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The challenge of distance in designing civil protest: the case of Resurrection City in the Washington Mall and the Occupy Movement in Zuccotti Park

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This paper focuses on the way people define and challenge practices of distance during protest and the way protesters disrupt 'generally established and universally visible and valid distances' associated with the place. In illuminating these ideas, two case studies with seemingly similar socio-spatial characteristics are explored. The first case was initiated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and aimed to call attention to the nation's neediest people by embarking on the 'Poor People's Campaign', which settled people on the National Mall in an encampment they called Resurrection City (RC). The second action, the Occupy Movement, was an international protest movement directed towards social and economic inequality. The Occupy Movement called upon protesters to 'flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street for a few months' to call attention to the inequalities of global capitalism. The paper interprets the strategies and tactics used by the Poor People's Campaign and the Occupy Movement to challenge distance, concluding with some reflections on the way contemporary forms of dissent are changing the way we perceive public space and its politics.

Keywords: public space; protest; information and communication technologies; urban design and planning

Introduction

There is nothing we nurture as much as the boundaries of our own body, mind, and spirit. Boundaries define personal space and help us to feel safe and confident; they create a place where we can hide secrets. Certainly, a boundary is not so much an object or a material artefact as a belief that creates *distance*, whether it is mental distance, spatial distance, or social distance. These distances are maintained through daily practices driven by cultural norms and political institutions advancing regulations that differentiate between the private and the public. Clearly, these regulations serve as a means to establish hierarchies among people and between citizens and the government. When needed, the government guarantees distance by modifying or tightening regulations and ensuring that boundaries are understood and maintained. Through this ongoing process of maintaining and defining distances, social order is achieved, aggression is suppressed, and an illusion of stability is attained.

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Planners and architects play a key role in demarcating distance by defining the geometry of space, a geometry that is not only a signature of lifestyle and capital needs, but also a signature of power. By developing city plans and designing buildings, professionals use strategies based on the admiration created by spectacular designs that physically establish hierarchies of status and power. Viewing architecture and planning as a cultural artefact within intricate power geometries does not mean that a building has a single meaning, but that it often contains competing or hidden messages and symbols. As such, space is not only an expression of power, but also the means through which power is maintained.[1] This is why citizens use space when they seek to *bridge* distances and when they hope to establish new coalitions or new political agendas. These 'bridging' efforts, which require thinking beyond the present and the concrete, fuel processes of social and political change. Generally, people prefer stability and social order. They tend to experience themselves in a concrete way, but they also, as Nira Liberman and Yaacov Trope suggest, 'transcend the present and mentally traverse temporal distance, spatial distance, social distance, and hypotheticality'.[2]

This human motivation to challenge current practices of distance is critical in the process of enacting and designing civil protest. Thus, a threefold argument is suggested here: (1) governments and authorities use distance as a tool to create order and hierarchy; (2) distance is marked in the planned-physical space and maintained by daily practices and regulations that influence the way we communicate; and (3) civil protest challenges the socio-spatial order by challenging agreed-upon practices of distance. If the relationships between citizens and the state during daily life can be seen as distant and abstract, then civil action makes these relationships concrete and places them in the here and now. This is the departure point of this paper, which analyses how protesters disrupt or challenge 'generally established and universally visible and valid distances'.[3]

Clearly, not all protests look alike and not all protesters aim to completely dismantle distance and hierarchy. There is a correlation between the state's distance from its citizens and the goals of activists. As Diane Davis argues, extreme distance between citizens and the state would tend to provoke antagonistic activities from revolutionary movements or the rejection of a particular nation state in its entirety. Moderated distance is likely to sustain the organizational vigour of social movements and often produces conformist political behaviour in which groups compete to participate in the existing state structure and state projects without trying to reformulate the structure as a whole.[4] Moreover, it is not merely the distance between the citizens and the state that is challenged during civil protest, but also the distance between people. As such, civil protest is also about the individual being in a state of exposure to others, a condition that allows the creation of collectives and the bridging of social differences, at least temporarily. As Elias Canetti puts it, during protests, the individual feels that he is transcending the limits of his own person: 'He has the sense of relief, for the distances are removed which used to throw him back on himself and shut him in.'[5] Although removing the distance between people may not appear to be a 'difficult task', it is a manifold mental task that requires people to suppress their fears, take risks, and expose themselves to the other and to the unknown.

These arguments thereby suggest that it would be valuable to analyse the ways in which social and political distances are manifested spatially in the design of the protest. Social distance refers to the dynamic between participants' and how differing identities are manifested in place during the action. Political distance relates to the role of leadership and spatial communication practices among participants and between participants and the powers. The attitude towards social and

political distance has a major impact on the physical logic of protest and on how protestors choose to dismantle symbols, representations, and regulations. To further illuminate these ideas, two case studies with apparently similar socio-spatial characteristics are explored. The first case was initiated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and aimed to call attention to the nation's neediest people by staging a march in Washington, DC, and embarking on the 'Poor People's Campaign', which settled people on the site of the Washington Mall in an encampment they called Resurrection City (RC). The second action, the Occupy Movement, was an international protest movement directed towards social and economic inequality. The 2011 protest called upon protesters to 'flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street for a few months' to call attention to the inequalities of global capitalism.[6] These actions are similar and different, but they are both outcomes of campaigns aimed at addressing economic problems in the United States. 'We can now see ourselves as the powerless poor trapped within an economically oriented power structure', said Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. Forty-three years later, in 2011, masses were shouting, 'We are the 99%' in outrage at the inequalities of global capitalism. In both cases, public space was occupied by temporary tents or sheds (Figures 1 and 2). Although both cases look similar in their spatial manifestation, the details tell another story. In the first image, in what appears to be a shantytown set in a park, the space seems organized and planned; the sheds are made out of wood and decorated with paint and various construction additions. In the second image, in what appears to be an informal array in an urban space, ready-made plastic tents are spread all over, and some of the tents are covered with personal slogans and ideas. The two cases, which involved planners – as actual designers and part of the organization committee in the case of Resurrection City[7] or as researchers and supporters in the case of the Occupy Movement[8] – represent distinct strategies for negotiating distances in public space. These strategies influence how action is planned and experienced.

Although this paper focuses on cases in the USA, the differences in the conceptualization of distance are not context-specific and can be found, with modifications, in various geographical and political settings. In that sense, these cases are used to illuminate the key argument that the conceptualization of distance is critical for understanding the contemporary spatial practices of protest. Elaborating on this argument, this paper consists of five parts. The first section focuses on the idea of distance and public space. The next section discusses the physicality of places (the Washington Mall and Zuccotti Park) in the context of distance. The subsequent two sections interpret the strategies and tactics used by the Poor People's Campaign and the Occupy Movement to challenge distance.[9] Finally, the paper concludes with some reflections on how contemporary forms of dissent are changing the way we perceive public space and its politics.

