

DIVERSE WAYS OF LEARNING

A Guide
for Educators

ABOUT PROTEST
AND SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS

THROUGH
STUDENT
DIALOGUE

**A Guide
for Educators**

**DIVERSE WAYS OF LEARNING
ABOUT PROTEST AND SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS THROUGH
STUDENT DIALOGUE**

**USING THE GUIDE
AND GUIDE COMPONENTS**

GRADE LEVEL(S)	Middle and high school (grades 6–12)
CONTENT THEMES	Protest and Recuperative Strategies of Resistance, Art Making, Community Activism, Advocacy, Cultural Production
SUBJECTS	Arts, Civics for All, English Language Arts, Literacy, Social Studies
TOPICS	Community Relations, Current Events, Indigenous Lands, Injustice, Race, Using One’s Voice, Police Brutality
ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS	<p>Why do people protest in general?</p> <p>Why do people protest against systemic racism?</p> <p>What impact does contemporary art have on peaceful social protest movements?</p>
LEARNING OBJECTIVES	<p>Students will</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • use visual literacy to analyze and integrate works of art, as aligned with Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) and Common Core English Language Arts and Social Studies learning standards, • contextualize the use of protest in relation to a selection of works from the exhibition <i>The Protest and The Recuperation</i>, • explore the visual and historical significance of protest through works of art to broaden discussions of historical and contemporary protest, • develop visual thinking skills through the analysis of contemporary art addressing particular protests or social /movements, • understand the fundamentals of nonviolent civil disobedience and explore the central role that disruptive protest plays in authentic and equitable movements, • begin to think about the connections between social media and protests, and explore the relationship between images and the understanding of protest.

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INTRODUCTION

1

The Wallach Art Gallery's exhibition *The Protest and The Recuperation* presents work by visual artists whose subject matter is derived from contemporary protest movements from around the globe. The show asks visitors, "How can contemporary art focus our attention differently from what we learn from various media sources, or even our own experiences of protest?" This question is the inspiration for this educator guide.

For students, the selection of works represented in the guide offers a broader framework for thinking about the role of art in nonviolent protest and how meaning is constructed in images. The questions that drive these discussions can be applied more broadly to protest images seen in the news and social media feeds and will support ongoing discussions about current events and the images that represent them. The works also introduce the concept of recuperation and self-care as a form of resistance that sustains protest.

Developed in collaboration with Honey Walrond, a Ph.D. student in English Education at Columbia University's Teachers College, this guide presents strategies for student-centered discussions that are focused on visual analysis. Through discussion prompts and activities, students will develop their own definition of protest and explore how contemporary protest images inform historical understanding of movements such as Black Lives Matter. This resource also recognizes the significance of the protests in the wake of the murder of George Floyd and the need that students may have to talk about the impact of that murder on their lives. In these materials, an essay and a series of resources are included to support such discussions.

It is our hope that this guide gives educators resources to frame classroom conversations and empower students to express what matters to them right now. I welcome educator feedback about this guide and encourage you to stay in contact with the Wallach Art Gallery.

**WHY THE CONTINUOUS PLEAS
OF “I CAN’T BREATHE”
SHOULD MATTER
IN EVERY CLASSROOM**

It is one year after we all learned the name George Floyd, a Black man killed on May 25, 2020, by Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin. We learned about Floyd's murder through video footage of a police officer killing an unarmed Black man: another video, another killing. Once again, a video loop of Black trauma would be seen around the world, but this one sparked 93% of peaceful #BlackLivesMatter (BLM) global protests in the summer of 2020 (Kishi and Jones), which swept the nation at the height of the global COVID-19 pandemic. In response to anti-Blackness, police violence, racism, and the continuous coverage of Black vulnerability, #BlackLivesMatter (BLM) was founded in July 2013 upon the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's killer, George Zimmerman ("About Black Lives Matter"). Alicia Garza posted on Facebook a note that urged others to ensure that "black lives matter." Patrisse Cullors created the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, and with the help of Opal Tometi, the three founders of BLM launched a campaign that included demonstrations in Ferguson, Missouri, for Mike Brown; Cleveland, Ohio, for Tamir Rice; New York, New York, for Eric Garner; and Louisville, Kentucky, for Breonna Taylor: all killed by police. This racial reckoning has inspired nationwide symbolic "taking a knee," the nonviolent gesture of protest pointing to the fight against injustices and freedom from oppression.

In 2020, BLM protests were held in Colombia over the killing of a young Black man named Anderson Arboleda in Puerto Tejada; in South Africa over the police killing of sixteen-year-old Nathaniel Julies; and in West Papua, Indonesia, by activists who were inspired by BLM to start a movement under the message #AllPapuanLivesMatter (Westerman, Benk, and Greene). The participation in the protests by students and other people from different walks of life signified the element of peace and justice relevant in the current scenario to lead a purposeful life.

The pleas of "I can't breathe" continue to go unheeded, but the nation now hears these victims who were killed at the hands of law enforcement—a country that continues to be outraged and inspired. How, then, can educators and students learn the ways in which art can contribute to a conversation about peaceful protest? How do educators teach both domestic and international peaceful protest over police brutality and racial injustice? Martin Luther King Jr said, "A riot is the language of the unheard" ("MLK: The Other America", 03:15–05:21); how, then, do educators teach students why the voices of the unheard matter?

Since education in contemporary times is globalized, it can rightly be used to raise awareness among students on how to use their voices against injustices and why their

voices matter (Buchanan, Bui, and Patel). Students face continuous coverage of brutal atrocities against Black lives, against the vulnerable at the hands of White supremacy. The heightened awareness among young people is evidenced by the actions of Darnella Frazier, the teen who witnessed and filmed Floyd's murder. That video won Frazier an honorary Pulitzer Prize (Izadi) and made the guilty verdict against Chauvin possible (Bogel-Burroughs and Fazio). Many Darnellas are in educators' classrooms today—as are many George Floyds, Trayvon Martins, Mike Browns, Tamir Rices, Eric Garners, and Breonna Taylors: they are all the reasons why it matters for educators to teach their students about the protests of summer 2020 through visual images. Their names and the movements that formed following their deaths matter a year later for educators to provide their students with critical learning about how peaceful protests can pave the way for the kind of structural changes in society and social accountability necessary in the fight against racial injustices.

The art from *The Protest and The Recuperation* exhibit allows educators a chance to engage their students in dialogue about how contemporary art can convey thousands of words: how visual imagery illuminates vulnerable desires to bring about change. This educational guide suggests a range of techniques for educators of diverse secondary learners: techniques for how to engage in discussions about peaceful protests, the historical events that took place in the summer of 2020, the motivation to protest by those who feel oppressed and no longer wish to remain silent. As a supplement to the teaching of activism in the secondary classroom, we encourage educators to also consider this guide on the topics of social justice and its relation to protest, the social issues surrounding the 2020 protests, and racial disparities plus institutionalized racism. Different learning opportunities are offered through group work, edtech tools, social media, image-making, writing, reflecting, and student-centered dialogues. These many ways of learning about protests and social movements are vital, as the ability to protest freely is being impacted by the introduction of antiprotest legislation in thirty-four states within the U.S. (Epstein and Mazzei), in addition to the ongoing introduction of restrictive voting provisions and suppressive voter bills by state lawmakers (Corasaniti; Corasaniti and Epstein, “Florida and Texas” and “With Florida Bill”).

