago’s customs and animosities established a separate and unequal city.

Chicago Today

Chicago remains the second most segregated city in the United States behind Detroit.[204] According to census data, in 2014 the average Black resident lived in a neighborhood that was 64 percent Black, 19 percent white and 12.5 percent Hispanic.[205] The South Side is 97 percent Black and the West Side is 94.4 percent Black while the Magnificent Mile, around seven miles away from each, is 75 percent white.[206] The housing policies and lending practices instituted in the twentieth century that relegated Black people to the overcrowded and downtrodden South Side and West Side neighborhoods continue to negatively affect economic prosperity for Black citizens. The average household income for white people has increased thirty three percent since 1990 reaching $100,700 while Black income has decreased four percent at $44,400. Congruently, more than a third of Black residents are in poverty compared to 14.6 percent of white residents.[207] Segregation that developed throughout history is still alive and well in Chicago which is having a detrimental impact on the Black residents. Yet, discourse discussing places like the South Side produce a white spatial imaginary that inaccurately blames the urban decay and poverty on the behavior of Black people rather than anti-Black policies and discrimination, specifically that of criminal behavior.

Discourse surrounding the South Side is a particularly poignant example of the produced spatial imaginary, which is raced as violent and criminal. The South Side is nicknamed as "Chiraq," which is a combination of Chicago and Iraq. The nickname has become mainstream and commodified through the production of t-shirts, the design of Chiraq maps, songs by popular artists like Nicki Minaj and Meek Mill, and Spike Lee even directed a film called *Chiraq*. However, as Moore points out, the term is actually racist because it "plays on fear running throughout the [B]lack community."[208] She goes on to say "we are internalizing what we are told

about [B]lack places being violent. Language impacts us. The media influences us. We fear [B]lack bodies. We fear young people of color… People who don't live or visit these neighborhoods think there are Wild West shoot-outs on every corner."[209] Narratives that paint Black spaces as violent and white spaces as pure produce anxiety that the violence and danger in these spaces, which we attach to Black bodies, can endanger and corrupt the purity of white spaces. Consequently, Black bodies continue to be relegated to segregated spaces and if they move into or through white spaces they are 1) marked as out of place, 2) imagined to be criminal and violent and 3) disciplined and surveilled by patrons of the space, security guards, and police officers.

Black Lives Matter, as a movement, is drawing attention to the fact that Black people are "systematically and intentionally targeted for demise."[210] The deaths of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Gardner, Tamir Rice, Laquan McDonald, and over 1,134 more people at the hands of police officers in 2015 alone are just some of the recent examples of the ways Black lives are targeted.[211] In Chicago, there were 435 police shootings between 2010 and 2015 and four out of every five people shot by the police were Black.[212] In 2015, Laquan McDonald was shot sixteen times after as he was walking away from a police officer. The justifications that police officers used in Grand Jury cases range from believing that the victim was reaching for a weapon, the victim fled from the officer, the victim was in the same space as a recent crime and therefore a suspect of the crime, and the officer felt genuine fear for their lives.[213] In all of these justifications there is a dynamic of both fear and discipline of Black movement. To move in the "wrong" spaces or even to move in the "wrong" way becomes a life-threatening motion for Black lives. Black Lives Matter are confronting and highlighting the racism inherent in these shootings and they are doing so, in part, by asserting Black bodies in white spaces to disrupt

white movement. In the next chapter I analyze the Black Friday protest at the Magnificent Mile as a case study of the ways that Black Lives Matter as a "social movement" disrupts the movement and motion of bodies and space in the Magnificent Mile to materially reproduce the ways that Black movement has historically and contemporarily been restricted, constrained, and disciplined.

Chapter 4: Movement at the Magnificent Mile

On Black Friday, Black Lives Matter protesters call on shoppers to recognize and acknowledge their masked privilege to confront the historic and contemporary reality of racism that dictates Black body's movement into and within space. Utilizing material movement and motion, the Black Lives Matter protest disrupts the embodied and spatial rhythms of the Magnificent Mile to open a fissure within the shopper's social/spatial imaginary wherein the protesters compel them to recognize Black lives while urging them to accede that Black lives matter. Specifically, by halting traffic, blocking store entrances, and dying in protesters utilize their bodies to disrupt and manage white motion within the space of the Magnificent Mile to force the shoppers and pedestrians to confront the everyday realities of Black people in the United States. Before beginning my analysis, I want to clarify what I mean by white motion. By no means am I relegating white motion solely to the motions of those who are white, for there are always complexities and intersectionality to how people move including issues of class, sexuality, religion, etc. However, people who are white are born with privilege and expectation of how to act in the world. We are interpellated into a world of privilege that constructs, shapes, and constitutes how we move in the world, as I discussed in regard to unconscious white habits in the last chapter. Therefore, by white motion and movement I am focusing on the dominant and privilege movements of whiteness that oppress and marginalize others, which always includes, in some part, white people, but can include others as well.

Halting Traffic

In order to understand the power of disruption, it is important to first recognize the effect of a maintained order and rhythm along streets in a shopping mall. Robert Topinka demonstrates

how the construction of streets for shopping strips creates a "fixed space that attempts to suppress rhetorical agency and invention, [streets]… in short, [are] the urban planning version of gates locked."[214] He goes on to define the streets and shopping mall through Lefebvre's notion of abstract space, which "seeks to dominate any challenge to its own hegemony."[215] The planning of street signs, lights, and turn lanes all work to maintain the rhythms and function of the space, and we are expected to abide by these norms, expectations, and laws to uphold order or risk discipline. In the case of the Magnificent Mile, they are attempting to preserve beautification and an ease of access for the pedestrians. Yet, the enforcement of the codes and laws and timings of the space that help retain the beauty of the Magnificent Mile has a negative effect on Black people when they enact the rhythm of the streets. ACLU found that "in the Near North District, which covers such neighborhoods as River North, Gold Coast, Magnificent Mile and Lincoln Park, 19 percent of the traffic stops were of African-Americans even though they comprised just 9 percent of the population."[216] The Black body, whether they abide by the rhythms or not, threatens the purity and beauty of the Magnificent Mile and therefore cannot fully comply with the planned vision and movement of the space. Consequently, their movement within spaces at the center is deemed marginal or criminal hence warranting discipline. With an average white population over seventy five percent versus an average of six percent of Black residents, the Magnificent Mile represents a space at the "center," that wants to remain at the center, and thus must dispel, penalize, or censure anyone different or marginal. However, by disrupting the timing and purpose of the streets, the protest recasts the rhythms to obstruct the flow of the space and regulate the movement into it, as has been done to Black bodies throughout history.

The protesters met on the south side of the Dusable Bridge, which as previously mentioned, was designed to increase efficient traffic movement between the North and South

side of Michigan Avenue while also displacing Black residents. The protest, beginning on the South side, moved across the bridge into the Northern section of the Magnificent Mile. The directional choice to move south to the north represents the segregation between the North (coded white) and South (coded black) sides of Chicago. The protesters first action was to shut down North bound traffic into the shopping district and halted traffic along Michigan Avenue for four hours, thus replacing the usual car traffic with a swarm of bodies walking into the space. They halted traffic along Michigan Avenue causing congestion along a highly travel street, averaging 44,000 vehicles a day according to one 2006 study. [217] As one of the main hubs into Downtown Chicago, blocking off Michigan Avenue ensures far-reaching traffic jams that disrupts fluid motion across the central loop, thus deterring people's motivation and agency to enter the space. Shutting down access for cars to travel from the South to the North mimics the same difficulties that Black bodies face in traveling northward into white spaces.

