THE (EM)PLACED VERNACULAR: RHETORICS OF TRANSGRESSION AND CONTROL IN NEW YORK CITY

by

Elinor Light

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STATEMENT OF DISSERTATION APPROVAL

The dissertation of **Elinor Light**

has been approved by the following supervisory committee members:

Name	Role	Date Approved
Kevin DeLuca	Chair	**12/10/2014**
Helene Shugart	Member	**12/10/2014**
Danielle Endres	Member	**12/10/2014**
Craig Denton	Member	**12/10/2014**
Lela Graybill	Member	**12/10/2014**

and by **Kent Ono**, Chair of

the Department of **Communication**

and by David B. Kieda, Dean of The Graduate School.

ABSTRACT

Traversing the vectors and tensions of everyday places is to experience a profoundly powerful rhetorical force. Through the particularities of place, identity is forged, communities are created, and ideological wars are waged through images, aesthetics, and materiality. *The (Em)placed Vernacular: Rhetorics of Transgression and Control in New York City* explores these intersections and the larger rhetorical possibilities of taking a vernacular approach to the study place through an exploration of New York City as an ideological text and site of rhetorical acts of place-making.

This project develops the notion of the *(em)placed vernacular* as a critical framework that acknowledges the important ways that place is perpetually created, maintained, and re-coded by the actions and reactions of users. The (em)placed vernacular is defined as the visual, aesthetic, and material codes embedded in the particularities of place. These codes not only provide the symbolic resources for living in the contemporary moment, they are one of the fundamental ways that ideology is materialized and acts of transgression and control emerge in the city.

I explore three particular engagements within the (em)placed vernacular of New York City. As a larger dwelling place that has historically existed as a microcosm for the larger United States, I study the use of Zuccotti Park by Occupy Wall Street, the everyday surfaces used by British street artist Banksy, and the memory place of the 9/11 Memorial. Because of the intersectional dimensions of the (em)placed vernacular, I engage the virtual

contexts and *(cyber)places* where the images roam, the constitutive force of materiality in producing ideal and transgressive subjectivities, and the larger political and rhetorical implications of transforming contemporary (non)places into places where new subjectivities can emerge through acts of place-making. I argue that acts of place-making provide particular ways of seeing the world, through which the possibilities of transformation are seen and engaged. The (em)placed vernacular provides a useful critical framework for studying acts of transgression and control that work always within the contingent foundations of postmodern politics.

To Jonathan.

Everyday. Always. All the time.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE (EM)PLACED VERNACULAR

> Social space is not an empty arena within which we conduct our lives; rather, it is something we construct and which others construct about us. It is in this incredible complexity of social interactions and meanings, which we constantly build, tear down, and negotiate. And it is always mobile, always changing, always open to revision and potentially fragile.
>
> -- Doreen Massey[1]

New York City has always existed in our popular imagination as the archetypal American city, where the greatest of opportunities exist and where the American dream seems to lurk around every corner. As Gregory Clark writes, "Manhattan symbolizes for most Americans the essence of what the expansive and unimaginable continent that is the nation offers them. It symbolizes a national community that can encompass almost every American aspiration."[2] It also has a rich history of reflecting and reproducing the anxieties and hopes of particular time periods. Architecture, city planning, gentrification, the development of parks and high rises all function as both a reflection of and an active agent in the production of cultural norms, dominant ideology, and subjectivity in the experience of the contemporary moment.

The materiality of the city embodies the complexity of modern life, where the cyclical time of the pastoral life is complicated and displaced by the linear logic of modern time and where the notion of nature is constituted through its absence. According to urbanist Lewis Mumford, "By contrast with the slow-paced, family-based village defined by

continuity and conformity, the city was an unstable community that welcomed strangers, embraced individuality, and was energized by change. It was bold and bustling, exciting and inventive, arrogant and aggressive."[3] Success and opportunity called thousands to this life. Simultaneously, it also produced new forms of social anxieties. As individuals lived closer together in larger numbers, a sense of alienation and pacification became a dominant characteristic of the city subject.[4]

Out of all U.S. cities, New York City has always been a particularly turbulent one. Writing in the 1980s from the 110th floor of The World Trade Center, Michel de Certeau describes the city as embodying the "extremes of ambition and degradation, brutal oppositions of races and styles, contrasts between yesterday's buildings, already transformed into trash cans, and today's urban interruptions that block out its space."[5] Historians agree. New York City has seen numerous nonviolent, but especially violent uprisings, demonstrations, and riots throughout its history.[6] In addition to the numerous minor riots, Historian Joanne Reitano documents major violent responses to the status quo including the "Stamp Act riots of 1765, the antiabolition riots of 1834, the Astor Place riots of 1849, the draft riots of 1863, the race riot of 1900, the Harlem riots of 1935, 1943, and 1964, the Columbia College, CUNY, and Stonewall riots of the late 1960s, and the Hard-hat and Blackout riots of the 1970s."[7] These various uprisings, described as "social exclamation points" by historian David Grimsted, both gave voice to the powerless while simultaneously pointing to the tensions inherent in the very fabric of the American Dream.[8]

The emergence of graffiti in the early 1970s is a particularly visual exclamation point in New York's history. In 1971, *The New York Times* published an article titled, "'Taki 183' Spawns Pen Pals," detailing how a New York teenager's practice of marking his name "Taki 183" throughout the city was causing others to do the same.[9] This article is cited by both

artists and scholars alike as the inception of the widespread practice of graffiti in the United States, and ultimately, around the world.[10] Today, not only is graffiti arguably the largest artistic movement in the history of the world, it is also one of the most controversial forms of visual communication, with most cities modeling their antigraffiti laws after those developed in New York City.[11]

Today, as the most densely populated area in the United States and as a leader in culture, entertainment, fashion, finance, commerce, and technology, "Gotham city" is globally recognized as a symbol of the United States and of democracy. However, the city takes on additional meaning in the contemporary moment because it exists as the central place in which the events of September 11, 2001 occurred. Images of the twin towers falling cemented New York City as not just an archetype of all American cities, but as a symbol and archetype of a post-9/11 world. The surveillance practices resulting from 9/11 are now embedded in the fabric of the city. National Guard periodically watch over Grand Central Station and police watch for behavior that seems "out of place" throughout the five Burroughs. Despite, or perhaps because of, these aspects of hyper-security, the city continues to exist as a place of civil and uncivil disobedience. For example, the city continues to attract street artists from around the world. In 2012 one of the most famous street artists, Banksy, spent the entire month of October creating images and performances in and on the streets and buildings of New York City.[12]

More traditional acts of protest make a home in the city as well. Shortly after the tenth anniversary of 9/11, thousands flooded the small place of Zuccotti Park located only several blocks from Ground Zero, spurring the massive Occupy Wall Street movement that eventually spread throughout world in protest of financial inequality, corporate control, and consumerism. In response to these and other worldwide protests, such as those known as

the Arab Spring, caused *Time* magazine to name "The Protestor" as Person of the Year in 2011.[13] Thus, the intersection between the imagination of the city as a place of progress and the real violence and dissensus experienced in New York causes most Americans to fear the very city which embodies the most important myths of America in a post-9/11 world.[14]

This project engages the place of New York City as a rhetorical text and puts forth the notion of the *(em)placed vernacular* as a critical framework for exploring both acts of control and transgression in the contemporary moment. I define the (em)placed vernacular as the material, visual, and aesthetic codes that are intersectionally embedded in the particularities of place. Just as language is intelligible through the operation of a specific code, the particular places of our cities operate as coded signs as well.[15] Due to their existence in the fluidity of place, users of place may take up these codes as speakers take up words to either reiterate or challenge dominant ideologies. This framework responds to the growing emphasis in communication studies on the importance of place in the production of power and ideology as well as the need for intersectional approaches to studying acts of power and transgression in the contemporary moment.[16] Accordingly, the following research questions guide my analysis:

1. In what ways does the *(em)placed vernacular* function rhetorically in reinforcing or transgressing dominant ideologies in the contemporary moment?

    a.) In what ways do contemporary image-makers use the emplaced vernacular in transgressive ways?

    b.) In what ways can the use of the *(em)placed vernacular* function as a form of control?

    c.) What are the implications of place-making tactics in practices of seeing and issues of social justice?

The following chapter outlines the central theoretical tenets that structure the concept of the (em)placed vernacular. I begin with a discussion of the importance of attending to the intersectional dimensions of rhetoric before turning to the specific intersections that make up the notion of the (em)placed vernacular which include place, aesthetics, and images. I then turn to the methodological concerns of this project and end with an introduction to my case studies and subsequent chapters.

Rhetorical Intersections

This project takes a critical orientation to rhetorical analysis and is grounded in the notion that rhetoric is both constitutive of identity and ideology. I utilize Kevin DeLuca's definition of rhetoric as the "mobilization of signs for the articulation of identities, ideologies, consciousness, communities, publics, and cultures."[17] With a particular focus on poststructural notions of power, resistance, and social justice, my theoretical foundation rests on the work of Philip Wander, Michael Calvin McGee, and Ramie McKerrow who argue that a critical rhetoric seeks to understand the relationship between visual, discursive, performative, and structural aspects of culture and power.[18] With this foundation, my project can be read as a part of a larger effort in communication studies to expose systems of domination and move towards cultural transformation.[19] This transformation is not a utopian one. Instead, it is the unstable and always relative transformation of postmodern politics.

Of particular importance to the critical project is the force of the rhetoric of everyday places as well as the importance of transgression and resistance within those places. From explicitly ideologically places, such as museums and memorials to the everyday places of coffeehouses and fast-food restaurants, the study of *place* is an important component of

understanding of both systems of domination and transformation in the contemporary moment.[20] Edward Soja argues that, "Focusing in on specific examples of where and how (in)justice takes place helps to ground the search for spatial justice in socially produced contexts rather than letting it float in idealized abstractions and too easily deflected calls for universal human rights or radical revolution."[21] Every city place becomes a dense concentration of global and localized ideologies, manifested in material form in architecture, the smell of local food preparation, the localized soundscape, spatial organization, and in the embodied uses of particular places. New Orleans, for example, is particularly famous for offering visitors a unique aesthetic discourse in the French Quarter: one might enjoy the European-styled architecture while eating an alligator cheesecake and wandering the narrow, sour smelling, streets. As one experiences the streets through these elements, one is also experiencing the manifestation of profound racial and classed inequalities: the boundaries of the French Quarter mark a distinct separation where images of poverty emerge in stark contrast to the aesthetic of the French Quarter. When these codes are experienced in an embodied way, they intersect with the previously experienced visual vocabulary of the city and act rhetorically by interpellating visitors into particular subject positions.[22] Moreover, the city is profoundly complex, merging the materiality of buildings, streets, roadways, and parks with images, smells, and noise. The complexity of the city as a place, then, calls for not only a critical approach but also an intersectional approach.

Within the larger critical project the concept of intersectionality arose from conversations in feminist debates to assert that dominant ideologies, and therefore systems of oppression, are interlocked.[23] Racism, classism, sexism, and heteronormativity, for example, support one another in powerful ways. Particularly interested in the intersections between class, gender, and race, scholar bell hooks argues that we must "expand our

awareness of sex, race, and class as interlocking systems of domination, [and] the ways we reinforce and perpetuate these structures."[24] Intersectionality has also been discussed using spatial metaphors, such as "marginality," "standpoint," and "location." As Jessie Stewart and Greg Dickinson argue, place and space are not only helpful metaphorically for understanding the intersectional dimensions of subjectivity, oppression and domination, but are also important because of the rhetoric of place in and of itself.[25]

Working from a social movement perspective, Darrel Enck-Wanzer identifies several important features of the intersectional dimensions of place, defining intersectional rhetoric as, "a rhetoric that places multiple rhetorical forms . . . on relatively equal footing, is not leader-centered, and draws from a number of diverse discursive political or rhetorical conventions."[26] I believe we can build on this definition, however, to take seriously the critical components to the history of the term. Just as multiple forms of domination are interlocked, multiple texts are interlocked as well. These textual forms support one another, reiterating and reproducing both dominant and transgressive ideologies. This is not unlike intertexuality, where various texts reference one another, particularly within a mediated framework. However, intersectional rhetoric focuses not on only on how texts reference one another, but how various texts across a wide range of forms work together to produce a particular rhetorical force. To approach the intersectional dimensions of place is to recognize the tensions inherent in everyday city life: roads intersect, bodies of people intersect on the streets in fumbled ways, and dominant ideologies intersect with the transgressive tactics.[27] Intersectionality, rooted in rhetorical and critical theory, is the foundation on which the notion of the (em)placed vernacular is built and allows for a study of both power and transgression in the particularity of place.

Furthermore, I understand transgression as distinct from resistance. Transgression,

according to Tim Cresswell, is an action that may or may not be intentionally opposed to the status quo.[28] The homeless who sleep on the park benches or the person who refuses to use the crosswalk to cross the street may be engaged in a transgressive act without the intention of opposing the larger spatial structures that organize our experience within particular places. Resistance, however, is a more conscious act that does come from an intention to disarticulate some aspect of spatial logic or the meaning associated with a place. A transgression of place consists of undermining the logics of spatial practice through, for example, acts of the body or reappropriation of visual signs within the environment. Thus, the (em)placed vernacular can be used as a theoretical and methodical lens for the analysis of the intersectional dimensions of everyday life. It will focus on the ways that images, places, and aesthetics converse with one another in the ephemerality of city spaces.

The Fluidity of Place

Attention to the cultural significance of city places arose first within the field of geography and is founded on the distinction between space and place.[29] The notion of *space* was initially understood as an abstract and infinite system of logic or practice, which invested the more particular concept of *place* with particular ideologies.[30] David Harvey, for example, discusses the logic of capitalism and its influence on city structures and divisions of labor.[31] Place, then, is more particular, semibounded, visibly material, and imbued with specific (and sometimes more personal) meanings.[32] From a rhetorical perspective, Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook argue that places can be defined as "particular locations with material/symbolic, embodied, and dynamic characteristics that are related to but not absolutely determined by spatial social structures. Part of the particularity of places derives

from their material (i.e., physical) form."[33] Places, they argue, are a particularly material form of rhetoric because they are experiential and experienced in fully embodied ways.[34]

Materiality is an important aspect of place and one of the intersectional dimensions of the (em)placed vernacular. Materiality, from a rhetorical perspective, is the notion that all texts have both a physical and symbolic presence as well as having material consequences in the world.[35] In built environments like cities, the materiality of rhetoric is made particularly visible and is an important aspect of its force in the world.[36] The architecture, the ways that sidewalks dictate movement, the larger organization of the city, and the lines that roads and railroads cut through the urban scene are so clearly material that they fail to appear rhetorical. They are powerfully rhetorical because they fail to appear that way and symbolism and ideology of spatial structures are embedded into the materiality of place. Salt Lake City, Utah, is a prime example of how larger spatial ideologies manifest themselves into materiality of the place of the city. Salt Lake City is organized around a large grid of streets with the Church of Latter Day Saints Temple sitting at the center. The influence of Mormon ideology exerts itself into a material organization of the city, and directs all roads to lead to the central ideology and the central place of the church. The materiality of all cities is dependent on larger ideologies that structure it. Simultaneously, the materiality of place structures the larger spatial ideologies as well as the bodies who move in and through it.

While place is imbued with a particularly visible form of materiality, its rhetoric is not static nor is it only a site for control and privileged discourse. Instead, as Doreen Massey argues, places are extraordinarily fluid, "extroverted," always in the process of becoming, and open to revision.[37] The concept of Thirdspace offers a particularly useful way of understanding this fluidity. Henri Lefebvre argues that people cannot constitute themselves as subjects unless they produce a place and offers three modes of what he terms "social

space," which include conceived, perceived, and lived space. [38] Perceived space, he argues, is the materiality of particular places, produced through spatial practices. Conceived space, on the other hand, is the larger imaginations that help to understand social space. This is where domination and ideology function. This third space, Lefebvre argues, is lived space, the space where the body becomes an important aspect and where perceived and conceived space become both fused and fluid. Soja theorizes further to argue that the lived and liminal space of Lefebvre's formula offers the area of critical intervention in dominating ideologies.[39] The lived quality of Thirdspace is of particular importance when attending to transgressive acts.

One of the primary characteristics of lived space is the actions and use of place by the living body. Numerous scholars have highlighted the body as both a site of discipline and transgression. For example, de Certeau argues that power and resistance are born in the lived space of walking and it becomes the area of the weak to deploy temporally situated and site-specific tactics of resistance.[40] Michel Foucault similarly discusses the heterotopias of lived engagement where knowledge and power intersect and individuals might take hold of particular nodal points and produce different forms of knowledge.[41] From a rhetorical perspective, scholars such as DeLuca, Phaedra Pezzullo and Jake Simmons demonstrate through specific rhetorical studies the importance of the body in reiterating or transgressing dominant discourses.[42] The body may engage place in any number of ways: visually, through movement, or through verbal interaction.

Since place is always in the process of becoming and the citational actions of the actions of users are always active in this processing, place is inherently always partially a voice of the vernacular. The vernacular is defined by Kent Ono and John Sloop as "speech that resonates within local communities. This discourse is neither accessible in its entirety,

nor is it discoverable except through texts. However, vernacular discourse is also culture: the music, art, criticism, dance, and architecture of local communities."[43] While social media and information technology expand our notions of what constitutes "local," particular places continue to be texts where discourse is negotiated and where communities constitute themselves. As a text, place is a particularly important arena to study the vernacular and an essential nodal point in mapping out means for social change. Moreover, the notion of a vernacular approach to the study of place moves beyond understanding merely individual engagements with particular places. Places can be studied as a collective rhetoric, built slowly over time and infused with both local and global practices and customs.

The gestures of the body are both productive in the creation of particular places as well as dependent on their existence. As Lefebvre illustrates, bodily gestures are the movement of the body that is made possible and which create place to begin with.[44] In this way, place-making is always a rhetorical act and is legible only through repetition. As Judith Butler argues, discourse is legible and given force through historicity, ritual, and citational dimensions in language.[45] In both gestures and language, this can lead to the cementing of meaning that perpetuates domination and hegemonic ideologies. However, the opportunity for transgression also occurs in the citational dimensions of language and place. The body may choose to use the sidewalk, obey all spatial codes, and move through the city in ways that reiterate dominant ideologies. Alternatively, critical intervention can occur through what Butler terms the "social performative" which is a process of reappropriating language so that its meaning and effects can be revised. In using place in transgressive ways, the performative has the potential to work against dominant ideology and is one of the most "influential rituals by which subjects are formed and reformulated."[46]

The central framework of the (em)placed vernacular is built on the notion of the fluidity of place and the vernacular characteristics of its material production. In addition, a vernacular perspective on the study of place continues the critical project of postmodern transformation. Rather than simply criticize the dominant ideology in elite places, a study of the vernacular of place allows the critic to, as Ono and Sloop would argue, "move beyond challenge to transformation."[47] To study this transformation, however, it is necessary to study the importance of the culture of the image and the politics of aesthetics that are embedded alongside materiality in the particularities of place.

The Culture of the Image

Images are everywhere. They can be found on surfaces ranging from the massive public billboard screens that dominate the visual experience of the postmodern city with moving images designed to inspire consumption, to the personal laptops, smart phones, and televisions that fill the contemporary individual's private home space with sound, light, and image. In cities, the screen increasingly becomes a part of the urban environment (see Figure 1). Kirsty Best argues, "urban screen ecologies are nodes of information exchange which overwhelmingly privilege the facilitation of visually interfaced consumption: bank machines and grocery store screens most obviously, but also ad-based television wallpaper, interfaces between cell phone screens and vending machines, banner ads on computer screens and so on."[48] Personal smart phones (PSP) come equipped for lightning-fast access to communication and entertainment and as individuals move through the various screen ecologies of the contemporary moment, people and their personal screens seem merged as one. The relationship between the PSP and the person becomes a manifestation of Donna Haraway's cyborgs.[49]

Figure 1: New York City at Times Square

One of the most prominent forms of communication in the contemporary moment is the image.[50] Of the numerous theoretical perspectives of the image, most important to this project is simply the notion that images have assumed ubiquitous importance in everyday life.[51] Rather than simply a cultural fad or influential contemporary custom, image making in the contemporary moment is the force through which reality is perceived, created, and experienced. W. J. T. Mitchell is perhaps most famous for his work on the pictorial turn, which refers to the increasing importance that images take over language in the construction of social reality.[52]

The privileging of images and image-based technology is powerful not only because the rhetoric of images is everywhere, but because they also operate in unique and different ways from language. Mitchell traces a history of the treatment of images, arguing that there exists a "double-consciousness" towards the image in contemporary culture.[53] On one hand, there is a general belief that images are magical creatures that have unique and deadly force

over us and have a direct connection to what they represent. This is why, Mitchell explains, most people would refuse to cut out the eyes in a picture of our mother.

On the other hand, there is the simultaneously shared and contradictory belief that "Other" people who believe that images are magical must be "primitive" and uneducated.[54] The story, which has evolved into somewhat of a cultural myth, of indigenous tribes who refuse to have their pictures taken for fear it will steal their souls, exemplifies this attitude. The double-consciousness towards images results in either an iconophobic/iconoclastic or iconophilic relationship with images. These attitudes may be the result of the fact that our perception of images uses different cognitive processes from what is used for language. In fact, visual perception is always emotional before it is rational.[55] Any visual stimuli initially bypass the neocortex (the center of reason and intelligence) and are sent to the thalamus and the amygdala. These areas of the brain deal with emotions and fight or flight responses.[56]

The contemporary culture of the image alters our perceptions of self, of others, and of the nation.[57] Images call us to assume particular subject positions, persuade us to purchase particular products, or invite us to live in particular places and inside of specific homes. Images are the rhetoric of social movements and the tool by which contemporary war is waged.[58] Images are embedded in the fabric of our everyday lives and make up a large part of the (em)placed vernacular and our everyday engagement within it. Victor Burgin writes, "The city in our actual experience is *at the same time* an actually existing physical environment, and a city in a novel, a film, a photograph, a city seen on television, a city in a comic strip, a city in a pie chart, and so on."[59] Thus, the city is a lived site where images intersect with place and where the imagination of the city collides with our experience in live time.

The Rhetoric of Aesthetics

Despite a long history of the study of aesthetics, the term remains somewhat elusive. From Immanuel Kant to Pierre Bourdieu to Jacques Rancière, the study of aesthetics has produced important conversations about the field of art, the nature of beauty, and the political force of aesthetics.[60] In anthropology, Victor Turner and Mary Douglas discuss the notion of aesthetics that centers on cultural performances, liminality, and the theatrical dimensions of everyday life.[61] From a postcolonial perspective, scholars such as Edward Said, Marianna Torgovnick, and Ngugi wa Thiong'o demonstrate the importance of art in both colonial discourses of oppression as well as modes of intervention and transgression.[62] From a rhetorical perspective, Burke argues that aesthetics, or form, "is the creation and fulfillment of desires."[63] For Kenneth Burke and other rhetoricians, aesthetics functions as a form of communication that helps people adopt particular identities through the use of shared symbols.[64] In particular, communication scholars have taken up aesthetics to demonstrate the potential for social change as well as their role in establishing modes of power and control.[65] Helene Shugart and Catherine Waggoner, for example, discuss the transgressive rhetorical force of mediated representations of the camp aesthetic.[66]

Throughout all of this research, however, there is an underlying tension produced from the slippery foundation of aesthetics, that of the notion of artistic practice. While most scholars would agree that art is more than just something you find in a gallery, the boundaries of what is art and what is not art are blurry. Does, for example, the 1900s ironwork on the side of a New York City Brownstone count as art? How would one categorize the cultural performances embedded in contemporary culture, such as airport security? Is one's choice of clothing each morning an artistic practice? These questions are central in understanding the boundary of art, but the implications are profound. Aesthetics

maintain systems of domination and discipline.[67] As Bourdieu argues, aesthetic taste is one of the most fundamental ways that class divisions are upheld and maintained.[68] Thus, the aesthetic element of the (em)placed vernacular is an exceptionally important part of its rhetorical force.

Taking these various lines of argument and theory into account, I define aesthetics as creative practices that work to produce subjectivities, communities, politics, and ways of seeing the world and what is possible within it. This definition works from the assumption that aesthetics are the visual, auditory, textual, material, and experiential elements of everyday life rather than the products of a separate sphere of work or practice. Rancière offers a particularly useful way of understanding aesthetics and the stakes of aesthetics in contemporary culture. Through what he terms the "distribution of the sensible," he argues that a community or society deems certain things sensible, sayable, seeable, and knowable.[69] Politics and social transformation emerges, he argues, when there is a rupture in this distribution, in the given order of a society.[70] This rupture always occurs as another aesthetic and oftentimes occurs within the particularities of place.

As a city that is perpetually remade into the image of America, New York City is an appropriate rhetorical text to investigate how individuals utilize intersections between place, images, and aesthetics to navigate the dominant ideologies embedded in the materiality of the city. Just as larger discursive formations may be altered through the linguistic social performative, larger spatial structures can also be altered through the aesthetics of place. It is within the fluidity of place that reappropriations function as an aesthetic social performative to redistribute the sensible and allow for the possibility for the carving out of new critical spaces in the intersection between ideology and materiality. This project is motivated by the conviction that the rhetorical force of contemporary acts of control or transgression arise in

profound ways from the intersectional dimensions of everyday life. Rather than attempting to simplify these acts down to some "essential" rhetorical nature, I mean to complicate them, to help excite them into revealing their complex and fluidly powerful rhetorical potential.

Moving Methodology

Riding the Metro-North train into the city is a wild experiment in movement. Image after image of unkempt forests, graffitied walls, and buildings pass by the window, only to be interrupted by the occasional passing train (see Figure 2). Inside, the train is squeaky clean. Sitting in a north-facing car, the Hudson River scenery on the left is contrasted to the increasingly urban images to the right. As one penetrates the boundaries of the city, the graffiti images increase in number and they appear as blurs of color amidst the concrete and metal of the train tracks.

Figure 2: Graffiti Outside the North Metro Train

As the train comes to a stop in Harlem, I am reminded of my father. My experience of the city exists both in the aesthetic experience of the now as well as in the collection of mediated images of the city, knowledge of Harlem from stories that my father told me from his youth, and from my previous experiences with researching graffiti. These layers of mental images juxtapose themselves with the materiality of the experience of the Harlem stop. This experience becomes profoundly liminal; the train acts as a catalyst for moving from one state of being (the suburbs) to another (the city). As "betwixt and between" passengers of the train not only experience the liminality of penetrating the diffuse boundaries of the city, they also experience the liminality of perpetual image-making of the city itself.[71] The city as place is neither static nor permanent. Rather, it is continually transformed in its materiality and in each of the minds of those who walk its streets.

As rhetorical, aesthetic, and performative landscapes, embedded within the city of New York and responding to specific economic and place-specific exigencies, I engage three case studies through a critical and creative rhetorical methodology. In the following I first detail how critical rhetoric acts as a foundation for this project, which allows me to view all texts as rhetorical and constitutive. Second, I discuss how creativity is an inherent aspect of critical rhetorical methods of any kind, but it is of particular importance when engaging the diffuse text of the city. Third, I show how conceptual and physical movement becomes key aspects of the research process. Finally, I discuss particular methodological concerns when studying images, performance, and place, including the importance of not reducing everything to words and the importance of the glance when studying the rhetoric of the (em)placed vernacular.

Critical Orientations

Scholars have taken up critical methods in a number of ways as both McGee and McKerrow argue that a critical method is more of an orientation towards research and scholarship, rather than a method.[72] In critical rhetoric, however, the practice of close reading, the idea that we produce rhetoric when we do rhetorical criticism, and the notion that our work is in fact a reconfiguration of fragments rather than a "whole" text, has engendered the need to view texts as diffuse and created by the critic.[73] Within this larger critical framework, this project assumes that all places are diffuse, experiential, and constitutive. Just as in the experience on the train, it becomes impossible to treat any of the texts within the city as distinct and closed. Rather, they are connected to other signs, images, and places in ways that make objectively determining an end and a beginning impossible.[74]

As an experiential text, images, bodies, and material experiences of place intersect and collide with the immediate landscape and the previous assumptions, ideologies, and experiences of the individuals experiencing the place. Again, places become "intersections of both physical and cognitive landscapes."[75] Finally, as Dickinson, Brian Ott, and Eric Aoki argue concerning experiential landscapes, these types of texts work constitutively to "invite visitors to assume (to occupy) particular subject positions. These subject positions, in turn, literally shape perceptions; that is, they entail certain ways of looking and exclude others."[76] These assumptions about the nature of place from a rhetorical perspective engender the need for creativity and movement as well within the analysis.

Creativity

Creativity has been highlighted as an important dimension of rhetorical studies by a number of scholars.[77] As Bonnie Dow argues, since all rhetoric is made of fragments, the

role of the critic becomes one of a *bricoleur,* recombining pieces of rhetoric from here or there in a creative process.[78] Particularly when discussing visual artifacts or places, creativity is important because the act of seeing is creative and relies on a dynamic mixture and interplay between the physical process and the psychological and cognitive processes which allow us to make sense and meaning out of visual stimuli.[79] Beyond a theoretical focus on creativity, I also utilize some aspects of the photo documentary process within my methodology.

The process of photo documentary work provides an important aspect of creativity in line with my larger critical orientations towards rhetorical study. Craig Denton argues that photo documentary is a kind of method that begins by asking questions, creating a plan of research, and engaging in a qualitative process of information gathering, attaining access to specific places and groups of people, and engaging in participant observation to attain the desired material for the formulation of thematic narratives that tell stories, document the existence of certain phenomena, or raise critical consciousness about certain topics.[80] Similar to what is currently being termed "rhetorical field methods," which blend performance, ethnography, and participatory research, the use of photography within analysis of the (em)placed vernacular engages communities, performances, and issues of social justice.[81] Deciding which images to take, which to analyze, how to bound the text, which theories to incorporate, and what data to include is all a part of the creative process. Unless otherwise indicated, I took all photographs utilized in this dissertation.[82]

Movement

Along with creativity, the analytical orientation used in this dissertation is grounded in conceptual and physical movement. In terms of conceptual movement, Greg Dickinson,

for example, articulates a spatial methodology that "emphasizes the movement among the local, personal and 'formal' details of the site and the abstract, cultural and discursive structures in which these details are embedded."[83] While this suggests a theoretical movement, my physical movement is important in the conceptual process. My own ability to move down the street, stopping at areas that seem particularly prominent or salient in my analysis of the place, helps to connect material conditions to larger discourses.

Moreover, movement is particularly important when engaging place, performance, and images. Marc Augé suggests that because movement is now an important part of how we understand the new place of postmodernity, scholars must reorient themselves towards how they study place, incorporating movement into their analysis.[84] Movement also naturally incorporates the body of the critic into the method for analysis of place. Following scholars like Blair and Pezzullo, being present in a particular place is paramount for rhetorical studies of any kind of "live" rhetoric.[85] They argue that focusing on "live rhetoric" will allow the voices of the vernacular to be heard and that issues of social justice might be better addressed if the critical project is embedded in the practice of social interaction and praxis.[86] Therefore, along with visual analysis of representations of the city, I also made two research trips to New York City, the first in September of 2012 and the second in April 2013 so that my physical presence in the particularity of place would ground my research and provide illumination to the way that place works rhetorically.

Images, Performance, and Place

Within the study of place, special attention must be paid to the bodies and performances of users of place as well, which calls for particular methodological concerns. First, it is important not to ignore the inherent excess of the bodies that do the performing.

As Conquergood warned, textualizing performances "flattens" them and takes away their embodied power.[87] The body is not merely a signifying system, a visual image, or a series of movements. Rather, bodies (just as images do) resist interpretation, meaning, or as Elkins might argue, function at times as the "anti-semiotic."[88]

Similarly, when studying place and visual and performative texts, one of the most important areas rests on the urge to turn everything into words. In terms of the visual, DeLuca argues that a tendency in visual rhetoric is to engage in "doughnut" analysis where scholars talk around images but never study the actual images themselves.[89] Visual images operate in fundamentally different ways than words. They are particularly affective and their force as rhetorical agents cannot be simplified down to an essential meaning.[90] Instead, images can be thought of as verbs. They *do* and the role of a visual rhetorician is to locate their force in both the screen ecologies of the contemporary moment.

Furthermore, the method for analysis is different than that of "purely" discursive texts because of the nature of images, performance, and place. Both Casey and Deluca argue that the glance rather than the gaze is a more accurate way of studying photographs because if this unique nature.[91] DeLuca argues that speed, glances, and distraction can become an effective mode of engagement, writing, "In our present moment of the public screen, glances of distraction emerge as a way of making do in this new civic space. In response, to see images, critics need to become intoxicated and distracted wanderers reveling in debauchery."[92] The gaze, Casey argues, is a mode of viewing privileged by modernity and defined by its gravity, by its ability to take things seriously.[93] While the gaze is often privileged in contemporary Western culture, the glance, Casey argues is actually the fundamental way in which individuals interact and learn about the world. The glance is inherently subversive because it subverts the "sober spirit" of the gaze through its speed and

inconsistency, and it "dis-establishes what is perceptually (and ultimately socially) established. Even as it stays on the surface, it gets under the official and officious skin of the epistemic establishment, which favors the gaze as a matter of principle."[94]

Rather than abandon the practices of close reading within rhetorical criticism altogether in favor of a glance, I use the notion of perpetual glancing. This mode of seeing is actually most like the physical movement of the eye, which perceives environments and images through short, small, movements, called saccades.[95] These small movements capture what could be thought of as a series of snapshots, which understood in relation to one another, create perception. As a theoretical approach to analysis, this results in close readings of many images surrounding particular places or events, with the understanding that this analysis is always subjective and a result of my own eyes. Additionally, it is with the knowledge that a scientific gaze when approaching rhetorical texts is an unattainable and problematic ideal.