HONEY WALROND
PH.D. STUDENT, ENGLISH EDUCATION
TEACHERS COLLEGE,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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THE
Protest

ARTIST SELECTION

AND THE
RE-
CUPERA-
TION

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The Protest and The Recuperation is a survey of artistic perspectives on and responses to the global phenomenon of mass protest, as well as to recuperative strategies of resistance. In these times, contemporary art has the capacity to focus our attention on what we learn differently from how we learn from various media sources, or even from our own experiences in protest. This exhibition presents a focused selection of works that register the power of mass protest from a deeply human perspective. It highlights the individual-to-individual connection in the collective spaces of the mass protest, recovery, and care. The exhibition also focuses on work addressing spaces of comfort and care: places for recuperation, whether private or public, where people can regroup and reboot for the next round of resistance.

This education guide highlights several works from the exhibition, which was on view at the Wallach Art Gallery from June 12 through August 14, 2021.

The Protest and The Recuperation is curated by Betti-Sue Hertz, Director and Chief Curator of the Wallach Art Gallery.

NOTE

All artist information is extracted from Betti-Sue Hertz and Sreshta Rit Premnath, eds., *The Protest and The Recuperation* (exhibition catalogue), New York: The Wallach Art Gallery, 2021.

KHALID ALBAIH

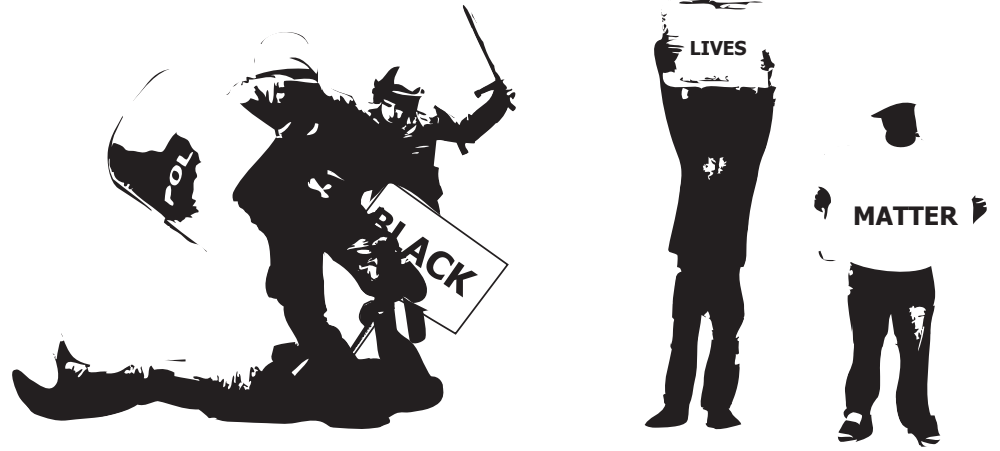
(b. 1980, Bucharest; lives and works
in Copenhagen)

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Left:
Khalid Albaih,
POWER PRINT,
September 9, 2016
Digital image
Printed dimensions vary
Courtesy the artist

Right:
Khalid Albaih,
BLACK LIVES MATTER,
September 23, 2016
Digital image
Printed dimensions vary
Courtesy the artist

Khalid Albaih is one of the most prolific political cartoonists in the world. Since the Arab Spring, he continues to publish a cartoon a day. His work, a confluence of journalism and art, first came to prominence during the Arab Spring. Albaih's political cartoons capture the many disguises of power detectable on the world stage. At once a global citizen and a Sudanese activist, Albaih trained as an interior architect. He covers a wide range of topics, from the despots of the Middle East and the failure of the American ideals worldwide to freedom in Sudan. Albaih's political commentary circulates primarily online and in print publications, putting him in jeopardy with various authoritarian governments and their surrogates. His visual critiques thus become the protest of one representing the sentiments of many that he needs to defend. These astute cartoons are both amusing and deadly serious in their scathing critiques of the power dynamics of oppression.



@Khalidalbaih

@Khalidalbaih

RACHAEL HAYNES

(b. 1977, Brisbane, Australia; lives and works in Brisbane)

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Left:
Rachael Haynes,
CLIMATE TARGETS, 2021
Ink and pencil on watercolor paper
25 drawings, each 20 1/2 x 16 1/8 in. (52 x 41 cm);
overall approx. 126 x 104 3/8 in. (320 x 265 cm)
Courtesy the artist

Right:
Rachael Haynes,
TOGETHER WE MARCH, 2021
Cotton quilting fabric appliqued on Belgian linen
9 banners, each 29 1/2 x 55 1/8 in. (75 x 140 cm);
overall approx. 118 1/8 x 189 in. (300 x 480 cm)
Courtesy the artist

Rachael Haynes is an artist and educator living and working in Australia. Her work mines the history of feminist activism and recent efforts for climate justice, especially linked to the bushfires that devastated parts of Australia. Haynes appropriates the semiotics of protest signage—especially its legacy of typography and design, with acute attention to the sensate aspects of color and palette—to express care through positive signs of affirmation. By mining this tradition, she reinforces the importance of the visual in the production of nonviolent protest. She expands this pictorial language into the phenomenological: the relationship of vision to the other senses and sometimes even the psychedelic, a subtle shift signaling the necessity of consciousness in the production of ethics in protest culture.



JOSUÉ RIVAS

(b. 1989, Turtle Island; lives and works
in Portland, Oregon)

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Josué Rivas photographed the iconic 2016 protest at Standing Rock, which deployed centuries-old traditions, contemporary graphics, and acts of determination defending the preservation of ancestral lands against the Dakota Access Pipeline (#NoDAPL). Three camps were set up that housed three to four thousand people. Rivas's black-and-white photographs reclaim the role of the photographer as one who records an observational truth. His access from within the Native American community sets his images apart from mainstream press photojournalism coverage of Standing Rock. Focusing on intimate moments and traditional ritual as well as on confrontation with law enforcement, Rivas upends the problematic legacy of photographic representations of indigenous peoples as a claim to his own rights as a Native activist. His work benefits from his commitment, his immersion, and his participation, all of which bring the viewer into the encampment.