In shutting down the streets which obstructs vehicle traffic rather than common forms of public transit, the protesters are also making a claim about how the Magnificent Mile, as an affluent, heavily surveilled, and predominantly white space, already discourages people of color from moving south to north. Through practices of segregation including exclusion and surveillance, Black bodies are compelled to move through the "center" (white spaces), on their way to the "margins" (segregated Black neighborhoods). Take the accessibility of getting to and entering the space—the subway system—as an example. The Central Loop is a hub for all eleven subway lines in Chicago, including the red line that runs "the length" of Chicago north (predominantly white neighborhoods) to south (predominantly black neighborhoods).[218] Not only does the North section of the red line, extended by the purple line, run a mile and a half further into white neighborhoods, but it also makes fourteen more stops along the way. Even though

Black people are almost six times more likely to use public transit than white people, there is less and more sporadic accessibility into the Magnificent Mile.[219] Consequently, people at the margin are less able to even enter the center, thus allowing spaces like the Magnificent Mile to produce and maintain spaces of whiteness segregated from Black communities.

While white bodies have the privilege to cross into spaces that are “safe” (white), for Black bodies, movement into these spaces is dangerous. By lining their bodies along the crosswalk, the protesters illustrate the contradiction of safe versus dangerous spaces for white and Black bodies. In the city, the sidewalk is designed to offer a space of refuge. It is a space where pedestrians can walk from point A to point B with relative certainty that a stray car will not kill them. The greatest moment of danger comes from crossing the street, a danger that many of us recognize and take actions to mitigate by abiding by the laws and guidelines instituted for movement across a potentially dangerous space. Indeed, the most effective means of remaining safe is to cross the street along the designated space of the crosswalk within the designated walking time allotted. According to the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration in 2013, 69 percent of pedestrian fatalities happened when the person was not at an intersection.[220] This demonstrates that there is inherent danger in moving across spaces like the street, but the crosswalk offers relatively safe passage from spaces. For Black bodies however, there is an inherent danger moving across spaces at the center, as victims like Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown demonstrate, and unlike the street there is no designated spaces of safe passage. Therefore, in lining the crosswalk with protester bodies, Black Lives Matter constricts pedestrians’ ability and options to safely move across spaces, thus establishing the precarious reality that Black people face in moving through spaces at the center.

In Chicago, it is a general practice to jaywalk throughout the city. In fact, I quickly learned in my experiences with local Chicagoans that to not jaywalk marks you as a tourist. However, in my many visits to the Magnificent Mile I never saw someone jaywalk across Michigan Avenue because of its heavy, continual, and disorderly traffic flow. As an important connecting street along downtown, Michigan Avenue has a consistent tide of vehicles, but with inconsistent movement, whether it be taxi's sporadically pulling over or impatient drivers switching lanes or speeding through lights. The six lane street is a daunting game of *Frogger* that few try to play, thus making the crosswalk an area where there is a collective desire and trust to cross into a different space, and to do so safely. Each major intersection has a slight opening of space along the sidewalk for people to wait for the walk signal to light up, and in each cluster of people there is a collective trust that when one person starts to move it means that it must be safe to cross, but only on the crosswalk.

The space of the crosswalk itself is imbued with social norms, expectations, and regulations. Certeau theorizes that the structures of the city subtly coerces people to abide by and fall into the strategies of power. In terms of the crosswalk, its presence and assurance of safety compels someone walking in the city to use it rather than crossing at a random point in the street. This ensures some sense of order, but when someone goes against the intended norms of crossing at designated areas it can become a small moment of resistance for some and a tragic mistake for others. [221] For the Black Friday protest, halting traffic at the crosswalk becomes a small moment of resistance by illuminating the vulnerability in entering, or crossing into, spaces that are "designated" white. By displaying themselves as exposed bodies along the crosswalk, Black Lives Matter protesters perform the inherent danger in crossing the tracks. The protesters link arms and brace the bright lights and blaring horns of the cars they are blocking. As they hand

over control of their bodies and lives to the drivers, it begs the question of the control they have over their safety in daily life. As they become vulnerable to the steel power of a car, it begs the question of how vulnerable they already are. As they force the audience to cease their daily activities, the protesters confront them with these realities of Black lives in the United States. They do so on the lines of the crosswalk, a tool regulated by institutions and used daily by pedestrians to safely cross the street. Therefore, by standing on the sidewalk with no intention of prescribing to the expectation that they continue walking, the Black Lives Matter protests resist the implied safety that institutions provide. Instead, the raced bodies contrasting the black and white painted blocks point to the fact that even within institutionalized spaces of safety and order they are vulnerable to the dangers because it is a space at the center.

Additionally, rather than only block off the intersection, the protesters filled the streets as they walked into the space of the mall. A large crowd walking through the streets is going to draw attention regardless, but there is argumentative and symbolic power of the mere presence of a large group of Black bodies since having raced bodies overwhelm a predominantly affluent and white space defies and deconstructs the norms of the space. By asserting their movement in the streets towards the Northern area of the mall, the protesters, predominantly Black, are visually bringing the South Side into the white affluent space of the Magnificent Mile with the purpose of disrupting the norms of shopping. Before even reaching the space, shoppers, tourists, and pedestrians shifted their embodied norms as they stopped in the middle of their activities to balk at and take pictures of the protesters charging into the space.[222] As shoppers attempt perform the consumptive expectations of Black Friday they are met with bodies usually rejected from the space. This incongruity disrupts the “white habits of space” and produces a spectacle while

creating concerns of safety among the officers and patrons that are driven by the stereotypes and the white spatial imaginary that criminalizes Black bodies.

Black bodies carry the criminalized stereotypes that come from segregated spaces and by entering a white space in large numbers the protesters force the shoppers to physically and overdramatically enact the racist tendencies and microaggressions that have made racism become more "invisible, subtle, and more indirect."[223] According to psychologist Derald Sue, these microagression are an example of aversive racism, which well-educated liberals, the demographic of Magnificent Mile residents, tend to uphold.[224] Within aversive racism, the culprits tend to espouse egalitarianism and truly believe they are non-prejudiced, but still harbor some unconscious biased attitudes and discriminatory actions.[225] These actions take the form of racial microaggressions like averting eye contact, crossing the street, or clutching your purse when you interact with a person of color. During the protest, shoppers were "scurrying with their bags around protesters," others clutched the bags into their bodies while displaying physical discomfort as they avoided any contact, and many moved into the street to get away from the blockade of protesters.[226] What usually would remain subtle tendencies of motions and movements of racism that remain at the unconscious level with the presence of a few Black people became overt and dramatized bodily shifts during these protests, thus making visible and conscious the racism that the pedestrians and shoppers still retain that marks Black people as out of place.

Blocking the Entrance

When Black bodies do cross the tracks they are still faced with what it means to be an "outsider" in a white space. hooks details this experience where there "were paved streets, stores we could not enter, restaurants we could not eat in, and people we could not look directly in the

face."[227] Within white spaces, Black bodies are expected to move through the space rather than circulate within it, for while across the tracks they can "enter that world, but [they can] not live there."[228] Exclusion within spaces at the center occurs through disciplining and surveilling Black bodies. A security guard that follows a Black male rather than a white female, a cashier that takes an extra ten minutes to greet a Black customer, or the sneers or looks that deem anyone of color out of place—these are exclusionary practices that come to regulate Black body's freedom of movement within the center. While these micro-aggressions do occur at the Magnificent Mile, this analysis focuses on the ways that the rhythms of the Magnificent Mile differ between white and Black bodies, in part because it is a space at the center versus the margins.