Through a critical orientation, creativity and movement, my mode of analysis resists overly method-based approaches to analysis and follows the advice of Edwin Black, who states, "How does one examine a prism? By looking at it though one facet after another, in no particular order . . . sometimes—maybe even all the time—a subject deserves to supersede a method, and to receive its own forms of disclosure."[96] Thus, each of my three case studies uses a unique methodology, suitable for the text under analysis and appropriate for the theoretical underpinnings in the argument.

Chapter Overviews

This project will explore the rhetorics of control and transgression in the (em)placed vernacular of New York City through three engagements with specific places. These case

studies include the 2011 Occupy Wall Street movement in Zuccotti Park, the artistic work of the street artist known as Banksy in his residency titled *Better Out Than In* in October of 2012, and the 9/11 Memorial, which opened in 2011.

In Chapter 2, I analyze the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement from the perspective of the (em)placed vernacular. I begin with a spatial study of New York City's Zuccotti Park to argue that Augé's concept of nonplaces and the notion of dwelling have important connections to place, political subjectivity, and aesthetics. In addition, I analyze three of the more forceful image events that arose out of the occupation of the park, including an *Adbusters* image, the Brooklyn Bride March, and the artwork of Molly Crabapple. Ultimately, I argue that the collective subjectivity of OWS used *public dwelling* to produce an abject aesthetic in the (em)placed vernacular of New York City's Financial District. This use of the (em)placed vernacular transformed the (non)place of Zuccotti Park into a place where a collective subjectivity could be born. In addition to the notion of *public dwelling* as a transgressive tactic in social movements, I also introduce the concept of the *(cyber)place*, which I define as a virtual place such as Facebook or Twitter that is characterized by its own aesthetics, physicality, and materiality that are distinct from the places of the urban, home, or built environment. This chapter focuses on the transgressive use of the (em)placed vernacular in the Occupy protests to illustrate the important relationship between place and (cyber)place, aesthetics, and image in contemporary protest.

Chapter 3 expands my discussion of aesthetics and visuality in the contemporary moment through the notion of *architectures of vision*, which refers to the structures of vision that affect the potentiality for transgression. Through an analysis of the street artist Banksy's residency of New York City, I identify three major themes: *The Residence of Art, Images of Discontent,* and *Re-Visions of the City.* I argue that Banksy's images exert an influential *postsubject*

voice into the visual discourse of (em)placed vernacular of New York City, which I define as a visual articulation in both material and/or virtual form that resists traditional markings of identity and authorial intent in favor of play, dissemination, and the invitation for multiple interpretations. In *play,* elements of the (em)placed vernacular are turned into visual toys through a critical orientation towards the urban landscape, postmodern aesthetic codes, visual violence, and the logics of the public screen. I conclude by arguing that play may offer an innovative, transgressive, and effective mode of engaging in the (em)placed vernacular and contemporary rhetorical argument.

In Chapter 4, I engage the (em)placed vernacular of the 9/11 Memorial to understand the political, social, and rhetorical implications of the struggle over images and place in response to an attack on the America's homeland. Through a spatial study of the Memorial and visual analysis of several relevant (cyber)places, I identify three major themes of the Memorial site, which include *Spectacles of Terror, Disciplining Remembrance,* and *Practices of Touring*. By embedding particular lines of vision, what I term *vectors,* within the (em)placed vernacular, I argue that the Memorial works through a rhetoric of control by visually framing the events of 9/11 through the binary of good versus evil. This rhetoric perpetuates a form of patriotism whose habitus is both fear and consumption. In addition, I suggest that this type of rhetoric produces what I term the *surveilling flâneur*, a security-conscious consumer who actively helps to fix dominant (em)placed meaning and watch for behavior that is out of place.

I conclude this project by revisiting the distinction between place and space to argue that place-making is a fundamental aspect of issues of social justice because of its profound connection to practices of seeing. I then return to my case studies to offer two specific types of place-making that have emerged from this analysis, transgression and control. *(Em)placed*

transgression, I argue, can be understood as acts which reappropriate aesthetic codes by individuals or groups working performatively within the particularities of place. Alternatively, *(em)placed control* refers to acts which embed dominant ideology in the (em)placed vernacular and make altering it by individuals or groups difficult, illegal, or immoral. These two different ways of approaching place can be understood as extremes on a spectrum: in everyday life individuals can expect to encounter disciplinary strategies embedded in the places they traverse, but these places also always offer the codes of transgression as well, hidden beneath and on top of place surfaces, waiting to be seen, used, and transformed into the political.

Endnotes

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[5] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 91.

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CHAPTER 2

PUBLIC DWELLING AS ARGUMENT: POLITICS IN (NON)PLACES, (CYBER)PLACES, AND BEYOND

> The police is that which says that here, on this street, there's nothing to see and so nothing to do but move along. It asserts that the space for circulating is nothing but the space of circulation. Politics, by contrast, consists in transforming this space of 'moving along', of circulation, into a space for the appearance of a subject: the people, the workers, the citizens.
>
> -- Jacques Rancière[1]

As New York City built the zeitgeist of greed and success in monumental public places, high-rises, and lifestyle, it simultaneously saw the use of public places by individuals who fell between the cracks of success. Beginning in the early 1980s, thousands of homeless people began utilizing places like Grand Central Station, Fifth Avenue sidewalks and Tompkins Square for sleeping, eating, and defecating.[2] While these acts may not be intentional acts of transgression, they nonetheless function disruptively at the intersection between image and place.[3] Mayor Ed Koch implemented an "antiloitering" law and defended it on the basis that a "reasonable, rational person" would only use, for example, Grand Central Station for transportation purposes. This defense, cultural geographer Tim Cresswell points out, ignores the multitude of other uses of the place, such as meeting people, admiring the architecture, or eating.

The issue of homelessness in the 1980s in New York City is not about the intended use of city places; it is about the underlying ideologies on which the city itself is built. Cresswell writes, "Homelessness is treated as an instance of people out of place, dislocated from the urban politics and economics of New York."[4] The use of a transportation place for sleeping not only disrupted the ideology of Grand Central Station as a place, it also pulled at the very fabric of the American Dream.

While the antiloitering law was overturned by the New York State Supreme Court, today's post-9/11 Grand Central Station is often policed by National Guard who watch carefully for bodies, images, and aesthetics that are "out of place" within the (em)placed vernacular. Even in their absence, their remembered guns and presence act as an invisible eye of normalizing force. The logic used to defend the antiloitering law may have changed over the past thirty years, but the ability to dictate what behaviors are tolerated in certain places, and more importantly the ability to define which people are "out of place" remains a fundamental act of power in contemporary culture.

In 2011, the intersection between aesthetics and place was illuminated in New York City once again as thousands of bodies appeared "out of place" by making a home out of Zuccotti Park during the Occupy Wall Street movement (OWS). Initiated by an *Adbusters* photo of a ballerina on a bull, the movement began on September 17th. By October 5th it had spread to fifty cities across the country and eventually spread to major cities around the world.[5] The slogan "We are the 99%" emerged as a criticism of 1% of the population controlling a disproportionate amount of wealth, the influences of late capitalism, the growing economic divide, corporate greed, and the influence of lobbyists in Washington.[6] The OWS occupation of parks across the country and around the world worked within the

logics of DeLuca's notion of image events, relying on the nonrational, the visual and the vernacular.[7]

OWS has been studied primarily by academics from organizational and social media perspectives.[8] DeLuca, Sean Lawson, and Ye Sun argue, for example, "Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube create new contexts for activism that do not exist in old media. Plus, social media foster an ethic of individual and collective participation, thus creating a norm of perpetual participation. In OWS, that norm creates new expectations of being in the world."[9] However, just as social movements utilize the public screens, they continue to use the material places of the built environment in conjunction with their bodies in their visual form of public address. Their use of these places is increasingly intersectional. Each armed with a smartphone, protestors carry with them access to the multiplicity of places online and their interaction with the material environment is mediated through that access. Importantly, as DeLuca, Lawson, and Sun suggest, the dichotomy between physical presence and social media is a false one: all social movements are mixed, using both the body and public screens.[10] While the circulation and use of images within public screens were fundamental to the movement's success, the use and misuse of the (em)placed vernacular once again become an important nodal point in understanding how this movement began and how it functioned so successfully in shifting national discourse surrounding economic disparity in the contemporary moment.

While communication scholars have detailed the use of social media in the OWS protests, the success in shifting national discourse from the issue of the budget deficit to the economy and economic disparity in a matter of weeks has not been studied from a place-based perspective. Along these lines, I suggest that the particularities of the (em)placed vernacular of the Financial District was a fundamental part of the OWS movement. Endres

and Senda-Cook argue that this type of protest is a temporary reconstruction of place, where a social movement uses place as a way to "challenge the dominant meanings of such places and temporarily enact an alternate meaning."[11] Occupations of place like this utilize the power of bodily presence. The power of presence is illustrated by scholars such as Pezzullo who discusses how toxic tours may remake particular histories associated with place through embodied engagement with those places.[12] Similarly, Isaac West shows how the politics of PISSAR work to deconstruct the injurious meanings and dominant understandings of corporeal hegemony through their presence and investigations of bathrooms on a college campus.[13]

However, the use of social media in conjunction with the use of place in contemporary social movements cannot be ignored either. As so many scholars have indicated, OWS is the first large-scale social movement in the United States where the majority of protestors owned a smartphone. Thus, the use of personal and collective images online by OWS is important to understand, even when taking a place-based perspective. In fact, just as place is often incorrectly understood as a stable and unchanging arena when juxtaposed with space, the materiality of media places is often ignored in favor of its hyper-fluidity.[14]

The hyper-fluidity of the media is discussed by DeLuca, Lawson, and Sun through the notion of "panmediation" which they describe as "the media matrix itself is always in flux, an ever-changing combination of myriad media, from writing and print and photography to television and radio and cinema to the Internet and laptops and smartphones."[15] Despite the fluidity of the media matrix, particular websites, social media arenas, or media outlets are encoded with their own (em)placed vernaculars and exist as "real" physical places in our experience of contemporary culture. DeLuca, Lawson, and Sun

continue by claiming, "Mediated worlds are real and reality is always mediated (by media, language, culture, ideologies, and perceptual practices)."[16] These places are a particular kind of place, imbued with their own aesthetics, physicality, and materiality which are distinct from the places of the urban, home, or built environment. Thus, I use the term *(cyber)place* as a distinguishing term (i.e., media places are indeed different from built places), but one that acknowledges the materiality and (em)placed vernaculars of virtual places like Facebook and Twitter. In conjunction with the built environments of the city place, as DeLuca, Lawson and Sun argue, "social media make possible the proliferation of places that can be decentered knots of world-making."[17]

In the following chapter, I focus on the use of the (em)placed vernacular in the OWS protests to illustrate the important relationship between place and (cyber)place, aesthetics, and image in contemporary protest. Through close readings of the place of Zuccotti Park and three of the more forceful image events that arose out of its occupation, I argue that the OWS use of *public dwelling* produced an abject aesthetic in the (em)placed vernacular of the Financial District which transformed the (non)place of Zuccotti Park into a place where a collective subjectivity could be born. The *Adbusters* image, The Brooklyn Bridge March, and the artwork of Molly Crabapple are three image events within the first month of the protests that illustrate how this abject aesthetic was inspired, battled by police and local authorities, and (re)produced by artists and photographers to be disseminated into millions of (cyber)places.

I first discuss the importance of images and place in contemporary protest before turning to the particular concerns of my methodology when studying the intersectional dimensions of place and image events in contemporary protest. Next, I move to the analysis where I begin with a spatial study of Zuccotti Park. In this section, I focus on the history

and materiality of the park and end with a discussion of Augé's concept of nonplaces, the notion of dwelling and the important connections between place, political subjectivity, and aesthetics.[18] Last, I turn to the image events created through the reappropriation of the (em)placed vernacular of Zuccotti Park and the force of these events for OWS.

Excitable Images

A Tunisian fruit vendor named Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire in the graffiti-adorned streets of Sidi Bouzid on December 17, 2010 in protest of corrupt government.[19] While former President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali attempted to ease the force of this powerful act by staging a photo op by visiting him in the hospital, he was forced to flee the country within ten days of Bouazizi's death. By January 28th, photographs of crowds carrying an image of Bouazzizi and chanting near the prime minister's office in Tunis began circulating through public screens. This embodied performative protest is one of the most visible catalysts for the Tunisian revolution against their dictatorship and for the mobilization of the multiple revolutions within what is now known as the Arab Spring. In Tahrir Square, murals, street art, and graffiti sprung up in visceral vibrancy to continue to signify dissent and to memorialize these events.[20]

Images have been a focus of contemporary scholarship on protest and the environmental movement has been particularly adept at utilizing them to promote a change in social consciousness concerning environmental practices. The "birth" of the movement, in fact, utilized images of sublime landscapes to bring social awareness about Yosemite. These images, distributed across the United States, acted as an important rhetorical device for establishing National Parks in the United States.[21] This tradition was intensified in 1975 when Greenpeace utilized images of attacking whaling ships to shock viewers into

supporting efforts to save the whales.[22] More recently, environmental groups utilize what is termed "toxic tours" that guide tourists through particularly environmentally damaged areas of the country to see for themselves the effects on real world communities as a result of the lack of environmental regulations.[23] Photographer Edward Burtynski actually utilizes this same perspective from a purely visual approach in his work, focusing on large-scale mining projects, recycling yards, or environmental disasters like the 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil spill to bring awareness of the effects of these practices on the world.[24] DeLuca argues that groups and individuals like these use image events as "mind bombs" to disarticulate hegemonic ideologies, arguing:

> In today's televisual public sphere corporations and states (in the persons/bodies of politicians stage spectacles (advertising and photo ops) certifying their status before the people/public *and* subaltern counterpublics participate through the performance of image events, employing the consequent publicity as a social medium through which to hold corporations and states accountable, help form public opinion, and constitute their own identities as subaltern counterpublics. Critique through spectacle, not critique versus spectacle.[25]

These image events effectively use what DeLuca and Jennifer Peeples describe as public screens, rather then the public sphere to alter social consciousness.[26] As opposed to the public sphere which privileges rational argument, language, and traditional logic, the public screen takes seriously the notion of critique *through* spectacle, focuses on arguments that appear irrational, and utilizes images rather than words to [dis]articulate the logics that sustain problematic ideologies. Christine Harold and DeLuca argue that images of the corpse of Emmett Till, for example, "became a crucial visual *vocabulary* that articulated the ineffable qualities of American racism in ways words simply could not do."[27]

Image events, however, should not be mistaken for only the lingering photographs that circulate throughout our "virtual" worlds. While the public screen's privileging of images, spectacle, and affect are clearly fundamental modes of participatory action in

contemporary culture, it would be problematic to tie these modes of protest exclusively to a "virtual" context. The image of Vietnamese Mahayana Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc burning himself to death in protest of the Vietnam War in 1963 functioned as an image event, in part, because it occurred in the intersection of a busy Saigon road. The monk transformed, as Rancière would argue, an area of "moving along" into one of politics through an affective and violent aesthetic.[28] The image itself became a disarticulatory event on the public screens because it had a substantial rhetorical impact in increasing dissent against the Vietnam War through its circulation. But, second, the lived and embodied act was itself an event, whose transgressive force was formed, in part, from the aesthetic reappropriation of the particularities of a Saigon street.

A part of the problem with placing too much emphasis on the cyber-image, or even image-based new technologies such as Twitter and Facebook, is that it ignores the continued importance of place in protest. The Arab Spring, for example, has been widely regarded as a social movement revolution that existed in large part on what we would term the public screen.[29] Scores of scholars, critics, and consumers were quick to celebrate the use of this technology as the savior from modern oppression.[30] While clearly technology is an increasingly important tool for protest and indicates the never-ending changing nature of the public sphere, ignoring the lived action of protestors, and the bodily harm they did or may have encountered is problematic, to say the least.[31]

The importance of the particularities of place in more traditional acts of protest has been functionalized by rhetorical scholars Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook through the heuristic of "place in protest."[32] Three uses of place are included within this heuristic: 1.) The use of imagery or images of place; 2.) The reappropriation of place to mean something different temporarily or 3) The continual reappropriation of place to change the

meaning permanently.[33] The use of images to transform ideology is exemplified by many of the environmental efforts discussed above, where images of place function to alter public consciousness about nature, preservation, or the environment.[34] In addition, images function not only as evidence to support an act of protest, or as an event only on the public screen, but also as a grammar for articulating lived protest to begin with. Mohamed Bouazizi was working from the visual language of protest, created by monks like Thich Quang Duc some fifty years earlier.

Many ideological conflicts, like those of the Civil Rights Movement, highlight the importance of reapproapriating existing meanings of place to punctuate a larger rhetorical point. The four freshman A. & T. students who refused to leave the white seats at the Woolworths lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina in the February of 1960 are a prime example of this tactical use of place; the use (or *mis*use) of place helped to spur a massive sit-in protest where 70,000 students ended up taking part in states from Virginia to Texas.[35] Also within the Civil Rights movement is the clear example of Rosa Parks who was among tens of thousands working to reappropriate the place of the bus as a fundamental rhetorical tactic of protest.[36] Today, this tactic was used repeatedly throughout the Occupy movement, where thousands temporarily reappropriated places like Zuccotti Park from a nondescript strip of concrete into a place of resistance.

Last, Egypt's Tahrir Square is a clear example of how a particular place is reappropriated repeatedly to mean something different. The square was used in the 1977 Egyptian Bread Riots, the Anti-Iraq War protests in March 2003, and now more recently in the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, helping to alter the meaning and rhetorical force of this place into that of revolution and of protest.[37] And, perhaps a more famous example, Tiananmen Square has been used in numerous protests since the May 4th Revolution in 1919,

which has produced one of the most iconic images of protest, that of the man standing in front of the tank. By paying attention to the rhetoric of place within images events like this allows for a more multidimensional understanding of how and why some movements function transgressivly.

Adventures with Mobile Images

A bronze sculpture of a businessman by J. Seward Johnson, *Double Check,* sits at the Southwest end of Zuccotti Park. Created as a tribute to the financial worker, the image took on added significance after 9/11 when the statue remained virtually undamaged after the attacks, sitting upright in the rubble. Rescue workers reportedly rushed to help him, only to find that he was a statue.[38] It became an iconic symbol of the resilience of New Yorkers and a visual tribute to the 2977 lives lost during the attack. In the days following the attack flowers were stuffed into his arms, a military helmet was placed on his head and American flags, photographs, and a firefighter's hose were placed at his feet.[39] Now a plaque accompanies the statue, reading:

> The 'everyman' businessman presence in Liberty Park who, before, had faded into the background amongst his human brethren, has been called 'the survivor.' He was lifted, battered yet whole, from the dust and rubble after the September ll, 2001 tragedy. Liberty Park was since rebuilt, and this bronze man sits again in his original site, bearing scratches and bruises he sustained that day as a poignant reminder of hope and endurance for us all.

During the OWS protests, however, this image was reappropriated to become a symbol of the protest movement against the financial worker himself. Images of *Double Check's* briefcase filled with trash, with his face covered in a black scarf, and head adorned with an American flag bandana, not only worked within the (em)placed vernacular of Zuccotti Park but were circulated within a number of, in particular, conservative blogs as a means of demonstrating the unpatriotic quality of the OWS protests. *The Lonely Conservative,*

for example, wrote a blog post titled "Defacement of 'Double-Check' Statue Symbolizes Occupy Wall Street Movement Perfectly," detailing the petty, immature demands of the Occupy protestors.[40] The movement of this image is an excellent example of the intersectional quality of contemporary protest. The image arose within the resources of the (em)placed vernacular but moved into particular places on the public screen. Thus, it becomes paramount to study both the (em)placed vernacular of city places in which protest occurs in an embodied way as well as the way that image events that arise out of that use function rhetorically in subsequent (cyber)places.

To engage the intersectional dimensions of the (em)placed vernacular utilized by OWS protestors, the following analysis was conducted in two steps. The first step focuses on the (em)placed vernacular of Zuccotti Park and was performed through a spatial study. The spatial analysis was conducted in person in four separate sessions to the park lasting two to three hours. These research sessions were done in two research trips, one in September of 2012 and one during April of 2013 and on various days of the week (three days during the week and one weekend day) in order to study the differences in how the park might be used (i.e., tourists versus business people).[41] The research sessions and the subsequent analysis of the photographs and notes focus on specific elements of the place, such as architecture, signage, surrounding buildings, and overall aesthetics. A historical analysis was also performed in relation to Zuccotti Park to better understand the meaning of parks in New York City and the potential ways that this history influences the (em)placed vernacular.

The second part of the analysis was performed by studying image events that emerged from the first month of the protests. These events were analyzed through close readings of the images themselves, their use in (cyber)place(s) where their presence was particularly forceful, and their effects in the OWS movement. Analysis of the images

themselves consisted of studying visual form (color, composition, lighting, etc.), content (subject mater, intertexual references, political/social connections), and context of the images. The first event, the *Adbusters* image of the Ballerina on the Wall Street Bull, was chosen because of its substantial impact in the (cyber)place of the *Adbusters* website and because of its clear influence in starting the movement.[42] The second image event, the Brooklyn Bridge March, was chosen because it was the moment when major news networks began to cover the movement.[43] Since *The New York Times* is the most influential newspaper in the United States and, as Xu argues, "sets the agenda for many other U.S. news media but also has a significant impact on U.S. national policy," I focused on how the image event was covered within the (cyber)place of the *Times* website.[44]

Finally, I turn to the artwork of Molly Crabapple. In this section, I discuss two images created by the artist that include her painting "Lady of Liberty Park," and the "Fight the Vampire Squid" image as well as her embodied participation as an artist in the first month of the protests. These images were chosen because they represent a the aesthetic of OWS that continues to dwell as an aesthetic of dissonance in a multitude of (cyber)places years after the OWS protestors were removed from the park.

Dwelling in (Non)place/(Cyber)place

Just a few hundred feet from Ground Zero and two blocks from Wall Street, Zuccotti Park sits in the heart of the Financial District and at the feet of Four World Trade Center (see Figure 3). Despite its name, it is not, in fact, what one would traditionally envision as a park. Rather, it appears as a three-quarter-acre concrete plaza and a privately owned public space (POPS). New York City has privatized a number of public spaces such

Figure 3: Zuccotti Park

as sidewalks and parks by selling public places to private owners.[45] Introduced in a 1961 zoning resolution, New York City now has are over 500 POPS located throughout the city.[46] While offering aesthetic interest to the city, these places operate under the guise of public ownership, while remaining under the control of the contemporary subject, the corporation. In the case of Zuccotti Park, it is owned by Brookfield Office Properties, who also own a building adjacent to the plaza.[47]

The (em)placed vernacular of Zuccotti park invites visitors to either move through the space by use of the central walkway or to sit momentarily to enjoy a hint of controlled nature amidst the towers of concrete and steel. Like the Wall Street Bull, who angrily resides only a few blocks away, the park exudes a masculine presence. Control over nature, signaled through the perfectly maintained concrete barriers, allows the visitor to enjoy nature while still controlling its existence. A centralized diagonal pathway directs bodies to move through the space and public art punctuates each end. Redesigned after it sustained substantial

damage on 9/11, glossy granite benches and tables cluster at each end and fifty-three honey locust trees and three flowerbeds are positioned throughout the space.

The rows of food stands that cluster along the southern edge of the park and the tables at either end also indicate that this place is designed for consuming food. Consumption is further reinforced within the space through the buildings that surround the park. On the Southeastern edge of the park, One Liberty Plaza rises impressively in modern black steel as one of the largest office buildings in the city. It houses the headquarters of Merrill Lynch, a wealth management division of Bank of America.[48] Four World Trade Center sits across the street from its Northwest corner and a Men's Wearhouse is housed in the ground floor of a massive Gothic designed building along the Southwestern edge.

The public art in Zuccotti Park infuses a masculine ideal into the aesthetics and envisions a particular type of person to utilize the place. At the Northeast end, *Joie de Vivre*, a seventy-foot-tall bright red steel modernist sculpture by Mark di Suvero employs a tree-like design, but with steel and an orange hyper-color. On the southwest end *Double Check* sits. The presence of art indicates that a certain level of cultural capital is necessary for enjoyment and a pastiche of architectural styles surround the small place.[49] In fact, *Double Check* is nearly a perfect metaphor for the plaza itself. Poised as if ready to leave at any moment, the financial worker is dressed in a suit and tie and appears distracted by his personal belongings, among which are a pack of cigarettes, a pen, and a calculator. Even in bronze, his mind seems elsewhere, the park and its amenities are unnoticed in his perpetual focus. In addition, the significance of using both a man and a financial worker as an emblematic image of the "everyday" person is profound. The (em)placed vernacular of (non)places, or as Rancière would call it, the distribution of the sensible "defines what is visible or not in common space."[50] This image indicates that the type of person who should be seen in this place is the

late capitalist masculine ideal, the masculine financial worker. For the average individual, for the 99%, the park is a (non)place. It is simply a place for "moving through."

Augé theorizes the notion of "non-places" as places that are characterized by circulation, consumption and communication, arguing, "Big cities are defined firstly by their capacity to import and export people, products, images and messages. Spatially, their importance can be measured by the quality and scale of the highway and rail networks linking them with their airports."[51] Of course the explicit transportation places are most easily identified as (non)places, but the overarching fluidity of capital and consumption can be increasingly found in numerous public places. As Harvey suggests, all places become only a temporary moment of permanent capital in the increasingly fluid movement of global capital brought on by postmodernity.[52]

In this fluidity, both space and place become arenas for circulation and movement, existing in permanent liminality by moving or allowing bodies to move between "here and there."[53] This liminality can create a fracturing of a sense of identity and a "sense of place" must be manufactured through place-making tactics. As a consequence, contemporary places have begun to "enunciate" locality with particular aesthetic codes that evoke authenticity.[54] Chain restaurants, such as Starbucks, McDonalds, or the Olive Garden, exist as both particular places and as inauthentic copies of an "original" place. The constitutive effects of these postmodern places vary. The mall, for example, might constitute individuals (among other things) as consumers.[55] Other places, such as the Central Park, national monuments, or Disneyland, might constitute visitors as American citizens.[56] Still other places, such as Las Vegas or a tattoo parlor, may provide the symbolic resources for the production of subjectivity, constituted out of the symbolic and material resources of the place.[57]

These place-making strategies and contemporary desire to build places that counter the fluidity of contemporary capital and circulation speak to larger issues than just nostalgia. In the (non)place of Zuccotti Park, the constitutive effects are particularly detrimental in a democratic system. The feeling of placelessness and the desire the build unique places is, ultimately, about the desire to exist as a speaking subject. Lefebvre, for example, writes that the ability to produce a place is fundamental to existence as a culture or society. In addition, while (non)places like Zuccotti Park have arisen in their use and consequence in the contemporary moment, New York City parks have a rich history of existing as sites of circulation, movement, and control.

In response to both pressure to moralize the city and fears of the unknown, the mid-1800s saw efforts to intentionally design city spaces around particular aesthetics.[58] Frederick Law Olmstead emerged as a prominent designer of the city of New York, designing City Park and scores of other places with the intention of "clarifying" the city parts. In this clarifying endeavor, one of the major spatial strategies was to differentiate between residential dwelling places and commercial work places. Parks emerged as a middle ground in this division, where people could visit for an "hour or so" after work to forget about the hustle and competition of the city, enjoy nature, and gather together, regardless of social status.[59] Not unlike the Habermasian coffeehouse, the park was designed as an ideal democratic place.[60]

However, citing Jeremy Bentham's essay on "The Means of Preventing Crime," Olmstead also designed his parks to function as a nodal point in a system of "order and security."[61] With a growing population, he argued, there also emerged a growing "number of idle, thriftless, criminal and dangerous classes."[62] Olmstead used the park to combat the "dangerous classes" by attempting to eradicate the residential *image of working-class*, where

people appeared as a group by socializing in the streets directly outside of the home. Not only was this aesthetic counter to a White enlightenment aesthetic, but it was also tied to a fear of riots and dissent, which occurred regularly in New York City streets. Alan Trachtenberg writes, "Embodied in the concept of the park lay a motive to eradicate the communal culture of working-class and immigrant streets, to erase that culture's offensive and disturbing foreignness, and replace it with middle-class norms of hearth and tea table."[63] In Olmstead's vision, instead of communing outside the home, in the street, citizens would commune in a particular place designed for communing, one that refused the aesthetic of the city for one of nature. To regulate behavior in these places, Olmstead advocated a corporate model of control, where an appointed board of "trusted" and elite citizens would create rules, appoint police, and supervise park activities. Thus, under the guise of democratic ideals, the park was designed as a (non)place and an explicitly antidwelling place; a place of circulation and pause where all classes (excluding, of course, the dangerous ones) could move momentarily after work before traveling to their suburban dwelling places. Beyond this, the building of city parks destroyed other places and homes in their clarifying endeavor.

The (em)placed vernacular of Zuccotti Park and the larger Financial District itself hails visitors to move through the space or pause momentarily. Within this movement and circulation that mirrors the larger city and which builds on the history of parks as a site of classism and surveillance, the aesthetics and the constitutive force of Zuccotti Park functions in particularly detrimental ways in a democratic society. (Non)places constitute nothing beyond consumption and movement because bodies are always asked to keep moving rather than appear as a speaking subject. Coupled with a post-9/11 culture of surveillance, these places work to produce a culture in which speaking subjects are silenced.[64] As this space functions as a form of control, intended or not, transgressive tactics emerge simultaneously.

To transgress an (em)placed vernacular that hails visitors as consumers and nonsubjects is to refuse that call, to refuse to consume, and to appear as a subject through the power of presence in place. As cultural geographer Tim Cresswell writes, "The unintended consequence of making space a means of control is to simultaneously make it a site of meaningful resistance."[65]

Image Event #1: A Ballerina on a Bull and Inspiring Public Dwelling

In black and white, an angelic ballerina perches gracefully on top of a massive bull forged out of metal (see Figure 4).[66] The bull faces the viewer in full attack, immediately

Figure 4: *Adbusters* Occupy Poster[67]

setting the viewer on a visual defensive. The background frames the central juxtaposition, where a mob wearing gas masks rushes forward from a mist, weapons raised in protest. Their gas masks indicate that the air is unbreathable, that the environment is unfit for human life. Even though a tree branch peeks through the fog, the cobblestone streets indicate that this natural life is preserved for pleasure; the park, the plaza, the concrete planters trap nature without any of its wildness. Rather than a statement of certainty to explain this image, a question is posed at the top of the image in red: "What is our one demand?" The question implies provisionalism, presupposes a grievance, and asks for just one demand, not many. Unanswered, however, it invites a different answer from each of its viewers. On the image of the street where the bull and ballerina balance directions include: "#occupywallstreet September 17th." These words give context to the bull and work with a visual framework to illustrate the profoundly interwoven nature of the city and public screens of the contemporary moment. With a final wink, the image instructs viewers to "Bring tent," a snarky but serious indication of the intentions of *public dwelling*: to live outside in the urban jungle, to make their private grievances known on the toxic streets of New York's Wall Street.

As a symbol, the bull (as opposed to the bear) signifies a period of rising prices in the financial market but it is has become the actual embodiment of Wall Street and capitalism itself. Underlying this embodiment is a hypermasculinity, an aggressiveness and strength, existing only through the forging of nature's metals by the strength and vision of human hands. The bull was created by artist Arturo Di Modica, who originally placed it illegally outside of the New York Stock Exchange after the stock market crash of 1987. City officials quickly removed it.[68] Former Parks Commissioner Henry Stern had the Bull brought back but placed in its current position just north of Bowling Green Park.[69] The continued

residence of the bull in the heart of the Financial District has become symbolic and iconic of capitalism itself and has also become a popular tourist attraction. In fact, enough visitors have made their way to see it that local police are stationed there to direct viewers to take photographs with it. Fascinatingly, many tourists take photographs of themselves with the Bull's large testicles, even touching them for added effect. A simple Google search using the search terms, "Wall Street Bull Balls Pictures" reveals thousands of images of people touching the testicles.