Josué Rivas,
STANDING STRONG, 2021
Augmented reality presentation of 12 photographs
from the series Standing Strong (2016)
Developed in collaboration with the Department
of Computer Science at Columbia University
under the leadership of Steven Feiner
Courtesy the artist

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HANK WILLIS THOMAS

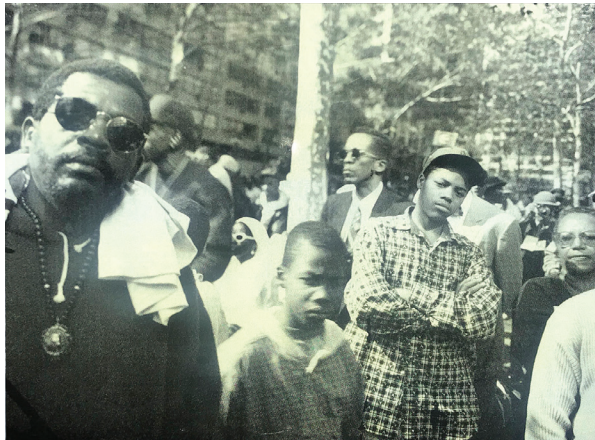
(b. 1976, Plainfield, New Jersey; lives and works
in Brooklyn, New York)

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Left:
Hank Willis Thomas,
BUFFALO STANCE (SPLATTER), 2018
Screen print on retroreflective vinyl,
mounted on Dibond
top image: without flash
bottom image: with flash
framed: 30 3/4 x 41 in. (79 x 105 cm)
Courtesy the artist and Jack Shainman Gallery,
New York

Right:
Hank Willis Thomas,
LET US RISE AND MAKE NATIONS SEE
(BLACK ON PINK ON BLACK), 2018
Screen print on retroreflective vinyl,
mounted on Dibond
top image: without flash
bottom image: with flash
framed: 33 3/8 x 49 in. (85 x 125 cm)
Courtesy the artist and Jack Shainman Gallery,
New York

Hank Willis Thomas is a Brooklyn-based conceptual artist working primarily with themes related to perspective, identity, commodity, media, and public culture. His ongoing project includes representations of various civil rights marches throughout history, based on historical photographs, as a way to reinvigorate a visual compendium of collective defiance and demands for civil rights. These works elevate to iconic status the many episodes that comprise public action in the United States on behalf of the Black population. He imbues the symbols of resistance and resilience with grace, thereby elevating, constructing, and validating the continuities of historic events—Silent Parade, Children’s March, Selma marches, Million Man March—imagined in screen prints on retroreflective vinyl. When the prints are illuminated with a camera flash, additional elements of the images are revealed.



DISCUSSION

STRATEGIES + ACTIVITIES

During whole group instruction, model how to make a Protest Chart in three columns by instructing students to draw three lines on a notebook page to make the columns. Ask students to title their chart at the top of the page as “Protest Chart” and to label each column: the first column is “See,” the second column is “Wonder,” and the third column is “Think.” (See p. 50 for the template)

PROTEST CHART		
SEE	WONDER	THINK

Have students select a work of their choice from those included in the guide. While students are viewing the art/images, have students complete their **See-Wonder-Think**

Protest Chart:

SEE: in this image I see...

WONDER: this art/image makes me wonder...

THINK: this art/image makes me think...

As a whole class, call on students to share their See-Wonder-Think Protest Chart.

REFLECT AND WRITE

Once students have completed and shared their See-Wonder-Think chart, have students take a moment to reflect and write on the following prompts:

What do you think about when you hear the word “protest”?

How would you define “protest”?

Which piece of art/image best represents your definition of “protest”?

Explain your answer.

DISCUSSION STRATEGIES

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After the See-Wonder-Think Chart activity, provide students with a handout of the Reflect and Write prompts below. The prompts can also be shared by projecting them for students to read and copy down in their notebooks.

- Instruct students to answer one or two prompts.
- Give students 5-10 minutes to answer their prompt(s).
- When the time is up, invite students to share their responses to one of the Reflect and Write prompts:
 - > What is the point of protesting?
 - > What makes protesting effective?
 - > What makes protesting have a lasting impact?
 - > What would make protesting not have a lasting impact?
 - > What are the dangers of protesting?
 - > How should police deal with protestors?
 - > Is a protest by one person as powerful as a protest by millions?
 - > What impact does social media have on protesting?
Does social media help or not help protests?
 - > Is there a cause would you protest about?

Once students have completed one of the Reflect and Write prompts, hold a discussion around all or a few of the prompts.

DIGITAL MEDIA ACTIVITIES

The use of social media continues to engage Generation Z students inside and outside of the classroom. Protest images are commonplace in digital media and social media feeds. The two digital media activities below encourage students to look more closely at global protest images in mass media, in order to develop interpretive and critical thinking skills about how the media covers peaceful protests and what agenda, if any, the media could be advancing through their coverage.

ACTIVITY 1

A Gallery Walk that aims to have students use and develop their visual analysis skills; make connections among graphic images, social movements, and peaceful protest; and explore the impact visual representation has on peaceful demonstrations.

- Use Padlet, Trello, or another mood-board of your choosing.
- Upload images from *The Protest and The Recuperation* exhibition website.
- Create a Padlet account and then a page for your class or the specific period you're teaching.
- Have students engage in a virtual gallery walk of *The Protest and Recuperation* exhibition images.
- Students can reply to each image with “See-Wonder-Think” responses to keep track of their thoughts of what is happening in the images.

ACTIVITY 2

An In-Class Presentation for which students create a PowerPoint or Prezi presentation on a peaceful protest of their choosing. The aim of the presentations is to foster students' public presentation skills in a creative and innovative way. Students should collect the following information for their presentation:

- Two or more visual images and/or multimedia sources about a peaceful protest, such as videos, webinars, etc. These images can come from either *The Protest and The Recuperation* exhibition or from outside sources,
- The name of the protest,
- The reason for the protest,
- Background information on who organized the protest,
- Details about the protest (students must use at least three credible sources and cite each source),
- The outcome of the protest (think verdict for a trial money awarded in a civil case, and/or community reaction),
- a hashtag for the protest or whom the protest was for (#BlackLivesMatter; #StopAsianHate), and
- a personal reflection/opinion about the student's chosen protest.

NOTES TO
TEACHER:

Refer to the Anthony Downey essay “The Future of Protest in a Post-Digital Age” and/or share a passage from the essay, so students can extend their understanding of and discussion around social media and protest.

**EXTENSION
ACTIVITIES**

PROTEST SIGN MAKING

This activity focuses on the power of words to convey meaning and how the presentation of words can heighten the impact of and awareness about a social cause. Teachers may wish to incorporate examples of Rachael Haynes's work into the activity. Haynes's work reflects her interest in the relationship between protest language, gestures of repair, and design principles.