The rhythm of the city accounts for "the ways in which the urban everyday is made, re-made and may, potentially, be transformed and transformative."[229] The flow and rhythm of urban spaces follow daily, weekly, and annual cyclical rhythms that formulate the overall social organization. The interaction within the overall structures, the daily grind that animates the streets is the linear cycles that can be repetitive and routine but are made up of chance and therefore holds transformative possibility.[230] Essentially, rhythm serves to structure and produce order, but rhythm constantly changes when you introduce human interaction. As Lefebvre states, "rhythm appears as regulated time, governed by rational laws, but in contact with what is least rational in human being: the lives, the carnal, the body."[231] The way that we interact with and move through an urban space is productive of and produced by the city's rhythm. When the stores open on the Magnificent Mile there is a very different rhythm and motion of the pedestrian/shopping bodies along the sidewalk than when all the stores are closed. The cyclical rhythm of store openings offer the possibility of shopping, but the ways or places that bodies enter, exit, walk through, or stop in (linear cycle) alters and (re)makes the rhythm of the city.

In the Magnificent Mile, with a predominantly white population, the bodies that are generating and ordering the rhythm of the city are white bodies, which are shaped and co-constituted through white privilege.[232] Our bodies are marked and our movement, interactions, and experiences are often dictated or influenced individually and socially through those marks. The white body is (non)marked and co-constituted by white privilege, which, as Shannon Sullivan explains, “is not just 'in the head.' It also is 'in' the nose that smells, the back, neck, and other muscles that imperceptibly tighten with anxiety, and the eyes that see some but not all physical differences as significant.”[233] The body produces and is produced by the privilege of whiteness. At the Magnificent Mile, the white body that safely and without restriction moves into and through the spaces of the sidewalk, stores, crosswalks, and plazas, is produced by the privilege of unfettered movement, while the unreflective enactment of rhythms that exclude and surveil alteriority produce privilege.

In contrast, the Black body as racially marked and coded as out-of-place has restricted access to these rhythms. Rather than move freely, Black people “generally are not allowed to direct their transactions with the world in significant ways. Instead, they are often compelled merely to accept the form of transaction forced upon them.”[234] Transactions forced upon Black people in the United States continue to be steeped in racist actions, tendencies, and discourses that marginalize and endanger Black lives in their everyday life. Black Lives Matter in general and the Black Friday protest specifically work to make visible the ways that practices of racism continue to oppress and negatively affect Black lives, in hopes for systemic changes. One Black Friday protester pronounced that “if they [police officers and shoppers] understand what we go through they would take all that stuff… all the officers would take off their badge, take their uniform off, come on our side, and face these everyday life situations that we have to face”[235] In

a space like the Magnificent Mile, it is easy to hide and disregard the presence and effects of racism under the cloak of white privilege, but on Black Friday, Black Lives Matter disrupted and altered the rhythm created through the privileged white body to physically produce and display the experienced racism of Black bodies in the United States.

As a white body, while I was walking up and down the streets of the Magnificent Mile my privilege afforded me the ability to seamlessly pursue and produce my own rhythm in the space. I went in and out of actor (inside the rhythm) and observer (outside of the rhythm), which Lefebvre finds imperative to reflecting upon the ways that the motion of the city structures our everyday life.[236] While actor, I embodied the pedestrial flow forward along the sidewalk, a communal shuffling of feet that compels assimilating movement. As an observer, I wanted to continue walking to witness how pedestrians handled disruptions in this movement, but as an actor of the space, the biting cold forced me into stores, a vector of escape from the natural elements and hustling movement. As soon as my hands became unbearably cold I went through the closest door. Without any consideration at the fact that I just entered Bloomingdale's, a high-end retail store that was far out of my price range, I walked in and roamed the space until I was warm and brave enough to return to the bitter cold. Out of the numerous times that I went into and out of the stores with no intention to look at or purchase anything, nobody questioned, followed, or even noticed my movements in the space. In fact, until I began writing this I did not realize how permissible it was for me, as a white body, to move through and enact the space however I wanted. Shannon Sullivan discusses this privilege of movement that allows white bodies the ability and choice to change the space they inhabit in what she calls "ontological expansiveness," wherein "white people consider all spaces as rightfully available for their inhabitation."[237] Through my experience, I was able to embrace the rhythm of the space by

walking along the sidewalk and going in and out of the stores, and I did so with ease because my body has access to unfettered and undisciplined movement within both the space of the sidewalk and the store, as they are rightfully available to me. Put differently, I can, because of my whiteness, easily and without pause enter, walk around, and leave stores, thus embracing and embodying the rhythm of the Magnificent Mile.

Lefebvre describes three interacting types of rhythms: polyrhythmia (lived), eurhythmia (normalized), and arrhythmia (discordant). He defines them as:

> Polyrhythmia? It suffices to consult one's body; thus the everyday reveals itself to be a polyrhythmia from the first listening. Eurhythmia? Rhythms unite with one another in the state of health, in normal (which is to say normed!) everydayness; when they are discordant, there is suffering, a pathological state (of which arrhythmia is generally, at the same time, symptom, cause, and effect). The discordance of rhythms bring previously eurhythmic organisations towards fatal disorder.[238]

In terms of explaining the effect of the protest, polyrhythmia denotes the lived experience of white bodies, the ways that the body walks along the sidewalk and glides into the stores. Eurhythmia, then refers to the health and normalcy of this privileged and unfettered movement. Yet, when protesters block off the movement into the stores, they disrupt this rhythm in the Magnificent Mile producing discordance between expectation and actual rhythm on Black Friday, thus creating arrhythmia. Shoppers experienced this in visceral and embodied ways as they fought and yelled and attempted to break through the barriers to enact expected rhythm of the space. The elevated heart rate, the increase in aggression, and the physical movement of the body demonstrates a suffering caused from disruption in rhythm. In this “suffering” and anger, there is a recognition that something is different, which in this case is that their privileged movement is disrupted.

Within the rhythm of the Magnificent Mile is a key space in which unfettered white movement is particularly noticeable: the doorway to stores and adjacent spaces. The doorway

demarcates the sidewalk from the stores, and for me the doorways at the Magnificent Mile offer a seamless flow of movement in between the two. The entryway is indented so I do not have to stop in the sidewalk to open the door, but rather can glide into the space by merely stepping across the lip in the sidewalk, where I continue my path into the store through the revolving door, once again not requiring me to break any stream of motions. All in all, the experience is relatively simple and disrupts neither the flow of the movement in the sidewalk nor my own bodies motion forward.

Yet, doorways represent a material site of both access and exclusion and serves to dictate where, when, who, and if someone can enter or exit a space. For Black bodies these doors can also serve as a means of exclusion and racism. For example, the scholar Patricia Williams describes her experience, as a black woman, with doorways at a shopping mall. Williams speaks to how doors and entrances can materially enact racism and exclude black bodies. She discusses a time when she went to a store where a clerk had to unlock the door each time a new customer entered. When Williams rang the bell to enter the store, a white clerk saw her through a window and refused to allow her in, even though she had just let a white couple in beforehand. In this instance, the doorway marks a material blockade to getting into or out of place and the clerk's spatial practice elucidates the racial constitution of that space.[239] In terms of the shopping mall, white bodies can freely move from the public space of the sidewalk into the private space of the store without the danger of discipline or surveillance. For white bodies, the threshold is merely something to cross, whereas for Black bodies, as Patricia Williams testifies, the threshold represents a demarcation of (in)accessible space.