Because of the fluidity of actual capital in the world market, the bull is a necessary material symbol for the economic system. To visit and consume the image of the bull is to consume the essence of consumption and economic success. As John Urry argues, the tourist chooses particular places on which to gaze "because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming or fantasy, of intense pleasures either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered."[70] In the case of the Wall Street Bull, these anticipations are located in the pleasures of ultimate capital and in the fantasy of the American Dream. To touch the testicles is to make explicit the origins of this fantasy: sexual aggression that helps to define hypermasculinity. In the consumer-based and late capitalist culture of the United States, to take a photograph of the Wall Street Bull is a metaphor for complete consumption, an image of the image of capital, consumed visually as a means of possessing the fantasy of consumption.

Within this context, the ballerina's visual force arises from her almost perfect oppositional juxtaposition with the bull. She is graceful, feminine, delicate, creative, balanced, calm, beautiful, artistic, white, and small. Most importantly, she exists as a live human in motion, as opposed to the metal immobility of the bull. She appears unaffected by the toxic surroundings and dignified in her existence as a visual anomaly. As viewers,

however, we are not invited to identify with her. Because of the relay relationship between the words and the image, we are invited to identify with the mob who rush towards this juxtaposition.[71] Her rhetoric lies not in her ability to invite behavior like her own in her viewers, but in her ability to visualize the dichotomy that exists as the foundational and underlying hyper-masculinity of Wall Street.

By juxtaposing the bull with a hyper-feminine image, the hyper-masculinity of the bull is intensified. Subsequently, the hegemony of late capitalist aggressiveness and violence, which is motivated by the normalizing discourse of gender, is highlighted. The mob coming forward from the fog implies an impending violence to this oppositional juxtaposition; the image exists as nearly a perfect metaphor for disrupting binary logic that underlies oppression in the contemporary moment. The ballerina and the bull in a fog of discontent clearly resonated with people who viewed the image and they took up the call to action. On September 17th, about 150 people set up camp in Zuccotti Park and another several hundred marched along Broadway after local police blocked off the streets near the Stock Exchange.[72] Over the course of the next two weeks, the slogan "the 99 percent" emerged and more protestors gathered.

Inspired by the Arab Spring, Kalle Lasn and Micah White of the Canadian anti-consumerist magazine *Adbusters* created the above image that launched the OWS movement. The original image was published in conjunction with a blog post on July 13, 2011 within the (cyber)place of the *Adbusters'* website.[73] The post contained an explicit call to action concerning the culture of consumption and the need to begin a revolution like the Arab Spring. In this original rendition of the image the ballerina and the bull were shown in various frames with "#OCCUPYWALLSTREET" centered on top of them. Below, the connection to the Arab Spring was made explicit with the phrase, "Are you ready for a Tahir

moment?" The article also revealed the intention to dwell in lower Manhattan: "On September 17, we want to see 20,000 people flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and Occupy Wall Street for a few months. Once there, we shall incessantly repeat one simple demand in a plurality of voices."[74] The blog post was titled, "A Shift in Revolutionary Politics" and heralded the effectiveness of the collaborative and leaderless style of Arab Spring. In addition, seeing the success of protestors in Egypt repeating the one demand that Mubarak be removed from power, *Adbusters* asked its readers what their one demand would be. While the post suggested that President Obama "ordain a Presidential Commission tasked with ending the influence money has over our representatives in Washington," it asked its readers what they thought the one demand should be.[75] The blog received over 500 diverse posts discussing this central question and mirrored the eclectic appearance of the movement in the occupation of the park.

As an image event, it operated within the frameworks of culture-jamming in the Dadasit tradition and the Situationist International style. Harold argues that what is termed "culture jamming" is a form of resistance which works within the media culture system to undermine the power of consumer culture and liberate "publics from being consumed by consumption."[76] The *Adbusters* photo successfully hailed viewers as protestors and inspired them to not only enter the park but utilize the place of the park as a dwelling place. Protestors set up their tents, brought food and supplies, and made visible not only their intentions to live outside, but to live outside for an extended period of time. In addition to making visible their private homes in a public place, during the day, protestors took down tents and set up stations for reading, eating, and democratic assembly. Living outside, coupled with their use of cardboard for signage and barter system, caused their home[less]ness, their *public dwelling* to erupt as a particularly abject aesthetic.

As soon as an object becomes waste, it is transformed into dirt, or as Douglas writes, "matter out of place."[77] The societal attitude towards the abject is infused in consumer practices more generally. When individuals throw something away, or even recycle a product, they assume that once it disappears from sight, it fails to exist. The attitude towards waste is centered on denial. Building off the work of Paul Hawken's economic equation (production + consumption = waste), Janet Donaghue and Alison Fisher write, "When we deny waste, and just focus on production and consumption, then we keep realities 'away'. Our language reflects this disregard: *throw it away, put it away,* and *keep it away.*"[78] The notion of the abject is infused in personal hygiene practices, the intimate spaces of the home, and in larger consumer practices.[79]

Like the homeless who used Grand Central Station as a home place, Occupy protestors transgressed the manufactured boundaries between public and private by engaging in private activities in a highly public place. In doing so, they disrupted the clear delineation of ways of doing and being that are assigned to particular places and created a place out of the (non)place of Zuccotti Park to alter the constitutive effect. As Martin Heidegger writes, the relationship between existing and dwelling is fundamental. This feeling of belonging is created through building dwelling places. Heidegger, however, also acknowledges the inability to dwell in some built places. He writes, "Still, not every building is a dwelling. Bridges and hangars, stadiums and power stations are buildings but not dwellings; railway stations and highways, dams and market halls are built, but they are not dwelling places."[80] Thus, on a political and constitutive level, to create a dwelling place out of the (em)placed vernacular of a (non)place is to emerge as a subject, to belong. Simultaneously, it also produces an abject esthetic.

As nonbusinessmen, the bodies of OWS protestors inspired by the Ballerina and the Bull appeared "out of place." They utilized a place of the businessman's pause to dwell; their bodies, the waste their bodies created, the aesthetics that it injected into the (em)placed vernacular intervened into the aesthetic of consumption and circulation embedded in Zuccotti Park and the larger Financial District. Moreover, their use of public dwelling within the Financial District appeared particularly abject because of the link between ownership and citizenship that began in the Gilded Age. Ownership of a home is one of the foundations on which those without a home are disqualified from speaking as citizens. Within the home space, as distinct from work or leisure, capital becomes a nodal point in the acquisition and reproduction of class distinction.[81] Those without a home not only make explicit their lack of capital, but also their inability to work within the logics of the system of capitalism. In short, the OWS use of public dwelling produced a transgressive and abject aesthetic that allowed protestors to transform the (non)place of Zuccotti Park into a place where dissonant subjects could be seen.

NYC police recognized this abject aesthetic and the presence as people "out of place" in the Financial District and proceeded by removing them from the city. The first arrests took place only three days into the occupation of the park, where police used anti-graffiti laws, antiloitering laws, and a150-year-old statute that banned people from wearing masks at public gatherings as grounds for arrests.[82] The graffiti laws were used because several protestors were writing quotes by Mahatma Ghandi on a sidewalk with chalk and the mask statute (originally used to suppress uprisings by tenant farmers in the mid-1800s) was used because a number of protestors wore Guy Fawkes masks from the popular film *V for Vendetta*.[83] In the first two weeks, however, the OWS protests were largely unseen by the larger nation.

The next series of arrests occurred four days later on September 24th when over eighty people were arrested for marching on Wall Street without a permit. Some of these arrests went viral, in large part due to footage of police using pepper spray on a group of women.[84] The videos of this police action were striking and acted as an important image event within social media circles because the women were young, seemingly defenseless, and peaceful. Police began by first corralling them with orange barricades, unremorsefully pepper spraying them, and then watching them cry.[85] The video of this action has been viewed 1,647,652 times within the (cyber)place of YouTube. Regardless of the circulation of these images it was not until the October 1st march across the Brooklyn Bridge that the mainstream media and the larger nation began to take notice.

Image Event #2: Brooklyn Bridge and the Emergence of Collective Subjectivity

Connecting the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn, Brooklyn Bridge exists in steel and stone and cables as one of the oldest bridges in the United States.[86] Its iconic shape arches solidly over the salty and polluted East River. Its history as a transportation (non)place has been remarkably peaceful, only inspiring an occasional jumper or stunt. But, on October 2, 2011 its beauty as an architectural and engineering creation was disrupted by OWS, whose collective body made its way slowly onto the suspended surface. Over 1,500 people, led by a sign reading "Save the People," marched in vibrant color and unison towards the bridge.[87] At the juncture where the bridge divides into both a civilian walkway and roadway, the collective body hesitated. Some members of OWS moved towards the walkway, while the remainder moved onto the street. NYPD appeared to support the decision to use the roadway, waving people along and marching alongside the protestors.

Near the middle of the bridge movement was dramatically halted. Carly Smith, a thirty-year-old doctoral student writes, "A huge number of police appeared behind us with cars and vans… Apparently the same thing happened on the other side, at the front of the crowd. We were quickly penned in with orange netting on all sides."[88] Police began a process of arresting protestors, securing their hands with zip ties in groups of five, and physically removing them from the place of the bridge. Protestors were forced to wait for hours in the rain, being denied water or bathroom privileges. Police and plain-clothes detectives asked inappropriate questions like, "are you even white?" and photographed protestors incessantly.[89] Over 700 people were arrested on the bridge, representing the single largest mass arrest that has ever occurred in U.S. history.[90]

While the aftermath of this event may have lasting impacts on the legal or psychological states of the individual protestors, the power of this event lies in the moment before the arrests took place, in visualization of the inevitable clash of ideology, of bodies, and of power. Here, at the middle of the bridge, where the power of the NYPD confronted the vibrancy of the dissenting marchers is where a powerful image event was born, spinning the OWS ideology onto public screens and inciting thousands to join the movement. The image event produced a number of subsequent images, but collectively they all mirrored each other in their content and form.[91] Illustrative of this was *The New York Times* article titled "More Than 700 Arrested as Protesters Try to Cross Brooklyn Bridge" that included the image of the protest immediately preceding the arrests (to view the image, go to http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/10/01/police-arresting-protesters-on-brooklyn-bridge/?_r=0).[92] This image illustrates the power of OWS as a nonrational collective subjectivity, the importance of image-making in contemporary protest, and the profound importance of place-making in the creation of image events.

The image is divided almost perfectly in two, with the monochromatic blue and white of the police to the left and a multicolored crowd on the right. This structure mirrors the meaning of the image: two groups of people clashing over their right to move and speak. On the left, the police are armed with guns and pepper spray. They are frozen in time in power stances with feet wide apart, heads forward, hands on hips or crossed in front; displays of power and nonverbal gestures of distance. The front line of officers acts as a physical barrier. Shoulder to shoulder they stand like soldiers, uniformed, identical and predominantly white. As Rancière argues, "The police is not a social function but a symbolic constitution of the social" whose role is to make sure that the ways of doing and making assigned to particular places remains in tact.[93] On the bridge, the police appear like a human roadblock, arresting not only protestors, but the movement of march itself. Their power lies, as Rancière suggests, not in their ability to dictate behavior or control policies and politics, but in their ability to make sure that the bridge remains nothing but a bridge.

On the right, the crowd appears yearning to move, their gestures caught in midair by the stillness of the photograph. A multiplicity of identities and ideologies reveal themselves. The largest message here reads "Save the People" which is reminiscent of the environmental movement's "Save the Whales" campaign in the 1990s. Others hold signs that visually confront the NYPD as a part of the corrupt system, reading "NYPD Serves and Protects the Rich." At the front of the crowd, a young white man removes his shirt while several behind him hold a Pan-African flag. Some make peace signs. Others frame their mouths with their hands, amplifying the sound of their voice. Almost everyone is armed with protest signs and a smartphone or camera, which they hold above them, filming or photographing the event. While their identities and ideologies are numerous, the crowd appears as a collective body, a coalition of dissenting voices given shape through the confines of the bridge and the

movement of their direction. This invites the viewer to identify with the crowd, regardless of the lack of clarity in their ideological goals. In fact, this lack of clarity, made visible by the patchwork of color and shape of the crowd is an important part of the rhetorical power of this image event.

Critiqued by mainstream media as "not having a message," Occupy resists the rational logic of the public sphere in favor of a vernacular and nonrational discourse. In an October 20th, 2011 interview with one of the 99%, this logic is illustrated: "We do not have demands, but it's essentially a critique of modern life. It is looking at vast inequities in our society and trying to organize those ideas under a wide umbrella of other ideas."[94] By refusing to "make demands" and by taking on a larger "critique of modern life" the 99%er articulates an argument that essentially cannot be refuted, negotiated with, or silenced through rational debate. Instead, it operates on the public screen as a message of presence; the physical presence of bodies in space becomes a visual and vernacular discourse that may circulate on the public screen. Thus, the OWS protestors did not emerge as a collection of autonomous rational subjects but instead as a collage of images, a collective subjectivity of dissonance held together through the slogan "99%," and their use of public dwelling in cities and (cyber)places around the world.

Rather than the singular, autonomous subject of modernity who rationally debates in the elite circles of democracy, a collective subjectivity is characteristic of the more fluid postmodern subject who, rather than joining a well-defined social movement, instead joins coalitions. This is enabled by the use of social media and citizen journalism. As DeLuca, Lawson, and Sun argue, social media use

> Creates new expectations of what it means to be a citizen and a person and a democracy. Possibilities of participatory media are beginning to be realized as people deploying decentered knots of social media create a kaleidoscopic collage of social

> worlds across a vast array of millions of public screens. Social media do not guarantee a politics, only the possibility of creating new social worlds.[95]

Through the use of social media, their rhetoric relies on the nonrational, the visual and the vernacular.

In addition, the use of citizen journalism and live streaming in OWS was a particularly important connection between the (em)placed images of protest and their travels in (cyber)places. Tim Pool, a prominent live streamer before the movement, developed a video practice during the protests that is described by Ben Lenzner as exemplifying, "recent experimentation that harnessed an ever-fluid relationship between mobile video tools, online platforms, on-the-go reporting and mainstream media within the context of rapidly shifting protest movements."[96] Both the use of social media and citizen journalism, coupled with the power of social media allow for the dissemination of this image into the public screens.

While police were able to halt the movement of the protestors across the bridge, they were unable to stop the movement of the image of their actions from taking over multiple public screens and occupying numerous (cyber)places. Reproduced thousands of times in a variety of angles and frames, the Brooklyn Bridge March functioned as a particularly forceful image event by picturing the silencing of visual speech and the intention to suppress the emergence of dissonant political subjects. And, while police intentions were to crush this dissent, their actions actually worked to produce a collective political subjectivity, an image of the 99%. This occurred because they, like protestors at Zuccotti Park, transformed a (non)place into a place where the subjectivity could emerge. Unintentionally, the police transformed the bridge from a space of moving through into a place where the collective subjectivity of OWS could be born into the public screen.

Images of police arrests and actions caused the movement to spread to Chicago, Washington D.C., and Los Angeles. By October 3rd, the movement spread even further,

springing up in cities from Boston to Hawaii. By October 6th, dozens of prominent unions had backed the movement and a Reuters/Ipsos poll of over 1,000 individuals indicated that only 24% of New Yorkers viewed the protestors unfavorably.[97] By the 15th of October, the protests were worldwide.[98] As a result of the success of the Brooklyn Bridge March, local authorities in New York City began a removal of protestors from the place of the movement, Zuccotti Park. However, because of Zucotti Park's status as a POP, government and city officials could not legally remove the protestors so a series of rhetorical moves in the mass media were made to justify their removal.

Before the Brooklyn Bridge protests, scholars have indicated that one of the first ways that media framed the protestors was through dismissive language or by simply ignoring them.[99] After the march, however, Kaibin Xu argues that among the key framing devices was the performative aspects of the protests, which highlighted the carnivalesque appearance of protestors over the larger goals of the movement.[100] *The New York Times* reports, "A man named Hero was here. So was Germ. There was the waitress from the dim sum restaurant in Evanston, Ill. And the liquor store worker. The Google consultant. The circus performer. The Brooklyn nanny."[101] The focus on the performative qualities of the protestors as carnivalesque, freakish, or immature is not surprising, given their use of public dwelling in Zuccotti Park and their irrational and diverse ideological appearance on Brooklyn Bridge.

Just as this aesthetic was what was able to function transgressivly, however, it also was the rhetorical fuel to justify their removal from Zuccotti Park in the end. Because protestors were deemed abject, they were also considered dirty. This allowed officials to make claims about the sanitary conditions of the plaza. Police Commissioner Ray Kelly indicated that because the park was privately owned they did not have the power to "eject

them" but that Brookfield Office Properties seemed to be "building a case against protesters" by focusing on the unsanitary conditions. [102] On October 13th, Brookfield began handing out flyers to protestors, announcing that the park would be closed for cleaning on October 14th because of "health and safety concerns."[103] Attached to the flyer was a list of rules and regulations for the park. Among the new guidelines, "passive recreation" was highlighted as the "intention" and "design" of the place and essentially made everything the protestors were doing against the rules. Lying down on the ground, for example, was now against the rules, which goes far beyond NYC rules and regulations for public parks.[104]

While Brookfield did not follow through on closing the park for cleaning on the 14th, one month later on November 15th, police raided the park at one o'clock in the morning without warning (apparently having learned a lesson about visibly silencing speech) and forcibly removed protestors under the protection of the new rules. The park was power washed, acting as a powerful metaphor for a ritual cleansing of class. While protestors engaged in several legal battles for the right to re-enter and occupy the park, Judge Michael Stallman of New York's Supreme Court created a remarkable precedent for the right to speak in POPS by ruling that protestors did not, in fact, have first amendment rights in Zuccotti Park.[105]

The transformation of the place of Brooklyn Bridge, captured by the force of the image of the inevitable clash of ideologies on the suspended surface, projected the OWS movement into a successful protest movement. In this success, the abject aesthetic of public dwelling in Zuccotti Park became increasingly disruptive and ultimately resulted in the rhetorical means used to justify the silencing of speech. As the (non)place of Zuccotti Park was reinstated to its original meaning, OWS produced a unique aesthetic which continues to dwell in (cyber)places on the public screens.

Image Event #3: Molly Crabapple and OWS Aesthetic

A woman in a blue dress stands on a stage of culture, her massive form rising above a tiny landscape of activity below (see Figure 5). In a spectacle of gothic fantasy, the stars and stripes of the American flag decorate the curtains that hang beside her. *Joie de Vivre* sits atop her massive head like a hat and she holds a carnivalesque mask in one hand and in the other, a sign reading "99%". Below her, tiny white mice scurry about, working in "The People's Library" or the "Media Tent" and use her dress as a tent. Some are wearing Guy Fawkes masks. Dogs dressed in full police attire appear to wave batons and bullhorns above their heads. On either side, large greenish structures rise and fat cats wearing suits wave

Figure 5: *Our Lady of Liberty Park* by Molly Crabapple[106]

bottles and wine glasses above their heads, peering down on the scene below. The image is darkly carnivalesque, an artist's rendition of the OWS protests in Zuccotti Park.

As the police and local authorities worked to reimagine the (em)placed vernacular of Zuccotti Park and Brooklyn Bridge as a (non)places, images of art produced from the OWS protests found homes in numerous (cyber)places. Paul Mason of the BBC writes that the explosion of art in the OWS may signal the birth of an aesthetic specific to OWS, "a tangible artistic movement in response to this major political event in American life that could upset the world of the white-walled galleries."[107] This aesthetic breaks with contemporary art guidelines in a number of ways: it is highly figurative, has an emphasis on typography, is artistic rather than graphic-design motivated, and heavily influenced by street artists such as Banksy and Shepard Fairey.[108] The Illuminators, for example, are one specific group who worked within Occupy who projected images and phrases like "99%" onto the sides of buildings around the City.

One of the hundreds of artists was Molly Crabapple, who is characterized by a high level of detail in her images that borders on the grotesque, similar to those of Bosch.[109] She is one of hundreds of artists who, together, have created an aesthetic revolution within a political movement. Crabapple's piece "Lady of Liberty Park," described above, reveals aspects of this aesthetic.[110] Her images were not only used within OWS in subsequent image events, three years later they continue to be a part of one of the most highly recognizable aesthetics of the movement itself. Thus, her work provides a particular image event to explore the aesthetic force of OWS. Crabapple's work, I argue, demonstrates the power of the Occupy aesthetic through its inherent productivity, reappropriative qualities, mobility, and collective drive. These elements are not simply the aesthetic aftermath of the real politics

of the movement. Instead, the emergence of the Occupy aesthetic is one of the fundamental ways that the movement continues to exist as a political force.

Artist production was an important part of the movement because it existed as *productive,* which transgressed the logics of circulation and consumption privileged within Zuccotti Park, Brooklyn Bridge, the Financial District, and the current culture of consumption. It works transgressivly simply by existing as a human-created product in the late capitalist system, which increasingly disconnects the worker from any real production. As *Rolling Stone* writer Taibbi argues, "What is work in modern America? A striking thing about the group of people that I write about is their utter non-productivity … This whole group of people is about wealth extraction. That's all they do."[111] The act of building and producing something physical and material is an inherent part of artistic practice and functioned in the context of the World Financial Center as an additional transgressive practice.

One of the ways Crabapple did this was by physically being in the park and drawing portraits of individual protestors. Over sixty of these portraits were produced on simple drawing paper and then uploaded to the [cyber]place of Facebook where Crabapple has over 16,000 "likes."[112] These included a musician playing a ukulele, a construction worker holding a sign reading "People before Profit," a pink-haired young woman working on her laptop and another exposing her abdomen where the number of the New York Lawyers Guild is written across her bare skin. Another pictured an Iraq War veteran holding a sign saying, "I occupied Iraq Now I occupy Wall Street" and a young man wearing dark sunglasses holding another that reads, "Open your eyes. This is the revolution." In an interview with *The Awl*, Crabapple says, "One of the things I like to do with my art is humanize people who might have been swept away otherwise. Art is very different from photography because it's slow.

You can take a million photos with your phone, but art you have to care for. You have to put your everything into it . . . I'm saying this person is valuable, and that this is worth looking at."[113]

Artistic expression and production has been used in a number of protest situations as a rhetorical and transgressive tactic that allows voices that are normally silenced to be heard, to appear as a speaking subject. Sharon Fernandez, for example, discusses the Desh Pardesh Arts Festival in Toronto, Canada as being successful in bringing forward the voices of those who were most silenced inside the South Asian community, including gays, lesbians, bisexuals and trans-gendered individuals. She writes, "The multidimensional interplay between excellent arts, radical politics, and transgressive community debates was in evidence, helping Desh to grow within a decade into a significant local, national, and international presence that generated a sense of legitimacy and a feeling of pride in the South Asian community."[114] Chicana/o mural artists in California have used aesthetics as a political tool. Guisela Latorre argues "through the public mural, Chicanas/os found a unique and effective tool with which to assert agency from the margins."[115]

Crabapple's portraits created in the park also functioned as particularly transgressive image events because they worked through reappropriation. She took the radically diverse nature of protestors, viewed so disparagingly by the media, and visualized them in humanizing and positive ways. Here the possibility for social change is imagined as an aesthetic. In addition, in *Our Lady of Liberty Park,* the use of caricatures, masks, vibrant but dark colors, and overall surrealist tone, create an image of protest that also embraces the abject, rather than rejecting it. Numerous elements within the piece demonstrate this. First, the use of mice as "the people" makes a clear reference to the abject. Mice are considered unclean; mousetraps, cats, and poison are all used to eradicate this abject animal from the

place of the home. By visualizing the protestors as the animal we most often seek to remove, Crabapple visually associates social transformation with the abject, reapproapriating it from the confines of the unclean. The mouse's cultural meaning as a small, industrious creature takes over and the viewer is encouraged to identify with the hard work of the small creatures that work under the tyranny of the cats.

Another example of this reappropriative visual code can be found within the central figure, Lady Liberty. By making freedom the central figure of this image, Crabapple both associates the protest with freedom of speech and works within the (em)placed vernacular. Originally named Liberty Park, the park was renamed after the chairman of Brookfield Office Properties, John Zuccotti. By shifting the focus onto liberty rather than corporate ownership, Crabapple takes seriously the rhetorical force of naming to reappropriate the place of the park to mean social transformation and freedom of speech. Thus, Crabapple's art functions as a visual social performative by re-citing the abject through reappropriative visual codes. As Butler indicates, the re-citational and reappropriative dimensions of language are where social change is located.[116]

In addition to the productivity of her art and reappropriative quality of her aesthetic, mobility is also a profoundly important part of the success of Crabapple's work. In particular, her design and dissemination of political posters were extremely effective. Crabapple says, "Political posters are fast. I'd draw one, brain on fire, and two hours later a masked protester would be carrying it on the streets."[117] This is particularly true of her political poster featuring a giant squid reading "Fight the Vampire Squid" which went viral in the first month of the movement (see Figure 6). The Crabapple poster depicts a giant black squid wearing a top hat above the words "Occupy Wall Street." On its large body, the words, "Fight the Vampire Squid" are pictured in white lettering.

Figure 6: *Fight the Vampire Squid* by Molly Crabapple[118]

In black and white, the poster appears to be a cross between a graphic commercial style and an artistic sketch. With brows furrowed, the squid appears angrily wrapping its tentacles around the word "Occupy." This use of words is not unlike graffiti, which also blends artistic and commercial codes for use in public places, and signifies what Featherstone discusses as "an effacement of the boundary between art and everyday life."[119] Beyond the blending of art and commercial codes, the overall tone of the image is playful and irreverent in its carnivalesque nature. The tiny top hat, for example, is an aesthetic utilized in carnival settings, where incongruous juxtaposition is used as a means of producing a campy over-the-top quality. In addition, the very caricature of the bank as a ridiculous vampire squid is humorous in its rendering.

"Fight the Vampire Squid" was created from the literary caricature of Goldman Sachs by Matt Taibbi in a 2009 article where he described the bank as, "a great vampire squid wrapped around the face of humanity, relentlessly jamming its blood funnel into anything that smells like money."[120] This image, disseminated into the public screens, was highly mobile and reproducible, moving from (cyber)place to (cyber)place and then back down to the embodied protests in the streets throughout the United States. Posted first on September 25th by Crabapple on the social networking and microblog (cyber)place of Tumblr, the image was accompanied with directions for downloading the high-resolution image and directions on how to make a stencil.[121] The image was then reposted on numerous blogs, zines, news sites, and social networking sites such as boingboing.net, Flickr, motherjones.com, Pinterest and Rollingstone.com. In fact, 610 notes follow the initial Tumblr post, detailing the way the image went viral by being reposted onto hundreds of other (cyber)places, each encouraging personal use and reappropriation by viewers.

The image, hand-drawn in Zuccotti Park on drawing paper, moved easily to the public screens, replicated itself and was made material in hundreds of protests signs across the country. [122] This highlights the democratization of art: everyone can do it. Without the Authority of the artist, artistic expression can return to the everyday person and productivity can be reimagined. Beyond stencils of the image, protestors began to dress like squids and even built an enormous papier-mâché squid and marched to the headquarters of Goldman Sachs.[123] It also appeared on T-shirts sold at Zazzle.com.[124] Harold argues, "in the brand economy, successful resistant rhetorics are not those that avoid being co-opted but those that deploy tactics for getting co-opted in productive ways.[125] In the massive dissemination of the squid image, it was not only co-opted but also transformed from the work of an autonomous individual to a collective speech act. Over and over, the squid appeared without

a direct connection to an original author and was intentionally unprotected by copyright laws.

The occupation of the vampire squid image in hundreds of (cyber)places along with a large presence of artists working within Zuccotti Park reveal the rhetorical force of the aesthetic of OWS. This aesthetic existed as a transgressive productive force and as a reappropriative, highly mobile, and collective aesthetic voice. It also signifies a break with contemporary art by irreverently using the codes of both street artists and advertising that blend art and everyday life in politically important ways. Unhindered by authorial ownership, Crabapple's "Lady of Liberty Park" and her "Vampire Squid" can move easily between the City, hundreds of (cyber)places, and back again to the city, allowing for occupation and public dwelling to continue exist once the temporary reconstruction of places like Zuccotti Park and Brooklyn Bridge are restored to their state as (non)places.

The Rhetoric of Public Dwelling

In Zuccotti Park, to engage in public dwelling was to refuse to move in the placelessness of circulation and consumption that was seeking silence through spatial tactics. On Brooklyn Bridge, police unintentionally created a successful image event by halting movement and allowing OWS to appear as a collective subjectivity. In both places these transgressive tactics utilized the existing (em)placed vernacular of the place to reappropriate meaning, but this reappropriation was temporarily constrained. OWS transgressed the clear divisions between work and home that Olmstead's parks were intended to help create and at the same time also created the very aesthetic of working class (people communing outside their homes) that the park was designed to eradicate. Because of these class transgressions, the visual arguments made by OWS were deemed nonspeech, unprotected by First

Amendment laws. As Rancière argues, "the 'poor,' precisely, does not designate an economically disadvantaged part of the population, but simply the people who do not count."[126] In the end, the abject aesthetic produced by the use of public dwelling that began the movement was precisely the justification for their removal.

Protestors dissipated from the space of the bridge and in Zuccotti Park police used the rules of the corporate owners to restore order in line with Olmstead's vision. After the November cleaning of the park, the place was reinstated as a site of circulation. While protestors were allowed to re-enter the park without tents, food, or supplies, they were met with a heavy police presence. As Manhattan resident Andy Nicholson remarked, "You have to walk through a gauntlet of officers" and were told by the police to "move along."[127]

Nearly a year and a half after Occupy protests were silenced, the plaza remains a (non)place. Along the western edge of the plaza, street vendors set up shop and tourists wander cautiously through the space, curious about this place of protest but careful not to appear a part of it. It is policed by red-uniformed figures, and prominently displayed signs explicitly dictate that "passive recreation" is the design of the place. There are more trash cans here than one could possibly use, a visual reminder that this place metaphorically, rhetorically, and materially should be kept clean. Nearby, a mobile police observation tower remains. It acts as Foucault's panopticon, inspiring self-disciplining behavior through its mechanical presence.[128] For years after the protest, even in the (cyber)place of Google Maps street view, one could not enter within its boundaries, including the streets that border the plaza.[129] When you attempted to move down any of the streets, Google Maps automatically moved you to a bordering street. However, even as the meaning of the city and (cyber)place are heavily controlled, its (em)placed vernacular now includes very clear codes of

transgression. The same can be said of Brooklyn Bridge, which has been the site of massive immigration and gun control protests since its use as a place of protest in 2011.

Thus, while the place of Zuccotti Park appears to have been restored to a (non)place and the image of dissent eradicated, the OWS effectiveness in shifting public discourse surrounding economic disparity suggests that there is rhetorical power in the act of public dwelling and in the aesthetic that is produced by its use in both the city and (cyber)places of contemporary culture. More specifically, public dwelling has the potential to create places out of (non)places, which allows for the appearance of a political collective subjectivity. Second, public dwelling transgresses the boundaries between home and work that underlie the logics of classism and silencing of those who do not count. Third, it may engender particular aesthetics that can continue to dwell in (cyber)places long after the initial protest has ended. By taking a place-based perspective to the study of OWS, it is clear that while social media played a fundamental role in the movement's success, the (em)placed vernacular of Zuccotti Park played a pivotal role in establishing the use of public dwelling and an abject aesthetic that moved easily to public screens. Images and visual codes of OWS will continue to exist as rogue abjections in the circulation and consumption of (non)places throughout public screens and public places of the contemporary moment.

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CHAPTER 3

BANKSY IN RESIDENCE: ART CRIMES, PLAY, AND OTHER SUCH NONSENSE TAKING PLACE

> "There is absolutely no reason for doing this show at all … It's pointless. Which hopefully means something."
>
> –Banksy[1]

On an aging blue wall on Allen Street, between Canal and Hester, a sign reads, "Graffiti is a Crime." A crossed out spray paint can is pictured above the writing. The wall has been buffed and repainted to remove graffiti many times before, as the whispers of previous voices reveal themselves through layers of slightly different colored blocks of grayish blue paint. To the left of the sign, a dark window is framed with the pink of the building material itself and fixed with black metal bars that cut vertically through its length, protecting what is inside from the dangers of whatever crimes threaten outside. On October 1st of 2013 another image appeared during the night on this same wall. In gray scale, two school-aged boys, nostalgically dressed in overalls and flat caps, one standing on top of the other, are shown stealing the image of the spray paint can out of the sign (see Figure 7). While the image was buffed within 24 hours and the sign stolen, it will live forever infamously as a visual product of the notoriously anonymous street artist known as Banksy. On Banksy's Instagram, the image is captioned with the phrase, "The street is in play Manhattan 2013 #banksyny".[2]

Figure 7: Banksy Painting in Chinatown "Graffiti is a Crime"

In a secret interview with *The Village Voice*, reportedly chosen by the artist because they give away free copies of their publication on street corners, the British street artist promised a "residency" of New York City in a project titled *Better Out than In*.[3] He would, he proclaimed, create a new piece of art every day for the entire month of October 2013, disclosing through cryptic clues the new locations of some of the pieces through a complimentary audio guide, parodic of a museum tour, and accessible by calling the phone number stenciled next to the images. True to his word, during the month of October all thirty-one days produced a new art piece and crowds frantically formed around Banksy images painted and performed throughout all five boroughs of the city.