Working in small groups, students will create protest signs. Teachers may want to consider grouping students thematically to focus on social causes/movements that might include the following or determine with students what their interests are:

- BLM
- Environmental Conservation/ Global Warming
- Voting Rights
- Education for All
- The Right to Peacefully Protest

MATERIALS

- Paper of any kind that is most readily available (preferably blank copy paper or construction paper)
- Poster boards
- Any combination of the following: pencils, colored pencils, crayons, markers
- Ruler or straightedge
- Items for collage or visual accents: magazines, newspapers, images printed from other sources, and glue (optional)

Have students work independently to identify a social cause or issue for their sign. Ask students to write three messages on notebook paper, using as few words as possible to communicate why their cause is important.

PART ONE When students are writing their messages, have them focus on the words they are choosing:

- Why is the message important?
- What does it convey about the cause or protest subject?
- How do you feel when you say the words out loud?
- What emotions are conveyed?

PART TWO Group students by theme.
As students work in groups, have them discuss their messages.
Reviewing all of the messages, ask:

- Are there common words that the messages share? Make a list of those words.

Working in their groups, students can either A: make a new message using words from the list OR B: select one message that will become the poster. For option B, students should have a logic for the decision: Why was this message the most effective?

PART THREE Having agreed on their message, the group will now design their poster
Before working on poster board or sign-size paper, first work on plain notebook-size paper (8½ x 11½ copy paper is best and easily available). Design the poster layout taking into consideration the following:

COLOR AND COLLAGE

- How can color be used to activate the words and focus attention?
- Do combinations of color create impact?
- Why are you choosing these colors?
- If there is interest in collage, how can the collage materials be used like color to draw attention to the words?
- What kind of background do you want for the poster?
Should the background have a color or a pattern?

LAYOUT

- How do you want to orient the poster? horizontal or vertical?
- Consider the size of the words: Is it important that the word size be uniform? Why or why not?
- Experiment with the positioning of the words.
- Do you want the words to be accompanied by an image? And if so, what is the image and how does it relate to the message?

Groups may want to make a few versions on paper and then choose one design.

PART FOUR MAKING THE POSTER

If using poster board, students will be scaling-up the size of their designs. They may want to work first in pencil before introducing color.

Students can also use 11 x 17 tabloid copy paper that is often used with computer printers, if that is more readily available.

Have the class come together again and then as groups present their protest-sign designs

NOTES TO
TEACHER:

Refer to the description and examples of Rachael Haynes' works for an example of how an artist approaches protest signs with an emphasis on design.

RECUPERATION:
MAKING SPACE FOR STUDENT
REFLECTION ON SELF-CARE
AND PROTEST

“CARING FOR MYSELF IS NOT
SELF-INDULGENCE.
IT IS SELF-PRESERVATION,
AND THAT IS AN ACT
OF POLITICAL WARFARE.”

AUDRE LORDE,
A BURST OF LIGHT: AND OTHER ESSAYS

In *The Protest and The Recuperation*, recuperative strategies represent a form of resistance. While the relationship between recuperation and protest is sometimes overlooked, this section of the educational guide introduces the idea of recuperation in the context of self-care and self-awareness. We invite educators to have a discussion with students that considers the relationship between protest and mindfulness, as a way of exploring the needs of protestors after a protest ends.

Consider a multimodal activity with Flipgrid, in which students explore the art from one of the previous activities (Discussion Strategies + Activities, Digital Media Activities, or the Extension Activity). Ask students to respond to the following prompts:

- Refer back to the art selections from the previous activities and select one person in the image who speaks to you.
- How would you describe their mindset?
 - > What emotion is represented?
 - > What would you want to ask the person after they have finished protesting?
 - > What might the protester need after the protest is over?
 - > If a photograph were taken after the protest, in what ways might the protester appear different?
 - > Having reflected on the photo and constructed a mindset of the protestor, what do you think is the mindset one needs to protest?
 - > What do you see in the image that would call for self-care and self-awareness? Cite evidence from the image to support your visual analysis.

The selection of supplemental resources provided can be used alongside this guide or on the topic of protest and recuperation.

RESOURCES

FILMS *Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock*. Directed by Myron Dewey, James Spione, Josh Fox, Kyle Cadotte, Teena Pugliese, Doug Good Feather, 2017.

Fruitville Station. Directed by Ryan Coogler, Significant Productions, 2017.

The Harlem Race Riot of 1943. PBS Learning for Educators. American Masters, 2005.

The Hate U Give. Directed by George Tillman Jr., Fox 2000 Pictures, Temple Hill Entertainment, State Street Pictures, 2018.

I Am Not Your Negro. Directed by Raoul Peck, Velvet Film, Artemis Productions, Close Up Films, 2017.

Selma. Directed by Ava DuVernay, Paramount Pictures, 2014.

13th. Directed by Ava DuVernay, Netflix, 2016.

NONFICTION BOOKS AND ESSAYS

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. *Between the World and Me*. One World, 2015.

Cullors, Patrisse, and Asha Bandele. *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir*. St. Martin's Griffin, 2020.

Gerbaudo, Paolo. *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*. Pluto Press, 2012.

Lorde, Audre. *A Burst of Light*. Firebrand Books, 1988.

Wilkerson, Isabel. *Caste: The Origins of Our Discontents*. Random House, 2020.

*Also consider author James Baldwin's article in *Newsweek* for a firsthand account of the Harlem Race Riot of 1943.

Ella, Tsitsi. "To Bless the Memory of Tamir Rice." *Beating the Graves*, U Nebraska P, 2017. *Poetry Foundation*, www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/143811/to-bless-the-memory-of-tamir-rice.

Lau, David. "Protest in Philippines." *Virgil and the Mountain Cat*, U California P, 2009. *Poetry Foundation*, www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/56726/protest-in-philippines.

Westerman, Gwen Nell. "Dakota Homecoming." *New Poets of Native Nations*, Graywolf Press, 2018. *Poetry Foundation*, www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/147040/dakota-homecoming.

Further relevant poems can be found in *Poems of Protest, Resistance, and Empowerment* Poetry Foundation, 2021. www.poetryfoundation.org/collections/101581/poems-of-protest-resistance-and-empowerment.

Cobbina, Jennifer. *Hands Up, Don't Shoot: Why the Protests in Ferguson and Baltimore Matter, and How They Changed America*. New York U P, 2019.

Ginwright, Shawn. *Black Youth Rising: Activism and Radical Healing in Urban America*. Teachers College Press, 2009.

Hagopian, Jesse, and Denisha Jones. *Black Lives Matter at School: An Uprising for Educational Justice*. Haymarket Books, 2020.

Eagle Shield, Alayna, et al. *Education in Movement Spaces: Standing Rock to Chicago Freedom Square (Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies in Education)*. Routledge, 2020.

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THE PROTEST
AND THE RECUPERATION
EXHIBITION
PUBLICATION EXCERPT

THE FUTURE OF PROTEST IN A POST-DIGITAL AGE

Anthony Downey

On March 31, 1990, while living in Brixton in South London, my brother and I joined a march in nearby Kennington Park. Destined for Trafalgar Square in central London, the gathering had been organized as a protest against the widely despised Community Charge (also known as the “poll tax”). Introduced by the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, this tax was levied on individuals, rather than property, and therefore disproportionately favored the wealthy.