After crossing the threshold, if possible, Black bodies and their movement are still confronted by and regulated within the racialized space of the store. In Chicago shopping malls,

there have been incidents of racial profiling that make the interior space, the store, a space of possible discipline, surveillance, and criminalization. For example, security guards accused R. Kelly of shoplifting while he was signing autographs for his fans at a Chicago mall. Kelly's response to being disciplined was: "I hope that one day people of all colors will be able to walk in any neighborhood without automatic suspicion," thus linking the criminalization of Black bodies to movement within white spaces.[240] Shops and hotels at The Magnificent Mile specifically have had reviews that demonstrate incidents of exclusion and derision because of the customer's race. For example, one patron and blogger describes her experience furniture shopping at a store in the Magnificent Mile where she was scrutinized and stared at while she was shopping and then was ignored when she wanted to check out even though "clerks were in abundance at the register." But, instead of helping her they all looked at her "as if [she] had broken some unwritten rule."[241] A review of the Doubletree Hotel at the Magnificent Mile describes how the front desk immediately made them feel "as if [they] had done something wrong" and were "treated poorly like [they're] a criminal."[242] These instances of racism demonstrate that upon entering an establishment there is a risk of being disciplined, surveilled, or criminalized while you are in that space. These are just a few snapshots that are documented within the larger reality of racism in spaces like the Magnificent Mile, but they serve as a representation of the doorway as a threshold into a space of possible racism.

Black Lives Matter protesters highlight and embody this racism by creating a new "door" with their bodies to represent the obscured boundaries of habitable or acceptable space that black people can participate in and occupy. To negate the post-racial concept that anyone can embody any space, the taboo bodies refuse entrance to force people to experience the effects of racism that disallows open access to raced bodies. Rather than be met with material dictations of

entrance or exit, Black Lives Matter protesters embodied the invisible exclusion into stores, thus disrupting shoppers' capability to perform the rhythm of the sidewalk as they cross the threshold and into the stores. Instead, as protester bodies block the entryway they force shoppers to either physically break through the linked arms or walk past.[243] In both instances, the protesters disallow the privileged flow between sidewalk and store, thus shifting the rhythm of the space to reflect the everyday reality of Black bodies in white spaces.

The protest began with people marching along the sidewalks and in the streets, but as they entered the main vein of the center the protesters began chanting "find a door, shut it down" as people ran to block off stores.[244] The seemingly spontaneous flux of movement from the streets to the entrance obstructed store owners and patrons ability to shift their movement away from the protests. Unsuspecting shoppers that went shopping in the early hours of Black Friday found themselves sealed inside the store for over an hour as protesters blockaded entrance into and out of the store, while they chanted "If we can't get in, they can't get out."[245] The protesters used their body to alter the possible movements of the space, from movement in and out of the store to forced stagnation within the shop. As the chants demonstrate, they also manage the motion of white bodies to mimic the difficulty for Black bodies and the protesters to enter stores.

Black Lives Matter protesters created tension between shoppers' usual and taken-for-granted freedom of movement and a moment of restricted access through an embodiment of the material and symbolic threshold that limits movement into and within spaces. The protest conjures a moment of dissonance wherein the shoppers are physically forced to pause in hopes that it turns to moment of reflection upon their aberrant experience within the framework of the experience of the Black Lives Matter protesters in front of them. Many shoppers however, expressed anger and frustration about the situation rather than contemplation. Majority of people

interviewed, did not understand why they had to infringe upon their shopping saying things like: "We're not trying to stop them from protesting, so why should they stop us from shopping?" or "I have the right to walk around a store!"[246] Others accepted that "apparently [they] aren't shopping today."[247] While this points to a disconnect between the encoding and decoding process, there is something to be said about the force and transformative possibility that the disruption of rhythm has on the body, and its illumination of the invisible privilege of motion that white shoppers hold.

Die-In

Laquan McDonald was shot in Archer Heights, a predominantly Black neighborhood 10 miles South West of the Magnificent Mile.[248] While only 20 minutes away, these two places could be separate worlds because of the racial and economic segregation prevalent in Chicago. One result of the polarization of Black and white spaces is a rhetoric that relegates issues of Black deaths and race in general as spatial rather than systemic. For example, in one of his debates against Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Presidential Election, President Donald Trump answered a question of how to heal the racial divide in the United States by saying that "we have a situation where we have our inner cities, African Americans, Hispanics are living in hell because it's so dangerous. You walk down the streets you get shot. In Chicago, they've had thousands of shootings, thousands since January."[249] By directing attention to the spaces of inner cities, Trump provides a location that people can place responsibility wherein there are not issues with the system, but issues in Black communities. Those who live in Chicago constantly see news of recent shootings, but most do not fear immanent death by shooting because "there's something to worry about only if you live in certain overwhelmingly [B]lack communities on the West and South sides of town."[250] Consequently, rhetoric against Black Lives Matter is

distinguishing spaces of violence from broader societal problems, thus entrenching the conception that issues with Black deaths are focused in certain locations, specifically raced spaces, rather than acknowledging a broader systemic issue. In doing so, those not directly affected by the violence or within spaces of violence can detach into their space of safety where they can disregard and overlook the real consequences that the system, as a whole, has on Black lives.

A portion of shopper responses to the protests further exemplify conceptions that issues of race, particularly racial violence, is separate from them and the spaces they embody. One couple shopping commented in frustration that, "I'm an American! I just want to get in the store." and argued that "the whole South Side is on fire. Why don't they tackle the violence in their own communities?"[251] Within the same interview the couple both made an appeal through the nation while also delegitimizing protesters through arguments of the local. In doing so, this couple 1) dismisses Black Lives Matter protesters right to occupy space that intrudes upon her own, thus dislodging them from the ability to appeal to Americanism and 2) isolates issues in the South Side from their own space, a space they have a right to as Americans. Other shoppers contend that they understand and agree with the issues of Black Lives Matter, but they do not understand why they have to disrupt shopping or Black Friday. While less explicit and more sympathetic, these comments show agreement that there are issues of race for Black Lives Matter to fight, but establish the Magnificent Mile as a space disconnected from the violence.

One of the main privileges of the spatialization of violence is that within white spaces, people may never have to acknowledge or mourn the deaths of Black lives, which has wide implications for the United States as a society. Judith Butler connects vulnerability, loss, and mourning to the formation of a collective "we" and proposes a "dimension of political life that

has to do with our exposure to violence and our complicity in it, with our vulnerability to loss and the task of mourning that follows, and with finding a basis for community in these conditions."[252] Through interactions and experiences with others, whether it be face-to-face, mediated, or imagined we are undone, and therefore never knowable to ourselves. Therefore, to lose someone is to lose a part of yourself, and in the act of mourning we accept "that by the loss one undergoes one will be changed, possibly forever" and agree to undergo transformation.[253] Within in our individual lives, the power and consequence of loss is easier to grasp. When we lose a loved one we commonly say that it feels like a piece of us is missing because, as Butler declares, you actually did lose a part of yourself. But, through the process of mourning you begin to transform. As a society, we also experience loss and must mourn as an act of transformation. For example, 9/11 was a day of loss that the nation still grieves, and our society has transformed drastically in the post 9/11 era through this grief. And while 9/11 was a shocking and calamitous event in the United States, it is just one example of a loss of lives in the United States, yet we choose to mourn it more than others. What about the Black lives that the United States have lost?

To mourn a life is to recognize that person as a human and to willingly undergo transformation from the loss. As violence against Black bodies remains spatialized and segregated, white spaces and the bodies within them are able to disregard the losses. Even when the media shows videos or pictures of Black lives like Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, or Laquan McDonald, by separating their lives and deaths into a different space or reconciling the death as a result of hooliganism, society is able to move past loss without recognizing the life behind it. Through grief we acknowledge humanity, but "the differential allocation of grievability that decides what kind of subject is and must be grieved, and which kind of subject must not, operates to produce and maintain certain exclusionary conceptions of who is

normatively human."[254] To make Black lives matter, and therefore to instigate transformation through mourning, the Black Friday protests brings Black death into white spaces through sporadic die-in protests to materially force shoppers to recognize and acknowledge that these deaths affect all and are a part of the violence against Black bodies on a systemic rather than segregated level.