Banksy is a British street artist and is one of the most famous artists in the world.[4] He is known primarily for creating monochromatic stencil images not unlike the "Graffiti is a Crime" image painted on Allen Street. The images are often parodic, exuding a British wit some aspect of the world that he deems problematic. Public statements like, "Sometimes I

feel so sick at the state of the world, I can't even finish my second apple pie" encapsulate the spirit of his work.[5] Seen in cities from New York to China, England to the Israeli West Bank barrier the images themselves thematically revolve around a wide range of political and social commentary on the conditions of the contemporary moment, including labor practices, late capitalism, animal rights, surveillance, war, terrorism, environmental practices, and general malaise. While the Banksy "brand" has a net worth estimated by *Forbes* magazine to be upwards of $20 million, the images themselves remain uncopyrighted, causing ironic uses of his work, like the recent printing of an anticapitalist image on a Wal-Mart T-shirt.[6] His fame and the way his images are utilized cause some to question his authenticity as a dissenting voice in the system and his art is often violently attacked, marked, and removed by other street artists for this reason.[7]

While there are certainly similarities between Banksy images and more traditional graffiti. They are much more readable than the images that fly past the North Metro Train into the City. Rather than a highly abstracted or stylized text-based image, characteristic of the graffiti born in New York City following Taki 183, this new type of urban art is more image-based and connected to a more specific social issue. This type of work is known as "postgraffiti."[8] According to cultural geographer Luke Dickens, postgraffiti differs from graffiti, "in its attempt to directly engage with urban audiences through 'readable' iconographic inscriptions – using critical, intriguing and often humorous graphics – in order to challenge their visual understandings and appreciations of the city."[9] Beyond the rejection of the typographic style, two additional distinguishing factors arise. First, postgraffiti tends to blur the boundaries between high and low art and repeatedly cross the culture/counterculture divide, as seen in a number of postgraffiti artists who enjoy time both

inside and outside the art gallery. Second, postgraffiti is considered to be a very mobile image that can cross the boundaries between the virtual world and urban space.[10]

Increasingly, Banksy's work has also come in the form of public installations, performance pieces, and films that exist solely in the virtual realm, rather than a two-dimensional visual image. After the 2010 BP oil spill, for example, Banksy created a fully-functional children's carnival ride of a dolphin caught in a net, jumping over a BP oil drum. The YouTube video of blissful children riding it on Brighton Pier in the UK was watched 717,722 times.[11] In the same year, one of his most visible films was produced as the introductory sequence in the third episode in the twenty-second season of *The Simpsons* show, titled "MoneyBART." Banksy marked the town of Springfield with graffiti and then scathingly critiqued the production practices of the show itself, showing the making of *The Simpsons* cartoons, stuffed animals, and t-shirts in a dreary Asian factory, fueling rumors that the show was outsourced to Seoul, South Korea. While producers of the show assured viewers in multiple interviews that there was no truth to the rumors, the YouTube video received 5,587,402 hits in less than two months and over 6,500 comments were made regarding its imagery and political critique regarding global labor practices.[12] The 2011 Sundance Film Festival hosted another widely publicized film -- a documentary film produced and directed by Banksy himself, called *Exit through the Gift Shop,* which confuses viewers to this day regarding its intentions, message, and authenticity as a documentary.[13]

Like the *Adbuster's* ballerina on a bull image, these pranks and installations follow the Dadaist history of public commentary through images that seek to arrest the passerby out of the fog of consumption. Today, postgraffiti artists like this are known as culture-jammers, using irony, humor, and appropriation to challenge corporate influence in contemporary culture.[14] Illegally placed stencils, "billboard liberations," iconic stickers, and art installations

are the most prevalent form of postgraffiti images. For example, Sheppard Fairey is a well-known postgraffiti artist, famous for his Obey Andre the Giant stickers that permeated city spaces in the 1990s and his Obama "Hope" poster utilized by the Obama campaign in 2008. Like graffiti, these aesthetics are defended as art by academics and art theorists and as having the potential for resistance and increased awareness of social justice for those who encounter his work. James Brassett argues that Banksy's use of irony, particularly within the comic frame, should be defended "as a critical and imaginative form, which call (but does not necessarily) foster a greater awareness of the possibilities and limits for thinking global justice."[15]

Despite his fame in the art world and academic circles and his popularity in (cyber)places like YouTube and Instagram, however, governments continue to treat the images as they would graffiti, by removing it within twenty-four to seventy-two hours of its painting. In a 2010 visit to the Salt Lake City area, for example, Banksy painted a number of images in the urban environment including a small rat wearing 3D glasses on a door of a local theater and a praying boy on the side of a downtown building. In Park City, an image of a man filming a flower, "Banksy" was painted on a historic barn in logo-like lettering, and another image of a man filming a flower on the side of a coffeehouse. The praying boy image was removed in accordance with Salt Lake City law within twenty-four hours of its painting and the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported that the image painted on the side of the publically-owned historic barn in Park City was removed within seventy-two hours."[16] In contrast, two of the pieces were preserved with Plexiglas, indicating that while local government might be clear that the acts were considered graffiti, others interpreted these images as art. The treatment of these images reflects a fundamental struggle over what can be visualized and, therefore, spoken, in public places. While the images may have moved

beyond the text-based lettering of Taki 183, their ability to be seen in public places rests still on a fundamental foundation of class distinction: those who own the buildings may speak visually in public places.

During Banksy's month-long residency of New York City, however, the police did not pursue him, nor did they remove his artwork.[17] *The Times* reports, "Though Banksy works have shown up on private buildings, the Police Department has gotten no official complaints, a spokesman said, adding that apprehension was difficult because 'we don't know who Banksy is, if he [sic] exists at all.'"[18] And, while the official word from Mayor Bloomberg was that the acts were not legal and should not be considered art, the *Times* again reports that the "tut-tut response that graffiti was 'a sign of decay and loss of control' [from the mayor] only gave the project more of a boost."[19]

While officials left his work alone, other artists in the city were swift in their response to the work, tagging and marking the images in layers of images and lettering. Due to the temporal nature of the work and a blatant disregard for the monetary valuing of the work by other artists working in the city, droves of admirers flocked to see his work in person, listening for clues on the audio tour about where to find the next image before it was destroyed. Some (including Banksy himself) argue that the "discontent industry" is very profitable in the contemporary moment, which decreases his authenticity to speak on issues such as income inequality.[20] However, his work maintains a particularly effective rhetorical force. Based on his online and physical following, his images resonate with a large sector of an international population. Online, over 376,000 people from around the world began following a special Instagram account #banksyny, which was created exclusively for the New York residency. Millions of people logged on to watch the corresponding YouTube videos of his work and some images created discussions where tens of thousands participated.[21]

As a highly visible and internationally recognized voice of dissent in the contemporary moment, Banksy's New York City *Better Out than In* residency provides an illuminative rhetorical text to explore how one particularly postmodern voice utilizes the (em)placed vernacular in potentially transgressive ways. In the following chapter, I first discuss how the structures, or architectures, of vision in postmodernity affect the potentiality for transgression before turning to the methodological concerns of the analysis portion of this case study. In my analysis section, I identify three major themes of the project, which include *The Residence of Art, Images of Discontent,* and *Re-Visions of the City*. The response to these themes by viewers of the image indicated that while the thematic content was engaged, the nature and form of the discussion itself had the most rhetorical force.

These findings suggest that Banksy's images exert an influential *postsubject voice* into the visual discourse of (em)placed vernacular of New York City. I define the postsubject voice as a visual articulation in both material and/or virtual form that resists traditional markings of identity and authorial intent in favor of play, dissemination, and the invitation for multiple interpretations. Banksy's residency suggests that in *play* elements of the (em)placed vernacular are turned into visual toys through a critical orientation towards the urban landscape, postmodern aesthetic codes, visual violence, and the logics of the public screen. As a rhetorical strategy, play may offer an innovative and effective mode of engaging in contemporary rhetorical argument. In addition, it offers the potential for transgression within the visual architectures of seeing in the contemporary moment, meaning that it allows for new forms of knowledge, power, and voice to be understood as legible. Ultimately, I argue that as a postsubject voice, Banksy's playful use of the (em)placed vernacular functions effectively, as Elkins would argue, in an antisemiotic mode; it resists rational meaning-making to begin with.[22]

Architectures of Seeing

Built into our cities, our imaginations, and our discourse are structures for seeing and not seeing the world. These structures are stylized in ways that both reflect and reproduce the aesthetics of the era and they become the architectures for dwelling in the world. They are both ideological and materially encoded into the (em)placed vernaculars of daily life and, in a truly Burkean sense, they provide symbolic resources for living.[23] Simply, how one envisions the world structures what is possible within it. As Rancière argues,

> [Aesthetics is] a delimitation of spaces and times, of the visible and the invisible, of speech and noise, that simultaneously determines the place and the stakes of politics as a form of experience. Politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the property of spaces and the possibilities of time.[24]

These architectures have far-reaching consequences. Individuals who visually fail to be recognized within one of the two appropriate gender categories, for example, fail to be "read" as legible. Their unintelligible bodies exist as a living transgression in the binaries that structure oppressive gender divisions in the contemporary moment.

Just as the pastiche of architectural styles in our cities is constantly changing, the architecture of seeing is constantly in flux, decaying and being built up again. Ways of seeing are built through both institutions and everyday practices and by both everyday people who, through their daily life alter the shape of the world, and by those who intentionally seek to render what the world should or should not look like. Gary Shapiro argues that an archeology of vision refers to the organization, conditions, and mechanisms which allow some things to be seen and others to remain normalized and invisible.[25] As these institutions produce ideology, these ideologies become materialized in everyday practices, relationships to technology and people, and built into city places. Not unlike discursive structures, which allow for some things to be understood as speech and other as noise, the architectures of

vision are built by institutions and everyday practices. They are built, maintained, and are aestheticized in particular ways that privilege some ways of picturing the world over others. Architectures of vision, then, refer to the elements of the (em)placed vernacular of city places that privilege and normalize some ways of seeing the world over other ways. The visual nodes of the (em)placed vernacular imply ways of operating around vision in normalizing ways, but they also provide the resources for picturing transgression and revisioning the world. In the following, I briefly trace the history of the connection between architectures of vision and power in modernity and postmodernity before turning to some of the particular ways in which contemporary architectures of vision structure ways of doing and making in the contemporary moment.

When addressing a contemporary voice of dissent like Banksy, who uses the urban environment as a canvas for picturing the world differently, reviewing the history of picturing and the connection to knowledge and subjectivity is important. The following traces the transformation of picturing in the world and focuses on architectures of vision as symbolic resources for living from modernity to postmodernity. However, as I trace this history, it is important to acknowledge that just as the architectures of times past continue to exist in the (em)placed vernacular of cities, so too do the architectures of vision of times past into the present. As Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner write, the boundary between modernity and postmodernity is not a clear one, with influences of modernity still highly present in the contemporary moment.[26]

Heidegger writes that the ability to picture the world during modernity was a profoundly important part of lived experience, writing, "A world picture … does not mean a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as a picture."[27] This perspective was particularly ocularcentric in its focus and, as Martin Jay notes, is rooted in ancient

Greece with the privileging of Platonic Truth, accessed through *lumen,* which refers to the essence of illumination. The Enlightenment saw a shift to *lux*, which refers to the actual experience of human sight. With this shift, the development of the optic regime of Cartesian perspectivalism occurred.[28] Both of these perspectives result in the understanding of a stable, coherent subject who searched for a cohesive picture of the world and, ultimately, a coherent understanding of that world, based on Truth and certainty. As Harvey argues, modernism has been characterized as a "belief in linear progress, absolute truths, the rational planning of ideal social orders, and the standardization of knowledge and production."[29]

This mode of visuality configures sight as a source of rationality, stable subjectivity, Knowledge, neutrality, and objectively scientific Truth.[30] These masculine discourses within modernity have far reaching consequences; emotion and subjective notions of knowing become suppressed and devalued, mastery and the destruction of nature becomes justified by human progress, progress itself justifies social oppression, and cultural imperialism deports idealized dreams of a rational democracy to the far ends of the world. Materially, these modern discourses manifest themselves in the (em)placed vernaculars of cities like New York City in the form of skyscrapers made of steel, glass, and metal, which visualize the mastery over nature and tower above the masses below. On the streets below, consumer culture is visualized through the advent of window displays that produce Walter Benjamin's *flâneur*: a distracted and detached gaze helps to fetishize the commodity, distance the wanderer from everyday life, and to elevate consumption as a mode of engagement with the world.[31] This architecture for picturing the world normalizes ideologies such as class distinction, gender norms, and privileges whiteness and heteronormativity.[32]

Within this modern visual architecture, both power and transgression are manifested and visualized in specific ways. Power is visualized as a force that works to control or

discipline in one direction, from the top down.[33] Shapiro illustrates how the aesthetics of discipline are materialized in Foucault's panopticon, which serves as an example of the "production of an architecture of seeing and being seen" within an emblem of the social structure of the time.[34] Historically, artists and theorists like Marcel Duchamp, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Henri Bergson worked to fracture this modern architecture of vision.[35] These theorists represent a poststructural turn in thinking more generally.[36]

Lived experience in postmodernity is one deeply connected to the image and the practices of everyday life are intricately connected to visualization and image making. Shapiro argues that there has been an "increasing deployment of visualization at every level in the daily life" and that there is a "proliferation of techniques of picturing, showing, reproducing, and displaying the actual, the artificial, and the fantastic."[37] Subjectivity becomes increasingly fluid and permeable, as do Knowledge and Truth. As the world picture so needed by the modern subject becomes fragmented and multiplied, so too do forms of knowledge and sense of self. Within this mode of engagement with reality, scholars such as Barthes, Bell, Kristeva, Lyotard, Vattimo, Derrida, Foucault, Habermas, Baudrillard and Jameson identify a skepticism, disillusionment, and cynicism concerning metanarratives, the erosion of the distinction between high and low art, a decentering of the Cartesian subject, and a death of Authorship.[38]

A number of theorists, such as Featherstone, Hebdige, and Harvey have pointed to the importance of the postmodern play with images in everyday life or within city spaces, where a less stable subject emerges within the process and rationality is disregarded in favor of pleasure, intertextuality, and pastiche.[39] In both art and writing, authorial intent is abandoned for textual play by audiences and in politics, and rational debate is disregarded in favor of postmodern coalitions. Some theorists see little chance for effective transgressive

tactics within this new architecture."[40] Others, such as Foucault, theorize the use of images in transgressive ways by viewing power as productive rather than one-directionally oppressive.[41] As Harold discusses, the utilization of tactics that work *within* the logics of consumer capitalism may be more effective.[42] Thus, in postmodern architectures of vision, power becomes increasingly fluid and can be taken hold of at various points, utilized by an average person on an average day, even just for a moment to challenge what is deemed problematic.

While new architectures of seeing engender new forms of transgression, there remain clear markings of discipline and modern understandings of power in current society. While power may indeed be productive, the ideology that power is one-directional is pervasive. Places like Times Square are punctuated by heavy police presence and camera surveillance, which serve to feed this ideology. And, in the OWS protests, there was a general consensus that rational arguments and working within the governmental system were the only way to make significant changes in the system. While power is understood, utilized, and strategically built into our worlds as one-directional, there exist new architectures of vision, found in places like the public screens that allow for different and increasingly mobile uses of power.

Banksy and his New York Residency offer one example of a particularly postmodern and hyper-visual voice working within the (em)placed vernaculars and visual architectures of the contemporary moment. As an anonymous speaker, he transcends the modernist connection between voice and subject and "embodies" a postsubject voice. "His" body, while gendered through mediated rumors, has no definitive race, class, ethnicity, or sexual orientation. This chapter engages the rhetoric of this body to better understand how transgression might operate without a stable subject working within the (em)placed vernaculars of contemporary architectures of vision.

Moving with an [In]visible Author

On October 10th, a black and white stencil of a beaver appeared in Brooklyn, sitting next to a fallen No Parking sign. The beaver, apparently having chewed through the rusted signpost, is positioned to be standing in a pile of dirt and in front of an old, heavily graffitied wall. Analysis of only the image might suggest some commentary regarding the interaction between city and nature, the diffusion between high and low art, or even a call to action in inviting people to see the city as a potential canvas on which they themselves might speak. As a postsubject voice, Banksy's residency of New York City offers particular challenges associated with both bounding the text and assessing the rhetorical force due, in part, to the multiple layers of rhetoric it includes. *Layers*, I argue, are multiple modes of communication that are intertextually related and yet distinct in their form.

An example of rhetorical layering can be seen in an associated video uploaded to Banksy NY which shows several local men refusing to let people see the Beaver image by covering it up with a cardboard box unless visitors paid them $20. The major theme of the video was articulated clearly by one of the men who stated, "Ya'll wouldn't come here if it weren't for this." This layer of the image reveals a level of rhetoric that points to racial divisions and classism within the city. The video's inclusion next to other more "authentic" videos that were clearly produced by Banksy indicates that the rhetoric of the associated video, intended or not, became an important layer of the discourse. Some viewers of the video, indicated through their comments, actually thought that the actions of the local men were part of a performance designed by Banksy. Analysis of all layers of the discourse, including audio, visual, and performance thus, became an important aspect of the analysis. In the following, I briefly discuss the types of images analyzed and the general components of a method that paid attention to the various layers of rhetoric before turning to the analysis.

The residency itself consisted of four different types of images: stencil images, sculptures, performances, and film/public screen images. Twenty of the thirty-one days produced stencil images on walls, trucks, or doors (days 1-4, 7-10, 12, 14,15, 17, 20, 21, 24, and 26-30) (see Table 1). Stencils are created by carving a piece of cardboard, laying it flat against a wall, and then spraying spray paint on top of it to create a design from the negative space. Two days produced sculpture pieces (days 22 and 31) and five days existed as performance pieces (days 5, 13, 16, 18, and 25). I defined these pieces using Pezzullo's characteristics of performance, which include being temporally framed, spatially framed, programmed, communal, involving display, and which are reflexive and reflective, scheduled, publicized events.[43] Three were videos and/or images that existed solely on the public screens (days 6, 19, and 23). While these have been categorized in this way to show how this project visually took form, the art that was produced on ten of the days included an audio guide, which added a performative layer to them by structured them through temporality and programming (days 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 16, 18, 25, 31).

Because of the layered nature of many of the specific images, the analysis of this text took a three-part approach. First, close visual readings were performed on the thirty-one images produced during the residency. The specific copies of images were studied on Banksy's New York Instagram account accessible at http://instagram.com/banksyny and the analysis consisted of analyzing visual form (color, composition, lighting, etc.), content (subject mater, intertexual references, political/social connections), and context of the images (placement within the city or public screens and/or analysis of the use of existing (em)placed resources). The images of his project can be found at innumerable websites, including his personal website, but his Instagram account was chosen as the primary text for analysis because of its relative stability as a website and the consistency in imaging the event

Table 1: Instagram Images at #banksyny

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 1/ October 1, 2014	• Title: "Graffiti is a Crime" • Location: • Instagram Likes: 25,210 • Instagram Comments: 786 • Includes audio guide accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p64yaJ9uf6g	
Day 2/ October 2, 2014	• Title: New York Accent • Location: west side/Chelsea • Instagram Likes: 20,280 • Instagram Comments: 602	
Day 3/ October 3, 2014	• Title: Peeing Dog • Location: Midtown • Instagram Likes: 14,317 • Instagram Comments: 390 • Includes audio guide accessible at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FY70F4scyCM	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 4/ October 4, 2014	• Title: Occupy the Musical • Location: Bushwick • Instagram Likes: 11,915 • Instagram Comments: 314	
Day 5/ October 5, 2014	• Title: Mobile Garden • Location: Moving • Instagram Likes: 15,062 • Instagram Comments: 498 • Includes audio guide accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W7FtHsR7QqE	
Day 6/ October 6, 2014	• Title: Dumbo • Location: Public Screen (Banksy.uk.co and YouTube). • Instagram Likes: 5,160 • Instagram Comments: 497 • Associated Videos: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FsF3HspQY6A (Uploaded October 6, 6,854,888 views and 35,391 likes, 9,385 comments)	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 7/ October 7, 2014	• Title: Red Balloon • Location: Red Hook • Instagram Likes: 22,7490 • Instagram Comments: 558 • Includes audio guide accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=am2txfOcgVo	
Day 8/ October 8, 2014	• Title: Plato Door • Location: Brooklyn • Instagram Likes: 17,340 K • Instagram Comments: 374	
Day 9/ October 9, 2014	• Title: Car Mural • Location: Lower East Side • Instagram Likes: 16,536 • Instagram Comments: 558 • Includes audio guide accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pqbynHYHiEc	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 10/ October 10, 2014	• Title: Beaver • Location: Brooklyn • Instagram Likes: 14,896 • Instagram Comments: 448 • Associated video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SOpRUDbpwc0 (uploaded Oct. 15, 277,142 views, 940 likes, 637 comments) •	
Day 11/ October 11, 2014	• Title: The Sirens of the Lambs • Location: Meat packing district and then city wide • Instagram Likes: 26,879 • Instagram Comments: 888 • Associated video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WDIz7mEJOeA3, (uploaded Oct. 11, 2014, 910,566 views,15,205 likes, 6757 comments) • Includes audio guide accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-BluFK9S1I8	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 12/ October 12, 2014	• Title: Concrete Confessional • Location: Lower east side • Instagram Likes: 19,819 • Instagram Comments: 325 •	
Day 13/ October 13, 2014	• Title: Pop Up Shop • Location: Central Park • Instagram Likes: 28,130 • Instagram Comments: 1,560 • Associated video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zX54DIpacNE (uploaded 10/13/14, 5,723,590 views, 13,878 likes, 5,898 comments)	
Day 14/ October 14, 2014	• Title: Eternity • Location: Queens • Instagram Likes: 36,733 • Instagram Comments: 615	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 15/ October 15, 2014	• Title: Twin Towers • Location: Tribeca • Instagram Likes: 36,858 • Instagram Comments: 874	
Day 16/ October 16, 2014	• Title: McDonalds • Location: McDonalds restaurants across the city • Instagram Likes: 30,408 • Comments: 710 • Includes audio guide accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rY7pxhkJBnA •	
Day 17/ October 17, 2014	• Title: Bridge Silhouettes • Location: Graham Ave & Cook Street, Brooklyn • Instagram Likes: 32,920 • Instagram Comments: 625	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 18/ October 18, 2014	• Title: Outdoor Gallery • Location: Chelsea • Instagram Likes for red painting: 25,910 / gray painting: 29,437 • Instagram Comments for red painting: 262/gray painting: 451 • Includes audio guide: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CZd6b73GK7Q	
Day 19/ October 19, 2014	• Title: Ants • Location: Staten Island • Instagram Likes: 7,952 • Instagram Comments: 443 • Associated Video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AZkvAh7EKxg (Uploaded 10/20/2014, 460,082 views, 885 likes, 316 comments)	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 20/ October 20, 2014	• Title: Boy with hammer • Location: Upper west side • Instagram Likes: 46,597 • Instagram Comments: 720	
Day 21/ October 21, 2014	• Title: Ghetto 4 Life • Location: The Bronx • Likes: 48,219 • Comments: 804	
Day 22/ October 22, 2014	• Title: Sphinx • Location: Willets point • Likes: 32,611 • Comments: 645	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 23/October 23, 2014	• Title: Cancelled • Location: Public Screen, (Listed: 1 police plaza) • Instagram Likes: 24,598 • Instagram Comments: 959	Today's art has been cancelled due to police activity
Day 24/ October 24, 2014	• Title: Larry Flynt's Hustler Club • Location: Hells Kitchen (Larry Flynt's NY Hustler Club & Cigar Lounge at 641 West 51st Street) • Instagram Likes: 55,900 • Instagram Comments: 942	
Day 25/ October 25, 2014	• Title: Reaper • Location: Bowery • Likes: 12,908 • Comments: 312 • Associated video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IbuIfEnK0f8161,5 (Uploaded 10/25/2014, 162,763 views, 1,308 likes, 272 comments • Includes audio guide: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6MY3LjHHw1g	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 26/ October 26, 2014	• Title: Bumper Sticker • Location: Roaming, originally parked at 131 47th Street between 1st and 2nd Avenues • Instagram Likes: 40,358 • Instagram Comments: 630	
Day 27/ October 27, 2014	• Title: Blocked Messages • Location: Green Point • Instagram Likes: 34,205 • Instagram Comments: 402	
Day 28/ October 28, 2014	• Title: Robot • Location: Coney island • Instagram Likes: 47,868 • Instagram Comments: 674	

Table 1 Continued

Day/Date	Additional Info	Image
Day 29/ October 29, 2014	• Title: Banality of Evil • Location: 157 East 23rd Street • Instagram Likes: 38,078 • Instagram Comments: 938	
Day 30/ October 30, 2014	• Title: Bronx Zoo • Location: Yankee Stadium • Instagram Likes: 51,203 • Instagram Comments: 799	
Day 31/ October 31, 2014	• Title: Banksy Balloons • Location: Queens • Instagram Likes: 33,680 • Instagram Comments: 1,067 • Includes audio guide accessible at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VXAzMC-POOU	

(all images were in color, appeared to be taken from the same camera, were taken from the same angle, and had the same image quality).

Second, subsequent content analysis was performed through close reading and/or visual analysis on the ten audio files and five videos associated with the project. The ten audio guides were analyzed through auditory analysis and through content analysis of the transcripts. These files were accessed through the YouTube channel StreetArtNews. The videos and public screen images of the project were located on Instagram (day 23) and the Banksy NY channel. The YouTube videos included the pieces that were accessible only on public screens (days 6 and 19) while others included an associated video, but existed as a performance piece in the city itself (day 10, 11, 13, 25).[44] I chose Banksy NY YouTube channel because it had the most viewership and was uploaded at the same time frame as the work. In addition, it included some footage that only a Banksy associate would have, such as the art sale on day 13. However, I claim no authenticity about whether or not these were produced by Banksy and whether or not they were indeed a part of the intention of the initial rhetorical act. Finally, to assess the effects of the rhetorical force, I analyzed approximately 150 Instagram comments for each of the 31 Instagram images. While each of these three components of the analysis could potentially be studied in and of itself, it was necessary to include all three because of the elusive characteristics of the postsubject voice (all images were in color, appeared to be taken from the same camera, were taken from the same angle, and had the same image quality) and the intersectional nature of the (em)placed vernacular.

Better Out Than In: Postsubject(s) In Play

In its entirety, Banksy's project revolved loosely around three rhetorical themes: *The Residence of Art*, *Images of Discontent*, and *Re-Visions of the City*. In the following, I outline these themes by offering a detailed visual analysis of one specific example that illustrates the theme. Within each of these analyses, I also discuss how viewers of the Instagram image responded in order to assess the rhetorical effects of this voice
within one particular (cyber)place.

The Residence of Art

The 13th day of Banksy's residency occurred in Central Park in the form of prank and a consignment booth selling Banksy images for $60 each. The image posted to Instagram pictured a close-up of the booth, displaying a number of iconic Banksy images, such as a masked man throwing a bouquet as he would a grenade, an elephant carrying a missile, rats, and a praying boy (see Figure 8). The booth itself was unimpressive, featuring a number of black and white stenciled art on small canvases and a sign reading "Spray Art." The

Figure 8: Banksy Prank in Central Park, "Pop Up Booth"

Instagram image caption read, "Yesterday I set up a stall in the park selling 100% authentic original signed Banksy canvases. For $60 each. Please note: This was a one off. The stall will not be there again today. Go to banksy.co.uk to see the video."

The associated video showed a very bored looking middle-aged man, dressed conservatively in kakis, vest, baseball hat, and sunglasses sitting at the booth waiting for a sale. Time is marked visually at various points throughout the day, showing the man yawning or eating a sandwich. Then, 3:30 pm the screen shifts to state, "First sale," followed by the words, "Lady buys two small canvases for her children but only after negotiating a 50% discount." The video painfully shows the process of putting them in her bag. The video then reveals two additional sales, one to a "lady from New Zealand" and a "man from Chicago" who the viewer is told is decorating his new house and "just needs something for the walls." The man insists on hugging all the people who buy something and then at 6:00 pm the video ends with the words "Close. Total takings for the day $420," showing the man taking down the stall and packing up.

This prank is emblematic of one of the three larger rhetorical themes that the residency focused on, *The Residence of Art*. This theme focused on the nature of art and where it should reside. Eleven of the images produced during the residency revolved explicitly around the production of graffiti itself (days 1, 2, 3, 8, 13, 14, 21, 23, 27, 28, 31) (See Table 1). Most of the images within this larger category pictured a monochromatic stenciled figure (i.e., a child, a janitor, and a robot) writing or cleaning writing off of a wall or as simply writing on a wall or screen. Some days pointed to how graffiti images are simply unspeakable visual words, some days focused on the inauthenticity of his own voice, and still others existed as a simply a homage to the birthplace of the graffiti image. These images were also often self-referential (day 1, 2, 21, 31) and/or made explicit the illegal nature of the act,

stating things such as "Graffiti is a Crime," "Today's art has been canceled due to police activity" and "This site contains blocked messages" (days 1, 23 and 27).[45] While day 13 existed as a somewhat of an anomaly in terms of its rhetorical form as a performance rather than a stencil, it provides an illustrative example of the larger category. The image highlights how cultural capital helps to structure the valuing of art images and how postmodern aesthetic codes such as play and irony may work transgressivly to question this architecture of seeing in the contemporary moment.

As an initial rhetorical layer, the image of the Pop-up Shop in Central Park on Instagram reveals a self-depreciating element that points to the way that the Banksy name is valued above the images it produces. First, it centrally features the words "Spray Art" which, out of all the naming possibilities (street art, graffiti art, stencil art, or simply art) is perhaps the least pretentious and offers the least weight as a form of art or communication. In fact, the terminology is reminiscent of territorial animal markings rather than markings done by a skilled (human) artisan. This self-depreciating rhetorical move is intensified by the monetary value of the images at $60, shown in the image directly to the right of the central sign. In the global marketplace, Banksy paintings and images are worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. An anonymous buyer at a Miami auction, for example, purchased a Banksy piece titled "Kissing Coppers" for $575,000 in February of 2014.[46] In an analysis of 140 comments on the initial Instagram image, a large portion of viewers of the image were, in fact, concerned with how much the images were worth and the fact that they had failed to see that he was selling these images so cheaply. While many people were upset by the lost chance at a smart financial investment, others seemed to remain at the butt of the joke, commenting on the fact that $60 is a bit pricey for only a stencil.[47]

A layer of irony is added with a third sign, positioned to the left of center, which reads: “This is not a photo opportunity.” These words are ironic because droves of Banksy fans desperately searched out Banksy images during the residency to take photographs of the work before it was tagged or removed by building owners. Thus, the Pop-up Booth was, in fact, a photo opportunity. It was not, however, recognizable as one without the information that the images were produced by Banksy. And, as a photograph on a photo-sharing site such as Instagram, the words take on an added dimension as an image of an image of a booth selling images with a sign asking not to be an image. This ironic edge illustrates a postmodern aesthetic of incongruous juxtapositoning and functions within a circular logic that fails to end in any sophisticated conclusion. Instead, it operates playfully, poking fun at both the tourists trolling Central Park and the fans peering at it on Instagram. Interestingly, only two Instagram members made simple comments such as, “This is not a photo opportunity,” indicating that they got the joke.[48] Additionally, the captioning of the image is also tinged with an ironic postmodern tone. By using words like “authentic” and “original,” the captioning adds a textual “wink” to audiences with the cultural capital to decipher it.[49] As modernist buzzwords in the art world, they are meaningless when referring to the images in question. First, the images are not original. They have been painted on walls previously. Second, like photographs, stencils can be reproduced. A few of the Instagram comments appeared to take up this textual wink with one of their own. One member writes, “I can't wait to copy all your work and hang it on my mantel.”[50]

On another rhetorical layer, the associated video’s focus is on the lack of sales, which further points to the valuing of the Banksy name as well as the cultural capital necessary to identify a Banksy “original.” At $420 total sales, the video’s somewhat boring 2 minutes and 41 seconds of content functioned as a taunting and playful poke at how valuable his name is,

rather than his images, to the contemporary art world. The value of the "spray art" image at $60 was shown to be too high and the loving booth attendee became an oddly funny character in a somewhat tauntingly playful video. In addition, just seconds away from New York City's Museum of Contemporary Art, the positioning of the booth added another dimension of embarrassment to those who would claim intrinsic value in images deemed high art. The reaction of Instagram users is consistent with this analysis in that the ability to recognize the images as a Banksy image became the focus of the conversation. While a few stubbornly claimed that they would have bought the work regardless of knowing who the artist was, the vast majority simply implied directly or indirectly that if they had been there they would have been able to connect the image to the author through comments such as, "upsetting to be in VA and being able to recognize his art and getting none of it."[51]

Through irony, play, naming, and self-depreciating rhetoric, Banksy is able to transgress the clear boundaries between what should be in or outside of the museum space. By doing this, he highlights the art world's valuing of some images over others and reveals the cultural capital necessary to recognize the Banksy brand. The prank visualized the fact that his notoriety has made his images somewhat nonsensical and the video capitalized on the lack of cultural capital in his immediate audience. Pierre Bourdieu writes, "A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded …. A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colours and lines, without rhyme or reason."[52] Their inability to decipher the visual codes of the booth allowed him to rhetorically point to the ways that art and images are monetarily and aesthetically valued. The consequences of this valuing, as Bourdieu argues, is that the valuing of some aesthetic "tastes" over others becomes a form of class distinction. Appreciation of Banksy's work or the art contained within MOMA

depends on formal and informal education, which is hereditary and begins in the home. The placement of the images *outside* the museum or gallery disrupts their ability to be valued, regardless of their author. As one Instagram commenter writes, "You have done what Duchamp did when he exhibited "Fountain" in 1917. It's incredible. Art is not only what yo [sic] see in the museum, art is in the air."[53]

The Pop-up Booth image had one of the highest viewerships of the residency with 28.1 thousand "likes" and 1.56 thousand comments in English, Russian, French, and Spanish. The associated YouTube video saw an astounding 5,723,590 views, revealing an impressive rhetorical force in the (cyber)places Banksy momentarily inhabits.[54] The particularities of the force of Banksy's "residency" of New York, which work outside the gallery, rather than inside, illustrate the importance of dwelling within the city, as I have discussed in relationship to the OWS protests, "it is within the context of that location of a residence matters in creating class distinctions. A home located at the nexus of a mapping of material and cultural capital expresses the acquisition of cultural capital and serves as a dwelling place where this capital can be reproduced."[55] As Banksy takes to the streets, he removes his work from the confines of MOMA, disarticulates class distinction from artistic practice, to re-articulate that the home of art should be outside the gallery, a part of the (em)placed vernaculars of the city and perpetually open to revision by those who reside within its walls.