Keeping distance in public space/violating distance during civil protest

Much discussion has been raised about the role of public space and its contribution to public life. Erving Goffman used the concepts 'front' and 'back' to illustrate a fundamental divergence in social spatial activity.[10] For Goffman, a 'front' region comprises the places where we put on a public 'onstage' performance and act out stylized, formal, and socially acceptable activities, whereas a 'back' region is an area where we are 'behind the scenes', where we prepare ourselves for public performance, or where we can relax into less formal modes of behaviour. This public/private divide, perceived as two exclusive categories that together account for all elements of life and experience,[11] is one of the great dichotomies of Western thought. Public and private are

Figure 1.   General overview, Resurrection City, The Washington Mall, 1968.
Source: Photograph by Tunney Lee.

Figure 2.   General overview, Occupy Movement, Zuccotti Park, 2011.
Source: Photograph by David Shankbone, cc by 2.0.

understood as opposite but inseparable, and the extension of one sphere necessarily implies a reduction in the scope of the other. However, the validity of this binary relationship is not clear, especially with the ongoing 'privatization' of material spaces and the growing presence of virtual space in our lives. Clearly, mobile technology use in public spaces complicates traditional understandings of what it means to be in public by allowing people to bring previously private activities (such as chatting, reading, and listening to music) into public areas.[12] Nevertheless, one of the reasons for maintaining these categories (even in their current blurred configuration) is that they contribute to and maintain the order of social life and reduce conflicts. These categories assist in maintaining distance.

The maintenance of these categories is also apparent in the physicality of space. More precisely, the built environment frames everyday life by offering certain spaces for programmed action while removing other possibilities. In myriad ways every day, we avoid behaviours and boundaries that we believe will be met with force.[13] Although all buildings are products of social and cultural conditions, the architecture of civic squares and national capitals raise especially complicated questions about power. The architecture of these places as the seat of government entities and of rulers is often a representation of power in its purest form, without contradictions or inconsistencies. Although no society is without its contradictions, buildings do not celebrate them – governmental buildings least of all. As Lawrence Vale puts it, 'The sponsors and designers of such public facilities may wish to downplay or transcend these contradictions, or highlight them in a way that reinforces their rule.'[14] However, during

protests, these public facilities provide a physical reference for negotiation over competing or hidden messages and symbols.[15] This suggests that the meaning and manifestation of political distance in a place do not emerge from its physicality but, rather, from the meanings that people place onto or read into it. This paradoxical consequence, that is, that power is dependent on those it was designed to impress, serves the people and democracy well. Being aware of this consequence, people use public space to communicate their grievances and to challenge agreed practices of distance and, as such, to challenge the legitimacy of the ruling authority.

This task, of challenging agreed practices of distance, is not trivial. The imposition of distances that are dictated by political ideology in public spaces by defining social rules and boundaries is intensifying. Critics note that these trends reduce agency and meaningful expression in public spaces.[16] Although public codes can provide a means of balance and stability, these trends also enhance surveillance and control practices, and technology adds another layer to these practices. Viewing contemporary technology as a means of control challenges both the scientific fascination with information and communication technologies (ICTs) and the conclusions of studies that analyse technology's 'impact' on society and cities.[17] In particular, this approach offers an alternative to the perspective that celebrates technology as a means that enables citizens' creative input in matters relevant to their interests and concerns. This input may reduce unequal power structures and social groups.[18] However, reality is more complex. As Andrea Brighenti argues, 'What the user actually gets is only one actualized possibility (a syntagm) within a larger matrix of possibilities envisaged and foreknown by engineers and programmers (a paradigm)'.[19]

This statement implies a rather gloomy view of freedom, suggesting that nothing unexpected can be produced within new media. Brighenti is not alone; his critical perspective has been adopted by others who argue that ICTs actually enhance social divisions and polarization.[20]

These dynamic transformations of increased privatization, technological control and personalization have been given various names, such as 'The Fall of the Public Man',[21] 'Bowling Alone',[22] and 'Alone Together',[23] metaphors that characterize the decline of civic engagement in the public sphere. Undeniably, the private and the personal have taken precedence over the public; private spaces have replaced public gathering spaces, and society has generally become less interested in public matters and more driven by private interests and personal desires. As Bauman writes, there is currently no easy and obvious way to translate private worries into public issues and, conversely, to discern and pinpoint public issues within private troubles. As he further argues, when private agonies and anxieties are translated into public issues, they often do not actually become public issues but are rather merely publicly displayed.[24] Nevertheless, the wave of worldwide protests in the twenty-first century has shown that people are able to challenge this argument and that while they usually maintain distance, they sometimes also challenge agreed distances or even violate them. To be sure, this tension created by 'keeping distance', 'challenging distance' or even 'violating distance' during times of grievance or crisis should not be viewed as binary but as part of the ongoing dialogue between people and the powers in place.

Distance and the physicality of place: the Washington Mall and Zuccotti Park

Negotiating distance during protests starts with the recognition that symbolic signs have arbitrary relationships to specific objects and are constructed through social and cultural systems.

When society changes, the significance of its symbols also changes.[25] Hence, as Murray Edelman argues, while physical forms clearly have an impact on the configuration of distance and as such on human behaviour, human actions can contribute to their modification and the meaning of place. This means that while the configuration of some public spaces is quite important, 'it matters more what democratic performances are conducted within them, and thus what symbolic associations are built up over time'.[26] This statement about the significance of space (i.e. configuration) and time (i.e. history and the legacy of place) in the practice of protest is key for understanding how distance is manifested and challenged during the actions in Resurrection City in 1968 and the Occupy Movement in 2011. The Washington Mall and Zuccotti Park are two different and distinct places, each with its own legacy and symbolic attributes (Figure 3).

The Washington Mall is the 'front' stage of the United States Government. The Mall is a national park of more than 1000 acres that contains many of the USA's significant natural and cultural resources.[27] The open spaces and parklands,[28] which were commissioned by President George Washington, were intended to create an ideal stage 'for national expressions of remembrance, observance, celebration, and expression of First Amendment rights'.[29] The monumental aspect of the capital aimed to represent the nature of government and the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. The site hosts numerous activities and special events each year and is seen as a representation of national values in its blending of 'formal history and tradition and informal contemporary life'.[30] Owned and maintained by the federal government, the park offers a significant piece of nature in the midst of the bustling urban environment of the city.[31] Protests in the park are often a large-scale activity, and the enclosed, detached nature of the park minimizes the protests' interference with the daily dynamics of the city.