In the die-in protest Black Lives Matter protesters would lie on the ground pretending to be dead while enacting a dimension of well-known cases of Black lives dying at the hands of police officers. Some die-ins last four-and-a-half minutes to symbolize the four-and-a-half hours that Michael Brown's body was left in the streets. Others have someone cry, "I can't breathe" 11 times as Eric Garner, who was choked by police officers, did. In the Chicago protest, most die-ins slowly counted to 16 and then chanted "16 shots" to represent the number of times Van Dyke shot Laquan McDonald. Multiple movements used this tactic for different symbolic purposes. For example, ACT UP! similarly used die-ins to humanize those with HIV/AIDS.[255] For Black Lives Matter, the die-ins display the police inflicted deaths of Black males and bring loss to the doorstep of white spaces.

Black bodies lain akimbo across the ground both materially enacts the vulnerability that Black bodies face every day and asserts this vulnerability as a disruption of the unburdened movement within the discursively exculpated white spaces. By performing death within multiple spaces of the Magnificent Mile, Black Lives Matter protesters are calling attention to the Black deaths at the hands of police officers, but in enacting the immobile and grounded body they are also making themselves vulnerable to any actions upon them, implying that the Black body is in a constant state of vulnerability. The body while laying down has less peripheral vision and fewer options as well as restricted ability to move away from danger, thus by taking part in a die-

in, protesters are in a heightened state of vulnerability compared to standing. For example, in a die-in staged in Fort Collins there was an instance where students walked by and kicked the Head of the Ethnic Studies department. Through the vulnerability, the die-ins mark a different type of argument from the previous two protests discussed. Rather than have the bodies constantly engaged in the confrontation, linking arms to block movement, the vulnerable bodies lie passively in the space to compel empathy and mourning, for as they lie on the ground the protesters are threatened rather than a threat. In one video of the protest, you watch a Black man drop and remain immobile, as if he was spontaneously shot. It is a melancholic and jarring visual experience that reproduces the vulnerable realities in Black communities. [256]

The vulnerable body laying down also occupies more space, thus forcing pedestrians to engage and acknowledge the protester as they move through the space. Rather than allow the inattentive pedestrian to habitually move along with the crowd on the sidewalk, the die-in protests force walkers to engage with the "dead bodies." Whether the pedestrians move around, over, or even through the bodies of protesters they must pause and make a decision of how to proceed. Shopper's motions were disrupted as they acknowledged the bodies in front of them, and through the decision of how to move beyond them, each pedestrian recognizes and both cognitively and physically attends to the situation before them. Many pedestrians encircled, engaged with, and took pictures of the protesters, thus progressing beyond acknowledgement of the bodies to account for their disruption into a form of recognition by encoding it into an experience and memory through the photograph.[257]

The die-ins are also interspersed throughout the space of the streets, sidewalks, and shops themselves. The random, sporadic, and temporary nature of the die-ins disallows any attempts for people to reconfigure their norms and patterns of movement to ignore the protests. Blocking

an intersection disrupts the flow of traffic, but people eventually adjust their routes around the blockage.[258] However, the die-ins randomly confront people's motion and calls for them to pay attention to the spectacle created by the bodies of the protesters. The die-ins invite a natural circle of people absorbed by this spectacle where the audience is confronted with the tangible and consequential effects of racial issues facing the United States. The bodies protesting and the bodies observing reconfigure the space to impede and block the ease of an observer's ability to walk past the protest. They are unable to invoke a post-racial gaze or escape into their own isolated spaces, but instead must face and acknowledge, at least through a change in motion, the raced bodies "dead" in front of them.

The first step towards mourning and transformation is to recognize and acknowledge lost lives. Much of the protest chants centered around the death of Laquan McDonald, there were pictures of other Black lives killed, and the embodied die-ins brought the deaths into white spaces to confront the pedestrians with the tragic effects of racial issues in the United States in the face of the absolving spatialized rhetoric that confines the causes of violence to Black communities. One shopper represented the privileged ignorance to these conditions when she said that Laquan McDonalds death was "'sad' but said she wasn't aware of the details."[259] Through this protest, she now not only knows more information about the case and outrage it caused, but she is also physically confronted with the embodied death. Other shoppers began to feel remorse and questioned the corruption in the city. Mary Johnson said, "I feel really sad for our city and our citizens, and I feel like a lot of corruption needs to be addressed in the police force where all of our citizens feel safe."[260] This depicts grief, she is mourning the loss of Laquan McDonald, and in that mourning she begins to transform her conceptions of the police force and corruption.

Moving the social is a continuous process marked by struggle, resistance, recentralization, and more struggle. As the results of the 2015 Black Friday protests and the diminished fervor of the 2016 protest demonstrates, even within moments of change the triumph is temporary, as social movements must continually contend with a shifting battleground. Yet, understanding the role that space and movement play in producing the social can at least provide a tactical overlay of some of the terrain for issues in Chicago specifically and within activism broadly. In the next chapter, after summarizing the work in this thesis, I underscore the ways that a rhetorical theory and critical analysis of social movement as material movement of the social help illuminate these issues as well as discuss the implications of this thesis within the field of rhetoric while providing areas of further research.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Segregation continues to be interwoven into the history of the United States, always overlain with struggle and resistance from marginalized communities attempting to upend its practice. While resistance and revolt has dismantled some institutionally-mandated iterations of both segregation and oppression (ie. slavery, Jim Crow) racism continues to stitch itself into our social fabric, consistently (re)patterning itself to remain elusive to the eye of the seamstress that creates this nation. Legislation and institutions, while still extremely inequitable and oppressive, are only partial sources of the engrained racial issues plaguing the United States. Especially, within a so-called post-racial era that places issues of race squarely in the past and espouses progress within a "color-blind" society, oppression and marginalization etches itself into the realm of seemingly invisible and material practices of racism. For spaces like the Magnificent Mile, while you will not find a sign partitioning the space as a "White Only Mall," segregation and exclusion of people of color persists, in part, within the material and embodied practices that discipline and surveil movement.

In this thesis, I make the overarching argument that materiality of space, bodies, and movement are factors in the ways that protests affect human consciousness and move the social. I do so by first detailing the extant historical shifts in how we understand the rhetoric of social movements, specifically focusing on McGee's argument in "Social Movement: Meaning or Phenomenon." In particular, I reemphasize that rather than begin our understanding of social movements with a focus on organization, scholars should instead analyze how and if the social is moved. Then, I outline scholarship that has engaged and expanded upon McGee's work to include the extra-discursive, while building a case that the materiality of space, bodies, and

movement/motion also function to formulate and alter our sociality. Thus, they also deserve scholarly attention within a rhetorical theory of social movements. Black bodies, and their movement, have been historically and contemporarily forced, regulated, constricted, and disciplined. Therefore, in Chapter Three, I offer a brief history of the ways that the United States broadly and Chicago specifically has physically, legislatively, and socially maintained segregated spaces that disallow, hinder, and deter Black movement. Dominant ideology thus has created a social and spatial imaginary that criminalizes Black people, justifying the unjustifiable cases of police brutality that Black Lives Matter fights against. Finally, I analyzed Black Lives Matter's "Black Friday" protest on the Magnificent Mile as a case study to exemplify the significance and potentiality that materiality has for the study of social movements if we view them within McGee's framework. Ultimately, I contend that scholars should return to this framework of analysis, but argue that in addition to analyzing shifts in discourse we also attend to how the social literally and materially moves, through a study of space and movement in protest, as well as the ways that material reconfigurations then move the social beyond the protest itself, which I discuss in this chapter.