The demonstration took place without much by way of incident until an ill-advised charge by mounted police in Trafalgar Square, toward the end of the rally, provoked a series of skirmishes that unleashed a full-scale riot that lasted for more than twelve hours. Resulting in numerous injuries to the public and the police alike, widespread arrests, and the setting alight of the South African Embassy (the government of South Africa had released Nelson Mandela the previous month but still upheld apartheid legislation), the “poll-tax riots,” as they became known, are now considered instrumental in Thatcher’s downfall.

In the ensuing melee, my brother and I got separated but later regrouped at a local pub in neighboring Soho. We followed reports on the radio throughout the afternoon and eventually got a better sense of what was happening when we watched television news coverage of the scenes unfolding in Trafalgar Square, a few hundred yards away from where we were sitting. Debating whether to stay put or rejoin the protests, eventually hunkered down for the evening and awaited a lull in what were to become the most serious civil disturbances in London in more than one hundred years.

I do not recount these events here merely to demonstrate the often nebulous distinction between reality and the mediation of reality—the event of a civil disturbance as opposed to the mediation of the event of civil disturbance— but, rather, to emphasize the sense of how much has changed when we consider how we perceive and understand protest in a post-digital age. The “poll-tax riots” took place before mobile phones, so it was by a process of admittedly not very-difficult deduction that my brother and I knew where to meet if we got separated. There was no social media, so we also lacked the wherewithal to connect with others outside the immediate event—other than, of course, by means of a landline telephone. There was likewise no way for the organizers of the march to coordinate events on the ground other than through word of mouth or, rather quaintly in retrospect, handheld megaphones.

I cannot remember if television programming was interrupted to broadcast updates on the

protests. The United Kingdom was still the preserve of a handful of broadcast channels, and Sky and British Satellite Broadcasting would not launch until later that year (under the name British Sky Broadcasting, or BSkyB). The very idea of instantaneous minute-by-minute coverage of a protest by those participating in it was fanciful at best, as was the notion of simultaneously broadcasting the experience to a global audience.

All that has changed, changed utterly, to paraphrase W. B. Yeats. An event of the magnitude seen in Trafalgar Square in March 1990 would be actively relayed by protestors in a matter of seconds via social media, online news platforms, and other digital means. The incident would then be picked up by traditional news media and broadcast to a global online audience and, needless to say, back to the protestors who produced the images. In a post-digital age, when the idea of a digital revolution and emerging technologies has been replaced by a series of easily available, user-friendly online technologies and interfaces, events are not only fluidly relayed to a global audience, but those dispatches also inform, if not partially synchronize, events on the ground. The recursive feedback of images from a protest could, equally, fuel protest and thereafter potentially determine the future course of events. These digital communications, as we are becoming increasingly aware, can also be monitored by state and local police to preempt, control, and quash dissent. It is this *mise en abyme* of digital image transmission that has come to define—if not predefine—how protests begin and develop through the mechanics of online circulation, archiving, and image-data retrieval.

The production, circulation, and reception of images—through the popular social networking websites Facebook and Twitter, microblogging, and other applications such as YouTube—has effectively ensured that digitally networked images have become a constituent part of the process of organizing, provoking, and maintaining the momentum of protests. The attacks on Capitol Hill on January 6, 2021, and the reaction of companies such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter in subsequently suspending user accounts, should be evidence enough, if any were needed, that online platforms have a significant effect on real-world events.¹ The question that remains pertinent, as we will see below, is whether

¹ Writing about the events on Capitol Hill, one commentator observed how social media companies have become “systemic actors in our societies and democracies.” See Thierry Breton “Capitol Hill—the 9/11 Moment of Social Media,” Politico, January 10, 2021; <https://www.politico.eu/article/thierry-breton-social-media-capitolhill-riot/>. Breton also argued that just “as 9/11 marked a paradigm shift for global security, 20 years later we are witnessing a before-and-after in the role of digital platforms in our democracy.”

that effect is a deterministic or a contributing factor. Given the extent to which algorithms increasingly determine whether an incident is viewed as “newsworthy,” it is likely that an actual protest could result—inadvertently or otherwise—from the torquing of algorithmic settings.² Similarly, the underlying algorithmic rationalization of what is deemed to be newsworthy—and, indeed, what is considered un-newsworthy—could see a large-scale public disturbance go relatively unnoticed. In this scenario, the immaterial abstractions of machine learning, the product of algorithmic input, could also predicate an act of physical violence, knowingly or not, by inciting protests or spreading “fake news.”³ These concerns give rise to admittedly capacious questions: What is the future of protest in a postdigital age? What impact do digital technologies have on contemporary protests? And, significantly, how will we come to experience and understand the event of protest as a material activity in the future?

In 2010, twenty years after the “poll-tax riots” in London, respective events in Tunisia and Egypt in 2010 and 2011—heralding as they did the advent of what was to become known as the Arab Uprisings—were widely understood to have been brought about by and maintained through social media and digital platforms. While this narrative continues to be generally accepted, there are a number of significant caveats that we need to consider if we want to more fully understand, a decade or so later, the affordances of today’s digital technologies in relation to contemporary protests. For many, the event that triggered the region-wide revolts was the self immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi on December 17, 2010. While Bouazizi’s act of desperation was the catalyst for protests in his birthplace, Sidi Bouzid (a small town south of Tunis), it was the online amplification of those protests that produced further widespread dissent across the country. From the outset, local citizens in Sidi Bouzid mobilized their Facebook accounts and blogs to disseminate information

² In 2014 the National Academy of Sciences published a widely referenced article in which the authors observed, through an experiment on Facebook involving 689,003 users, how “emotional states can be transferred to others via emotional contagion leading people to experience the same emotions without their awareness.” The authors demonstrated that such processes can occur “without direct interaction between people” and, crucially, through intentional manipulation of Facebook’s News Feed. See Adam D. I. Kramer, Jamie E. Guillory, and Jeffrey T. Hancock, “Experimental Evidence of MassiveScale Emotional Contagion through Social Networks,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 111, no. 24 (June 17, 2014): 8788–90; <https://www.pnas.org/content/pnas/111/24/8788.full.pdf>.