In the case of Resurrection City, the considerations for choosing a site were pragmatic (i.e. size and access) and symbolic (visibility). During the meeting on 10 March 1966, Ken Jadin presented a survey on the issue. Among the options raised, the following were mentioned, as was noted in the memo from the meeting,

> 1.The mall would be the easiest to handle; 2. The S.W. area bordered by main and 4th, eye and buildings including Arena stage and some apartments, would probably hold 2,500 to 3,000 people (better capacity estimate later). This would be relatively easy to handle; 3. The S.E. (& some S.W.) area cleared for freeway . . .

Other options to be further investigated were church and park land possibilities. Of the sites that were considered and suggested by the team of planners, the Washington Mall, which was perceived as one of the easiest to manage, provided a permit. [32] The final location of the encampment was an area located adjacent to the Lincoln Memorial. This area results from a landfill that followed the adoption of the Senate Parks Commission Plan of 1901 (McMillan Plan), being part of the legacy of City Beautiful planning under the direction of Daniel Burnham.[33] The place, a wide lawn bounded with trees, offered a flexible platform for the construction of RC and provided the organizers with both suitable physical infrastructures and the symbolic benefit of being close to Washington monuments, especially the Lincoln Memorial.[34] As noted in the Memos of SCLC, 'Washington is the centre of government power, the national capital, and a symbol of the American economic system. The federal government, based in Washington, has the power and resources to do many things to end poverty.'[35]

Visibility was a central issue in the choice of place, as further elaborated by the SCLC: 'If the American people will wake up to these evils, they can make their government respond. We have
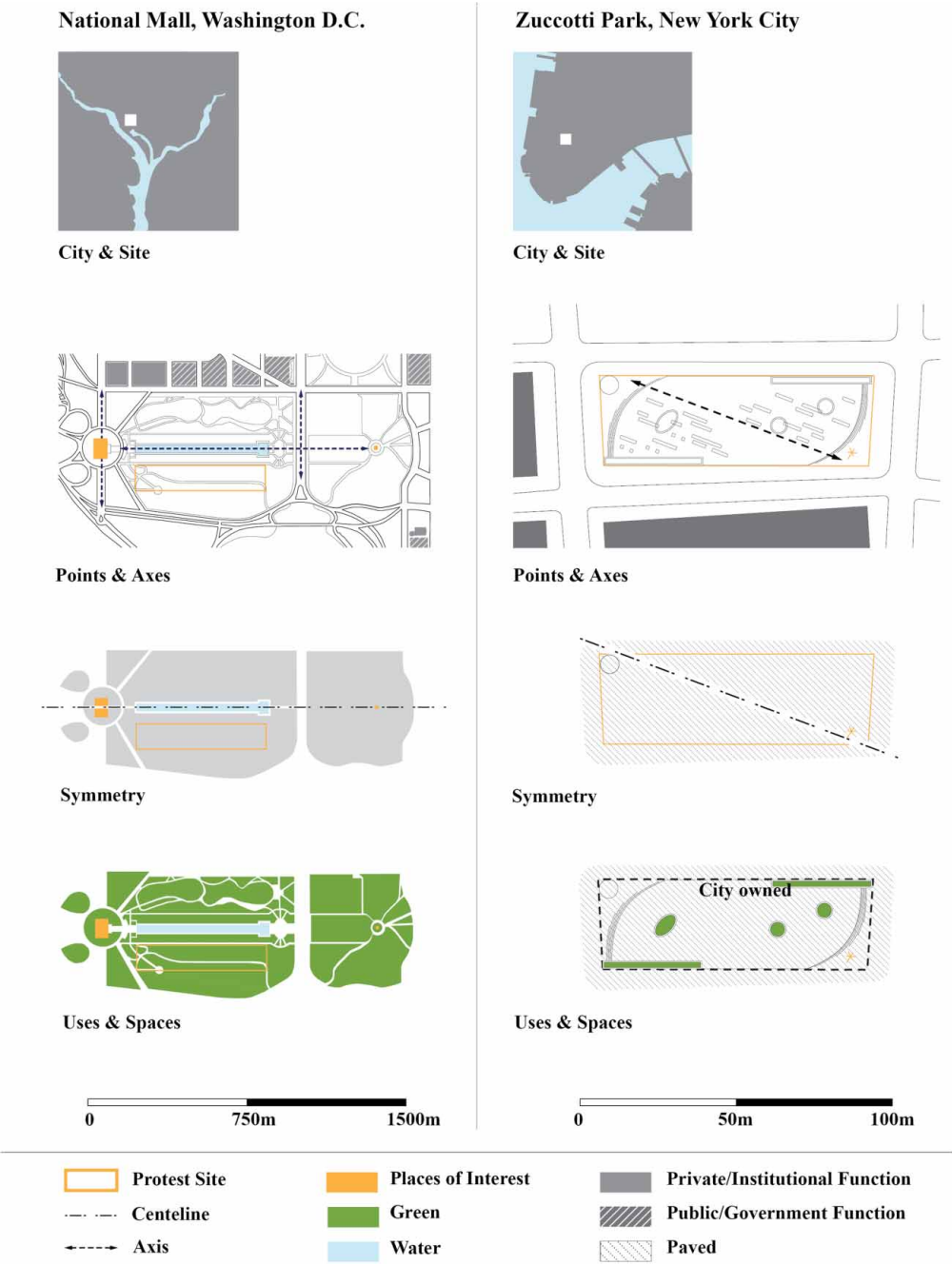
Figure 3.   The Washington Mall and Zuccotti Park, Spatial Features.

learned that the government does not respond to these situations until it is confronted with dramatic, powerful, massive actions.'[36] Indeed and as indicated in the quotation, the site is a meaningful representation of power. Yet, two points should be clarified: Resurrection City aimed to use the site as a central residential base from which protesters would go out into the city for various events at federal agencies. It was not just a self-contained encampment; rather, it was a staging ground for additional actions. At the same time, however, spatially it is an extremely isolated space, with little connection to the daily life of the city. In that respect, it was less disruptive to the city's routine and economy and could be seen as a constrained island of dissent.

In contrast to the Washington Mall, which represents national legacy and power, Zuccotti Park is a three-quarter-acre site in New York's Financial District that is owned and managed by a commercial real estate company but is accessible to the public under city law. This central urban space in the downtown area was intended to serve office workers by encouraging passive recreation, including resting, sitting for lunch, and playing chess.[37] The internal design of the park is based on a skewed grid with a long diagonal axis that crosses the two ends of the site. Pink granite pavers, benches, fixed two-seat tables, honey locust trees, and some 500 inset uplighting strips are laid out along the grid to provide shade and light, while outlets in the tree-wells and two spigots deliver power and water. Unlike the location of Resurrection City, which was open and flexible, this site's internal design and details (i.e. long diagonal axis, benches, trees, tables) needed to be considered in the spatial organization of the occupation.