Images of Discontent

One of Banksy's more pointed pranks during his visit to Gotham City came in the form of a slaughterhouse delivery truck filled with sad looking animal puppets, complete

with animal noises, titled "Sirens of the Lambs" (see Figure 9). The truck drove aimlessly around the city, starting in the meatpacking district on every day for the second half of the month of October. This prank and the associated video is illustrative of *Images of Discontent* that made up the second theme of the residency. This larger theme included explicit political statements on war (days 6, 9, and 18), corporate labor practices (day 16), and generalized feelings of discontent associated with contemporary society, including love and feelings of peace (days 4, 5, 7, 21, 24, 25, 26, and 29) (see Table 1).[56] The particular subcategories are used for the purposes of discussion, but they are interconnected in important ways. For example, day 29 uses a Nazi figure to make a comment concerning appreciation of nature and calm.[57] Similarly, day 6 features a purely online video that utilizes real footage of Saudi soldiers shooting down an attack helicopter but inserts Disney's Dumbo in place of the helicopter. As a whole, regardless of the form in which the images took, they utilized pop culture images (i.e., *The Simpsons* and Disney), animals, children, and nature as central

Figure 9: Banksy Prank, "Sirens of the Lambs"

features of the message. There are a number of rhetorical layers to the particular Sirens of the Lambs event, including the live performance of the truck in Manhattan, YouTube video uploaded by Banksy NY, the Instagram image, and the accompanying audio guide. Each of these layers works together as a larger prank which utilizes violence, an uncanny aesthetic, and parody to transform the banal into the strange and to make visible the violence of consumption. In addition, rather than communicating a specific set of ideals, the prank works through both physical presence and circulation on public screens to initiate conversation and discourse.

The Instagram image features a close-up of the stuffed animal puppets peering wide-eyed through two slats in the side of a stained surface. A cow head, positioned in the upper top right becomes a central focus of the image, whose eyes stare and mouth gapes open in what appears to be horror. Stuffed bears, chickens, bunnies, and pigs accompany this central figure. The caption reads "The Sirens of the Lambs. A slaughterhouse delivery truck touring the meatpacking district and then citywide for the next two weeks." Even before this image was uploaded the event itself worked within the (em)placed vernacular of the city as a performative rhetoric. The movement, sound, and smell of the truck itself helps to create a [dis]junction in the banality of the city space. And, clearly its initial location in the meatpacking district takes on additional meaning, where the intersectional dimensions of the (em)placed vernacular work together between image, aesthetics, and place.

The accompanying YouTube video illustrates the response of viewers to this live performance.[58] With 3,916,692 views on YouTube, the video begins with a close up of the door of a large truck closing. The door is labeled with a fading "Farm Fresh Meats" sign and the engine roars to life. The remaining video shows reactions of people on the streets; some children seem delighted, others curious, one poking at the stuffed animals with an umbrella,

others running away screaming. Workers in a butcher shop are shown laughing and staring at it. The video ends with a close up of a baby in a stroller crying and being hurriedly pushed away from the offensive image.

The 1-800 number to access an accompanying audio guide was stenciled on the side of the truck. The guide begins with the sound of the automated puppets' squealing.

Then, a man's voice says:

> [Animals squealing]. This is a piece of sculpture art. And I know what you are thinking. Isn't it a bit subtle? Here the artist Banksy [pronounced incorrectly as "Backs Knee"][59] is making some sort of comment on the casual cruelty of the food industry or perhaps something vague and pretentious about the loss of childhood innocence. The truck contains over 60 soft cuddly toys on the way to a swift death. However, in order to bring them life, four professional puppeteers are required, strapped into bucket seats dressed entirely in black lycra, pulling on an array of levers with each limb and given only one toilet break a day. Proving that the only sentient beings held in lower esteem than livestock are mime artists. From what we know of Backs knee, he spent time working in a butcher shop as a youth where he was in charge of mincing beef, an experience that seems to have resonated with him in later life. The truck will tour the streets of New York everyday for the next two weeks, starting in the meatpacking district, naturally.

The video ends with the "Old McDonald had a farm" rhyme, sung by children, followed by more squealing, and then a man talking about "getting some meat from the cafeteria." Here we not only see a connection to McDonald's fast food corporation and labor practices, but more pointedly, the connection between the seemingly banal food practices of everyday life and the actual violence associated with them.

The juxtapositoning of these seemingly hyper-innocent stuffed animals with the violence of consumption of meat function to both carnivalize violence and discontent while also remarking on the violence encoded in our cultural practices of consumption. In the case of the Sirens of the Lambs performance, this juxtaposition functions somewhat uncannily; the fake fuzzy bodies and manufactured sounds become uncanny in their ability to force the collision between what we once believed to be Real and what we now know to be in the

service of the imaginary.[60] In other words, the Sirens of the Lambs prank asks viewers to remember the origins of their consumption practices. Rather than an abstract package of brownish pink sustenance, meat once again originates from the lives of other beings. The innocent (stuffed) animals collide with impending violence to present viewers with the resurfacing of a repressed knowledge that their own eating habits fuel the murder of animals, pictured poignantly as their long (also repressed) childhood friends. As Slavoj Žižek argues of the postmodern critique, this prank focuses "a foreign gaze upon one's own ideological field, whereby the ideological anamorphosis loses its power of fascination and changes into a disgusting protuberance."[61] As one Instagram commenter posts, "Banksy is a treasure - highlighting the so called civilised [sic] worlds issues ..Viva! Banksy! Viva!"[62]

However, just as it highlights the violence of factory farming and consumption practices, it also carnivalizes the issue by appearing as a parody of a political prank. It is over the top, nearing the rhetoric of camp, and, as the audio suggests self-referentially, "I know what you're thinking. Isn't it a bit subtle?" This over-the-top rhetorical gesture once again takes on the characteristic of play and postmodern codes of irony, self-referentiality, intertexuality, and parody. By carnivalizing and playing with such a violent subject matter Banksy transgresses a number of boundaries: the boundary between what is serious and what is play, what is innocent and what is guilty, what is violent and what is peaceful. Like the Pop up Booth, the message of this prank becomes secondary to its existence; form and the ability to have seen the live performance functions more powerfully here than specific content.

While some Instagram commenters did focus on the content of the image, more often they focused their attention on where the roaming truck was located in the city and whether or not they were able to see it *in person.*[63] Being in the physical presence of the work establishes and utilizes the aesthetic elements of the (em)placed vernacular. As Pezzullo

argues, "Presence also refers, then, to the structure of feeling or one's affective experience when certain elements –and, perhaps, more importantly, relationships and communities---in space and time appear more immediate to us, such that we can imagine their "realness" or "feasibility" in palpable and significant ways."[64] Not only does this performance work through the aesthetic of the uncanny, it also works affectively through the particularities of the (em)placed vernacular.

Not only does the "Sirens of the Lambs" prank move through the streets of New York at the interaction between aesthetics and place, it also moves in the numerous virtual contexts in which it can be found online. When "sirens of the lambs by Banksy" is searched on Google, 85,000 results are generated. In the particular (cyber)place of YouTube, the video saw 3,910,566 views and even the simple Instagram image produced 888 comments, one of the highest number of comments during the residency. The significance of the circulation of the video and the subsequent conversation that it generated shows the ability for postgraffiti images to work performatively within the public screen. Rather than communicating a specific set of ideals, the prank works within the logics of the public screen, through what John Durham Peters would describe as dissemination rather than communication.[65] As Cara A. Finnegan and C. A. Kang encourage, circulation allows for an understanding of how meaning and interpretation of images occur within the groups of people who form around particular intersections of images.[66] Each online encounter with the image is a new place of interpretation and potential transgression for altering the architectures that structure how viewers see the world.

Re-Visions of the City

On the Upper West Side, the 20th of October saw a silhouetted boy painted swinging a hammer onto an existing fire hydrant. Two geisha and a Bonsai tree were added to an existing design on a wall in Brooklyn on October 17. On the day before, a video was uploaded to Banksy's website simply featuring live footage of an anthill on Staten Island. While these various examples include a wide range of visual images in terms of content, they are unique in that they reappropriate particular elements of the (em)placed vernacular within the context of the image and illustrate the third larger theme of the residency, *re-visioning the city* (days 1, 4, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17,19, 20, 23, 26, 27, 30) (see Table 1).[67]

By using the elements of the (em)placed vernacular such as an existing sign, a design on a building, or a fire hydrant, this larger theme indicates a playful use of the city that functions to envision it in materially different ways. While many of the images that explicitly use an element of the existing place within the content are somewhat innocuous rather than explicitly political, they are, I argue, rhetorically very powerful in terms of their constitutive effects.[68] In all, these images work in an antisemiotic mode by resisting meaningful interpretation and by introducing the built environment as a playground for re-visioning life, full of potential tools to be reappropriated as discourse.

Day 19 offers an interesting example of this larger theme. This text comes in the form of a video and features a singular subject: an anthill shot in three different distances (see Figure 10). The background noise is unclear and unfiltered and is reminiscent of the ocean. The video lasts only 35 seconds and shows a close up of an anthill, a medium shot of the anthill, and then a longer shot of the same hole. The last video portion includes more of the surrounding content, revealing two curved lines. The way the lines frame the anthill causes it to appear to be a part of a person's anatomy, making the image as a whole into

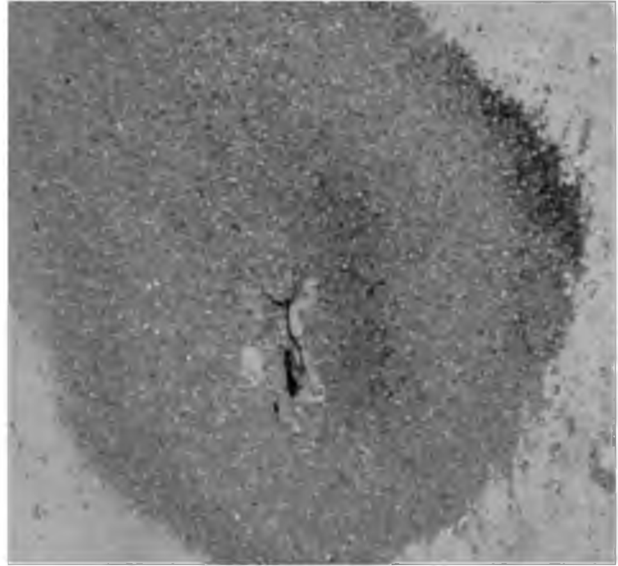

Figure 10: Banksy Video, "Ants"

something abject and disturbing. From a visual rhetorical standpoint, the image is easily interpreted as objectifying a feminine form and suggesting that feminine sexuality is unclean. However, more than giving a specific commentary the image simply resists interpretation. It pokes fun at people trying to "understand" it and its "meaning" continually slips away, leaving its viewers somewhat dissatisfied and, at times, angry.

Some Instagram commenters simply said, "I don't get it."[69] Others attempted an interpretation through comments like "Ants in the pants."[70] Or, "The ants represent the human race. Go ahead and destroy the ant hill the ants just rebuild it soon enough. My take anyway."[71] Even the gendered interpretation is slippery and questionable, with viewers unsure if it was their perception which caused them to see a gendered form, or if it was intended as such. One viewer writes, "Does anyone else think it looks like a vagina, or is that just me? Yh[sic], probably just me...."[72] Many though, reacted angrily to their inability to decipher a concrete or stable meaning from the piece, describing it as "a slap in the face."[73] One commenter writes, "Maybe the point banksy is tryin [sic] to make is that people will run

to anywhere he tells them too. I love all banksy pieces but trying to find a random dirt pile is so Fucking stupid! I live in Staten and you won't catch me searching for any ant hill because banksy said so..stop trying to find hidden meanings and take it for what it is and that's a Fucking dirt pile!"[74]

In the artistic realm of both high modernism and postmodernism approaching visual chaos in pictorial representations is far superior than perfect representation and rhetorical clarity.[75] As James Elkins writes, "Modernism and postmodernism alike are entranced with anarchic disorder. The ideals of dissonance, incoherence, and chaos are woven into the way we imagine what pictures are, so that positive ideas are no longer pure goals art tries to exemplify: instead they are potential faults, things that can be done to excess, dubious results that must be held under suspicion or actively avoided."[76] The privileging of high art images that resist meaning-making, however, tends to be corralled in the museum spaces and used in the service of cultural capital. In other words, it becomes one of the unrecognized structures that distinguish those who possess the codes of antisemiotic interpretation from those who do not. The gibberish banter of the art show critic makes meaningful something that appears meaningless to the average individual precisely because the marks that are made both resist meaning-making through destroying formal characteristics like balance, rhythm, or coherence and by simultaneously engendering meaning through their existence as marks.

Because the artist is inherently violent through his/her creativity they pose a risk to the established order. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o argues,

> Penpoints and gunpoints thus stand in confrontation. And yet the most easily noticed fact in looking at the artist and the ruler is the disparity in their powers: one has a feather in his hand; the other, the entire killing machine behind him. One has the capacity to spill ink only, the other the capacity to draw blood. Why is the writer, or more broadly the artist, then, with his feather, with his bottle of ink, and a white piece of parchment, often seen as a threat to the absolutist state of whatever ideological colour, guise, or credo? [77]

While Ngũgĩ is certainly articulating the importance of the arts in *absolutist* states such as states in postcolonial Africa, his notions of culture as a performative stage and the destructive creativity of the arts is important. He argues that it matters if the artist's space is located in the lower economic sections of the city or in the bourgeois art centers of the city.[78] The relationship between the art space and the state space affects how the "artistic performance" functions in altering, resisting, or questioning the "performance of power" of the state.[79]

In Bansky's project, by utilizing existing resources in the (em)placed vernacular in ways that resist clear interpretation, the images ask viewers to become artists, to see the environment around them as a tool for imaging disorder. This type of rhetoric functions in an antisemiotic mode not because it is meaningless, but because it resists a singular interpretation and invites people to explore the particularities of their city places. As one Instragam commenter writes, "Ok you win this one. I couldn't find it but that was a fun adventure around [Staten Island]... At least i did something I wouldn't normally do or consider tanking [sic] the time to explore."[80] Like the Pop Up Shop stunt, the Anthole video removes art from the place of the museum and gallery. Art becomes a part of the (em)placed vernacular and as Banksy pointedly asks in his first audio guide, "Is this a response to the primal urge to take the tools of our oppression and turn them into mere playthings?"

The Rhetoric of Play

Bansky's residency of New York City reveals that *play* is a powerful mode of operating within the current architectures of seeing. As Ott and Beth Bonnstetter write, the "ability to playfully and creatively (re)combine the resources of culture is vital to living in

postmodernity." [81]As shown through the massive public following of Banksy, by viewing elements of the (em)placed vernacular as toys postsubject rhetors can re-envision the urban environment in rhetorically powerful ways. This analysis suggests that Banksy's images exert an influential *postsubject voice* into the visual discourse of (em)placed vernacular of New York City. By operating within an antisemiotic mode and with a critical orientation, it functions without a stable subjectivity or a stable message.

In the true postmodern sense, as Roland Barthes writes, the "death of the author" allows for multiple readings of a single text. Rather than a single interpretation, grounded in intent, these images act playfully and constitutively to move people to witness art in person, outside of the gallery walls, to follow it in numerous (cyber)places online, and to be creatively critical of what they deem to be problematic in the world. But, more specifically, it invites a playful approach to viewing the particularities of city places. Play can be understood more specifically by looking at four particular characteristics that have emerged throughout this analysis. First, play takes a critical orientation towards the (em)placed vernacular. Second, it has a tendency to take the form of postmodern aesthetic codes. Third, play is inherently violent in its visuality when used in the (em)placed vernacular. Finally, play uses the logics of the public screen to resist singular interpretation and to propagate itself into multiple (cyber)places.

Critical Orientations

Use of play within the (em)placed vernacular takes a critical orientation towards the urban environment by commenting on some aspect of contemporary culture or by simply existing as a particular aesthetic difference within a common place. Public art, according to Mitchell, engages in either a utopian or critical relationship in its imagining of the urban

landscape.[82] Utopian art "attempts to raise up an ideal public sphere, a nonsite, an imaginary landscape."[83] On the other hand, critical orientations "disrupt the image of a pacified, utopian public sphere that exposes contradictions and adopts an ironic, subversive relation to the public it addresses, and the public space where it appears."[84] As postsubject rhetors, playing with the (em)placed vernacular implies a critical orientation simply because it seeks to challenge the existing image of the city. This challenge to the city's image also challenges the architectures of seeing encoded in its materiality. However, within the orientation of play, this criticism often comes in the form of postmodern aesthetic codes, which tend to be somewhat irreverent in their criticism.

Postmodern Aesthetic Codes

The second characteristic of play within the (em)placed vernacular is the use of postmodern aesthetic codes.[85] Frederick Jameson explains the postmodern aesthetic as follows:

> From obscurity and sexually explicit material to psychological squalor and overt expressions of social and political defiance, which transcend anything that might have been imagined at the most extreme moments of high modernism—no longer scandalize anyone and are not only received with greatest complacency but have themselves become institutionalized and are at one with the official culture of Western society.[86]

In Banksy's residency, there are clear markings of a postmodern aesthetic, where the spectacle of the image simply functions as another image spectacle in a sea of images wishing they were the spectacle. The Silence of the Lambs prank, for example, was so overtly defiant of consumption practices and used such an insensitive and irreverent aesthetic that it approached a level of nonsense.

In addition, Banksy's images borrow the styles of the modern, reproduce political and religious commentary, and play with the abject, sexual, and extreme in ways that seem

vaguely familiar. They also use intertexuality to refer to previous pop culture images as well as refer to themselves through layering different mediums on top of one another. Day 14, for example, simply pictures a janitor removing a quote from the popular film *The Gladiator*, which reads "What we do in life echoes in eternity." Not referencing the author of the quote also exemplifies the complete effacement of the notion of authorial intent or ownership. This is perhaps the most powerful aspect of playful use of postmodern aesthetic codes in the (em)placed vernacular -- it offers new possibilities for engaging in debate in an architecture of seeing that privileges the visual. It offers a mode of discourse that takes seriously a postsubject voice. Even the most traditional of graffiti, which includes the repeated marking of one's name, is anonymous, highly fluid because of its ephemerality, and exists without the signifiers of race, ethnicity, gender, class, or sexual orientation. As postgraffiti artists seek to create a new and different architecture for seeing the world, this new vision is always in contention and always under violently creative revision.

Visual Violence

Closely linked to its critical orientations, play in the (em)placed vernacular is also imbued with a visual violence. Each time an element of the city is reappropriated to create a postgraffiti image, the previous image, even if this image is simply a tan colored wall, is destroyed. When one graffiti image finds residence on a wall it is a call to action for the many other artists who work within the medium of spray paint. For example, the "New York Accent" piece was immediately tagged multiple times and someone wrote, "so what!" over it. A heart-shaped balloon covered in bandages painted in Red Hook was also tagged hours after its placement. According to *The New York Times*, "Some graffiti pieces lasted less than two hours before they went the way of all graffiti, and much else, quickly sinking

beneath the restless surface of the city."[87] Many business owners began protecting their new investment by installing plexiglass or rebar to protect it from the violence of constant revision characteristic of the streets. In the Upper West Side, for example, the image of a child striking a fire hydrant with a hammer was covered in plexiglass (day 20) and the concrete confessional in the East Village (day 12) had rebar installed to protect it even after it had been defaced multiple times.[88]

This is not to be confused with the practice of graffiti removal, which works within a violent orientation, but fails to function as *play* because it does not take a critical orientation towards the urban landscape. In other words, when building owners or local authorities "buff" or paint over graffiti or postgraffiti images, they do create a new image and also work with a visual violence. As shown through a number of images from the residency, graffiti removal often uses blocks of colored paint to cover over graffiti lettering (days 1, 4, and 31). These muted colored blocks are used because they somewhat match the color of the existing building and because they don't function clearly as an image to the average person. They do still function rhetorically as an image. Just as the first image functions to destroy the image of order, security, or peace established by the monotone and neutral-colored existing wall, the rhetoric of the blocks of cover paint becomes a secondary image of violence. Mitchell argues that in the culture of iconoclasm, those who seek to maintain the status quo often create an image of violence to images.[89]

Due to both play and the removal of postgraffiti play, the use of visual violence in the (em)placed vernacular causes these transgressive images to be extremely ephemeral. As Anindya Raychaudhuri writes, "Graffiti-art is, in fact, doubly transient – because of its illegality it is 'buffed' (removed) by the authorities with depressing regularity, but also because of its almost overwhelmingly urban roots, the audience is in constant motion, and,

therefore, their response is limited by the short amount of time before the train or bus starts moving again."[90] The transient nature of graffiti is also one of the ways that it works within the logics of the public screen.

The Logics of the Public Screen

The postsubject voice working playfully in the (em)placed vernacular utilizes a critical orientation, postmodern aesthetic codes, and a visual violence. Each of these characteristics of play also operates within the logic of public screens, where images are privileged over rational debate. Similar to postmodern aesthetic codes, the images used on public screens move quickly and resist singular interpretation. Rather, images are fleeting and irrational, evoking distraction and multiple interpretations from viewers.[91] Banksy himself pokes fun at the over-texutalization and meaning-making of visual interpretation in the first of his audio guides. Referencing the boys stealing the spray paint out of the "Graffiti is a Crime" sign, the guide asks, "Perhaps it is a postmodern comment on how the signifiers of objects have become as real as the objects themselves?" [pause]. Are you kidding me? Who writes this stuff? Anyway, You decide. Really, please do. I have no idea."

By essentially mocking anyone who would spend too much time trying to figure out the central meaning of the piece, Banksy indicates that these images do not have a stable meaning and should be engaged with a glance, rather than a gaze.[92] As an artist, Banksy also refuses to copyright his images, taking no ownership over their creation or continued circulation within the public screens of the contemporary moment. Finally, his use of social media in promoting and establishing the Banksy brand is incredibly successful. In the case of the New York Residency even news outlets such as *Forbes* and the *New York Times* reported on the residency with the Instagram hash tag #banksyny.[93]

Image events like Banksy's visit to New York City function deconstructively in the hegemonic discourse of the (em)placed vernacular to imagine it anew. As such, they aim in disrupting material space and intervene in, as W. J. T. Mitchell argues, the "image of a pacified, utopian public sphere."[94] In reimagining what that public sphere is through postgraffiti images there is a necessary violence done to previous images and a [dis]articulation of the architectures of seeing through play with aesthetics, place, and images. In asserting a voice untethered from a stable subject, Banksy's residency of New York City provides an important example of how a critical discourse might look in an increasingly postmodern landscape.

While the rhetoric of postgraffiti offers the invitation to engage in a postsubject visual dialogue using play with the resources of the (em)placed vernacular, the question arises: will people take up the invitation to do so? Clearly, the force of this type of visual play resonates with millions of people, but are these images simply used as visual resources for the articulation of identity or community, or is it effective in its call to contribute to the visual conversation? As Banksy's last audio guide asks, "So, what did the artist hope to achieve with this so-called residency? Shame it didn't get any press. He told me that 'if just one child has been inspired to pick up a can of paint and make some art, that would be statistically disappointing considering how much work I've put in.'"

While the long-term effects are yet to be seen, NBC News reported in May of 2014 that graffiti complaints in New York City had increased by 5% from the previous year, indicating that perhaps some have taken up the call to action.[95] In addition, HBO produced and aired a documentary about the Residency in November of 2014 that used user-uploaded video and information for the majority of its content.[96] This works to bring his images inside to mainstream audience, father intensifying the spread, dissemination, and force of the

images. Banksy's residency of New York City indicates that postgraffiti is the emergence of a postmodern aesthetic voice into the patchwork of beige and capitalism that characterizes the canvas of contemporary culture and Banksy's voice exists as the markings of a subjectivity whose language is not yet acknowledged as legible. As symbols of capitalism, whiteness, and class merge with materiality in the ecosystem of urban places, the violent marking of Banksy's postgraffiti works within the logics of the city and the screen to envision the architectures of seeing anew: every image becomes a logo, advertising the roaming, anonymous, postmodern subjectivity of the contemporary moment and selling nothing at all.

Endnotes

[1] Keegan Hamilton, "Village Voice Exclusive: An Interview With Banksy, Street Art Cult Hero, International Man of Mystery," *The Village Voice*, October 9, 2013, sec. Art, http://www.villagevoice.com/2013-10-09/art/banksy-better-out-than-in-new-york-residency-street-art-graffiti/.

[2] To view Banksy's Instagram account, go to: http://instagram.com/banksyny

[3] Hamilton, "Village Voice Exclusive: An Interview With Banksy, Street Art Cult Hero, International Man of Mystery."

[4] His work is reported by major news sources in cities around the world. See, for example: Vivienne Chow, "Artist Banksy Opens Doors in HK Debut," *South China Morning Post*, April 24, 2008, sec. News; Ben Hoyle, "The Artist Formally Known as Banksy," *The Times*, July 14, 2008, sec. Home News; Melena Ryzik, "Street Art," *Sydney Morning Herald*, May 1, 2010, sec. Arts and Entertainment.

[5] Banksy, *Banksy: Wall and Piece* (Germany: Century, 2006).

[6] Danielle Rahm, "Banksy: The $20 Million Graffiti Artist Who Doesn't Want His Art To Be Worth Anything," *Forbes*, October 22, 2013, http://www.forbes.com/sites/daniellerahm/2013/10/22/banksy-the-20-million-graffiti-artist-who-doesnt-want-his-art-to-be-worth-anything/.

[7] Roberta Smith, "Mystery Man, Painting the Town," *New York Times*, October 30, 2013, sec. Critic's Notebook, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/31/arts/design/banksy-makes-new-york-his-gallery-for-a-month.html?_r=1&.

[8] Luke Dickins, "Placing Postgraffiti: The Journey of the Peckham Rock," *Cultural Geographies* 15 (2008): 471–96.

[9] Ibid., 474.

[10] Ibid., 488.

[11] To view the video, see: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4hjIuMx-N7c

[12] Banksy, *Simpsons* (banksyfilm, n.d.), http://www.youtube. com/watch?v=

DX1iplQQJTo.

[13] Banksy, *Exit Through the Gift Shop*, 2010.

[14] Harold, *OurSpace: Resisting the Corporate Control of Culture.*

[15] James Brassett, "British Irony, Global Justice: A Paragmatic Reading of Chris Brown, Banksy and Ricky Gervais," *Review of International Studies* 35, no. 1 (2009): 219–45.

[16] Sean P. Means, "Famous 'Tagger' Banksy Strikes in Utah: Anonymous Graffiti Artist May Be Here for Sundance," *The Salt Lake Tribune*, January 22, 2010.

[17] The last day of the residency, the police were involved because someone was attempting to steal his work off the side of a building. The image came in the form of bubble letters reading "Banksy." Not knowing what to do, the police confiscated the letters and, in an odd twist, arrested to the two people who were attempting to remove them from the building they had been attached to.

[18] Buckley, "Monthlong Chase Around New York City for Banksy's Street Art."

[19] Ibid.

[20] Hamilton, "Village Voice Exclusive: An Interview With Banksy, Street Art Cult Hero, International Man of Mystery."

[21] See, for example, Pop Up Booth video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zX54DIpacNE

[22] Elkins, *On Pictures and the Words That Fail Them.*

[23] Kenneth Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action* (California: University of California Press, 1966). See also: Brian L. Ott and Beth Bonnstetter, "'We're at Now, Now': *Spaceballs* as Parodic Tourism," *Southern Communication Journal* 72, no. 4 (November 12, 2007): 309–27, doi:10.1080/10417940701667498.

[24] Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics*, 13.

[25] Gary Shapiro, *Archaeologies of Vision: Foucault and Nietzsche on Seeing and Saying* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[26] Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner, eds., *Media and Cultural Studies: Keyworks* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2001).

[27] Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, trans. William Lovitt (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1977), 129.

[28] Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[29] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, 9.

[30] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.*

[31] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Howard Eiland, trans. Kevin McLaughlin (Boston: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999).

[32] Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 172.

[33] Foucault, "Power/Knowledge."

[34] Shapiro, *Archaeologies of Vision: Foucault and Nietzsche on Seeing and Saying.*

[35] Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought.*

[36] Friedrich Nietzsche, "On Truth and LIes in a Nonmoral Sense," in *The Portable Nietzsche* (New York: Viking Press, 1976).

[37] Shapiro, *Archaeologies of Vision: Foucault and Nietzsche on Seeing and Saying*, 1.

[38] Barthes, *Image, Music, Text.*

[39] Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*; Dick Hebdige, "(i) From Culture to Hegemony; (ii) Subculture: The Unnatural Break," in *Media and Cultural Studies: Keyworks*, ed. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 1979), 144–162; David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.*

[40] Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*; Sontag, *On Photography.*

[41] Foucault, "Power/Knowledge."

[42] Harold, *OurSpace: Resisting the Corporate Control of Culture.*

[43] Pezzullo, "Resisting 'National Breast Cancer Awareness Month': The Rhetoric of Counterpublics and Their Cultural Performances."

[44] The ability to narrow this text was difficult because of the anonymity and the refusal for the artist to be definitive of what is a hoax and what isn't. I chose Banksy NY YouTube channel because it had the most viewership and was uploaded at the same timeframes the work. In addition, it included some video that only a Banksy would have, such as the art sale. But I claim no authenticity here about whether or not these were produced by Banksy and on whether or not they were indeed a part of the intention of the initial rhetorical act.

[45] Day 27, while existing entirely on the public screen, remained an explicit comment on graffiti by pointing to its illegality and the involvement in the police.

[46] See, for example, Ula Ilnytzky, "Banksy Work Sells at Miami Auction for $575,000," *ABC News*, February 18, 2014, http://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/wireStory/banksy-works-offered-miami-auction-22564520.

[47] Because of how Instagram is set up, you cannot access all of comments. I used Iconosquare as a resource to access more of the comments. However, even Iconosquare only includes about 150 comments, regardless of how many are made on a given image. This indicates an ephemerality of this (cyber)place. To access the Iconosquare documentation of Instagram comments of the pictures, go to: http://iconosquare.com/p/566044 491411877334_564287810. This particular comment was made by heyitsdante.

[48] Comment made by heyitsdante. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[49] Textual winks have been discussed by rhetorical scholars concerned with sexuality and gender. For example, Shugart and Waggoner, *Making Camp:*; Morris III, "Pink Herring & The Fourth Persona: J. Edgar Hoover's Sex Crime Panic."

[50] Comment made by jtops98. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[51] Comment made by mikexstyles. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[52] Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, 2.

[53] Comment made by manupizzi. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[54] To view the video, see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zX54DIpacNE

[55] Greg Dickinson, Elinor Christopher, and Brian L. Ott, "The White Urban Aesthetic: Cultural Capital and the Racialization of Cultural, Retail, and Residential Space," National Communication Association Conference, San Diego, CA, Nov. 2008.

[56] These are not mutually exclusive. For example, Day 18 titled "Better Out Than In" is a gallery show that utilizes war images to make statements concerning individuality in the contemporary moment as well as commenting on where art should live.

[57] Banksy bought a landscape painting from a local thrift store, painted a Nazi soldier on a park bench appreciating the view and returned the image to the thrift store.

[58] To view the video, see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WDIz7mEJOeA

[59] In each of the audio guides, Banksy's name is pronounced differently and incorrectly. In this particular one, it is pronounced "Backs Knee." Another nod to self-depreciating humor.