To conclude this thesis, I return to the questions I asked in the introduction, which can be organized into three broad categories concerning the effect and impact of movement on 1) activism (can alterations of space, particularly available movement within space, be an agent of change? How/do tactics of embodied protest produce arguments against engrained norms?), 2) sociality and race (How and to what effect does space invite, compel, or discipline bodies and movement? What affect does the body, whether it is marked, raced, taboo, gendered, etc, have on possibilities of movement within space and how does this become an agent of marginalization?), and 3) rhetoric (What role does embodied movements have in producing and normalizing social

relations?). In answering these questions, I detail some of the deeper implications and limitations of this thesis project. To answer these questions, I first detail how the social moved after the Black Friday protest. Then, I examine how, by focusing on the material significance that space and movement have on producing sociality, scholars can augment and broaden our understandings of race, particularly within Chicago, activism, and rhetoric, while addressing limitations of the project as well as future directions for research.

Space, Movement, and Activism

The first set of questions I asked at the outset of this project are concerned with whether protests that disrupt movement can and do, in fact, move the social. At the conclusion of this project, the answer seems to be a cautious "yes." By this I mean that protests aimed at disruption can, in fact, produce change. The Civil Rights Movement, for example, disrupted cafes and restaurants through their sit-in protests and one result of the disruption was movement of legislation to end segregation. Disruption calls us to face the situation before us which is a pivotal first step. As James Baldwin states, "Not everything that is faced can be changed, but nothing can be changed until it is faced."[261] Disrupting movement asks people to face what must be changed, but my caution comes from the type and sustainability of the changes, of the movement. Power and oppression tends to re-center and re-name itself rather than change, a fact that is apparent with the different yet continued reality of segregation even after the sit-ins. To me, there is a close connection yet important distinction between change and progress. At the end of this thesis, I argue that, while there may be change or a movement of the social, there is a more tenuous relationship between protest and progress. In the case of the Black Friday protest, we find several pieces of evidence to support this complex relationship between change versus progress.

First, discourse around the protest illustrates that these material interventions had a recognizable impact among some individual shoppers. In my analysis of the Black Friday protest, I pointed to some of the shopper's reactions that detail shifts in—or at least critical thought about—what it means to be a part of the "social." By disrupting the everyday movement and motions of shopping at the Miracle Mile, Black Lives Matter protesters forced (mostly white) shoppers who can largely turn a blind eye to issues of racial violence, discrimination, and privilege to shift their attention to the value of Black lives. By interrupting white shoppers' free movements, performing Black restrictions on movement, and putting white shoppers in juxtaposition to performatively-dead black "bodies," protesters disrupted shoppers experience of movement to rhetorical affect. Recall, for example, Mary Johnson who after "seeing a lot of unrest and unhappiness" stated that corruption needs to be addressed so that "*all* of our citizens can feel safe."[262] In this statement, Johnson not only embraces Black Lives Matter's cause, but also begins to incorporate Black lives into her own view of sociality by expressing that all citizens should feel safe.

While effecting some individuals (and their movement) in the moment, the "Black Friday" protest also demonstrates some ways that the protest moved the social on a grander scale. Indeed, to the extent that foot traffic and consumer spending can be a measure of material change in a shopping mall, there is reason to believe the protests moved the social significantly. Economically, there was a 25-50 percent decrease in sales for shops in the Magnificent Mile on Black Friday, which store owners directly attributed to the protesters presence.[263] Additionally, ShopperTrak, a program that tracks shopper's movement into and out of Chicago stores, reported that there was a 8.7 percent decrease in foot traffic in stores the Saturday after Black Friday, which was a substantially larger decrease than 2014 and 2016.[264] Black Lives Matter's goal was

to "disrupt business as usual," which they did through disrupting movement into and around stores. While I do not claim causality, there were differences in the traffic (movement of people) and sales (movement of commerce) for stores in Chicago compared to previous years. The long-term consequences of this shift in movement is still unclear: these protests could have lasting effects on how the social thinks about and engages these racialized spaces or, it might simply have a temporary impact that wains with time. Yet, even in the latter case, it suggests strongly that material movement can be a site from which social change can occur.

Outside the frame of embodied change, there are other signs of the protest's effect. For instance, a goal of the Black Friday protest was to create a Citizen Police Accountability Committee (CPAC) and to open an investigation into the Chicago Police Department (CPD). While Mayor Rahm Emanuel continues to reject the creation of CPAC, on December 7, 2015, ten days after the protest, the Department of Justice opened a "Pattern or Practice Investigation" into the CPD, which "seek[s] to determine whether there are systemic violations of the Constitution or federal law by officers of CPD" and focuses "on CPD's use of force, including racial, ethnic and other disparities in use of force, and its systems of accountability."[265] Since the death of Laquan McDonald, Mayor Rahm Emanuel and the City Council, in attempts to get ahead of the investigation, voted to disband the Independent Police Review Authority and replace it with a Civilian Office of Police Accountability.[266] While these demonstrate clear changes in the wake of Laquan McDonald, Black Lives Matter, in 2016, expressed their discontent for these changes and rejected them as only a new iteration of the former corrupt system. Black Lives Matters continues to call for a truly independent task force, whose budget, hiring practices, and prosecution are out of the realm of the City's jurisdiction, which they continued to fight against in another, albeit smaller, "Black Friday" protest November 25,

2016.[267] Recently, January 13, 2017, the investigation into the Chicago Police Department released its report which found that the CPD engages in practices of excessive unconstitutional force and recommends that Chicago “consider moving the Police Board’s police commission and civilian oversight duties to another entity (such as a Community Oversight Board),” which is what Black Lives Matter- Chicago called for in their Black Friday protests.[268]

In addition, since the Black Friday protest, there has been movement in what information the public and government have concerning issues of violence and race around the Chicago Police Department. This transparency has directly affected the material make-up of the Police Department, through hiring practices and training programs as well as a new structure of accountability that moves towards a purely citizen review board. However, movement does not necessarily imply improvement or sustainability. Instances of police brutality and murder continue within the United States and Chicago, exemplified by the death of another unarmed Black man named Chad Robertson who was shot at Union Station on February 15, 2017.[269] Also, while Mayor Emanuel instituted the Civilian Office of Police Accountability, there are still concerns about the lack of true independence from the City. Thus, movement may be merely redressing an old and continuing problem in new garments.

Likewise, despite all these evidence of change, not all shoppers near the protest expressed sympathy towards the protesters or even evidenced an embodied moment of reconsideration, let alone, spoke for change. The reactions suggest that, while there are productive outcomes for protester of material disruptions, there are also potential negative outcomes. Possible negative outcomes include: affirmation of racial stereotypes, further delegitimization of the movement, and increased fervor against the movement’s goals resulting in reactionary movements like the

All Lives Matter movement. Combined these outcomes may, in fact, further entrench sentiments against the movement.

Nonetheless, while this is a valid criticism and concern of movements that disturb movement, I turn to Martin Luther King Jr.'s goal of protest for clarification. As King says, the goal of protest is not harmony and full embrace, but "seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored."[270] In these protests, Black Lives Matter forced people to materially confront Black lives and issues of race, and therefore raised consciousness and attention for Black Lives Matter.