The decision to occupy Zuccotti Park was a pragmatic one made possible by ambiguities in the privately owned public space regulation system, which has created places where the city government must negotiate authority with corporate owners and site occupants. More specifically, 'Zuccotti Park owes its existence to an incentive zoning transaction memorialized in a 1968 Special Permit that traded zoning concessions other than a floor area bonus in return for this public space'.[38] As Jerold Kayden explains,

> Unlike most other outdoor privately owned public spaces in New York City, Zuccotti Park is a one-off ... The nature of permissible public use, including the legal authority of the owner to impose its own rules to govern the conduct of those within the space, is undefined.

The owner could not legally dislodge Occupy Wall Street or even apply for an authorization from the City for a night-time closing under existing law. Under one reading of the law, it is impossible.[39] The organizers knew that while the city was tightly controlling public spaces and requiring permits for public gatherings, this privately owned place could be claimed with signs, megaphones, sleeping bags, tents, and blankets. Furthermore, the site's proximity to the United Federation of Teachers headquarters, restaurants, and businesses allowed the participants to use their amenities (e.g. gathering places and toilets). The following weeks confirmed that the state would use police control to assert its hegemony over the terms of public assembly and discourse. When protesters crossed the border of Liberty Plaza onto city streets or squares, they encountered 'order maintenance policing', a euphemistic directive that empowers New York police to intervene in public events irrespective of criminal action.[40] Beyond the issue of regulation, physically the space is enclosed, a pause within or an extension of the city's network. Its defined boundaries and its human scale facilitated the participants' challenges to distance and increased a sense of ritual and solidarity.[41] Here, similar to the case of

Table 1.   Washington Mall and Zuccotti Park, Key Features.

	Washington Mall	Zuccotti Park
Location	National Mall, downtown Washington, DC	Financial District, downtown New York City
Use	Government/national structures, symbolic monuments, recreation	Meeting place
Size	∼4,000,000 sq.	∼3100 sq.
Key value/ concern	Symbolic, leisure	Leisure
Spatial definition within the city	A national multipurpose park	An urban block designed as a park
Protest dynamic	Nationally oriented, large-scale events; minimal interference with the daily dynamic of the city	Static congregations; enclosure that increases sense of ritual and solidarity; high interference with the daily dynamic of the city

Resurrection City, the residential encampment of the protest site was connected to the rest of the city through periodic efforts to be visible to Wall Street itself and additional actions.

The physical and geographical features of both locations could be defined as 'front' stages, though at a different scale and importance (see Table 1). One is isolated, recreational in its nature, detached from the city centre, and with loose boundaries; the other is located at the heart of the city, hectic, and spatially constrained. One is associated with symbols of governance and democracy and the other with capitalist economy.[42] These differences could be seen as two distinct spatial manifestations of distance between powers and people. They clearly posed different challenges to the organizers of the events. How does the spatial strategy of the protest influence the idea of distance? How does the setting influence the strategy of occupation and the development of temporary relationships on a mass level? How do spaces and protestors' strategies assist in projecting messages beyond spaces' geographical boundaries?

Resurrection City: a temporal city in the Washington Mall, Washington, DC

The 'Poor People's Campaign' was conceived and planned by the SCLC led by Martin Luther King Jr. at the end of 1967 and the beginning of 1968. The campaign was meant to address the economic problems of the black ghettos in light of growing tensions throughout the country, which included the rise of alternative forces calling for the use of violent methods and riots. King saw the Poor People's Campaign as a last chance to save the country from deteriorating into a state of chaos, hatred, and violence.[43] Touring the country to inspire the nation to address poverty and racism, King motivated people to join the campaign for fair jobs and incomes and the right to a decent life beginning on 22 April 1968 in Washington.[44] According to the strategic outline of the campaign, several thousand people were to convene in Washington to live together in a temporary town that would act as a centre of protest. From this centre, people were to be mobilized in a mass demonstration, which would lead to other steps such as boycotts of selected industries. Importantly, the campaign was intended to mobilize not only blacks but also

members of other races under the common goal of resisting economic inequality rather than focusing on race alone.[45] King's assassination on 4 April 1968 did not stop or drastically change the schedule of the campaign. After the assassination, Rev. Dr Ralph David Abernathy was nominated to be the President of the SCLC, and he led the campaign through multiple sets of actions that included:

> a wagon train of poor people through the South; a shanty town in Washington; movements of poor people to Washington from all parts of the United States; a huge march on Washington; and continued escalating demonstrations in the Nation's Capital.[46]

To do so, he developed a complex organizational mechanism. One of the main purposes of the wagon train, in addition to getting people to Washington, was to make the Poor People's Campaign visible to the rest of the country.[47]

Resurrection City should not be seen as just a protest, but rather as an ambitious project that attempted to challenge the distance between the government and the poor. Resurrection City's spatial manifestation reflects the social and political power structures of the actors that initiated it. Spatially, the development of Resurrection City included two parallel phases involving professional city planners: planning a structure for the city and obtaining a permit for an appropriate site on which to erect it.[48] The plan for the temporary city, which was prepared prior to the selection of the actual site, mainly focused on the expected character of the demonstrators and challenges such as security, health, and social life. Structurally, the city was carefully designed using planning terminology (i.e. neighbourhoods and blocks) and hierarchical socio-spatial logic that was summarized as follows: '1 community = 4 neighbourhoods = 1000 people, 1 neighbourhood = 4 blocks = 250 people, 1 block = approximately 60 people'.[49] The idea was that each community would have an information/supply centre. For administrative purposes, Centre I (located in Community I) would be the main centre (Figure 4).[50] Importantly, this suggested structure was seen as being generic and adjustable to various site possibilities.

The key idea was that most construction would take place on site with the protestors. According to the plan, the city was to include larger structures for services and smaller ones for living, with a main street that would serve as a central community area to both functionally and symbolically unite diverse elements. Although the plan eventually had to be adapted, the main street retained its public character as the place where services were provided.[51] With all of the preparations completed only a few days before the protest was to start, the site was approved and the building process began. Most of the structures were constructed during the first week or two of the city's life by poor people and volunteers who formed work groups to work more quickly and efficiently (Figures 5 and 6).

In terms of space, the activists successfully reclaimed the country's most iconic national space by constructing an alternative city and an alternative order. More specifically, they initiated a mega-scale event in a focal location; this required long-term planning and negotiating with authorities prior to the event regarding permitted actions based on an estimation of participation and growth. In that sense, the Resurrection City encampment could be seen as an attempt to challenge agreed distances while at the same time controlling this change by creating an 'accepted island' of dissent with clear boundaries.