[60] Mladen Dolar, "'I Shall Be with You on Your Wedding Night': Lacan and the Uncanny," *October* 58 (1991): 15.

[61] Slovoj Žižek, "Grimaces of the Real, or When the Phallus Appears," *October* 58 (1991): 68.

[62] Comment made by odetteherbert. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[63] Seventeen out of the total 140 comments analyzed dealt with the content-commenting on veganism, factory farming, or being a vegetarian. An additional 33 dealt with its location or seeing it in person.

[64] Pezzullo, *Toxic Tourism*, 9.

[65] John Durham Peters, *Speaking into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Cara A. Finnegan and C. A. Kang, "'Sighting' the Public: Iconoclasm and Public Sphere Theory," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90 (2004): 77–402.

[66] Finnegan and Kang, "'Sighting' the Public: Iconoclasm and Public Sphere Theory."

[67] Again, these are not mutually exclusive categories. For example, I have included day 1 here because it included a "graffiti is a crime" sign that was previously found within the place, but I have discussed it within the graffiti commentary section.

[68] This is a general theme, but there are a few exceptions. Day 9, for example, is explicitly political.

[69] Comment made by richbabeck82. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[70] Comment made by amyvpt. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[71] Comment made by henryrii. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[72] Comment made by rospoz. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[73] Comment made by ynni_groomsa. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[74]Comment made by shaolin_zombi. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[75] Elkins, *On Pictures and the Words That Fail Them*, 215.

[76] Ibid., 214.

[77] Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Penpoints, Gunpoints, and Dreams: Towards a Critical Theory of the Arts and the State in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 9.

[78] Ibid., 40.

[79] Ibid., 38.

[80] Comment made by –theshark. Accessed through Iconosquare.com.

[81] Ott and Bonnstetter, "'We're at Now, Now,'" 309.

[82] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Introduction: Utopia and Critique," in *Art and Public Sphere* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 3.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Specifying these codes as strictly postmodern is debatably problematic. This is discussed by scholars such as Shugart and Waggoner, *Making Camp*; Durham and Kellner, *Media and Cultural Studies: Keyworks*. I argue that these aesthetics are not unique to the postmodern era but, instead, are increasingly used as symbolic resources in the contemporary moment. See Ott and Bonnstetter, "'We're at Now, Now.'"

[86] Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146 (1984): 53–92.

[87] Smith, "Mystery Man, Painting the Town."

[88] Buckley, "Monthlong Chase Around New York City for Banksy's Street Art."

[89] Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want*, 20.

[90] Anindya Raychaudhuri, "'Just as Good a Place to Publish': Banksy, Graffiti, and the Textualization of the Wall," *Rupkatha Journal on Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2010): 51.

[91] DeLuca, "The Speed of Immanent Images: The Dangers of Reading Photographs," 89.

[92] DeLuca, "The Speed of Immanent Images: The Dangers of Reading Photographs."

[93] Buckley, "Monthlong Chase Around New York City for Banksy's Street Art"; Danielle Rahm, "Banksy: The $20 Million Graffiti Artist Who Doesn't Want His Art To Be Worth Anything," *Forbes*, October 22, 2013, http://www.forbes.com/sites/daniellerahm/2013/10/22/banksy-the-20-million-graffiti-artist-who-doesnt-want-his-art-to-be-worth-anything/.

[94] Mitchell, "Introduction: Utopia and Critique," 3.

[95]For more information visit: http://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/Graffiti-Complaints-Increase-in-NYC-260666511.html.

[96] Chris Moukarbel, *Banksy Does New York*, Documentary (HBO, 2014).

CHAPTER 4

VISUALIZING HOMELAND: REMEMBERING 9/11 AND THE PRODUCTION OF THE SURVEILLING FLÂNEUR

> The image of the World Trade Center…signifies the potential for the destruction of images in our time, a new and more virulent form of iconoclasm. The towers themselves were already widely recognized as icons of globalization and advanced capitalism, and that is why they were the target of attack by those who regarded them as symbols of decadence and evil…The real target was a globally recognizable icon, and the aim was not merely to destroy it but to stage its destruction as a media spectacle. Iconoclasm I this instance was rendered as an icon in its own right an image of horror that has imprinted itself in the memory of the entire world.
> --W. J. T. Mitchell[1]

On the backdrop of a cloudless September sky in New York City, the red and orange of fire and heat exploded the Twin Towers and the consciousness of a nation. Under the control of nineteen terrorists from the Islamic extremist group al-Qaeda, four planes were hijacked and used as weapons to destroy symbols of American power. At exactly 8:46 am, Flight 11 crashed into floors 93-99 of the World Trade Center's North Tower, killing everyone on board and hundreds in the tower. The impact destroyed all three of the emergency stairwells, trapping everyone above the 93rd floor in a world of fire and destruction. Many chose to jump to their death, rather than remain in the burning building.

In the South Tower, hundreds began to evacuate only to be told by Port Authority "Building 2 is secure. There is no need to evacuate Building 2. If you are in the midst of an evacuation, you may use the re-entry doors and the elevators to return to your office. Repeat.

Building 2 is secure."[2] Meanwhile, Flight 175 was quickly approaching the South Tower. On board, one crewmember and a few passengers were able to phone loved ones, communicating their last goodbyes. At 9:03 am this plane made impact with the South Tower, crashing into the 77-85th floors, killing everyone on board and hundreds inside. One stairwell remained passable in the South Tower, allowing eighteen people to join hands and find their way down the smoke filled corridor to the safety of the floors below. One of the eighteen was Florence Jones, who remembers thinking, "Will I have to jump? Because I wasn't going to wait for the fire."[3]

At 9:05 am, President George W. Bush, visiting a second-grade classroom in Florida was informed of the attacks. Seven minutes later, Renee May, a flight attendant on Flight 77 called her mother and told her that her plane had been hijacked as well. At 9:37 am it crashed into the Pentagon, killing everyone on board, killing 125 people inside, and severely injuring 106 in the resulting fire. By 9:58 am all flights had been grounded, Vice President Dick Cheney had been evacuated from the White House, and first responders were actively working to free survivors from the Twin Towers.

By 10 am the South Tower collapsed, killing 600 workers and first responders. On the fourth hijacked plane, passengers of Flight 93 had heard of the events and were able to take control of the plane, causing it to crash into an empty field in Western Pennsylvania.[4] Independent photographer Catherine Leuthold says that she "could hear these sounds. This sort of cracking – loud cracking."[5] After burning for over 100 minutes, the North Tower collapsed at 10:28, killing an estimated 1,400 people. After that, eerie silence prevailed interrupted only by the sound of occasional sirens. Altogether, 2,977 people from ninety-three nations perished in the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001.

In just 102 minutes, the world would be forever changed and New York City would forever be marked by terrorism. Its aftermath came in the form of dust, which engulfed the city in a terrible coating. For nine months, the gaping wound in the city was a demolition site, an "unbuilding" of the Twin Towers that workers referred to as "The Pile."[6] Images of this open wound would be transmitted over tens of thousands of news networks and media in hundreds of countries. At 8:30 pm, President George W. Bush addressed the nation with the words, "America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism."[7] With those simple words, the War on Terror was born and America entered into the post-9/11 world.

Just as social media has exploded and revised the ways that social movements work to alter material conditions in the world, social media has also profoundly shifted the way that war is waged. The Gulf War was the first of its kind to be waged in real time, perfectly experienced as Jean Baudrillard's simulacrum, a hyper-real unreality for Western viewers.[8] Images now travel at the speed of light not just to televisions and websites but also to the palm of one's hand on a smartphone.[9] Beyond simply the *experience* of war as an image, war is now waged *through* images.[10] This is particularly true for the War on Terror. Mitchell writes that the time period following the 9/11 attacks is unique in that it occurred when image technology grew exponentially, writing

> The war has been fought on behalf of radically different images of possible futures; it has been waged against images (thus acts of iconoclasm or image destruction have been critical to it); and it has been fought by means of images deployed to shock and traumatize the enemy, image meant to appall and demoralize, images designed to replicate themselves endlessly and to infect the collective imaginary of global populations.[11]

As symbols of U.S. economic prosperity and global power, the Pentagon and the World Trade center were attacked as a means of provoking fear and as a visual deployment of power.

A collage of images followed the image of the two towers collapsing in Lower Manhattan: the bombing and looting of Baghdad, Bush's "Mission Accomplished" photo op, Bin Laden's home videos, the hooded figure of Abu Ghraib, and countless images of war and its casualties not only furiously circulated on public screens as representations of war, they existed in many ways, as the war itself.[12] In fact, the capturing and murder of Osama Bin Laden had mild rhetorical force simply because there was no image of his body. By 2014, the use of social media and images as a means of warfare is illustrated by the uprising of the terrorist group ISIS, who use highly effective hashtags, YouTube videos, smart phone apps and obscure social media sites to shock the enemy and recruit new members.[13] On an individual level, policies like the Patriot Act make the eye of the government all-seeing, invading the privacy of citizens with surveillance. Within this image war, place, security, surveillance, and memory collide in the sixteen-acre place of New York City's Ground Zero where the image War on Terror began.

The site emerged and continues to exist in national discourse and the global eye as an important memory place, a symbolic site for attributing meaning to the devastating act of iconoclasm and responding to an attack on the American homeland. The 9/11 Memorial was opened to the public on the tenth anniversary of the attacks. Titled "Reflecting Absence," the Memorial spans eight acres and was designed by a young architect named Michael Arad and landscape architect Peter Walker. The importance of place in issues of memory and mourning is highlighted by Arad who says he was inspired for the design because of how people came together in a public park to mourn together after 9/11, writing, "It's not until that testing hour that you see how people come together in public spaces and see how important they are to our society."[14] The design consists of two large rectangular pools that sit in the "footprints" of the twin towers, marking their absence. The pools house

waterfalls and the pool parapets are inscribed with the names of 9/11 victims, including those who died in the pentagon, American Airlines flight 77, and United Airlines flight 93, as well as the 1993 WTC bombing (see Figure 11). The remainder of the site is planted with over 400 deciduous trees, and the Freedom Tower stands gleaming to the north.

Even before the official Memorial was built, blogger Stephen Litt writes "This much is certain: The Memorial will instantly become one of the most dramatic and compelling public spaces in the world. By giving physical form to the memory of one of the darkest days in recent history, it will attract millions of visitors. And by doing so, it will reaffirm the power of art to crystallize collective emotion in a democracy."[15] And it did. By only the third month, the Memorial had been viewed by over one million people and its image has been replicated millions of times in millions of (cyber)places.[16] The Memorial exists as a

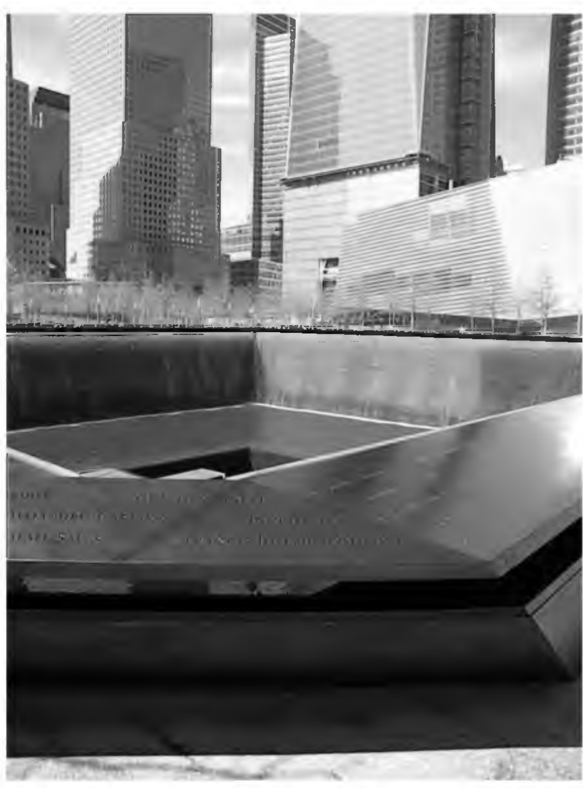

Figure 11: 9/11 Memorial at the North Pool

particularly important rhetorical text because, as Marita Sturken writes, "images of the United States are exported with political consequences. Ground Zero is a site where practices of memory and mourning have been in active tension with representational practices and debates over aesthetics, a place, one could say, defined and redefined by a tyranny of meaning."[17] Each day, around 9,000 people make their way to this contested site to pay their respects to those who died and capture photographs of the awe-inspiring magnitude of the 9/11 Memorial.[18]

In the following chapter, I engage the (em)placed vernacular of the 9/11 Memorial to understand the political, social, and rhetorical implications of the struggle over images and place in response to an attack on the homeland. I first discuss the connection between memory, visuality, and place to discuss how memorials work within the (em)placed vernacular as symbolic resources in processing national tragedies. As a way of working through the important tensions between place, images, and memory in this processing, I pay special attention to the political, cultural, and social debates and struggles over the Memorial design of Ground Zero, which began almost immediately after the attacks. I then discuss the relevant details of my methodology before turning to the analysis.

Through a spatial study of the 9/11 Memorial and visual analysis of several relevant (cyber)places, four specific rhetorical themes of the 9/11 Memorial emerge and include *Good versus Evil, Disciplining Remembrance,* and *Practices of Touring*. Together, I argue that these themes suggest that the Memorial works rhetorically by visually framing 9/11 through the binary of good versus evil while producing a form of patriotism whose *habitus* is both fear and consumption. Furthermore, this rhetoric constitutes a *surveilling flâneur*, a security-conscious consumer who actively helps to fix dominant (em)placed meaning and watches for behavior

that is out of place. The 9/11 Memorial not only instructs, controls, and trains the citizen body to engage in other places in particular disciplinary ways, it also re-centers and reaffirms America as innocent and as a global and ideologically central super power.

Struggles over Memory and Mourning at Ground Zero

The way that an artistic product, such as a story, image, or memorial takes form has profound implications on how a viewer makes sense of its content, symbolism, and history. Form and content, always symbiotically linked, are particularly important in understanding national traumatic events because the way the story is told, the events are visualized, or the memorial is built not only represents what occurred, but actively shapes public memory, providing meaning, symbolic resources, and as Burke would say, "equipment for living" for those processing the tragedy.[19] In this way, the study of public memory is transdisciplinary with roots spreading across numerous plains of inquiry to trace the importance of memory in history, identity, culture, and politics.[20]

Kendall Phillips writes that the study of public memory has arisen in recent years as a result of "the increasing mistrust of 'official History'."[21] History and memory differ, he argues, in that history makes claims to authenticity and objectivity, whereas memory is fluid and dynamic.[22] Not only is memory fluid and dynamic, it functions, as Bradford Vivian argues, "nomadically" where individuals "wander about in the landscape of memory" and where we remember the same event differently depending on the time, place, and our fluctuating personal desires.[23] The dynamic and fluid nature of public memory, not unlike the nature of place itself, situates memory as not a singular memory held by the nation, but as a practice of remembering together.[24]

Casey distinguishes four specific types of memory: individual, social, collective, and public memory.[25] Individual memory refers to the person who is engaged in memory on any given occasion. Social memory is memory that is preexisted by a relationship of some kind. Collective memory blends these two forms together referring to different individuals remembering a shared event.[26] Collective memory is how multiple memories can occur around single event, such as Rosa A. Eberly's discussion of the University of Texas Tower shootings.[27] Finally, public memory, Casey argues, is memory that occurs out in the open, "in the *koinos cosmos* where discussion with others is possible---whether on the basis of chance encounters or planned meetings but also where one is exposed and vulnerable, where one's limitations and fallibilities are all too apparent. In this open realm, wherever it may be—in town halls, public parts, or city streets—public memory serves as an encircling horizon."[28] This is not to configure public memory as a stable or coherent phenomenon nor is it to suggest that any public place is idealistically "open" for democratic discussion.[29] The study of public memory is also the study of rhetoric: the process of negotiating memory and practices of remembering is always textual, it always occurs through language, through speeches, private mourning rituals, public policies, parades, and holidays.[30] As Casey argues, however, it thrives on "tenacious media such as stone or brick."[31] Thus, of particular importance to the study of public memory is the particularity of specific places dedicated to its negotiation and survival.

In the open negotiation of memory, the past and the future collide in the particularities of place. In this way, Vivian suggests that, "An official site of public memory—a monument, an archive, or sacred ground—represents not the static container of such memory, but the dynamic reference point for the diverse memory work that sustains it, the commemorative nexus formed at the intersection of a public's many mnemonic

practices."[32] Public memory always occurs in a particular place because of its rhetorical properties but also for the ability for individuals to be physically present together in their acts of memory.[33] Place is also important because it acts as a material site in which the temporal tensions related to memory can be negotiated. Casey argues, "Public memory is radically bivalent in its temporality…public memory is both attached to a past (typically an originating event of some sort) *and* acts to ensure a future of further remembering of that same event."[34]

At the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, for example, the reflective quality of the black stone allows one to view themselves in the present against a backdrop of the names of the dead. In place, this simple design brings the past and the present together just as it projects its rhetoric into the future. In its materiality, it makes explicit that the lives lost in Vietnam will be remembered forever. Similarly, the World War II Memorial functions, as Biesecker suggests, as one of numerous sites where the past is used in the present "to rearticulate the relation of the citizen to the nation."[35] Also at the heart of this temporal focus is, as Arendt discusses, a fear of forgetting, played out simply in the case of 9/11 with the popular phrase "We will never forget."[36] Uniquely, remembering at Ground Zero also conflates time with place itself: 9/11 is referred to in the vernacular as both a past event and as a place in the City of New York.[37]

In the negotiation between past and present through the materiality of rhetorical texts, memory places have ideological consequences.[38] Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki, for example, illustrate how the Buffalo Bill Museum in Cody Wyoming, offers visitors particular notions of history through the physicality, symbols, and movement through the space of the museum that works to carnivalize the violence inflicted on Native Americans through westward expansion and relieves visitors of any guilt they may have regarding the

horrendous treatment of Native Americans.[39] On the other hand, with an emphasis on social justice, Carole Blair and Neil Michel argue that the Civil Rights Memorial performatively reproduces the tactical dimensions of the Civil Rights Movement to perpetually recreate the transgressive force of sit-ins.[40]

Memories surrounding traumatic events have been taken up by scholars such as Stephen Howard Browne, Rosa A. Eberly, Barbie Zelizer, Barbara Beisecker, Blair and Michels, and DeLuca who study the rhetorical negotiation in memorializing events such as the Holocaust, WWII, Vietnam, the University of Texas Tower shootings, images of people jumping from the Twin Towers, and the AIDS epidemic.[41] Trauma is typically understood within an individualistic psychoanalytic perspective, but it has been used to describe collective experiences. In the case of 9/11, Jennifer Pollard writes, "The American public's experience of September 11 can be called trauma. These are: psychic injury involving threat to life and bodily integrity, terror, helplessness, fear, threat of annihilation, or state of existential crisis."[42] Public trauma becomes, as Casey puts it, a wound to the body politic, and memorials and monuments surrounding tragedies attempt to heal these wounds by visually attributing meaning or proving symbolic resolution to the events.[43]

Visually attributing meaning and memorializing the victims of 9/11 began almost immediately after New York City's twin towers collapsed. In Zuccotti Park, *Double Check* was adorned with memory items, thousands posted missing posters around the city, and graffiti written by construction workers, the NYPD, and the NYFD appeared on beams left standing in the rubble. Any gestures towards official acts of remembrance, however, were met with intense and prolonged conflict that continues today, over a decade later.[44] Numerous interested parties were heavy-handed in the negotiation of memory encompassed by the 9/11 Memorial design. Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg and Gov. George E. Pataki,

family members of victims, Larry Silverstein, the Real Estate developer who held the lease on the World Trade Center, among others, all demanded what Theresa Anne Donofrio describes as "place-making authority" and felt a certain ownership over the construction of memory in Ground Zero.[45] Not only were there heated financial, emotional, and private investments, the site had to accommodate what blogger Stephen Litt describes as both "private and collective rituals of mourning while also serving as a global tourist attraction and as the heart of a colossal real estate development steps away from Wall Street."[46]

One of the first major political and aesthetic struggles was over whether or not to preserve the "footprints" of the towers. In response to pressure from families of victims, perceived inaction at the site, and what Philip Nobel of *Metropolis Magazine* calls "rampant political opportunism," Gov. George Pataki announced in 2002 that the footprints would remain as sacred ground "from bedrock to infinity."[47] Within this larger jockeying for power and authority, three larger contextual responses to the events of 9/11 emerged in the design process. First, while Casey argues that the futurity of 9/11 was "assured from the beginning" because of the horror of the actual attacks, nearly all of the initial designs for master plan for the site seemed preoccupied with the past and, in particular, resurrecting the Twin Towers. For example, one of the first proposed designs was created by Peter Eisenman, and depicted three buildings set around the footprints of the Twin Towers that would appear to be perpetually crumbling.[48] Another designed by a team of architects led by Rafael Viñoly replicated the profile of the Twin Towers with steel skeletons.[49] In Freudian terms, this "compulsion to repeat" the event, seemed to overshadow much of the discourse and the larger design process.

Second, the design process emerged out of an increasingly fear-based climate that was encouraging frenzied consumerism, both to support the War on Terror and to provide

material comfort.[50] Marita Sturken argues that very quickly after 9/11 occurred, Americans began to consume kitsch objects, like 9/11 snow globes or teddy bears, which provided a much needed sense of comfort and belonging.[51] Along these lines, one design simply rebuilt the Twin Towers, complete with commercial office space and with barely any gesture towards commemoration.[52] Finally, Blair and Michel argue that the actual Memorial design process marks a new turn in commemorative culture, seen in the Oklahoma City bombing commemoration as well, where family members are active in the process of design and often feel that the place of a memorial should function therapeutically in processing their grief and loss.[53] Out of this turbulent process of the site design and recovery, a master plan was finally decided in 2003.[54]

Designed by Daniel Libeskind, the master plan struck something of a compromise between transforming Ground Zero into a memorial place and its rebuilding as a commercial site. Including both above ground and subterranean elements, the design maintained the footprints of the Twin Towers while surrounding them with office space. Above ground, the design included a Museum, a Visitor Orientation Center, a Performing Arts Center, and five new office towers. Below the surface, the design included train and subway stations, a retail concourse, and a road network with security screening areas.[55] Over half of the sixteen-acre site was dedicated to the Memorial, which was located thirty feet below the surface of the city. This decision caused the site to rise to an unbelievable cost of $700 million dollars.[56] The original master plan also included an International Freedom Center (IFC) in the Museum, which would have chronicled the idea of freedom and struggles for freedom around the world. On the other hand, nationalism was embedded into the design in subtle but somewhat disconnected ways. For example, Libeskind's design of the Freedom Tower to a height of 1776 ft. marks the year the Declaration of Independence

was signed. The adoption of this master plan, however, was not without conflict. Many people were angered because they felt that the entire sixteen acres should have been dedicated as a memorial while others felt that the entire site should be rebuilt as a business district.

Another important example of how power struggles over place-making authority affected the ending design is the removal of the IFC from the master plan. Family members of victims organized the Take Back The Memorial (TBM) organization, arguing that the site should remain apolitical and should be used primarily as a memorial.[57] The IFC would have marked a more open-ended framing of the disaster by educating visitors about the pursuit of freedom and allowing reflection on issues such as slavery and the Holocaust. At the same time, however, it also invited questions about the U.S. global presence and role as a global power. Donofrio arges that the removal of the IFC suggests that "advancing arguments that indict Americans for possible culpability in the attacks as a result of US intervention in global politics challenges surviving family members' ability to paint their loved ones as 'innocent' and 'blameless'."[58]

Even after the IFC was removed, debates surrounding the Memorial design itself continued to be heated. The National September 11 Memorial & Museum at the World Trade Center Foundation, Inc., the nonprofit association that manages the site, states that their mission is to:

- Remember and honor the thousands of innocent men, women, and children murdered by terrorists in the horrific attacks of February 26, 1993 and September 11, 2001.
- Respect this place made sacred through tragic loss.
- Recognize the endurance of those who survived, the courage of those who risked their lives to save others, and the compassion of all who supported us in our darkest hours.
- May the lives remembered, the deeds recognized, and the spirit reawakened be eternal beacons, which reaffirm respect for life, strengthen our resolve to preserve freedom, and inspire an end to hatred, ignorance and intolerance.

With these larger goals in mind, a design competition for the Memorial was organized to democratize the process. Out of more than 5,200 entries, the winning design was decided in 2004 and was created by Arad, an Israeli-American architect.[59] Arad's vision for the site was to move the Memorial to the surface of the city, "creating a profound site for contemplation and memory" that would be, he says, "a part of the city."[60] He added the large, minimalistic water features and was paired with Walker who designed the landscaping of the plaza. For nearly a decade after his initial design was accepted, Arad fought with others invested in the design to maintain his vision, quickly creating a reputation for being strong-willed and difficult to work with.[61] Other designers in the space fought for control as well. For example, Mr. Calatrava, the designer of the train station, insisted that columns from the museum building directly above not, "intrude into his space."[62]

Out of this profound struggle over the authority of place-making, the resulting Memorial has had a mixed reception. On one hand, out of over 7,700 reviews on TripAdvisor, 5,125 visitors rated the Memorial with five out of five stars, highlighting the beauty and "overwhelming" quality of the Memorial design as being a "fitting" tribute to the lives lost on September 11th, 2001.[63] On the other hand, numerous art and cultural critics review it less favorably, pointing to the affective and dark qualities of the Memorial.[64] Nobel, for example, titles his review "Memory Holes," and suggests that the central design of the footprints of the Twin Towers simplifies the complex experience and event of 9/11 in problematic ways.[65]

The design intentions and mixed reviews of the Memorial are important to recognize but the Memorial itself has yet to be studied from a rhetorical and place-based perspective. The proposed design becomes complicated when built into the City of New York, whose (em)placed vernacular holds its own meanings, rhetoric, and symbolicity in a post-9/11

world. And while visitors reviewed the Memorial positively, that does not account for the underlying ideologies that work rhetorically in consequential ways as mourners honor the dead. As Blair and Michel argue, "public memory has always been about the present, and thus more about survivors than the dead."[66] As a place of public memory set in the archetypal American city, the Memorial not only combines consumption practices with feelings of patriotism and security, it also teaches visitors about what it means to be an American in a post-9/11 world.

Adventures in Diffuse Place

Entry into the 9/11 Memorial is dependent on the ability to obtain ticket. The tickets, while free, must be reserved online through the official 911memorial.org website. The (cyber)place of the website is the first experience of the rhetoric of the Memorial occurs, educating visitors about the history of 9/11, providing the rules and regulations for behavior, and provides a space for learning "what to expect" from their visit to Ground Zero. Visitors are directed to download the smartphone app and to read the Commemorative Guide before their visit. Donations are suggested here and at the 9/11 Memorial Preview site located at 20 Vesey Street where one picks up their tickets. The Preview site exists as both a gift shop and as an educational experience: videos of the Twin Towers collapsing projected onto the walls of the small space are intermingled with First Responders and survivors telling their stories. People in line to pick up their tickets tell their own stories of where they were on September 11th.

The interactive experience between the materiality of the Memorial and the various (cyber)places that are embedded into the (em)placed vernacular of the site indicates that particular methodological procedures are needed in conducting a spatial study of this place

and understanding how this Memorial functions in the post-9/11 image war. Not only is the rhetoric and meaning of the materiality of the Memorial complicated by its relationship to other (cyber)places, there are also interactive screens in the Memorial as well. To study the 9/11 Memorial as a particular place, then, is also about studying the additional (cyber)places created for the experience. Like Banksy's images and the rhetoric of OWS, the rhetoric of the 9/11 Memorial includes both the virtual and the material.

To engage the profound interaction between the "cyber" and the "real" in the place of the 9/11 Memorial, I use the work of scholars such as Bruno Latour and Victor Burgin who both theorize that place is experienced though both the visual and the virtual.[67] While some scholars, such as Susan Sontag, maintain a firm hold on the distinction between the real and the virtual, the contemporary use of the virtual in the actions of everyday life complicates this clear divide.[68] Burgin, for example, discusses how we experience place through material and physical involvement, images previously consumed, and our imagination of place. The already diffuse boundaries of place have been magnified and distorted by the kaleidoscope of (cyber)places, whose visual rhetoric takes ownership of particular vectors of city places, each of which we continue to experience through the body, through the moving visual, and through our imagination.[69] The method for this case study, then, once again studies the multiple textual layers of the Memorial. I engage each of these types of places to engage the thematic elements across these texts, as the experience of the 9/11 Memorial suggests that we do.

To bound the text for analysis, I chose the place of the Memorial as well as the preview site to engage in a spatial study.[70] Three (cyber)places were also studied: the iPhone app, the touch screens located through the space, and the Memorial website. The Memorial is engaged through a spatial study, paying special attention to the aesthetics, materiality, and

overall site design, as well as the way that the place invites or discourages movement and particular behaviors within its boundaries. Alternatively, the (cyber)places are engaged through visual analysis of design elements, relationships between links, and close readings of the discourse presented.

To engage the rhetorical force of this memory place, I analyzed 250 visitor reviews of the site and studied the national and international commentary on the finished memorial that took the form of blogs, architectural reviews, and art reviews. To limit my analysis of user reviews, out of the 7,596 reviews posted by the TripAdvisor site, I studied the first fifty comments in each star category.[71] Blogs and reviews from *Architecture Daily*, *The New York Times, The New Yorker, Metropolis Magazine, and Slate* were also included. This methodology directly engages the material, the virtual, and the blurring of the boundaries between the two to engage the place of the 9/11 Memorial.

Reflecting Absence

Visiting the 9/11 Memorial requires a voyage that begins in the underground subways where graffiti lives like transient images and the oldest parts of the city are revealed to passengers through dim yellow lighting, roaring sounds, and tremendous movement of people and machines. The journey continues at the World Trade Center stop, where the body is released and moved by the wave of other bodies who push up and out of the darkness and stench of the subway into the cacophony of city lights and sounds. Here the walkers walk, averting their eyes and driven by direction. There is a particular pull towards the Memorial, lit by blue signage and other bodies who move down Vesey Street, turn left on Greenwich and approach a crowded Memorial entrance. Setting the mood are security cameras that perch like vultures every ten feet on temporary fencing.

Show your tickets for entry. Show them again to enter the security checkpoint. Stand in line. Vocal volume is tightly and voluntarily controlled here. The body moves jerkily forward as more and more are allowed to enter security. Visitors are reminded of violence through signage that tells them what they should not possess: firearms, bombs, knives, and spray paint. Nervous eyes see nervous people. Security is a blur. Suddenly, one is hopping unsteadily on one foot to put on one's shoe while continuing to grip a ticket now slightly damp and crinkled from sweat and clutching too tightly. The journey ends by showing another uninterested security personnel this piece of paper, which finally allows entry into this strange Promised Land.[72]

Once inside the 9/11 Memorial, three specific rhetorical themes emerge: *Good Versus Evil*, *Disciplining Remembrance*, and *Practices of Touring*. In the following, I discuss each of these rhetorical themes through specific (em)placed elements that are experienced within the larger text of the Memorial site, the first of which surrounds the temporal, vertical and horizontal vectors that direct vision and rhetorical force within the site.

Good Versus Evil

Emerging from the spectacle of security, visitors are released into the wide-openness of the Memorial. Both the sheer size of the larger place as well as its nondescript nature are immediately striking, as is the newness of its vernacular. Amidst signs that direct viewers to the North and South Pools, young subdivision-looking trees sprout from tightly controlled pallets of earth and low green ground cover. Attention and direction are focused around the large crowds of people who form in the distance around the edge of a large void. Moving to stand within the crowd, the viewer is presented with an enormous square of cascading water falling from still, reflecting pools. Over these pools, thousands of names are stencil-cut

through black stone, their letters creating voids through which yellow light shines at night. Only the occasional red rose or American flag interrupts the names (see Figure 12).

But, rather than linger here for long, vision is immediately driven from the shiny black surfaces of stone down deep into the depths of an enormous water-filled hole. Its depth is almost sublime. One visitor describes the experience simply by stating, "The Memorial is breathtaking and overwhelming."[73] These pools are the largest human-made water feature of North America.[74] Their enormity is reiterated over and over as the eye travels to confront the ant-like bodies of other viewers who stand on the other side of the pool. It then moves back to the name panels only to find, with horror, the phrase "and her unborn child" following numerous names. Through the voids that create the names still water can be seen again and the eye follows it in its descent back down into the infinite

Figure 12: Names Panels at the 9/11 Memorial

darkness of the pools and of the memory of that day, long ago, when the bodies fell from the sky and the Nation's body was marked by terror forever. Architectural critic for *Slate*, Witold Rybczynski, writes, "there is nothing comforting about gazing into the vast pit—or, rather, two pits—of the 9/11 memorial, the water endlessly falling and disappearing into a bottomless black hole. The strongest sense I came away with was of hopelessness."[75]

From the holes left by the footprints of the towers to the knowledge that 1,115 unfound bodies remain in the ground on which the Memorial is built, Ground Zero essentially remains an image of destruction, an indexical sign, and a spectacle of terror.[76] It references the terrorist attacks and the immediate effects of these attacks: the presence of the dead and of the living. In this simple way, the 9/11 Memorial presents visitors with the binaries of past and future, life and death, and ultimately good and evil. These binaries, lived and relived through numerous elements of the (em)placed vernacular of the site, invite the adoption of a national identity that is constituted in part through fear: fear that it will happen again, fear that your own loved ones would be lost, fear of the Other who lives in the imaginary places of the mind, built by stereotypes and media images. Three ways of following these binary reinforcements through the Memorial include the temporal, horizontal, and vertical vectors of the larger place. By vectors, I refer to particular directional codes embedded in the (em)placed vernacular which suggest specific lines of vision and which create relationships between different aspects of the place and/or between different places connected through lines of vision.