³ One of the more egregious recent examples of “fake news” prompting an act of violence involved one Edgar M. Welch, a twenty-eight-year-old from North Carolina who fired a military-style rifle inside Comet pizza restaurant in Washington, D.C., following the online spread of a story claiming child slaves were being held there. See Gregor Aisch, Jon Huang, and Cecilia Kang, “Dissecting the #PizzaGate Conspiracy Theories,” *New York Times*, December 10, 2016.

about what was happening there. Stimulated by the authorities' attempts to crack down on them, the protests grew apace until they consumed the whole of the country and, thereafter, the region.⁴ The vertiginous proximity of protest as an actual event and the fact of protest as a viral phenomenon provoked a collapse of sorts between the immaterial virtual realm of online protest—which had long been a feature of Tunisian politics—and the all-too real incidence of tangible, on-the-streets protest. For many, it was this collapse between the two realms—the online and the public space—that maintained the social and political momentum that resulted in the subsequent downfall of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the autocratic ruler of Tunisia, on January 14, 2011.⁵

To the extent that the representational realm of digital images provoked actual protests, it is all the more important to reflect upon how digital platforms provided logistical support for protestors. Different forms of digital media operated in varying capacities: some were seen as effective tools for networking protest and its mobilization (Facebook); others for producing on-the-ground coordination between protestors (Twitter). For the discussion of tactics and opinions, however, blog-based discussion groups were favored. In retrospect, and perhaps most contentiously (given that their archiving system is contingent on an algorithmically defined process that often involves deleting images deemed “unsuitable”), protestors turned to YouTube for documenting human rights abuses.⁶ Although not widely used in Tunisia, Instagram was favored in Egypt for instantaneous image-making and

⁴ For a fuller account of how these protests developed, see Yasmine Ryan, “How Tunisia’s Revolution Began,” *Al Jazeera*, January 26, 2011. The article recounts a conversation with Ali Bouazizi, a cousin of Mohamed Bouazizi, who posted a video of a peaceful protest that was later on *Al Jazeera*’s Mubasher channel. Tunisian media, in contrast, ignored the growing uprising until Nessma TV broke the silence on December 29, 2010.

⁵ The immediate and long-term effects of the 2011 Arab Uprisings continue to unfold across the region and globally. With the region, those effects have ranged from marginal protests (Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Mauritania, and Algeria), mass protests, and partial changes in government (Bahrain, Lebanon, Morocco, Kuwait, Oman, and Jordan) to the toppling of governments (Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya) and civil wars (Iraq, Libya, and Syria). On April 11, 2019, the Sudanese military ousted President Omar al-Bashir and dissolved the constitution. On April 2, 2019, following mass protests, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria resigned after nearly twenty years in power. Protests in Lebanon, beginning on October 17, 2019, continue to this day; mass unrest continues across Iraq and Egypt. In Iran, widespread civil unrest has become a feature of daily life. Across large swathes of the Middle East—from Syria to Iraq, Kurdistan to Yemen, and Egypt to Lebanon—the repercussions of 2011 are still being felt on a daily basis.

⁶ In 2017, while attempting to purge extremist propaganda from its platform, YouTube inadvertently removed videos that could be used to document atrocities in Syria, potentially jeopardizing future war crimes prosecutions. See Malachy Browne, “YouTube Removes Videos Showing Atrocities in Syria,” *New York Times*, August 22, 2017

real-time dissemination of images. These platforms have since grown and others have been introduced, but what remains dominant in the narrative of social media usage and networked communication systems is the sense that they played a decisive role in not only promoting but also organizing revolutions across the region.

Online images, in these contexts, undoubtedly have an operative impact: they cause things to happen. The iconic images of Bouazizi—both as a young man and, in one photograph, enjoying himself at a celebration—that were widely disseminated in the aftermath of his self-immolation ensured that he became, at least in part, a digitized martyr. However, for iconic images of protest to become instrumental in the development of events, they need an efficient infrastructure. By the time of Bouazizi's death in January 2011, Facebook had more than one million users in Tunisia, most of whom were concentrated in the capital, Tunis. This embedded infrastructure ensured that the foundations were in place to provide the virtual means to foment dissent in the lead up to December 2010.⁷

In the ongoing, agonistic contest of online images of protest, the state-sanctioned banning of traditional media also put further weight on online informal means of reporting protests. A further unintended consequence of banning traditional media outlets such as Al Jazeera in Tunisia was evident in the way in which government-approved images tended to be framed and produced with political stability in mind, with ministers giving assurances to the public about the strength and solidity of the state in the face of ostensible “terrorism” and international “interference.”

These state-sanctioned narratives were in direct contrast to the images available online. Taken by protestors, often in the midst of a demonstration or a confrontation with state forces, the handheld, invariably unsteady footage of protests—in all its immediacy and perceived accuracy—served to further fuel a sense of crisis when viewed alongside the stage-managed “stable” and state-sponsored images of parliamentary representatives paying lip service to the apparent resolution and command of the government. In this context, the formal aesthetics of digital image-making by protestors and so-called citizen journalists, in conjunction with their production through the apparatus of networked systems of communication, implied an evidentiary counter-truth of sorts that shored up protestors and reinforced their calls for meaningful change.

⁷ This level of access to online sources across Tunisian society should come as no surprise if we consider Tunisia was the first Arab country to connect to the Internet, in 1991.

Six months prior to Bouazizi's self-immolation another death was being publicized through social media for its "truthfulness" in the face of, in this case, a state-ordained murder. The images of Khaled Mohamed Saeed, an Egyptian citizen who was murdered by security forces in Alexandria on June 6, 2010, were circulated through Facebook accounts and other networked systems of communication, including the popular "We are all Khaled Said," moderated by the Internet activist Wael Ghonim and, it later transpired, the Egyptian human rights activist Abdul Rahman Mansour. It was the stark evidence of Saeed's death, as represented in the online images of his battered and broken face, which were juxtaposed online with an image of him used for an Egyptian identity card, that moved Ghonim to set up the Facebook page and draw attention to the injustice of his death.⁸

While the "We are all Khaled Said" Facebook page became a potent example for many of the apparent ascendancy of social media as an inspirational and organizational means to effect political transformation, it is important to contextualize this view if we are to more fully understand how protests are mediated (and managed) in a post-digital age. The focus on digital networks and contemporary forms of image capture, throughout 2010 and 2011, tended to reduce seismic historical events to a series of convenient catchphrases such as the "Twitter Revolution" or the "Facebook Revolution" or, more specifically but no less reductively, "Egypt's Facebook Revolution," "Tunisia's Twitter Uprising," or "Syria's YouTube Uprising." While the effusive nature of such phrases could perhaps be credited to the historical sense of change and the generalized utopic sentiment that underwrote social media in the lead-up to 2010, these views came to overdetermine digital technologies as the defining factor in revolutionary events. The advocacy of such views tends to disregard the degree to which technological determinism can reductively foreground the role of social media and digital platforms rather than the actual agents—namely, the citizens who took to the streets to protest in the first place—of political protest. The issue of revolutionary action and political transformation, when viewed through the lens of technological determinism, presents protests as if they were an inevitable outcome of the technologies in use at the time. The danger here is that the agency of the political subject, the protestor, is sublimated within and through the agency of technology.