The spatial design of the city and its components also influenced the dynamic among participants. During the weeks of construction, the committee tried to have a representative at
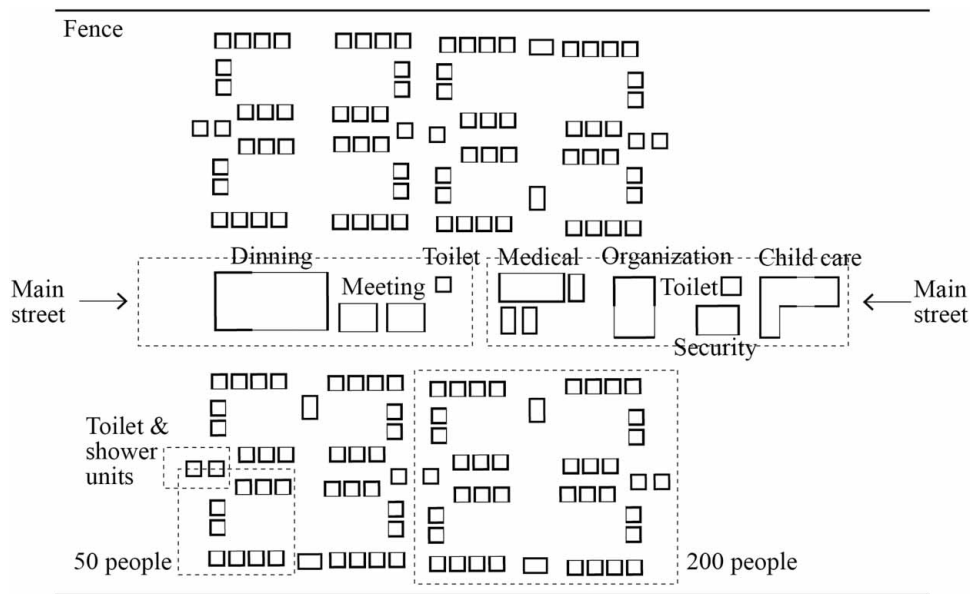
Figure 4.   General scheme of Resurrection City, 1968.
Source: Diagram is based on drawing prepared by John Wiebenson in "Planning and Using Resurrection City."

the City at all times. Once the city was more or less standing, it functioned less like a centralized community and more like an umbrella of groups that had similar goals but did not act together at all times. Throughout the entire period from 13 May to 24 June, demonstrators took an active part in community life through a variety of roles, first building shelters and later working as rangers and marshals, helping with food and child services, and performing other roles. Leaders of the local groups had important roles in internal matters and in mobilizing people to demonstrate. Finally, there was a city mayor. As a whole, the city was organized like a real city, including a security force, which was conceived as important not only in the sense of protecting residents from outside threats but also for maintaining order inside the compound.[52] Although Resurrection City was located in the park, its boundaries were controlled and constrained and police forces were not visibly present at the compound and did not take a leading role in regulating its activities. The site was also watched 24 hours a day by the Security System, which was based on members from the community who provided safety and security for the people within the community. 'They will watch for outsiders who are not authorized to be on the site and will prevent vandalism, theft, and any trouble that may develop.'[53]

The residents of Resurrection City came mostly from the rural south and large cities in the Northeast and Midwest. The majority of them were black, but there were also whites, Native Americans, Hispanics, and others. The residents tended to organize themselves into groups according to their original affiliation (i.e. the New York group or the Chicago group). Although there were supporters and volunteers from DC's black community, most of the white DC

Figure 5.   The single unit (shed), Resurrection City, 1968.
Source: Photograph by Tunney Lee.

community saw Resurrection City as strange and even threatening.[54] The aim of the campaign generally and of Resurrection City in particular was to shift the focus from the local to the national and to include social organizations, religious institutions, and actors in the federal government. As King stated:

Figure 6.   Gathering space (The 'City Hall'), Resurrection City, 1968.
Source: Photograph by Tunney Lee.

> We hope, with growing confidence, that our campaign in Washington will receive at first a sym-
> pathetic understanding across our nation, followed by dramatic expansion of non-violent demon-
> strations for specific reforms, and we intend to build militant non-violent actions until that
> government moves against poverty.[55]

Socially, the activists put a substantial effort into bridging differences and creating a coalition among various groups and into involving actors from the federal government, religious institutions, and community organizations. The structure of Resurrection City, as a spatial condensed fabric, assisted in developing trust and communication practices among the participants.

The spatial manifestation of the city, its order and social dynamic, mirrors the power structures of this initiative. As a whole, the SCLC supervised, promoted, and monitored the campaign. Within the campaign, the SCLC differentiated between the organization that supervised and promoted the event and the masses that were supposed to occupy Resurrection City as demonstrators (i.e. poor people claiming their rights). Additionally, before the actual settlement, the organizers were divided into two groups of decision-makers. First, there was the General Services Administration (GSA), which was in charge of registering and identifying Resurrection City's residents.[56] The GSA also included professional committees, such as Structures, Food, Services and Administration, Child Care, and Workshops and Mass Meetings. Second, a more distant leadership of the SCLC was in charge of major decisions, mainly managing the finances of the campaign as a whole.[57] This complex, rather hierarchical organization included preparations for unexpected scenarios.[58]

As they were monitoring and planning the event, the organizers established two key rules: no racism and no violence. They were conscious that 'violence by the Campaigners will make the Congressmen and the middle-class Americans think the money should be spent in defence against the poor instead of in helping them. This will defeat the Campaign'.[59] Thus, the participants were asked to follow a set of rules that included the following:

> Pray for guidance and commit yourselves to complete non-violence in word and action . . . In all things, observe ordinary rules of courtesy and good behaviour. . . . If cursed, do not curse back. If pushed, do not push back. If struck, do not strike back, but evidence love and goodwill at all times . . . If arrested, do not resist or go limp. Do not argue or 'talk back' at the police, but go to jail with quiet dignity as a protest against America's treatment of the poor. Unless there are compelling reasons why you must be released, refuse bail and help fill up the jails with protesters . . . .[60]

Furthermore, the participants were warned that if they were caught violating Resurrection City's regulations, they would be brought to the community's director of security (or the person acting for him), who would turn them over to the District of Columbia Police or would handle the problem on site.[61] In addition to this central organization within the city, there were efforts to form a council. Community groups formed their own local leadership, settling as groups in specific areas around the city's compound.[62] In this sense, the SCLC established the rules and a platform that allowed local initiatives to emerge and develop while order was regulated and maintained by leaders.