The temporal vectors of the 9/11 memorials juxtapose the past with the present in ways that affirm a fear of an unknown future. To accomplish this, several features of the site direct the vision of viewers into the past horror of the events of 9/11 by making permanent the signs of destruction. First, the placement of the one-acre reflecting pools in the exact

footprints of the Twin Towers act as an indexical sign, a sign which points to the thing that it references.[77] Sturken argues that preserving the footprints reflects a desire to "imagine that the towers left an imprint on the ground. Their erasure from the skyline was so shocking and complete that there have been constant attempts to reassert them into the empty sky."[78] Even the Memorial logo, for example, envisions the Towers re-standing in the city, by transforming the "11" into their iconic outline. Ironically, their presence in the city up until their destruction was regarded as an urban nuisance and created a wind tunnel in the heart of the Financial District. In their destruction, however, the towers themselves became a metaphor for all the bodies who fell. Like refusing to wash the smell of a deceased loved one off of a sweater or maintaining their Facebook page, the footprints at Ground Zero were configured as a connection to the past presence of the Twin Towers. Further, the permanence of the Twin Towers as holes at the Memorial also suggests that the Towers are configured as bodies themselves. As Mitchel argues, "The 'twin towers' were (as their 'twin' designation indicates) already anthropomorphized, perhaps even clone like… the analogy between the living human body and the building is as ancient as the figure of the body as a temple for the spirit."[79] Thus, the towers exist as a symbol of the wound to the collective body.

This fixation on a past event here is unlike other monuments or memorials because it exists as a permanent scar, a tattoo, a marking on the body of America: a visual reminder of a past wound and as a catalyst for the collective bodies' future resurrection. In glossy black stone, the violence of the initial marking is made meaningful by re-marking, by claiming it visually as a conscious, artistic, and meaningful mark. The use of stone has a history of mark making, permanence, time, and sheltering the dead through gravestones. John Sallis writes, "the need to shelter the dead, not only to inter them, but also to shelter

them from the oblivion that time itself brings. As when, at the site of a grave, in memory of the one dead and gone, those who survive place a stone."[80] On the stone, the mark making itself is as Elkins posits, is both semiotic and antisemiotic.[81] In the re-marking of the terrorist mark, the reflecting pools hover between meaning and babble: on one hand, they imply a sense ownership over the void left by their erasure from the skyline, ensuring that forgetting will not occur. On the other hand, they evoke a sense of meaninglessness. They fail to move beyond the past event of September 11th and seem to provoke a sense of strange simplicity to such a complex act of iconoclasm. Absence constitutes the mark and stone projects this permanent absence into infinity.

Moving towards the South Pool, the museum building projects itself oddly into the larger plaza of the Memorial. Not only is its body somewhat imposing, it is also a particularly explicit reenactment of the events of September 11th because it appears to be falling down (see Figure 13). Not only is it positioned on the ground at an unnatural angle, its reflective yet transparent walls reveal a spider web of steel support beams that cut through the space at

Figure 13: Museum Building at the 9/11 Memorial

odd angles, some of which appear to be bending under a tremendous weight. The exterior of the building itself is made of two different surfaces that collide with one another, as if by force. To peer though the glass is to also witness the real effects of 9/11, as the museum houses over 700 artifacts from the site of Ground Zero, including what is known as the Survivor Staircase, which provided an escape route for thousands during the attacks.[82] The museum's artifacts, coupled with the knowledge that the very ground on which one stands houses the remains of victims makes real and reenvisions the event of 9/11 for the millions who witness the Memorial's rhetoric.

The footprints and the Museum building exist as the central ways that temporal vectors work rhetorically to produce a rhetoric of a fearful future but the re-visioning of the events of 9/11 occurs throughout the site. Of particular importance are the multiple (cyber)places, whose rhetoric seeps into the material experience of the Memorial. The Memorial website, iPhone app, as well as the preview site offer visitors detailed timelines of the events of 9/11, survivor stories of the day, witness testimonials, and the history of terrorism up until the point of the attacks. Under the website's "Teach + Learn" section, for example, they offer 9/11 FAQ, Interactive Timelines, World Trade Center History, Rescue and Recovery. The interactive timelines provide moment-by moment information about the events of the day, starting at 8:20 am when Americans Airlines Flight 77 took off, and ending at 8:30 pm when President George W. Bush addressed the nation. On the iPhone app, audio testimonial stories are provided as well as timelines of the Memorial construction. When one, for example, touches the North Tower from the home screen you are able to access several first-person accounts, one of which is from Scott Strauss, a NYPD police officer who rescued a fellow officer from the North Tower.

The present and always futurity of memory places is always profoundly preoccupied with the past, but the 9/11 memorial's temporal vectors allow visitors to relive the uncertainty and fear of that day through its presence in the now and into the future. The indexical sign of the 9/11 Memorial confronts the past with the present and the living with the dead in the particularities of the place in which it occurs. One visitor mirrors this sentiment by simply writing, "You are standing THERE, where it all occurred."[83] Here the memory of 9/11 is directly linked to not just remembering the lives that were lost but to the violence and horror that victims lived in their final moments. Because of their permanence in material form, the violence and the scale of devastation of September 11th project this violence into the future. This is simply put by one visitor from the United Kingdom, who writes, "Looks like someone trying to maintain a climate of fear."[84] Another visitor from New Jersey writes, "I felt the design of the pools was actually very depressing. The endless holes seems [sic] to evoke feelings of sadness and destruction, rather than hope and peacefulness."[85]

While the temporal vectors project and thrust vision into the past and the future, the vertical vectors of the 9/11 Memorial are one of the primary ways that cause it to function as a sublime type of manufactured landscape which engenders a clear visual binary of good/evil. This is accomplished through the relationship between the Freedom Tower at an incredible 1776 feet and the endless depth of the reflecting pools. This relationship makes apprehending the place as a whole actually physically impossible for visitors. The falling of the water drives the eye downward and mirrors the movement of the falling towers themselves. In fact, one of the darkest elements of the Memorial deals directly with the falling water and is rarely explicitly discussed in official literature or in viewer reviews. In the heart of each of pool, there is a secondary pool (see Figure 14). A dark, smaller rectangle in

Figure 14: Secondary Pools at the 9/11 Memorial

which all the water flows and which one cannot, from any angle, see the bottom. The use of water falling into these holes itself suggests life and fluidity, but the movement of the water is a painful visual reenactment of the falling of the towers, the falling of live bodies from the towers, and the impossible darkness of the evil of that day.

Juxtaposed to this downward darkness is the Freedom Tower, which rises upwards, gleaming in the reflecting sun and lights of the city. The Freedom Tower itself is a rather unimaginative modern design, described by Banksy as, "Something they would build in Canada." Regardless of its banality as an architectural presence, it is massive. In fact, it is actually impossible to photograph it in its entirety while standing in the Memorial. In its impressive vertical scale, coupled with its association with Freedom, it stands as the symbol of resurrection of the new collective body. While the Twin Towers have fallen, the Freedom Tower shines in the light of the sky, rising above Ground Zero in a spectacle of shiny splendor.

Michael Osborn's work on the archetypal metaphor is illuminative of the rhetorical force of the vastness of the vertical scale. He argues, "vertical scale images … project desirable objects above the listener and undesirable objects below."[86] While he discusses the use of this type of metaphor in specifically discursive speaking, the root of this relationship is a specifically spiritual one. Christianity, for example, clearly associates hell with down and heaven with up. Also apparent in this relationship is the use of light and dark where the Freedom tower is light and the reflecting pools are extremely dark. This results in a clear visual binary along the vertical axis of good versus evil that leaves very little room for interpretation. This central binary leaches into other binaries such as American versus Other. Here Americans are configured as harbingers of Freedom, light/White, and goodness whereas the Other and their (probable) violence as dark, and profane, and evil. Furthermore, along this vertical line the plaza area itself where the bodies of visitors may actually move exists as a metaphor for the human negotiation of this binary and provides symbolic resources for the attainment of Good and the triumph over evil. The lived place of the plaza signifies the horizontal vectors that negotiate good/evil and which connect the rhetoric of the Memorial to the rest of the city.

Moving past the pools, visitors can wander through a plaza filled with trees, ivy beds, and benches. Of particular importance are the hundreds of trees throughout the site, which were planted with the intention of embodying "our nation's spirit of hope and healing, strength and resilience in the wake of the 9/11 attacks."[87] Exactly 400 Swamp White Oaks were harvested from areas surrounding locations affected by 9/11, including Pennsylvania, D.C. and a 500-mile radius of Ground Zero and the "Survivor Tree," a pear tree, which found in the rubble of the attacks and nursed back to health. The 9/11 memorial website

writes that "The trees will never be identical, growing at different heights and changing leaves at different times, a physical reminder that they are living individuals."[88]

As the gleaming Freedom Tower rises as a symbol of the resurrection of the collective body, these individual trees are explicitly made to stand in for the individual bodies of survivors and citizens. While these trees are meant to promote an ideology of individualism, strength, and resilience, in practice they are they are essentially identical. Not only are they all the same (white) species of tree, the landscape architect instructed arborists to trim the branches to an identical eleven-foot height.[89] As an exception, one pear tree named the "Survivor Tree" was rescued out the rubble at Ground Zero and nursed back to health. It still reveals the markings of the violence of 9/11 and is slightly larger than the other trees. Its uniqueness makes visible the conformity of the other trees, which illustrate a deep fracturing in the American ideals of freedom, democracy, and individuality. The growth of the trees out of the darkness of the events of 9/11 and upwards to Freedom is in unison and achieved through conformity. Like good citizen soldiers, the trees stand in formation and span the horizontal field. Journalist and photographer James S. Russell writes, "Amid stolid tree trunks marching into the distance, that horizontal expanse under the leaves draws the eye to the low, dark granite parapets of memorial pools set into the twin tower footprints."[90]

The placement of the Memorial in the heart of the City of New York causes additional tensions within this horizontal plane. While Arad moved the Memorial from underground to the surface of the plaza with the intention of making it a part of the City and everyday life, saying, "You really have a sense of being in the city, but also of being distant -- being inside, but also out of it."[91] This decision, however, was met with questions as it relates to the notion of the sacred. Sacred ground calls for ritualized behaviors.[92] As one journalist

questions, "will it feel unseemly in the middle of [the Memorial] to munch on a pastrami sub, yack on a cellphone or check stock prices on a blackberry?"[93] Much of this questioning remains hypothetical as security fences have secluded the site from the remainder of the city for over a decade. Even when the fencing comes down, however, there are elements within the site that work to negotiate this horizontal tension. The movement of the falling water in the Memorial pools, for example, is meant to drown out the sounds of the city.

Through the temporal, vertical, and horizontal vectors produced through numerous embedded codes within the (em)placed vernacular, the 9/11 Memorial works to reimagine the past event into the future that clearly visualizes a binary relationship between good and evil. This is done through a spectacle of destruction. Baudrillard writes, "One tries after [9/11] to assign to the latter any meaning, to find any possible interpretation. But there is none possible, and it is only the radicality of the spectacle, the brutality of the spectacle that is original and irreducible. The spectacle of terrorism imposes the terrorism of the spectacle."[94] The 9/11 Memorial produces the spectacle of terror and in this vision the binary of good versus evil is produced and active in visualizing a fear of the Other, of the unknown, and even the self. Marco Abel argues that rather than engage the violence of uncertainty in the aftermath of 9/11, official discourse directed the nation to believe that "the matter was, and still is, quite simple: 9/11 is nothing more, and nothing less, than a matter of good and evil."[95]

Disciplining Remembrance

On May 27th of 2014, the New York Observer reported that 9/11 memorial staff had been dealing with an increasing amount of graffiti on the Memorial names panels.[96] Those close to victims, it is assumed, have begun scratching phrases like "Love4ever" next to

particular names. Over forty incidences have been reported. The article reports that while the NYPD will not be attempting to prosecute individuals, memorial staff has been instructed to "repaint the plaques and restore the bronze finish immediately."[97] The incidences of graffiti not only mark the importance of the visual in practices of mourning, but also the ways that the (em)placed vernacular at the 9/11 memorial is highly controlled.

As sacred ground, remembering and behavior surrounding loss are ritualized and ordinary behavior is suspended. Sturken asserts, "In a sacred space, all activities have meaning, all are transformed into rituals."[98] The rituals of remembrance at the 9/11 Memorial are made visible through images of surveillance and security, explicit signage throughout the Memorial, and the disciplinary practices of looking embedded into the site. These elements, I argue, limit the possibility of engaging in transgressive behaviors via the (em)placed vernacular and transforms the body into a wandering eye. The larger design of the Memorial is coupled with the intense security and tourism practices, which dramatically complicates its rhetoric. For survivors of 9/11 the images of terror and destruction visualized by the Memorial are read through the lens of [in]security which promote the sense that while one is "secure," one's body is also always also being watched for the deadly and invisible markings of terrorism.

While the reflecting pools are clearly one of the prominent images within the place of the Memorial, images of security are arguably just as forceful. In fact, the 9/11 Memorial appears to be one of the most highly controlled public places in the United States. One visitor describes it as a "security theatre," illustrating both the elements of security embedded in the place as well as the very visual nature of this surveillance.[99] In a post-9/11 culture, one of the most important rituals of citizenship is the airport security screening process, which the Memorial has incorporated into its security protocol. Visitors to the Memorial must

undergo a screening process identical to one at an airport.[100] Beyond the cameras surrounding the entire perimeter there is an astounding police presence within the site itself (see Figure 15).

Park rangers, bomb squads, and heavily armed NYPD officers stand in large groups with bomb sniffing dogs and watch for suspicious behavior. Eerily, the NYPD colors match that of the 9/11 memorial logos, connecting the Memorial to images of security in explicitly aesthetic ways. This security, coupled with the images of destruction within the site, clearly remind visitors that they are in a potential site of danger and encourage a sense of fearfulness of unknown threats. In addition, because of the security screening process, every visitor is constituted as a potential threat. With this in mind, visitors stroll around the Memorial site only to be confronted with numerous signs indicate what behavior is allowed and what behavior is deemed out of place.

Figure 15: Police and Park Rangers at the Memorial Entrance

Most of the signage indicates what one is *not* permitted to do; "Please do not walk on the ivy beds," for example, or "Please do not throw anything into the Memorial pools."

However, others clearly indicate what type of behavior one *should* engage in. For example, one sign reads, "Visitors are invited to touch the Memorial names panels." The most prominent signage that indicates appropriate behavior is seen through numerous signs that read, "Please be reminded that the 9/11 memorial is a place of remembrance and quiet reflection." This is one of the most prominent and clear messages concerning behavior and it makes explicit the intention of the place. There are also no public restrooms at the 9/11 memorial. This is indicated prominently on the website and on several signs throughout the place in eight different languages and pictures an icon of a man and of a woman crossed out, as if the human body itself is not allowed in this place (see Figure 16). By removing the

Figure 16: No Restrooms Memorial Signage

body, it removes the ability to engage or alter the emplaced vernacular and transforms the body into simply something that sees passively without altering, transforming, or disturbing the highly controlled (em)placed vernacular.

Several signs dictate behavior as it relates to images. One sign visually includes a spray-paint can, along with handguns and bombs, as forbidden weapons within the space. In the "rules and regulations" page of the website, visitors are warned that they may not bring any kind of "marking instrument" with them to the Memorial. These include "spray paint, liquid paint, markers, glass cutters and/or other implements that could be used to mark, dye/color, scratch, gouge or otherwise deface property by mechanical or chemical means."[101] As Cresswell argues, graffiti is often rhetorically framed to be a viral contagion that, when in the body of the city, may make it ill.[102] In the 9/11 memorial, the images within the (em)placed vernacular are particularly important because of its prior destruction. As a result, all images are highly controlled and the larger (em)placed framing of 9/11 must be maintained and controlled at all costs. To open it up to revision would be to invite iconoclastic behaviors and create an (Other) image of disorder.

In addition to the images of security and the explicit signage related to behavior, the visual and material rhetoric of the Memorial encourages practices of looking that train this internal eye to watch one's own body as well as the bodies of others for behavior that is out of place. This process begins on the website under "Rules and Regulations" which one is guided to in the "What to Expect Section." These rules indicate that one can be asked to leave the Memorial for any number of reasons, including,

> Making noise that is unreasonable, or behaving in a way that is inappropriate given the solemn nature of the Memorial and the Memorial Museum…Engaging in commercial activities, soliciting, and/or vending … Loitering or sleeping … Obstructing the use of public areas such as entrances, foyers, lobbies, corridors, concourses, offices, elevators, escalators, stairways, roadways, driveways, or

> walkways. Throwing or dropping any items from or at buildings or persons, or from or at any of the Memorial Museum overlooks.[103]

Visitors are also warned that "Engaging in expressive activity that has the effect, intent or propensity to draw a crowd of on-lookers" is considered inappropriate behavior.[104]

Authorities at the site are not afraid to enforce their memory policies. Memorial staff police the area. One visitor writes, "My problem with the Memorial is the mandatory somberness. Professional 'shushers' are on hand to ensure that the visitors appear properly respectful, and I find that troubling. It is, after all, a public space and not everyone grieves the same."[105] The body here is configured as a site of discipline and control. As Foucault would describe, the ideal body of this memory place is docile, able to be improved upon and molded. Like the uniformity of the trees that line the plaza, the visitor bodies must appear through the normalizing discourse of the Memorial.[106] The Memorial acts explicitly as a disciplinary force and constitutes a model citizen who passively engages place.

Finally, the buildings, water pools, and name panels throughout the site are constructed out of highly reflective surfaces, which further intensifies the ability to watch one's behavior and the behavior of others (see Figure 17). The highly used architectural feature called a "curtain wall" covers both the Freedom Tower and the Museum building. This feature is the highly reflective surfaces of most modern skyscrapers that allow people inside to look out while protecting their privacy. The black stone around the parapets reflects faces of lookers, and still water beneath the names catches the images of the city. The reflective qualities of the materials reproduce the larger theme of "Reflection" but the reflection is much more than absence. The reflective glass on the museum building doubles the image of the Memorial and creates yet another image of security. In addition, the glass allows one to watch other people without their knowing that you are watching and works

Figure 17: Reflection from the Museum Building

like a panopticon; it teaches one to discipline one's own body as you see yourself moving through the site.

Foucault describes panopticism as a "type of power that is applied to individuals in the form of continuous individual supervision, in the form of control, punishment, and compensation, and in the form of correction, that is, the molding and transformation of individuals in terms of certain norms."[107] Several signs encourage the surveillance of other people in this way. For example, one sign reads: "If you see anyone scratch, sit on, or otherwise damaging the names panels, please alert memorial staff."

These images of security reflect the effects of 9/11 on contemporary culture that are ritualized into our everyday lives through airport security, the Patriot Act, and simply the internal acceptance that the price for feelings of security is the loss of personal privacy. Just as the city of New York is an archetype for the American city, the 9/11 Memorial becomes an archetypal place for the city of New York and a symbol of patriotism and safety in the post-9/11 world. In this new world, the idea that one is always being watched engenders the

idea that one *should* be watched. The reflective quality of the buildings coupled with the repeated lessons on how remembrance and mourning should be performed at the Memorial site exemplifies the continued markings of a disciplinary culture described by Foucault.[108] Images of security and surveillance create an internal surveilling eye to self-discipline behavior and the larger Memorial provides visitors a place in which to practice these new ways of living through its design and by disciplining acts of remembrance. Baudrillard argues that one of the most forceful impacts of the events of September 11th is that it makes everyone a suspect:

> Any inoffensive individual can be a potential terrorist! If those terrorists could pass unnoticed, then anyone of us is an unnoticed criminal (each plane is suspect too), and ultimately, it might even be true. This might well correspond to an unconscious form of potential criminality, masked, carefully repressed, but always liable, if not to surge, at least to secretly vibrate with the spectacle of Evil. Thus, the event spreads out in its minutiae, the source of an even more subtle psychological (mental) terrorism.[109]

In the end, not only is the disciplinary gaze turned inwardly to self-regulate behavior, as the panopticon teaches, bodies are now trained to discipline other bodies and every "I" is transformed into a surveilling eye which both embodies and engenders a system of mental terrorism.[110]

Practices of Touring

Exiting the 9/11 Memorial, visitors are funneled into the 9/11 Museum Gift Shop which was opened to the public years before the Museum itself opened its doors. Here, one is presented with yet another site to relive the events of the day through wall projections, books, and pamphlets. But here tourists have agency through consumption. Visitors are able to purchase NYPD stuffed dogs, Survivor Tree air fresheners, magnets, and 9/11 themed coffee mugs. The now familiar blue of the 9/11 logo is projected onto a sea of kitsch and

consumption (see Figure 18). The transformation of Ground Zero from a restricted place to a tourist place happened very quickly. According to Sturken, by the Spring of 2001, *The New York Times* began suggesting places to eat after visiting ground zero.[111] These elements of consumerism and "kitsch" suggest particular engagements with both the site of Ground Zero as well as particular responses to the trauma of the terrorist attacks. The privileging of vision throughout the Memorial, the photographic practices of visitors to the site, and the presence of 9/11 memorabilia produce a tourist experience that not only consumes kitsch and memorabilia as a means of demonstrating patriotism, but actively consumes images of security itself as a means of alleviating fears of the Other and helping produce an image of a secure (but always future) America.

While Pezzullo has illustrated the importance of moving away from an ocularcentric

Figure 18: Merchandise at 9/11 Memorial Preview Site

understanding of the tourist experience, at the place of Ground Zero, the disciplining and metaphorical removal of the body through the disciplining of remembrance shape tourist practices in consequential ways. Seeing, observing, and viewing are encouraged and sight is configured as the most acceptable engagement with the (em)placed vernacular. A clear example of the privileging of the visual can be seen in the interactive (cyber)places like the names memorial guides and the iPhone app whose home screens are a visual overview of the entire site (see Figure 19). The God-like view of the Memorial encourages both a surveilling gaze but also an ocularcentric experience. This is not to say that tourists do not experience the place in and with their bodies. Certainly, hearing the waterfalls, smelling the city surrounding the walls of the Memorial, touching the Memorial names, or brushing against the hundreds of other bodies in the site are experientially and rhetorically important for the Memorial experience. However, vision is privileged and reinforced through the hundreds of gazes of the hundreds of cameras, the reflection of the buildings and pools, the careful watching of police and memorial staff.

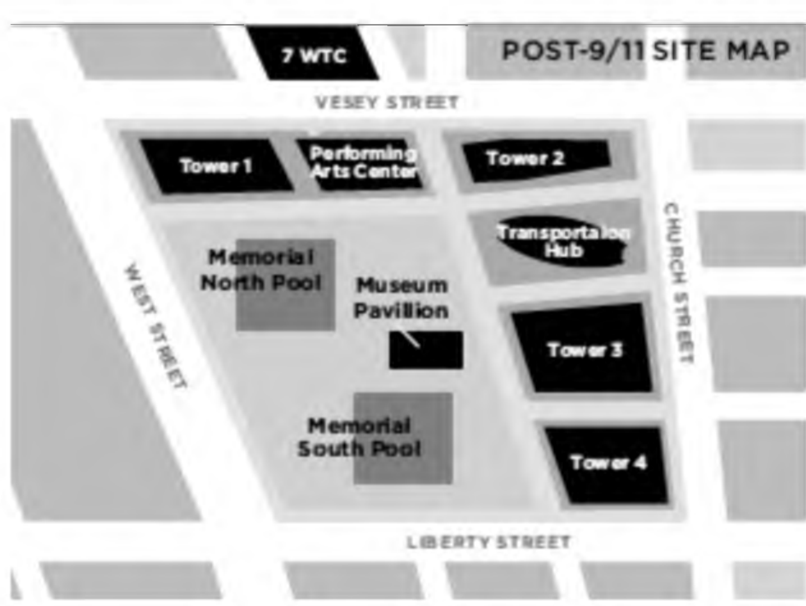

Figure 19: Overview of Memorial Site in Commemorative Guide

In the place of the Memorial, the gaze as the mode of seeing is clearly privileged. The gaze, as discussed by Casey, is imbued with a concern for evidence, a pursuit of objectivity and, works to "affirm" the status quo.[112] He writes, "In this spirit the gaze does not contest the 'rules of the game' but, on the contrary, takes pleasure in their continual reenactment. Its interest is not in how things should be or might be otherwise but in how they stand and do not change."[113] This perspective on the gaze is affirmed and taken up by numerous scholars in different ways. Urry, Bourdieu, and Laura Mulvey all discuss how the gaze perpetuates practices of seeing that reaffirm dominant and oppressive ideologies such as sexism and classism.[114] Bourdieu writes, "The pure gaze implies a break with the ordinary attitude towards the world, which, given the conditions in which it is performed, is also a social separation."[115] This social separation is where aesthetic taste is formed and is one of the fundamental ways in which class distinction is formed and re-formed.

Thus, the surveilling eye of the visitor to the 9/11 memorial is encouraged to move passively through the site and engage the (em)placed vernacular through the practice of picture taking, a ritual rooted simultaneously in a history of surveillance and tourism.[116] Due to the appearance of an objective transmission of reality, the photograph has been used as evidence in our criminal justice system and as a means of, as Reginald Twigg argues, "surveying and managing groups subordinated by race, class, and gender."[117] The photographic lens is laden with an inherent power over the object of its gaze, transforming people and place into objects for the gaze.[118] The "tourist gaze," well documented by Urry who argues that it "is as socially organized and systemized as is the gaze of the medic," has been intensified by the smart phone and is one of the fundamental ways in which tourists engage the (em)placed vernacular at the 9/11 memorial.[119] The site of the Memorial becomes another type of memory place, a tourist place, where memories are captured through the

photograph. Sontag writes that the tourist uses photography as a means of documenting experience, of consuming and appropriating the thing photographed, which results in a feeling of power.[120] The practice of picture taking at Ground Zero, then, is a way of allowing visitors to engage in the place of the Memorial and gain a sense of power and pleasure from it, while remaining essentially passive.

While tourists consume images of nearly all aspects of the site, one of the most interesting practices at the 9/11 Memorial is photography of and/or with images of security. In particular, photographs of NYPD Police and Park Rangers. On one occasion, a woman handed her baby to one of the uniformed Park Rangers standing by the Museum building and asked if she could take a photograph of him and two other Rangers. They obliged without hesitation (See Figure 20). On another occasion, several families approached a large bomb detection unit near the entrance of the Memorial grounds and asked to take a photo of them with their dogs. All nine of the officers and two dogs also obliged and answered

Figure 20: Park Rangers Pose for Photo Outside of Museum Building

numerous questions about the dogs and their job. While clearly NYPD (and their dogs) were heroic figures in the events of 9/11, tourist pictures taken with these elements of security work as a way of inserting oneself (or one's firstborn) quite literally into the comforting arms of National Security.

Beyond the consumption of images of security, the consumption of tourist memorabilia at the Memorial further cements the tourist experience of the site of Ground Zero. Sturken argues that the tourist elements combined with the security aspects of the Memorial indicate a "prescribed" way of responding to the attacks writing, "We're supposed to respond with a certain kind of sentimentality, and sadness. We're not supposed to question too much, we're certainly not supposed to be angry when we go home with our FDNY teddy bear."[121] These elements of consumerism also directly link consumption with patriotism and follow George W. Bush's suggestion in 2006: "I encourage you all to go shopping more."[122]

For many, these tourist practices challenge the rhetoric of mourning and affect as well as the disciplining of remembrance at the site, which is exemplified by dozens of visitor reviews which comment on other people's inappropriate "touristy" behavior at the site. One visitor simply writes, "Don't like all the touristy vibe on top of a cemetery."[123] Repeatedly, the use of the "selfie" or smiling in a photograph was mentioned as a downside to the experience of the Memorial. One visitor simply says, "it is disgusting, disrespectful and somewhat morbid posing and taking pics smiling."[124] Reviewers caution others to engage the Memorial "respectfully," echoing the sentiments of the numerous disciplinary signs posted throughout the actual site and becoming yet another surveilling eye.

Regardless of how visitors engage or disparage the presence of tourism at 9/11, tourism is an important aspect of contemporary identity formation, particularly as an

American consumer. Scott McCabe and Duncan Marson argue, "The collective ability to name places visited as tourism destinations and describe experiences of them are a fundamental part of modern lives as consumers, and help shape identities."[125] The practices of tourism at the 9/11 Memorial produce a form of national identity that envisions oneself as safe, continues to discipline acts of remembrance that deviate from the Memorial as a site of mourning, and helps envision a secure but future America.

The Surveilling Flâneur

The (em)placed framing of 9/11 provided by the winning memorial design of "Reflecting Absence" is true to its name; it encourages the pondering, imagining, and re-living of absence by focusing on the loss of life on 9/11 and through the lack of meaning attributed to this loss. The reenactments of 9/11 and the images of destruction create a sense of perpetual fear of the Other, while providing the symbolic resources with which to relieve this sense of unease: consumption and security. As a result, the Memorial works constitutively to hail a particular ideal subjectivity, a surveilling flâneur: a security-conscious consumer whose gaze is conditioned through practices of consumption and discipline.

As a consumer, engagement with the (em)placed vernacular at the 9/11 memorial is typical of the flâneur, the modern city-wanderer whose leisure time is spent window-shopping and experiencing the city primarily through looking.[126] This subject, written about by both Charles Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin, is known as using a distracted and detached gaze which helps to fetishize the commodity, distance the city dweller from everyday life, and elevate consumption as a mode of engagement with the world.[127] Wood argues, "Walking slowly, the *flâneur* enacts a series of movement sand glances: simultaneously gazing upon the entire scene and becoming lost in the labyrinth. Turning this way and that,

pausing to wipe the dust off a rusted sign, overhearing snatches of conversation, and weaving past temporal narratives into the current seen, the flâneur sees what might be otherwise obscured."[128] This way of looking is distinctly modern, mobile, and comfortable in the streets of city places. At the 9/11 Memorial, this subjectivity is clearly constituted through the privileging of vision and the emphasis on consumption and practices of tourism.

While the act of looking remains the primary engagement with the (em)placed vernacular, the eye is now trained to look at more than merely the artifacts of mass production for the purposes of pleasure. Rather, the practices of vision of the post-9/11 flâneur is one of surveillance, which actively helps to fix dominant (em)placed meaning and watches for behavior that is out of place. The eye of this subject is always simultaneously turned inwardly upon the self and externally upon other bodies. The inward eye disciplines the body to engage the environment in an unthreatening way, always hurries visitors through the space, and leaves with a souvenir from the gift shop as a symbol of their patriotism. Also in the name of patriotism, the surveilling flâneur turns the eye externally to fearfully watch Other bodies within the space for the markings of terror and the potential threat of terrorism.

The implications of the Memorial framing of 9/11 and the production of the surveilling flâneur are numerous. First, the surveilling flâneur engages the environment by policing activity that appears "out of place." This functions to cement meaning and inhibits the reappropriation of the (em)placed vernacular, which is critical to the functioning of a healthy democracy. Specific to the 9/11 Memorial, this results in disciplining behavior that does not appear to be engaging the Memorial as "a place of quiet remembrance and reflection." By refusing to allow alternative engagements with mourning, remembering, or understanding the events of 9/11 and perpetually focusing on the American loss of life, the

Memorial visually privileges and centers the terrorist attacks as a uniquely American tragedy. As Lucy Bond argues, "Although 9/11 had enormous global consequences, suffering elsewhere continues to be eclipsed by the focus on American loss."[129]

Binary thinking emerges within this nationalistic focus that configures Americans as innocent and Others as evil, which perpetuates global practices of domination and subordination predicated on the notion that good may someday overcome evil. As Baudrillard argues, "We naively believe that the progress of the Good, its rise in all domains (sciences, techniques, democracy, human rights) correspond to a defeat of Evil. Nobody seems to understand that Good and Evil rise simultaneously, and in the same movement. The triumph of the One does not produce the erasure of the Other."[130] This type of binary thinking in the War on Terror, as Cloud demonstrates, results in dominant ideologies that configure the United States as the paternal savior of the Third World.[131] Differences between "Americans" and "Others" are reproduced and reiterated through other images beyond the Memorial. For example, photographs of the War on Terror visualize "heroic, white, rational U.S. men on the one hand, and scruffy Al Qaeda fighters, represented variously as irrational militants ..., as savages in the desert, or as hopeless nomads."[132] In the War on Terror, binary thinking becomes a key locus of its moralizing and rationalizing logic even as its image weapons move irrationally through public screens.