This thesis demonstrates that the way that we move through the world and the possible trajectories we choose through our motions have an effect in producing our human consciousness. Therefore, as activist attempt to change society on the level of the cultural or social, as New Social Movement theory declares, attention should be paid to the expected and normative movements and motions that instigate and instill oppression. In doing so, protests can deploy tactics that disrupt these norms in order to reorder the movement of the social.

Space, Movement, and Race

The second set of questions raised at the beginning of this thesis revolve around how space and movement [re]configure a sociality steeped in racism. Many scholars have discussed the engrained and systemic segregation within the city of Chicago as well as its detrimental effects on Black people and the community writ large. This thesis engages in these conversations through a rhetorical lens that takes seriously the effects that spatiality (spatial practices and spatial imaginary), movement (our embodied enactment into and within space), and bodies (which bodies are (not) allowed access to the space) have on the production of a sociality that

expels and criminalizes people of color. Specifically, I demonstrate that the study of movement can further our understanding of race and racism in the United States.

Many scholars do fantastic and important work outlining the ways that people of color are systemically, culturally, and socially denied access to certain spaces, like white affluent neighborhoods. From this scholarship, which I detail in Chapter 3, we first understand that segregation is still enacted, if not in Jim Crow legislation, then in housing and lending practices which effectively relegate Black people to impoverished and overcrowded Black neighborhoods like the South Side and West Side of Chicago. Through years of displacement and discipline, segregated neighborhoods of Chicago have maintained and engrained economic, environmental, and health disparities between Black and white residents. In doing so, segregated spaces spatialize race and racialize space. In this thesis, I engage with this conversation and outline the ways that the United States and Chicago historically and contemporarily engrain spatial segregation by regulating, constricting, and disciplining Black movement, and therefore turn scholarly attention towards the study of how physical movement is implicated in maintaining both segregated spaces and oppressive race relations.[271]

As segregation continues, we create borders that hinder our ability to interact with people and create social relations that welcome difference. Black movement, through discipline and surveillance, is relegated to predominantly Black neighborhoods that both create racial inequity and instill a spatial and social imaginary that criminalizes Black bodies as they move from spaces at the margin to spaces at the center. Rigidified racial movement creates homogenous spaces and develops a white spatial/social imaginary that embraces homogeneity, expels difference, and solidifies practices of whiteness that serve to marginalize people of color. Because of the deep connection between movement and race, this thesis begins with the notion

that embodied movement is a central factor in producing a sociality that continues to marginalize. By focalizing movement, I point to examples of everyday and seemingly race-neutral practices and rhythms that limit people of color's access and movement into and within spaces at the center. Therefore, attention to movement provides a different lens to examine the white spatial imaginary.

Indeed, as George Lipsitz argues, spatialization of race and racialization of space produce a spatial and thus social imaginary that reject notions that there are systemic forces impinging upon people of color and argue that any imbalance is a result of poor individual choices.[272] He develops this argument from his thorough analysis of how discriminatory housing and lending practices create segregated spaces that negatively impact Black people and developed a white spatial imaginary that deems white spaces and whiteness as the geography of the pure while casting aside Blackness as immoral. Adding an examination of the ways that disciplining and surveilling movement has also negatively impacted Black people elucidates another dimension to the white spatial imaginary that is implicated in the police and civilian violence against Black bodies that move into white spaces. Specifically, I argue that the white spatial and social imaginary criminalizes Black bodies and assumes that the motions and movements of Black bodies have criminal intent, and thus justify discipline.

A focus on movement regarding race also informs the ways that white movement enacts racism. My analysis of Black Friday protest focuses on the ways that the protesters disrupt white motion, and in doing so I open a conversation and call for a reflection of the ways that white movement and motion implicates itself in oppression and marginalization. The individual motions of clutching your purse as you pass a person of color, for example enacts the criminalizing effect of the white spatial imaginary. As the word "racist" becomes a cutting insult,

we as a society have attempted to distance ourselves from overt racism that we attribute to organizations like the KKK, comments that directly assault people of color, or thoughts that people of color are inferior in any way—although we are witnessing a resurgence of these forms of racism.[273] While these are important moves, it is detrimental to believe that diminishing examples of overt racism signifies progress towards a post-racist society, for we still enact racism in our everyday lives and at the core of ourselves—our movements, motions, and habits.

Taking seriously space, movement, and bodies as a prominent factor in constituting spatial, and thus, social imaginaries that produce racial tension and oppression offers a supplemental perspective to understand the way that racism, as a form of regulated, constricted, and disciplined movement, persists as well as its consequences. Particularly, this thesis 1) furthers and provides additional support for the claim that segregation of spaces and movement, while not explicitly legislated, is prevalent and extremely detrimental to the continual oppression of people of color, 2) expands upon the detailed formation and effects of the spatial/social imaginary laid out by George Lipsitz, and 3) points to the study of how white bodies, through movement and motion enact these imaginaries.

Space, Movement, Rhetoric

This thesis specifically contributes to the scholarship engaged with McGee's rhetorical theory of social movements and offers an approach to study the material movement of the social. As I discussed in chapter 2, scholars like Kevin Deluca, Dana Cloud, and Darrel Enck-Wanzer have already expanded what can move the social to include the extra-discursive, bodies, and images. Tangentially, Endres and Senda-Cook and West have opened social movement scholarship to studying space and place as important factors in the protest's argument. Informed by this literature, I agree that scholars should, as McGee argues, begin analyzing social

movements with an emphasis on the movement of sociality. What this thesis contributes is an expansion of such investigations beyond the realm of the discursive scholarship toward serious considerations of the power of the material to move the social. I offer the study of the material movement of the social as a possible avenue to expand our understandings of movement as meaning.

Breaking down what I define as the material movement of the social will illuminate other implications for studying social movement as material. First, this thesis understands and argues for the significance that materiality, understood as material things, has in co-constituting us on the level of the material body, the individual person, and the social being. Therefore, I enter into the dialogue started and progressed by the likes Butler, Blair, Dickinson, Gallagher, Zagacki, Aeillo, Aoki, and Ott that analyze the ways that materiality comes to matter as a productive agent in the co-construction of our lives. My contributive sentence in this long conversation is to analyze materiality in protest as a potential to create change.

Second, I focus on material movement, that being physical movement of bodies and other materials like cars, bikes, doors, among others. Once again, studying movement is not new to the field, so I am continuing to build from the work of Massumi, Dickinson, and Aeillo. One addition to this scholarship is my attention and differentiation of movement and motion, which was that motion is the enactment of possible trajectories within movement. While this distinction may produce debate, it allowed the analysis to understand how our bodies habits of motion are culturally and socially inscribed. Movement, according to Massumi, has an infinite trajectory of possibilities, but are all of these possibilities equally accessible to everyone? This thesis would argue that a white body and Black body could make the same movement, reaching for a door, but take very different motions to do so, and these differences are rhetorical. They inform how we

come to understand and be understood in the world. Therefore, this thesis proffers motion, differentiated slightly from movement, as a potential unit of analysis for critcism.

Finally, by material movement of the social I mean that the physical movement of material things are important factors and agents of producing and transforming our sociality, which is the ways in which we become and come to know the world together through our interactions and relationships. Analyzing protest as material movement of the social both progresses the productive role of materiality and movement, as well as advances our understanding of the social. There is plenty of work on public, publics, and counterpublics, but I was hard pressed to find a succinct definition or description of social. Instead, it seems to be used as if we all have a common understanding of what it means. This is not to say that there is not work on what it means to be social, the social body, social imaginary, or sociality much of which I built my theories from in this thesis. However, to understand how a protest can move the social one must understand what the social is. In this thesis, I offer a relational perspective between public and social, that we are social in public which always already formulates what it means to be public and the public informs and instructs how we perform our sociality. I also point to aspects of our daily realities that shape the social, but I call for a more rigorous engagement of what exactly is "the social" than the scope of this thesis allowed. My focus on "the social" was a choice driven by McGee's scholarship, and speaks to one of the multiple limitation within this thesis. Focusing on the social rather than say a public was a foundational assumption and choice upon which the rest of my analysis and theory was built. This is one of the theoretical limitations I had within this project, but there are other limitations within my analysis that merit discussion.