Importantly, the campaign was led by religious people with a worldview that envisioned the relationship between God and the state as a clear and well-defined hierarchy:

> From a religious point of view, there are two types of laws: man-made laws and the higher law of God. This higher law holds that all men are equal and have the right to equality and a decent life. Worship of the state, or government, is wrong because the state is composed of mortal men and their laws. It is our duty under God to express our true loyalty by exposing the evils in our society and government and working to change them.[63]

In terms of the political dynamic, two points should be emphasized. First, the campaign was led by a concentrated leadership that had a clear hierarchy between leaders and activists. It is clear

that the approval of central leadership was needed for each detail. This approach also influenced the strict way that communication and regulation were practised and used as a mechanism to create behavioural codes, providing a degree of homogeneity. Second, leadership was in constant dialogue over their demands. This dialogue occurred between leadership (who presented their demands) and cabinet-level departments (who responded to these demands). In its essence, this dialogue was about reducing the distance between the poor and the government, as noted by one of the reporters: 'probably for the first time, in American history, nameless poor persons faced high-ranking cabinet officers and told them what they thought was wrong with this nation'.[64]

Resurrection City existed for 43 days. During the end of May and early June, the area was flooded. A storm began and the 'rainfall swelled the Potomac River, made a muddy morass of the Poor people Campaign'.[65] At its high point, some 2800 residents occupied the city, a number that dropped drastically after the rainfall, when only 500 people were left. The city's lifespan should be seen in the context of the campaign and the process that led to it. Although those who stayed attempted to work towards reviving the city, the government gave a deadline for the organizers to leave by 23 June, 8 pm, some 6 weeks after it began.[66] The final residents were evicted by the police. All of the structures were removed and sold to a contractor, and the area was returned to its original purpose as a park.[67] The agreed distance was re-established.

In sum, Resurrection City, being located in isolation from the city, was developed as an abstract idea, with the initial programme developed prior to the approval of the site. The organizers literally recruited and supported the inhabitants of Resurrection City. Yet, despite being geographically distant, this island of dissent in the Mall challenged the agreed dynamic between national power and the citizens, making the need of the poor concrete. Stated differently, Resurrection City was a spatial message and a staging action that challenged the agreed distance manifested in the Mall by offering a less grand and formal, but an alternative symbolic array of a city and of a place.

The Occupy Movement: a temporal camp in central urban venues

'Are you ready for a Tahrir[68] moment? On 17 September, flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street.' This call was published on 13 July 2011, by the online journal *AdBusters* 2011 and inspired by the unrest in the Arab world.[69] Two thousand people attended the first rally and march on Wall Street in downtown Manhattan, and nearly 200 camped out that night in Zuccotti Park.[70] The occupation continued to build in the subsequent days and weeks, in part because of the viral spread of images and police violence via the media. Without a clear strategic campaign outline, the movement mainly motivated responders to address rising inequality, unemployment, and increasing corporate influence over electoral politics. The idea was for protesters to gather in public places in a manner parallel to inhabiting the online worlds of social networking. This spatial tactic of physically occupying public spaces had various goals, including a symbolic function, an educational purpose, a 'glue' function, and an activation function.[71] As a whole, demonstrations under the banner of Occupy Wall Street resonated with many people and expressed a widespread sense of economic injustice and a desire for better political representation.

The Occupy Wall Street campaign could be seen as an evolving project that attempted to challenge the distance between global powers and people. In this case, similar to Resurrection City, the

spatial manifestation of the action reflects the social and political power structures of the actors that initiated it. Spatially, the Occupy Wall Street campaign should be viewed as an autonomous, self-managed group of individuals who established an evolving platform characterized by the on-site development of various institutions, such as media, a newspaper, a library, and even spaces for meditation and worship.[72] With no legal permission, individuals aggregated through the viral flows of social media, and the participants used occupation as a means of symbolic struggle and an opportunity to create a space of trust in multiple venues. The spatial evolution of these multiple settlings in different cities was based on what Jeffrey Juris calls the 'logic of aggregation'. This logic helped to facilitate and reinforce a widespread occupation that was seen as both an effective protest tactic and a model of an alternative, directly democratic world (Figure 7).[73]

Although it spread quickly, this instant framework faced difficulties in creating inclusive alliances. Thus, as the encampment established itself and evolved, differences and divisions appeared on the surface and in the lived experiences of those inhabiting the park. As noted:

> Though the distinctions were not hard and fast, the west end often felt quite distinct, even to the casual visitor. In general, it seemed that the eastern end of the park accommodated the more reform-orientated and middle class of the movement's supporters, while the western end housed more working-class and politically uncompromising activists.[74]

Although Occupy Wall Street was intended as a diverse and inclusive action, the movement increasingly had to confront decisions that permeated wider society as classes and differences became apparent. As a whole, however, this spatial tactic succeeded in three main achievements: (1) a physical, intimate, and immediate platform of interaction that modelled an alternative community and generated intense feelings of solidarity;[75] (2) the development of a local–global counter of spatial alliances enhanced by the spread of alternative communities; and (3) media attention on this spread of alternative communities, which contributed to the debate over the consequences of inequality and unemployment beyond its geographic boundaries (Figures 8 and 9).[76]

Accordingly, in terms of space, the activists were supporting a web of events in which dissent occurred in multiple venues simultaneously, with Zuccotti Park serving as a staging ground.[77] This strategy allowed the activists to initiate actions tentatively, to change or add
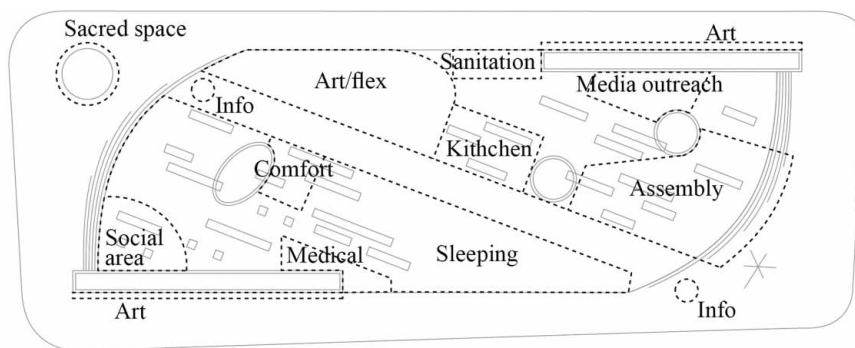

Figure 7.   General scheme of spatial array in Zuccotti Park, 2011.
Source: Diagram is based on a drawing prepared by Massey and Snyder, "Mapping Liberty Plaza."

Figure 8.   The single unit (tent), Occupy Movement, Zuccotti Park.
Source: Photograph by David Shankbone, cc by 2.0.

new locations to their map of dissent, and to be flexible in terms of their participation and growth. Choosing to act in everyday places did not mean that the activists operated without order; rather, they operated with relative flexibility in defining the array of the acts themselves as they manifested physically in a specific place. Although the occupation tactic was success-fully adapted to other cities, scholars began pointing out the limitations of this approach even during the campaign. In particular, they noted concerns about the defence of the permanent and round-the-clock occupancy of a specific space, which could lead to the fetishization of space and make the defence of that space the overwhelming goal of the movement, at the expense of actions to further the broader goals that the space was occupied to advance.