⁸ See Wael Ghonim, *Revolution 2.0: The Power of People Is Stronger Than the People in Power, A Memoir* (London: Fourth Estate, 2012), 58 passim.

In the wake of 2011, as activists and human rights organizations observed, the very systems used to organize protest in Egypt⁹ were being deployed to effect the spread of targeted disinformation, the deployment of online surveillance, and the institutionalization of digital authoritarianism within the country. An early example of the spread of disinformation includes the fact that the Electronic Committee of the then-ruling National Democratic party in Egypt, despite its apparently anachronistic title, was instrumental in spreading comments through Facebook to the effect that Khaled Saeed was a small time drug dealer, an addict, and, to use their phrase, the “Martyr of Marijuana.” The unbound freedom to communicate, share, and “like” protest and the calls for change came with a cost, as we now know all too well, that was evidenced in how scrutiny of online platforms was used to monitor dissent—an activity that has become crucial to the quashing of contemporary protests in Egypt. Involving as they did the then-relatively nascent global mechanics of targeted disinformation and digital forms of total surveillance, such activities—online surveillance, biometric profiling, and data scraping, for example—were not restricted to Egypt or the region.¹⁰ The apparatus of digital media has been and continues to be actively employed by authoritarian and elected governments alike to manage, control, target, and quell dissent. The immediate impact of the revolution in Egypt on its citizens and the level of state-sponsored surveillance that was deployed against political opponents does, nevertheless, expose a practice that has become a key tool of oppression for authoritarian states across the region. In the wake of Edward Snowden’s disclosures in 2013, moreover, the use of online surveillance by the National Security Agency (NSA) of the United States, which predates the events of 2011, revealed the remarkable extent to which state-sponsored surveillance has been historically and covertly directed toward citizens and non-citizens alike.¹¹

⁹ As of 2019, and alongside the deployment of militarized forms of policing, the Egyptian government has censored more than five hundred websites belonging to, among others, foreign and local news outlets, opposition organizations, activist blogs, and leading international rights groups. See Hossam el-Hamalawy, “Egypt’s Dirty War (Part II): Surveillance for All;” <https://english.alaraby.co.uk/english/Comment/2019/2/1/Egyptys-dirty-war-part-II-Surveillance-for-all>.

¹⁰ Apart from online surveillance to effect scrutiny of dissent, the Egyptian state apparatus was increasingly using the accusation of spreading “fake news” as a tool of oppression. See <https://www.theguardian.com/globaldevelopment/2018/jul/27/fake-news-becomes-tool-of-repression-after-egypt-passes-new-law>.

¹¹ The use of surveillance equipment by the United States government in the Middle East is beyond the scope of this essay, but a recent report has observed that the United States military is currently buying up the data of people around the world, including users of a Muslim prayer and Quran app that has more than ninety-eight million downloads worldwide. The report outlines how the United States military is purchasing access to sensitive data that can be used to geolocate individuals without their prior knowledge or consent. See Joseph Cox, “How the U.S. Military Buys Location Data from Ordinary Apps,” *Vice*, November 16, 2020.

A further concern involves the degree to which the claims that social and digital media promote revolutionary acts have been largely encouraged, if not forged, through the venturecapital model of Big Tech companies such as Facebook. Before it was implicated in the election of an American president in 2016 and for allowing calls for the genocide of the Rohingya population in Myanmar to proliferate on its platform throughout 2017 and 2018, Facebook once revelled in the motto “move fast and break things.”¹² Based primarily in the United States, specifically the global center for social media that is Silicon Valley, the displacement of political agency—even in part—onto companies such as Facebook or Twitter and YouTube at the expense of those actually involved in revolutionary protest has unfortunate echoes of an imperial attitude that has historically figured the so-called West as the engineer in chief (or “puppet master”) controlling social and political events across the Middle East.¹³ The facilitative elements of social media and networked systems of communication are emphatically not the direct causes of a revolution—in fact, they may have had a stymying influence on protests, nowhere more so than in the Middle East, where the use of Western-generated surveillance systems has long been deployed to quash dissent.¹⁴ While digital platforms may offer a logistical context for communicating grievance and organizing events, revolutionary protests stem from manifold complex social, political, economic, and historical occurrences. Social media usage does not automatically equal political engagement, let alone political transformation. It can, on the contrary, promote

¹² In 2018 a United Nations investigator reported that Facebook had been used to incite hatred against the Rohingya. A subsequent Reuters report, published in March 2018, found more than one thousand examples of posts, comments, and pornographic images attacking the Rohingya, including hate speech calling for their genocide. See Steve Stecklow, “Hatebook,” *Reuters*, August 15, 2018; <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/myanmar-facebook-hate/>.

¹³ In his otherwise unstinting promotion of digital platforms and social media as agents in protest, Ghonim raises a number of asides querying their efficacy. In one passage, he notes how he was concerned whether online momentum was only an Internet phenomenon. “One artist expressed this notion in a painting that said, ‘this is a street, and this is Facebook and not a street.’ She was implying that the revolution had to be street bound, and that revolution on Facebook did not matter.” See Ghonim, *Revolution 2.0*, 153.

¹⁴ In 2017, following a yearlong investigation by BBC Arabic and Dagbladet Information newspaper in Denmark, it was reported the United Kingdom defense company BAE Systems made numerous sales of sophisticated surveillance technology across the Middle East, including to repressive governments. One of the companies involved was ETI Holdings, based in Denmark, which was bought by BAE and became part of BAE Systems Applied Intelligence. Prior to that, ETI had developed a system called Evident, which gave governments the digital means to conduct mass surveillance of their citizens, their communications, and, crucially, their contacts. An earlier customer for Evident was Zinedine Ben Ali. The BBC report, quoting a former Tunisian intelligence official who operated Evident for Ben Ali, observed: “ETI installed it and engineers came for training sessions. . . . [It] works with keywords. You put in an opponent’s name and you will see all the sites, blogs, social networks related to that user.” See “How BAE Sold Cyber-Surveillance Tools to Arab States”; <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-40276568>.

a false sense of solidarity and engagement and reduce the complexity of the Middle East to a series of reductive neocolonial interpretive frameworks.

These issues are further compounded when we consider how contemporary protests are organized and thereafter understood in historical terms. Online platforms, including social networking websites, microblogging and networking services, and video-sharing platforms, selectively edit and purge images over time through the actions of human operators and opaque algorithms, leaving us with at best a partial view of events and, more insidiously, an algorithmically curated series of images. As we move toward newer postdigital means of mediating realities and storing information as well as the proliferation of mass surveillance, we need to critically examine how we understand the impact of digital archiving in particular and how it has come to define our understanding of historical events. How, we need to ask, will the digital define future understandings of social protest and political unrest?