Limitations and Future Work

At the close of this project, it is essential to consider both the limitations and future work around the study of material movements, Black Lives Matters, and social change. Beginning with limitations, there are several that this project draws attention to including: my own constraints as a critic, the limited scope of the project that focused on race rather than intersectionality that Black Lives Matter works hard to centralize, and the methodological limitations of studying the materiality of movement and motion.

To begin, my identity as a white cis gender heterosexual woman affords me a lot of privilege and makes it impossible to understand the experience Black people have within the United States. Therefore, I am limited in my ability to analyze and understand the Black experience as well as their goals of disruption resulting in a possible dissonance between my interpretation of events and the protester's experience and goals during the protest. However, through my experience as a white body, I focused on white motion and tried to limit any tendency for white scholars to speak for Black lives. My own body, identities, and perspectives implicate itself in my paradigm of analysis and require me to make choices about what (not) to focus on, which entails an incomplete and partisan analysis. A critic with a different identity or perspective may advance a completely different or even oppositional argument of the same protest, an endeavor I encourage.

One choice I made in my analysis was to focus solely on race rather than take a more intersectional approach to include aspects of say gender or sexuality. One of Black Lives Matter main goals is to "center… those that have been marginalized within Black liberation movements."[274] Hence, my choice to only focus on race re-marginalizes the already multiply marginalized intersectional identities. As Kimberlé Crenshaw argues, intersectional identities are

subject to “overlapping patterns of power” and produce a convergence of vulnerability to social control and oppression.[275] By focusing on one dimension of marginalization I have, in part, continued to silence and make invisible the converging vulnerability and multiplied oppression of women, trans, queer, and disabled folks. Taking a more intersectional approach can more fully elucidate a “range of social and institutional practices that produce and sustain social categories and infuse them with social meanings” that my thesis may have overlooked.[276]

Finally, while there is plenty of work analyzing materiality as well as recent literature that describes possible areas to study within materiality—including space, bodies, and movement—there are still difficulties and limitations inherent in analyzing materiality.[277] Examining the minutiae of habitude and motion risks overgeneralizing or inaccurately assigning consequence and effect. The critic can mitigate these issues by being there, by spending time observing, listening, smelling, touching, and enacting the habits and motions of the space as well as its disruption during the protest. As Dickinson argues, “being there engages all of the senses alerted to rhetorical consequentiality.”[278] However, a protest is difficult to 1) know about far enough in advance to allow time to analyze the normal space and movements upon which you analyze disruption against and 2) to fully engage with its disruption while it is happening. For this thesis, I had the added limitation of not being at the protest, and therefore had to rely on media accounts and archives of the events. Therefore, the burden of evidence was heavy and one I could not always carry. For example, in my analysis of the racism present in doorways I only offer three examples of racism within the stores, rather than the process of entering the Magnificent Mile through the doorways. Does this mean these practices of racism are not present in the Magnificent Mile? Not Necessarily. In fact, based upon the historical and contemporary issues of race in Chicago, chances are it does. Yet, I was unable to adequately exemplify or argue

that the motions of the people and space of the Magnificent Mile produce these moments of racism because they are 1) not as publicly discussed as they probably should be and 2) can be actions that are so normalized, micro, or habituated that they go unnoticed. Analyzing movements and motions of the everyday is important because these movements produce our unexamined and sometimes oppressive sociality. But, it is the very banality and unexamined nature of habitude and motion that also makes this analysis challenging.

Given the limitations of this project and opportunities this thesis presents, future work in this area is called for. Three possible areas for future research include: 1) scholars should examine protest from lenses other than, or in addition to race, 2) researchers can analyze social movements that may utilize other aspects of motion besides its disruption in their protest, and 3) rather than only focus on social movements, critics can utilize the dimensions of motion this thesis offers to examine other scenarios of movement.

To begin, this thesis focuses on one particular protest at the Magnificent Mile from the lens of white and Black movement, but as I stated previously this is a limited view of this one protest as well as protests more generally. Future research could focus on the same Black Friday protest from the lens of gender, sexuality, or other races besides the common binary of Black and white, which would produce very different results. However, the message and argument of protest also changes depending on even more variables. There have been multiple protests at the Magnificent Mile on Black Friday employing similar tactics to Black Lives Matter. In 2013, members of the “Fight for 15” campaign marched on Michigan Avenue demanding for the minimum wage to be increased to 15 dollars an hour.[279] While disrupting motion in a similar way, the cause and bodies and actions of the protesters and pedestrians produced a different argument. This thesis argues that the materiality, particularly material movement, is an important

dimension for protests' message and effect on the social. Future work therefore, should attend to how different bodies, movements, and arguments affect the impact of the social movement.

To further expand the possibilities of analyzing social movements as material movement, I also propose that future scholarship study other tactics of motion. This thesis concentrates on the productive possibility of disrupting habituated and normalized motion, but protest's employ other tactics of movement. For example, the One Mind Youth Movement, which sparked the protests over the Dakota Access Pipeline at Standing Rock in 2016, ran across the country from North Dakota to Washington D.C. to present a petition against the construction of the pipeline. The news of the protest garnered mass attention and when the runners returned home there were over a 1,000 people camped out to protest.[280] These tactics raise important questions that scholars should engage with as they analyze the effect of motion and movement of different protests. How does this type of movement, or perhaps mobility, function to rhetorically mobilize support? What other potential, besides disruption, does material movement pose for social movements? How do these different forms alter how a protest moves the social? In answering these questions, scholarship can also aid social movements to more effectively plan their protests in line with their message and goals.

This thesis, particularly in regards to the conceptualization of motion, may also contribute to rhetorical criticism beyond social movements. I argue that the way we move in the world co-constitutes us as social beings; we become through how we move. Within this movement there are infinite possible trajectories we can take that are cultural and socially inscribed into our bodies. Our choices of which trajectories to enact, our motion, shapes both our embodiment of culture and society as well as the culture and society we embody. To utilize Dickinson, Blair, and Ott's dimensions of rhetoric, motion is meaningful for our motions

materially affect how we interact in the world signifying and inflecting certain values over others, making it partisan as well. Motion is legible in that we can observe, feel, and enact our movements. Finally, as my thesis demonstrates, our motions have consequence in producing our sociality and is consequential in possibly producing change.[281] If motion is rhetorical, and I argue it is, then critics attending to materiality, movement, everyday life, or performance should consider motion as an element of analysis. As I pursue my dissertation in the coming years, I hope to engage these questions moving forward.

Final Thoughts

Throughout my work and within my thoughts, I am constantly reflecting upon the question of how things change in the world. As I hear of more Black deaths at the hands of police officers, as I see acts of misogyny within classrooms, as I learn about travesties against humanity around the world I am filled with questions of how we change only to find empty answers. Ultimately, this thesis is a part of a constant project to reflect upon possible avenues to transform our world to be more hospitable, more compassionate, more embracing, in short to be better. While I do not believe that material movement is the silver bullet, I do recognize that the way we move in the world matters and we should constantly reflect on how our movements implicate itself in constructing the social, and we should be working to build a social that is better for all.

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