Flexibility was also supported by social media, such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter, which were used as the primary means of communication within the Occupy Movement. These means represent a new type of social mobilization that has brought individuals (and their individualized media) to the forefront of dissent.[78] As Stefania Milan argues:

> Contemporary protest is best described as a cloud where a set of ingredients enabling mobilization coexist: identities, narratives, frames and meanings, know-how, and other 'soft' resources. They are fundamentally different from the 'old' pre-packaged ideals and beliefs soaked in ideology because they can be customized by and for individuals.[79]

The concept of cloud logic is essential, as it represents the opposite of defined hierarchy or defi-nitions of distance. It is about being here and now. In that respect, the ready-made tent (as

Figure 9.   Space of Info, Occupy Movement, Zuccotti Park.
Source: Photograph by David Shankbone, cc by 2.0.

opposed to the wooden structure of the Resurrection City) represents this flexibility and the nomadic character of the event.

This network/cloud logic is based on four key principles: (1) building horizontal ties and connections among diverse, autonomous groups; (2) using the free and open circulation of information; (3) collaboration via decentralized coordination and direct democratic decision-making; and (4) self-directed networking.[80] Although this progressive, egalitarian, and radically democratic grassroots struggle aimed to mobilize all sectors of US society, it has been argued that it failed to represent the diversity of the 99% and was skewed towards the upper end of the spectrum of socio-economic power and privilege (i.e. 81% of the protesters were white; 62% were male; 64% were young [only 1.3% were Black/African American and 7.7% were Hispanic]).[81] The demographic portrait of the campaign was much influenced by the practices of social media ('a friend bring a friend' and thus limited in terms of diversity) and differs significantly from Resurrection City recruitment, which was locally based yet nationally spread.

Most importantly, these clouds of struggle change the way that scale is addressed and perceived. They enhance global–local relationships most effectively through the politics of connectivity, and they enhance agency as a means of challenging the impact of globalization and its effect on places. However, although social networking tools allow activists to rapidly circulate

information and to coordinate physical movements across space, they are perhaps most effective at getting large numbers of individuals to converge in protest at particular physical locations. Rather than generating organizational networks, these tools primarily link and stitch together interpersonal networks.

Therefore, in terms of the social dynamic, the Occupy Movement activists aimed to be inclusive and accept a plurality of actors, visions, and positions.[82] Accepting difference refers both to identity and to ideological positioning, with groups limiting and expanding their membership to suit their goals. Either way, this approach to social dynamics accepts difference as an underlying value that can expand the scope and scale of events but can also give rise to conflicts among participants and/or result in a diffused message. This acceptance influences social communication and the dynamic of the protest, with participants developing trust and solidarity on site (if at all).

One of the key characteristics of the Occupy encampment versus more top-down campaigns was the self-organization and consensus-based assemblies that involved hundreds of people in deliberations and decision-making. These groups constituted powerful expressions of direct democracy in action.[83] Prior to 17 September, participants planned to launch a major anti-Wall Street protest. In anticipation of this event, new committees formed: a Food Committee, which raised $1000 for supplies; a Student Committee; an Outreach Committee; the Internet Working Groups; the Art and Culture Working Group; and the Tactical Committee.[84] It was the Tactical Committee that had the most impact; this group 'determined the time and place for the first General Assembly to happen and everything that would need to be done in order for that to happen'.[85]

In addition to the various committees that continued to act during the days of encampment, the movement developed a dynamic of participatory assemblies and horizontal collaboration. The General Assembly (GA), usually held at 7:00 pm in the shadow of the big red statue at the east end of Zuccotti Park, was a nightly display of consensual democracy that soon became one of the defining experiences of Occupy Wall Street. Formally, the GA served a prosaic function as the decision-making body of the action and the forum through which organizers ensured that the needs of the participants were met. The GA also served as a platform for venting grievances.[86] However, the GA did not always function smoothly. Its proceedings could easily be derailed by people making unnecessary calls for a microphone or requesting superfluous points of information.[87] Moreover, the fact that meetings were held publicly and were open to anyone who cared to show up and that they intended to give voice to everyone present who wished to speak, posed multiple problems. Persisting debates focus on how to refine and develop the process and whether the GA model can maintain its democratic character.[88]

Thus, in terms of political leadership (and thereby distance), the structural organization of the campaign, and among participants, is diffused, and, if it exists, it often restricts itself to specific goals. What exist are individual cells that operate independent of the rest of the movement while maintaining links to the movement through the circulation of information. This is made possible with the use of communication technologies, which allow a complex multifaceted structure for communication and virtual exchange that is used with different intensities by different groups. Communication is crucial for bringing a degree of homogeneity to the whole. And yet, this conceptualization of contemporary dissent raises new questions about the relationships between the diffused, open system suggested by activists and the structural (often bounded) system of political powers. How do these two systems correlate each other? Can their different conceptualization of space co-exist? A pessimistic reply would point to the miscorrelation

between the two and the difficulties bridging between them. This reply would assist in explaining violence towards activists and the need for a geography of domination to keep a system stable (i.e. the state). An optimistic reply would argue that contemporary forms of protests are platforms that can help fortify knowledge-based democratic dialogue, built upon the free exchange of dissenting ideas. A pragmatic response would argue that this is a process that cannot be stopped, and thus both states and people, in democratic and non-democratic regimes, need to get immersed in a mutually reformative adaptation process that takes into account the juxtaposed spheres in which we exist and act.[89]

The Occupy Movement camps existed for nearly two months. Police have forcibly removed protesters from their encampments in Denver, Portland, Salt Lake City, Oakland, Zurich, and now New York City. Overnight, New York City police officers moved into Zucotti Park, handing out fliers telling protesters they had to leave or face arrest. At 1:00 am on 15 November, the police fenced off the park, and no one was allowed past the barricades. This forced eviction of the occupiers took place despite the fact that the Supreme Court had signed a temporary restraining order permitting protestors to return to Zuccotti Park. Ignoring this decision, New York City officials kept the park clear and reopened it at 5:00 pm after receiving a more favourable court ruling that banned tents and sleeping bags from the park.[90] Mayor Bloomberg claimed victory for the principles of obedience and respect for the status quo and emphasized that the eviction resulted from the national collective effort of 18 mayors of major US cities in conjunction with federal authorities. This coalition of mayors and their collective effort could be seen as a mirror image of the coalition among the different activists' groups in the United States. Importantly, the extreme political and ideological distance between the local governments and protestors (i.e. unlike in the case of Resurrection City) contributed to the abrupt eviction.

In sum, the Occupy Movement, being located in a central yet constrained place in the city, was characterized by an evolving dynamic process developed on site. Participants were recruited through social media following cloud logic, with little control over the character of participants, which in the end was reflected demographically. Yet, although geographically central, this island of dissent in Zuccotti Park aimed to challenge the agreed dynamic between 'global powers' and 'the 99%', both rather abstract categories (especially in comparison to Resurrection City, i.e. national government and the poor). Wall Street acted more as a reference point than as the core of the protesters' agenda. Stating it differently, located in the here and now, in the concrete, on a private space, the Occupy Movement successfully created a dense occupation that displayed private agonies and anxieties in abstract terms.