The event of protest in a post-digital age is an all-too timely reminder of how we need to redefine the critical frameworks through which we understand the production, reception, and dissemination of images from zones of conflict. Who, we may want to ask, ultimately benefits from the production, reception, and storage of these images? And how will we account for such entanglements in the future? The widespread use of digital surveillance equipment targeting civilian populations, activists, opposition members of political parties, and dissent across the Middle East is unprecedented, but before we see it as a one-way process, we should also reflect upon a further issue. The application of surveillance equipment—including Wide Area Aerial Surveillance (WAAS) and Wide Area Motion Imaging (WAMI)—throughout the Middle East has been actively encouraged by military-industrial partnerships within the United States that effectively secure such technologies for use across American cities.¹⁵ Long seen as a testing ground for the racially deterministic

¹⁵ For a detailed analysis of how WAAS and WAMI systems are being deployed for training purposes in the Middle East before being used in the United States, see Arthur Holland Michel, *Eyes in the Sky: The Secret Rise of Gorgon Stare and How It Will Watch Us All* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2019). *The New York Times* reported how the former CEO of Google, Eric Schmidt, effectively reinvented himself as the point of liaison between Silicon Valley and the military-industrial complex within the Pentagon. See Kate Conger and Cade Metz, “I Could Solve Most of Your Problems’: Eric Schmidt’s Pentagon Offensive,” *New York Times*, May 2, 2020; <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/02/technology/eric-schmidt-pentagon-google.html/>.

discourses of colonial ideology, the Middle East would also appear to have become the laboratory for the future development of global surveillance systems.¹⁶

Given that protests before widespread digital-media usage were often autochthonous, mostly localized affairs (I vaguely recall how, in 1990, in the run up to the “poll-tax riots,” I found out about the planned assembly in Kennington Park from a flyer posted to a shutter outside Brixton Tube Station), it is all the more important to question what digital technologies will afford us when it comes to future acts of protesting. How, we need to ask, do those affordances define our interaction with events and our subsequent understanding of protest? In November 1990, eight months after the “poll-tax riots,” Margaret Thatcher resigned. Her departure was anticipated, in part, by her insistence upon, and subsequent mishandling of, the “poll-tax” debate. From the vantage point of now, it is worth considering whether or not her downfall could have been brought about sooner had social media—rather than state broadcasters—been available in 1990. Conversely, we could surmise that, had such technologies existed, they undoubtedly would have been deployed—as they are today—through state-sanctioned models of surveillance that strategically disrupt calls for political change and popular claims for justice. This is all mere speculation, of course; it is, however, worth weighing the extent to which calls for political transformation and change are being articulated and managed through online platforms that are controlled and owned by unaccountable privatized companies with significant links to military industrial complexes across Europe and North America.¹⁷ The calculated extrusion of data from images, effected by largely unaccountable private companies through data harvesting and algorithmic means, will continue to determine, if not overdetermine, our relationship to social and political realities. The post-digital subject and future forms of protest will be formulated in the shadow of these systems, and we will need to identify and distinguish, as a matter of urgency, the impact of digital networks—an immaterial entity—on the material realities of everyday life. These questions, in our current era of supposedly unending emergency (a convenient clarion call for unremitting forms of surveillance), are far from regional. They underscore questions about global protest movements, digital activism, political agency, social transformation, and, finally if not fatally, the impact of digital technologies on the very substance of truth and historical fact.

NOTE

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ANTHONY DOWNEY is Professor of Visual Culture in the Middle East and North Africa (Birmingham City University). He is the Cultural Lead and Co-Investigator on a four year AHRC funded research project that focuses on cultural practices, education, and digital methodologies in Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan (2020-2024). He sits on the editorial boards of *Third Text* and the *Journal of Digital War*, respectively, and is the series editor for *Research/Practice* (Sternberg Press, 2019–ongoing). He is currently writing up his forthcoming volume *Unbearable States: Digital Media and Cultural Activism in a Post-Digital Age* (2022).

¹⁶ For an extended discussion of how the Middle East became a means to develop Western surveillance systems, see Anthony Downey, “There’s Always Someone Looking at You: Performative Research and the Techno-Aesthetics of Drone Surveillance,” in Downey, ed., Heba Y. Amin: *The General’s Stork* (Sternberg Press, 2020), 8–30.

¹⁷ There are multiple connections between social media companies such as Google, Facebook, and Microsoft to the United States military-industrial complex, none of which should come as a surprise given that the precursor to the Internet was Arpanet, a communication system developed in the United States in the 1960s as an early-warning system for the nuclear age. For a review of Google’s involvement in drone surveillance technology, see Lee Fang, “Google Hired Gig Economy Workers to Improve Artificial Intelligence in Controversial Drone-Targeting Project,” *Intercept*, March 6, 2018; <https://theintercept.com/2018/03/06/google-is-quietly-providing-ai-technology-for-dronestrike-targeting-project/>. For details of the United States government’s Maven Project and Google’s role in its development, see <https://theintercept.com/2019/02/04/google-ai-project-maven-figure-eight/>. For an overview of Amazon’s concerted efforts to enter into the national security market contracts of the United States, see Sharon Weinberger, “The Everything War,” *MIT Technology Review* 22, no. 6 (November–December, 2019): 26–29. Amazon’s cloud-based software program Rekognition is also used for facial recognition by a number of United States government agencies, including ICE (Immigration and Enforcement Agency). More recently, it was announced that the venture capitalist and Facebook board member Peter Thiel, who founded the company Palantir in 2004 and developed its profile working for the Pentagon and the CIA in Afghanistan and Iraq, was one of the financial backers of Clearview AI, a privately owned facial recognition app that has been deployed, without any public scrutiny as to potential misuse and its future weaponization by authoritarian governments, by more than six hundred law enforcement agencies across the United States. See <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/18/technology/clearview-privacy-facial-recognition.html>. See also Peter Waldman, Lizette Chapman, and Jordan Robertson, “Palantir Knows Everything About You,” *Bloomberg Businessweek*, April 23, 2018; <https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2018-palantir-peter-thiel/>.

PROTEST CHART

SEE

WONDER

THINK



JENNIFER MOCK is the Associate Director for Education and Public Programs at Columbia University's Wallach Art Gallery. With more than a decade of experience as a museum educator and public programmer at institutions such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Jewish Museum, and the Museum of Chinese in America, she is recognized for deepening public engagement with cultural institutions through programming that reflects the diverse intellectual and cultural life of New York City. Jennifer can be reached at jm4600@columbia.edu.



HONEY WALROND is an educator, experienced curriculum designer, and Doctoral Fellow (Ph.D.) in the Department of Arts and Humanities, English Education program at Teachers College, Columbia University. She graduated with a Master's of Education in English Education from Teachers College and received her Bachelor of Arts degree in English Education plus Curriculum and Teaching from CUNY Hunter College, School of Education. Honey can be reached at honey.walrond@tc.columbia.edu.

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DIVERSE WAYS OF LEARNING ABOUT PROTEST
AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS THROUGH STUDENT DIALOGUE:
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2021

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