The global effects of such rhetoric are profound and are produced not only in the rhetoric of presidents and acts of image wars, but also in the everyday practices of the ordinary citizen. As a global rhetorical text, the 9/11 Memorial teaches millions of citizens from hundreds of countries how to live in a post-9/11 world by recentering America as a global symbol of power and innocence. More importantly, the Memorial provides a place for

the production of a new *habitus* where practices of consumption and discipline become the unthinking ways in which individuals engage in place. In envisioning an image of a future America, visitors are transformed into simply a surveilling I/eye. Surveillance implodes.

Endnotes

[1] Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want*, 13.

[2] For more information see the interactive timeline of September 11, 2001 at: http://timeline.911memorial.org/#Timeline/2.

[3] Ibid.

[4] For more information, see the 9/11 Commemorative Guide downloadable at: http://www.911memorial.org/sites/all/files/CommemorativeGuide2014.pdf

[5] For additional stories from survivors, see the interactive timeline of September 11, 2001 at: http://timeline.911memorial.org/#Timeline/2.

[6] Marita Sturken, "The Aesthetics of Absence: Rebuilding Ground Zero," *American Ethnologist* 31, no. 3 (2004): 311–25.

[7] http://timeline.911memorial.org/#Timeline/2

[8] Jean Baudrillard, *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*, trans. Paul Patton (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

[9] Mitchell, *Cloning Terror*.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., 2.

[12] For rhetorical scholarship on the War on Terror, see: James Der Derian, "Imaging Terror: Logos, Pathos and Ethos," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (February 2005): 23–37, doi:10.1080/0143659042000322883; Theresa Ann Donofrio, "Ground Zero and Place-Making Authority: The Conservative Metaphors in 9/11 Families' 'Take Back the Memorial' Rhetoric," *Western Journal of Communication* 74, no. 2 (April 2010): 150–69, doi:10.1080/10570311003614492; Ekaterina V. Haskins and Justin P. DeRose, "Memory, Visibility, and Public Space: Reflections on Commemoration(s) of 9/11," *Space and Culture* 6, no. 4 (November 1, 2003): 11, doi:10.1177/1206331203258373; Robert L. Ivie, *Democracy and America's War on Terror* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005); Stephen J. Hartnett and Larua A. Stengrim, *Globalization and Empire: The U.S. Invasion of Iraq, Free Markets, and the Twilight of Democracy* (Tuscaloosa: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Kenneth S. Zagacki, "Constitutive Rhetoric Reconsidered: Constitutive Paradoxes in G. W. Bush's Iraq War Speeches," *Western Journal of Communication* 71, no. 4 (2007): 272–93, doi:10.1080/10570310701653786. For engagements with the visual elements of the war, see: Mitchell, *Cloning Terror*; Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want*; Cloud, "'To Veil the Threat of Terror'"; Der Derian, "Imaging Terror"; L. Kennedy, "Seeing and Believing: On Photography and the War on Terror," *Public Culture* 24, no. 2 67 (April 1, 2012): 261–81, doi:10.1215/08992363-1535498; Sturken, "The Aesthetics of Absence"; Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007); Barbie Zelizer, "The Voice of the Visual in Memory," in *Framing Public Memory* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2004).

[13] Peter Busch, "How Will ISIS Use Media in the War It Provoked?," *CNN*, September 26, 2014, sec. Special.

[14] Steven Litt, "New York's New 9/11 Memorial Is Designed to Blend Mourning and Vitality at the Heart of a Bustling Financial District," September 10, 2011, http://blog.cleveland.com/architecture/2011/09/new_yorks_new_911_memorial_is.html.

[15]Ibid.

[16] CNN Wire Staff, "Visitors to New York's 9/11 Memorial Top 1 Million," *CNN*, December 29, 2011, http://www.cnn.com/2011/12/29/us/new-york-911-memorial/.

[17] Sturken, "The Aesthetics of Absence," 312.

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[61] Ted Loos, "Architect and 9/11 Memorial Both Evolved Over the Years," *The New York Times*, September 1, 2011, sec. Art & Design, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/arts/design/how-the-911-memorial-changed-its-architect-michael-arad.html?_r=1&adxnnl=1&pagewanted=all&adxnnlx=1413402776-4HKsJbx+JEccxoxUiJ9v0Q.

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[63] To see TripAdvisor reviews, go to http://

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[68] Sontag, *On Photography.*

[69]For a discussion of the diffuse boundaries of place, see: Dickinson, Ott, and Eric, "Memory and Myth at the Buffalo Bill Museum."

[70] The time frame of my research begins on September 11, 2001 and ends September 11, 2014. Therefore, I did not include the interior of the Museum in my analysis.

[71] I chose to study the first fifty comments in each star category, rather than study the first 250 comments largely because of the time frame. My spatial study of the Memorial was conducted in September of 2012 and April of 2013. If I were to only study the most recent reviews, I would have limited my analysis of responders to the Memorial who had visited in the year of 2014. Including some of these is acceptable but because the place of the Memorial continually changes, I want to be sure to include a variety of times that visitors had experienced the Memorial place.

[72]My experience at the Memorial was distinctly different the second time I visited because I was five months pregnant at the time. As a married, white, American, educated, pregnant woman, traveling with her husband, my body was deemed so unthreatening that I barely existed to security personnel. After seeing my pregnant form, one officer simply waved me through without checking my ticket.

[73] Comment made by Tam_Coata in TripAdvisor reviews. For more reviews go to http://www.tripadvisor.com/Attraction_Review-g60763-d1687489-Reviews-9_11_Memorial-New_York_City_New_York.html.

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[75] Rybczynski, "Black Holes: There Is Nothing Comforting about the 9/11 Memorial."

[76] Charles Sanders Peirce, *Semiotics and Significs* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977).

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[78] Sturken, "The Aesthetics of Absence," 318.

[79] Mitchell, *Cloning Terror*, 14.

[80] John Sallis, *Stone* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 18.

[81] Elkins, *On Pictures and the Words That Fail Them.*

[82] Sturken, "The Aesthetics of Absence," 316.

[83] Comment made by Robby H at http://www.tripadvisor.com.

[84] Comment made by client12345 at http://www.tripadvisor.com.

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[87] For more information, see: http://www.911memorial.org/survivor-tree-seedling-program .

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[89] Russell, "Sparkling Pools Mist Names of Dead With Grace at 9/11 Memorial."

[90] Ibid.

[91] Litt, "New York's New 9/11 Memorial Is Designed to Blend Mourning and Vitality at the Heart of a Bustling Financial District."

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[94] Jean Baudrillard, "The Spirit of Terrorism," *Le Monde* 2 (November 2001).

[95] Marco Abel, *Violent Affect: Literature, Cinema, and Critique after Representation* (Lincoln: Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska, 2007), 207.

[96] Like at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the names parapets appear to be positioned in a highly democratic fashion, without identity markers such as military rank or job position. However, on the outskirts of the 9/11 Memorial, visitors are invited to engage with a number of interactive screens that give additional information about the Memorial. One of the primary functions of these screens, in fact, is to direct visitors to the location of victim names on the parapets surrounding the pools. Once located, the program also provides a short biography of the victim. Through the screen-based experience, the random nature of the name designs is disrupted. It becomes clear that the names are placed through what the designers claim are "meaningful adjacencies." While the names themselves do not include rank or status markers, their location on the parapets indicates their position in life and their connection to the event of 9/11. Co-workers, family members, and the physical location where they perished are all factors that organize the names.

[97] Esti Jungreis, "NYPD Won't Prosecute Somber Scratchers Etching Graffiti on 9/11 Memorial," *New York Observer*, May 27, 2014, sec. News.

[98] Sturken, "The Aesthetics of Absence," 315.

[99] Comments made by chachi69 and DCPaul1 at http://www.tripadvisor.com.

[100] While the security at the Memorial may end after construction is complete, as the commemorative guide states, the website reveals that security will remain the same for the museum, "Security screening is mandatory for all visitors that wish to enter the Memorial Museum, and will include screening of all bags, equipment, and belongings. Permissible baggage, handbags, backpacks, shopping bags, equipment, and belongings for visitors is limited to 8" x 17" x 19" per item." The commemorative guide is available at: http://www.911memorial.org/sites/all/files/Commemorativeguide.pdf.

[101] To view the list of rules and regulations, see: http://www.911memorial.org/ visitor-rules-and-regulations.

[102] Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*.

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[104] Ibid.

[105]Comment made by Shapely_Hunter at http://www.tripadvisor.com.

[106] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

[107] Foucault, "Power/Knowledge," 70.

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[109] Baudrillard, "The Spirit of Terrorism."

[110] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

[111] Sturken, "The Aesthetics of Absence."

[112] Casey, *The World at a Glance*, 143.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*; Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*; Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no. 3 (1975): 6–18.

[115] Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, 4.

[116] Reginald Twigg, "The Performative Dimension of Surveillance: Jacob Riis' How The Other Half Lives," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 12 (1992): 306.

[117] Ibid.

[118] The gaze has been discussed by a number of scholars including, Pezzullo, *Toxic Tourism*; Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*; Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*; Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema."

[119]Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 1.

[120] Sontag, *On Photography*.

[121] Stephn Nessen, "What 9/11 Memorial Says About Us: A Walking Tour of the Site," *WNYC News*, September 11, 2012, http://www.wnyc.org/story/236433-what-911-memorial-says-about-us-walking-tour-site-sociologist/.

[122] For a transcript of President George W. Bush's press release, go to: http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/20/washington/20text-bush.html?pagewanted=all

[123] Comment made by DANCEshow at http://www.tripadvisor.com.

[124] Comment made by Betilu at http://www.tripadvisor.com.

[125] Scott McCabe and Duncan Marson, "Tourist Constructions on Consumptions of Space: Place, Modernity, and Meaning," in *Tourism and Social Identities: Global Frameworks and Local Realities*, ed. P. M. Burns and M. Novelli (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 91.

[126]Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Andrew F. Wood, "'What Happens [in Vegas]': Performing the Post-Tourist Flâneur in 'New York' and 'Paris,'" *Text and Performance Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (2005): 317, doi:10.1080/10462930500362403.

[129] Bond, "Intersections or Misdirections?," 115.

[130] Baudrillard, "The Spirit of Terrorism."

[131] Cloud, "'To Veil the Threat of Terror.'"

[132] Ibid., 291.

CHAPTER 5

GLANCING BACK, LOOKING FORWARD: PRACTICES OF PLACE-MAKING AND SEEING IN THE CITY

Different spaces call for different glances.
-- Edward S. Casey

In the dance between light and surface, the contours of place are illuminated in the (mind's) eye. Rays of light collide with lines, shapes, blobs, forms, and contours of place things. In the force of this interaction some light is absorbed and become a part of place, while some light is reflected, repelled backwards, bouncing into the eye of the beholder.[1] Lined with millions of photo-sensitive neurons, the eye swallows the light and transforms it into energy, distributing it throughout the brain in the form of electromagnetic signals. Through all this, the eye keeps moving. Through saccades, the eye perceives the world.

But the body of the eye is never an unbiased observer. The eye has a psychology. It has baggage. It is classed and raced and sexual/ized/ing. The eye is lazy and inconsistent. It responds to the visual stimuli of place by taking mental leaps and shortcuts over surfaces, connecting their dots to categorize and reduce their dynamic complexity. Even the most observant of eyes focus on the "whole" before noticing the details of any visual phenomena.[2] The worst is when the eye simply sees what it desires to see, blatantly ignoring everything else. In its glancing and transformation, leaping and laziness, unpredictability and baggage, the eye is the site where self meets social and where the ideology of place intersects

with the physicality of the body. The eye is the metaphorical and physical point where the rhetorical force of the city begins its journey, where it stakes its claim as place.

In the exploration of New York City as an archetypal American city, this project illustrates the importance of attending to not only the rhetoric of place, but the specific ways that place is a product of a *vernacular* discourse, a discourse made possible through not only the use of (em)placed codes, but of the creation of these codes by users of these places. As a critical framework, the (em)placed vernacular provides a structure to study the particularity of place that recognizes its intricate complexity. It places materiality, aesthetics, and images on equal footing and allows for the movement of images between city places and the (cyber)places of the public screen. Furthermore, the particular place-making acts of OWS, Banksy, and the 9/11 Memorial suggest two orientations towards place-making*: (em)placed transgression* and *(em)placed control*. These two modes of engaging in place are not binary in their relationship. Rather, they represent two ends of spectrum of continual revision and reappropriation in the particularities of place and offer a framework for understanding how the vernacular of places may be altered and transformed, producing new possibilities for seeing the world.

I return to the distinction between space and place to discuss the importance of place-making and its connection to practices of seeing. I then revisit my case studies to illustrate how transgressive and controlling engagements with place suggest specific ways of seeing that make visible what is possible and impossible in the world. I end with a discussion about the larger implications of this project for the study of rhetoric, images, and place and point to areas where the (em)placed vernacular may find additional footing in illuminating the rhetorics of transgression and power in the contemporary moment.

Making Place, Making Do

Place-making is a communicative and rhetorical process and can be accomplished consciously and unconsciously through a kaleidoscope of actions and which is founded on the distinction between space and place. The notion of space was initially understood as an abstract system of logic or practice, which invests the more particular and semibounded concept of place with particular ideologies.[3] Because of the fluidity of space, place has often been regarded as its opposite: as static and bounded. This configuration rests on the Christian ideology where an infinite God exists in space as well as the spatial importance of the hard sciences.[4] This perspective of space as fluid and place as static is taken up by a number of contemporary scholars.[5] Tuan, for example, works from a phenomenological background to argue that space is movement and fluidity, whereas place signifies the breaks, or moments of pause, within these larger spatial flows.[6] As this project and numerous scholars demonstrate, however, place is not the opposite of space.[7] Place may be a materialization of spatial ideologies, but it is also a force in their creation to begin with. The fluidity of place and the ability for individuals to *make place* is what positions it as an important point in addressing issues of social justice.

In recent scholarship, place-making is specifically tied to feelings of unease or dissatisfaction with larger spatial structures. Donofrio clearly demonstrates the importance of authority in place-making at Ground Zero, and from a more social geographical perspective, Thomas Puleo asserts that art-making after natural disasters can serve as a place-making strategy in recovery of both the place and the people who live within it.[8] Further, place-making strategies are often used to combat the sense of dislocation brought on by (non)places, practices of postmodernity, and globalization. Massey asks, "How, in the face of all this movement and intermixing, can we retain any sense of a local place in its

particularity? An (idealized) notion of an era when places were (supposedly) inhabited by coherent and homogeneous communities is set against the current fragmentation and disruption."[9] Tactics of authenticity and nostalgia, therefore, are often used as particular rhetorical codes that aid in the construction of a sense of identity. Stewart and Dickinson write, "Place making practices are also and at the same time identity making practices." They discuss the rhetoric of a suburban mall as a place-making rhetoric that provides the resources for the performance of a postmodern identity.[10] Similarly, Saskia Whitborn illustrates, "the tensions between transnational mobility and fixity and the intersections between globalization, communication, social, legal, and political practice, and space/place-making."[11] Place-making, then, provides a vocabulary for what de Certau calls "making do" in the world.[12]

The (em)placed vernacular is a result of perpetual place-making. Over and over, through repetition and historicity, users engage places and slowly build their rhetorical force. Dirt footpaths snake through grassy areas where users have repeatedly refused the call of the sidewalk. Food vendors study the flow of pedestrians and cluster around particular areas in the city. Even in monumental built places, such as the 9/11 Memorial, place-making continues despite efforts to control it. Graffiti appears stubbornly on the name parapets regardless of making spray paint cans an illegal possession in the place. Not only is the (em)placed vernacular the result of perpetual place-making, each of these case studies can be read as an act of making place that responds to dissatisfaction with larger spatial ideologies manifested as particular aesthetic, material, and visual codes in the (em)placed vernacular.

While place-making as a vernacular discourse is an important response to feelings of dissatisfaction brought on by disasters, contemporary malaise, or oppressive ideologies, place-making should not be understood as inherently reactionary or nostalgic.[13] Place is the

fundamental way in which individuals create a sense of community and self. Further, for scholars like Lefebvre and Heidegger, the production of place and the ability to dwell in its particularities is fundamental to the creation of subjectivity to begin with.[14] As I have demonstrated, these places are constitutive in their rhetoric, engendering particular subjectivities. Banksy's place-making tactics suggest the emergence of a postsubject voice, OWS produced a collective subjectivity, and the 9/11 Memorial constitutes a surveilling flâneur. Thus, place-making is not inherently reactionary but it can be used as a way of altering the meanings and rhetorical vernaculars of an existing place to produce different subjectivities. It is in lived places where subjectivity is born, individuals "make do," and critical consciousness has the potential to intervene.

Place-making not only helps to enunciate a sense of political, national, or individual subjectivity through materiality, aesthetics, and image, it is also provides the architectures for seeing what is possible and impossible in the world. As I discussed in Chapter 3, these architectures for seeing in the world work within the (em)placed vernacular to visualize what is impossible and possible in not just the city, but the world. As Dickinson argues, a "sense of place is not simply an 'aesthetic' construct (if, indeed aesthetic constructs can be considered simple). Instead, place-making strategies always offer very particular frames for seeing and acting in the world."[15] Casey takes up the connection between seeing and place explicitly in his discussion of the glance and the gaze, making clear that these ways of looking are not practices of the eyes. Rather, these are embodied modes of encountering and understanding the world.

The gaze, Casey argues, is a mode of viewing privileged by modernity and defined by its gravity, by its ability to take things seriously.[16] In its gravity and affirmation of the status quo, "the gaze does not contest the 'rules of the game' but, on the contrary, takes pleasure in

their continual reenactment. Its interest is not in how things should be or might be otherwise but in how they stand and do not change."[17] Alternatively, the glance slides over place surfaces in a subversive way, "getting under the skin of the epistemic establishment, which favors the gaze as a matter of principle."[18] Further, while the gaze is within the realm of space, the glance is inextricably linked to place. Casey argues, "The bond between glances and places is fast and deep. This bond reflects what they share in common: contingency, historicity, and irreplaceable bodily desire and intentionality, a decided vulnerability."[19] In the union between the subversive glance and the (em)placed vernacular found in places, different ways of seeing the world are created. This is not a determinant or causal relationship. As Casey argues, museums privilege the gaze but that does not mean that one cannot glance past the uninteresting paintings.[20] However, the codes of the (em)placed are rhetorical and offer particular surfaces over and through which the glance can slide, inviting particular modes of seeing through its materiality, aesthetics, and embedded images. Simply, different (em)placed vernaculars call for and are made possible by different practices of looking and constitute identities, nations, and communities.

Place-making, while sometimes reactionary and responsive to feelings of cultural dissatisfaction is one of the fundamental ways that subjectivity is materialized into place and within which the codes of the (em)placed vernacular can be revised and rewritten. These modalities of "making do" are countless and may work to support, revise, or transgress larger ideological systems that support domination and oppression in the contemporary moment. Further, different engagements with the (em)placed vernaculars make possible different practices of looking. Practices of looking may work to support, revise, or transgress larger ideological systems that support domination and oppression in the contemporary moment and are the very site where rhetorical force is internalized and multiplied. Embodied

in the "eye" of the beholder, these ways of seeing do not just affect *how* individuals see what is possible in the world but *what* individuals see as possible and impossible in the world. Different ways of seeing, engendered by the slippery surfaces of place, are clearly not always emancipatory, but studying their implications answers the call of critical rhetoric to act as a "critique of domination and freedom in a relativized world."[21] I now turn to the place-making efforts of OWS, Banksy, and the 9/11 Memorial to glance quickly at how their visual architectures suggest particular rhythms of sight for seeing and imagining the world.

Glancing Back

The images from OWS transformed a (non)place of circulation into a transgressive place where the appearance of a subject could emerge as a collection of non-rational images within numerous (cyber)places in millions of public screens. For Banksy, every surface of the city is a manifestation of spatial practices that maintain issues of oppression and domination ranging from issues of animal rights and artistic authority to capitalism, racism, and classism. Through the rhetoric of play, Banksy transgressed and transformed every surface of the city into a potential canvas where the architectures for seeing the city and the world could become points of intervention. Alternatively, the 9/11 Memorial responded and continues to respond to the violence of the place of Ground Zero by transforming the place of Ground Zero into a memory place, birthing the surveilling flâneur who watches for behavior that is out of place. In these specific engagements of place-making, two orientations towards place emerge: OWS and Banksy embed codes of transgression into the (em)placed vernacular, whereas the 9/11 memorial operates within a larger rhetoric of control.

(Em)placed Transgression

A transgressive use of place makes visible the ways that the established order has, as Creswell writes, "Made its world seem to be the natural world—the commonsense world."[22] The commonsense world is created through the "distribution of the sensible," or the ways that city places assign particular activities and people to particular places.[23] Transgressing or crossing the boundaries of what appears to be common sense can be accomplished by reapproapriating particular codes embedded in place, by appearing "out of place," or by simply using place in ways that it is not meant to be used. (Em)placed transgression, I argue, can be understood as acts by individuals or groups that reappropriate aesthetic codes within the particularities of place. This mode of engagement with place functions to democratize place and produces specific ways of seeing and engaging the place of their reappropriation and the larger contemporary landscape.

OWS reappropriated Zuccotti Park where the imagined smell of the strange protest bodies intermingled with the noise of visual dissent. Protestors illustrated that the public place of Zuccotti Park could be used as a place where politics can occur and where the unheard voices of a disenchanted generation might not be ignored. Rather than using the park as a momentary place of rest or Brooklyn Bridge as a way of moving from one borough to another, the collective subjectivity of OWS used these places as marching places, as dwelling places, and as sites where dissonance could appear in image events: the halting of one moment in time and place, taken for the purpose of glancing, for reappropriation, for the birth of the meme, for the birth of a movement.

Similarly, Banksy's transgressive place-making acts reappropriated the codes of the (em)placed vernacular in a variety of places throughout the city. From making a nature scene in the back of a delivery truck to painting a cheetah on an existing paint line, to hiring an

actor to shine the shoes of Ronald McDonald outside of a McDonald's Restaurant, Banksy uses aesthetics to reimagine the purpose of place surfaces. In Banksy's case, these reappropriations operate as a call to action for others to directly engage in the (em)placed vernacular and continue to make it visible as a surface on which to speak.

In both cases, these reappropriations democratize place. OWS makes "public space" a place for the public and Banksy's images make visible the injustice that those who fail to own property are left without a claim to citizenship and without a voice to take a stand against injustice: the collective owns every wall, and any anonymous voice can speak its piece in place. Both of these democratizing actions transgress the spatial ideology of late capitalism that links citizenship to place through the logic of ownership. Soja asserts that "Every square inch of space in every market-based economy has been commodified and commercialized into parcels of valued land that are owned by individuals, corporations (usually considered as individuals under the law), or by the state (considered to be representative of the public at large)."[24] This structure, based on a history of property ownership running back into the ancient city-states, makes the right to own property a "defining principle of citizenship."[25]

In (em)placed transgression, the city becomes a surface and new, creative and productive, ways of seeing emerge. Transgressive place-making moves past the *studium*, the cultural meanings of place things and sees them for the first time. It glances and inspects the texture of the city in a child-like manner. "Stop what?" it asks of the stop sign. Like finding faces in the lines of a cloudy sky, this mode of vision asks of place things not what they are but what they want to be. This orientation to place is imaginative. It sees potentiality. It uses a creative eye and glances to "[restore] to things and places, animals and people, their rightful due in the perceptual world."[26] In its creativity, it is also destructive. This orientation towards place destroys the cultural agreements about how place should be used and what should be

seen on and within it. The individual's voice becomes a part of the urban landscape, its aesthetic building layers on the surfaces of the city and speaking noisily from the places of the elite. Namelessly, transgressive place-makers assert themselves into place, puncturing its forced signification with irreverence and plotting pathways towards new places, new meanings, and new ways of seeing the city.

(Em)placed Control

A powerful response to transgression is to simply make actions, images, or place things illegal or against the rules. Graffiti and postgraffiti are both explicitly illegal because they are done without consent of the owners of place. Beyond simply abstract rules or laws, however, particular places may embed visual, material, and aesthetic codes into the (em)placed vernacular so that actions of users are controlled and bodies are disciplined. More specifically, the case studies suggest that (em)placed control refers to acts which embed dominant ideology in the (em)placed vernacular and make altering it by individuals or groups difficult, illegal, or immoral.

The actions of Zuccotti Park protestors are now illegal due to the rules of the owners of the place. The real effects of the OWS's transgressive use of place was to make Zuccotti Park a highly regulated, surveyed, and controlled place. Similarly, place-making at Ground Zero is centered around control as well. Inviting visitors to engage in place through fear, consumption, and surveillance produces a deeply affective rhetoric and can be read as an example of contemporary place-making tactics that are, as Massey argues, "defensive and reactionary responses—certain forms of nationalism, sentimentalized recovering of sanitized 'heritages,' and outright antagonism to newcomers and 'outsiders.'"[27] By reacting to the trauma of 9/11 through gates and security screenings, reflective walls, and police presence,

the 9/11 Memorial seeks stability and objectivity and rejects relativism on the principle that innocence can only be understood in relationship to its opposite. While the surveilling flâneur "has only a schematic sense of where he might go: a sense that is subject to continual revision," the mode of vision privileged within the Memorial signals a return of the gaze.[28]

(Em)placed control suggests particular ways of seeing the world, which are filtered through intersectional and dominant ideologies and reproduced unconsciously and consciously by users of place. While (em)placed control may come in the form of specific signage (i.e., "do not walk on the ivy beds") the underlying goal of rhetorics of control in place is that users should already know the code and the behaviors that are deemed acceptable in public places. Rather than seeing past the *studium,* users attempt to match their behavior appropriately to dominant cultural meanings. In cities, this often results in the avoidance of eye contact, a steady and hurried movement through place, and the use of most public places as (non)places. A sense of efficacy and achievement in the world is reduced to simply performing as one should. The ideal citizen suggested by place-making tactics that operate through a rhetoric of control is illustrated perfectly by the jet-setting traveler who approaches airport security with shoes already in hand, laptop and liquids removed, and a simple sense of satisfaction of knowing the rituals of this place without having been told. The world exists as a constellation of particular places connected only through the movement between them and constituted by the internalization of an already established code.

Acts of (em)placed control such as those found in the 9/11 Memorial function to reiterate dominant ideologies and produce problematic global and local practices while others like the newly imagined Zuccotti Park function to silence free speech and dissent. Furthermore, rhetorics of control are often hegemonic. They are so naturalized that they fail

to be read as codes at all. Class and racial ideologies, for example, are manifested in cities through segregation and gentrification but these practices are rarely perceived as codes. Furthermore, city goers learn specific practices of vision and seeing that are assigned to each of these areas of the city. An object pulled from a jacket or a dark hoodie is perceived in dramatically different ways in different places and the ways that they are seen can mean the difference between life and death. Through the place-making acts of control found throughout the contemporary city, dominant ideologies maintain their hold to make alternative visions of the city abhorrent and criminal. Rhetorics of control silence the ability to engage in the fundamental right to reimagine the self and the city.

In the spectrum of place-making, acts of control and transgression represent the extremes of engagement but threads of each of their forces reiterate themselves throughout built places and cities. Transgression and control are symbiotically related. The more clearly a place is marked by control, Creswell argues, the more easily it can be transgressed.[29] As I have demonstrated, attending to the ways that place is created, transgressed, and used as a form of control is not simply a reflection of larger ideologies. Rather, place-making points to issues of human rights and social justice. As Harvey writes, "The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city …. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is … one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."[30]

Looking Forward

This project illustrates the importance of attending to the construction of place and the important ways that that users mark, produce, and are constituted through and by the invisible and visible codes of the (em)placed vernacular. Within each case study, there

are both methodological and theoretical implications to the study of visual rhetoric and place as well as the more specific contours of the specific subject matter of the case studies: protest movements, aesthetics, and practices of memory. Methodologically, the project's use of photography as a fundamental component of the method works within larger conversations about the practices of bodily presence in rhetorical studies of both place and social movements as well as calls for an increased visual literacy for those who study visual culture.[31] The study of both physical place and (cyber)place also allows for more methodological freedom when studying acts of place-making.

Theoretically, each case study adds to existing conversations in their specific subject areas. The use of public dwelling, for example, is important to conversations surrounding the rhetoric of protest. For example, in the recent prodemocracy movement in Hong Kong, protestors have made use of a local freeway as a dwelling place, similar to that of the OWS movement in Zuccotti Park.[32] The political potential of aesthetics and the notion of a voice that is untethered from the chains of a stable subject is made visible by Banksy and can add to existing conversations concerning political agency and the nature of human rights in a late capitalist and postmodern world. Finally, the practices of memory and mourning embedded in the site of the 9/11 Memorial add to an already very large body of literature surrounding public memory and highlight the increasing importance of how built environments teach lessons about what it means to be a citizen. Most importantly, though, this project engages the vernacular aspects of place-making and its implications in the contemporary moment.

As rhetoricians, to study the place-making and the practices of vision suggested through these acts is about continuing to move beyond the objective view of the world which profoundly hinders the ability to engage in operations and systems of power so vital to the critical project. To engage in what Bourdieu calls a theory of practice is to push

against the flattening of texts, and images, and performances where (despite efforts to the contrary) the critic studies the social world as a representation and the practices of people as a result of these representations. Turning to the relationship between places, place-making, and practices of vision is to acknowledge that the "objects of knowledge are constructed, not passively recorded, and, contrary to intellectualist idealism, that the principle of this construction is the system of structured, structuring dispositions, the *habitus,* which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions."[33]

The practices of seeing suggested by the (em)placed control and transgression found in OWS, Banksy, and the 9/11 Memorial have dramatic and profound implications on the micropractices of individuals and the macropractices of contemporary politics. These practices of seeing, however, are not passive nor do they suggest a determinate relationship between place and seeing. We cannot forget the baggage of the eye. The eye is a product of history, of social forces, of subjective experience, of class and race and sexual orientation, of formal education. Bourdieu writes, "In a sense, one can say that the capacity to see (voir) is a function of the knowledge (savoir), or concepts, that is, the words, that are available to name visible things, and which are, as it were, programmes for perception."[34] The eye and its ability to perceive the (em)placed vernacular are a product of *habitus*, the dispositions and practices of the body which are produced by and work to produce the "structuring structures" of culture.[35]

The habitus of the eye, created in part through the structured structures of place, may limit what may be perceived. It also creates the ability to see past the surfaces of place and place things and imagine them differently. From cutting through the grass instead of using the sidewalk to seeing the side of a building as a potential canvas, the eye is the site where the *habitus* of the body in place meets the possibility for transgression in space. The

eye is where the spatial ideologies and codes of place are perceived through the lens of self and where radical possibilities for transgression are located: place-making is the essence of the vernacular; it is where the everyday person perceives possibilities and makes a place in the world.

Endnotes

[1] Hubel, *Eye, Brain, and Vision.*

[2]Barry, *Visual Intelligence.*

[3] Cresswell, *Place, A Short Introduction.*

[4] Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History.*

[5] The distinction between space and place has been taken up by numerous scholars. See Doreen B. Massey, *For Space* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2005); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing, 1990); Edward Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Cresswell, *Place, A Short Introduction*; Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1989).

[6] Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values.*

[7] Massey, Rose, and Soja all point to the problems of conceptualizing place as static.

[8] T. Puleo, "Art-Making as Place-Making Following Disaster," *Progress in Human Geography* 38, no. 4 (August 1, 2014): 568–80, doi:10.1177/0309132513512543; Donofrio, "Ground Zero and Place-Making Authority."

[9] Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 146.

[10] Stewart and Dickinson, "Enunciating Locality in the Postmodern Suburb," 2008.

[11] Saskia Witteborn, "Constructing the Forced Migrant and the Politics of Space and Place-Making," *Journal of Communication* 61, no. 6 (December 2011): 1142–60, doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01578.x.

[12]de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life.*

[13] See Doreen B. Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) for an excellent argument against this construction. See also Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* for a discussion of the fundamental importance of place-making in everyday life.

[14] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking."

[15] (283)

[16] Casey, *The World at a Glance.*

[17] Ibid., 143.

[18] Ibid., 145.

[19] Ibid., 52.

[20] Ibid., 145.

[21] McKerrow, "Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis," 91.

[22] Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*, 19.

[23] Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*.

[24] Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice*, 44.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Casey, *The World at a Glance*, 18.

[27] Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 147.

[28] Casey, *The World at a Glance*, 250.

[29] Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*.

[30] David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1973), 315.

[31] See, for example: Pezzullo, *Toxic Tourism*; Middleton, Senda-Cook, and Endres, "Articulating Rhetorical Field Methods"; Blair, "Reflections on Criticism and Bodies: Parables from Public Places." In terms of visual literacy, see: Paul Messaris and Sandra Moriarty, "Visual Literacy Theory" (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2005).

[32] Lian Yi Zheng, "Hong Kong's Occupy Generation," *New York Times*, October 31, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/01/opinion/hong-kongs-occupy-generation.html.

[33] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 52.

[34] Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, 2.

[35] Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 53.

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