Concluding remarks: planning protests in public space

The perception of distance affects daily 'interactions in public' and the negotiation of distance during civil protests.[91] As Erving Goffman noted, social situations vary, and individuals' reactions depend on how much the individual is obliged to be connected with his surroundings and the social context in which he is embedded.[92] This notion of distance and connectivity is even more relevant today with the ICT revolution, which blurs boundaries between people, places, and spaces (i.e. physical versus virtual space). Seeing personal space as procedural[93] and dynamic is crucial to understanding how people are adjusting to agreed forms of distance or to initiating protest actions to alter these forms. It has been argued that the spatial manifestation of protest mirrors these practices (see Table 2).

Table 2.   The conceptualization of distance: Resurrection City and the Occupy Movement.

Dimensions			Resurrection City, 1968		Occupy Movement, 2011
Political initiative	Objective	*Central organization*	Tackling social disparity via rights	*Self-organization*	Addressing social disparity via resource redistribution
	Actors		Coalitions of federal government, churches, communities, organizations		Individuals and organizations forming a mass
Social dynamic	Process	*Social fusion*	Evolving	*Clouds*	Instant
	Scale		Think nationally, act locally		Think globally, act locally
	Legality		Collective non-violent action, permitted		Individual and local, at times violent, not permitted
Spatial approach	Tactic	*System*	A model for alternative city, controlled, planned, permitted occupation	*Aggregation*	A model of self-organization, spontaneous growth, illegal occupation
	Site		Constructed, spatial creativity, community, clear agenda		Ready-made, instant, individualistic, supermarket of ideas
Distance	Geography		Distant island of dissent, staging platform, actions take place beyond physical boundaries		Central island of dissent, staging platform, actions take place beyond physical boundaries
	Physical		Planned distance in the physical array of the encampment		Unplanned distance, dense occupation, arbitrary
	Meaning		Aiming to reduce (communicative) distance between national power and citizens		Aiming to reduce distance between global/economic powers and people (communicative channel does not exist)

Three key points should be emphasized about the idea of distance. First, distance is not just about the specific location of the action but also about its influence on other distant locations and viewers. Both cases served as a staging ground for other activities with the aim of reducing physical and ideological distance from other potential actors or venues. Protestors carefully use space with the aim of catching media attention. Both the Poor People's Campaign and the Occupy Movement received daily media coverage, which repackaged events through an interplay of concrete actual happenings and an imagined narrative, and distributed these interplays to remote viewers worldwide. Clearly, the tactic of occupying space, which modifies daily rhythms over a long period of time, is a way to ensure an ongoing debate about a grievance. In each of the presented cases, however, this tactic was interpreted in opposite ways. In the case of Resurrection City, the SCLC was concerned with the socio-spatial structure of the event while maintaining an ongoing dialogue with the federal government. Fostering this tactic included strong leadership and the lengthy preparation of a detailed spatial scheme that took into consideration the City's infrastructures. The scheme was designed with some flexibility and was able to express individualism at the scale of a single unit in a private shed. In the case of the Occupy Movement, there was no declared leadership, no particular 'order', and no thought about managing spatial growth; rather, the movement focused on individuals' capacity, will, and creativity to manage themselves. In both cases, location and distance from the crowd (i.e. activists, viewers, and passers-by) played a key role. The formal space of the Mall with its vast green area and isolation from the city did not affect daily life in the city or attract viewers. Moreover, 'non-residents' were not allowed to enter the site without permission. However, the central and packed space of Zuccotti Park was perceived as a possible threat to social life in the city and the event's spatial boundaries were tightly maintained by the police. Yet, these advantages assisted by attracting viewers and passers-by. The difference between the planned, permitted occupation and the spontaneous, illegal occupation was also evident in the physical layout of the occupation and particularly in the contrast between creating a unified array with a clear message versus a fragmented community that reflected a supermarket of ideas.

A second point refers to the dynamics and distances among participants in the protests. As argued at the beginning of the paper, protest is also about the individual being exposed to others, a condition that allows the creation of collectives and the bridging of social differences, at least temporarily. This dimension refers to how people communicate with each other during protests. Although today's technology radically changes communication by enhancing the availability of information and helping to create large masses of participants, it also alters the scope of information and the public's ability to absorb it. In other words, it has changed not only the 'how' but also the 'what' or, in other words, not only the quantitative dimension but also the qualitative meaning of the message. During protests, communication provides a bond among the participants, enhancing trust, and bridging differences; it reduces the daily distances between strangers. The cases represent two different approaches to reducing distances between participants. In the case of Resurrection City, the organizers attempted to unite local communities by creating a web of groups that shared an ideology. Communication was a difficult and evolving process of building trust, and Resurrection City was the physical manifestation of this space of trust. Importantly, trust was achieved not only among the participants, who established the rules and created a regulatory system, but also between the participants and the government. In the case of the Occupy Movement, communication was based on virtual exchange used as an information tool, and trust, ideas, and solidarity were established on site. Communication was the

means for enhancing multiplicity both geographically (with many cities imitating the same strategy) and ideologically. Within that state of affairs, the aim was to tolerate differences, allowing multiple positions, and to develop trust – a challenging and extremely difficult goal.

The third point refers to how the action itself addressed political distance and powers. Although Resurrection City was an evolving process and the Occupy Movement was an immediate action, both movements were highly aware of political distance and designed their actions accordingly. In both situations, space was considered a privileged instrument of the state that was used to control social relations among individuals, groups, and classes in a globalized world. The state was seen as a significant actor in a global economic world, one that had enormous power to use social space as a means of extending its power and control. Although Resurrection City thought and acted nationally and the Occupy Movement thought globally and acted locally, both movements perceived the state as having the capacity to change economic inequalities. In other words, even in an era of intensified globalization, the state's distance from its citizens continues to play a central role in the struggle over resources. The study of these two distinct cases and their advantages and disadvantages demonstrates the people's desire for dialogue with the state and calls for the alteration of distance practices. The two examples present different strategies for approaching distance. The first example uses an approach that defines an a priori spatial, social, and political structure. The other example's approach is more concrete, focusing on the here and now and taking on a cloud configuration.

In sum, space either as an instrument of the state or as an instrument of the private sector is seen as a manifestation of agreed political, social, and economic distances. Distance ensures stability and social order. During protests, we challenge/alter these agreed distances. This paper has suggested that how we conceive of distance and how we choose to challenge it influence the spatial manifestation of protest and should be seen in the context of growing civilian consciousness of the politics of place and of its mutable nature.[94] More precisely, activists' awareness of the specificity and accuracy of a place's definition and boundaries also includes a realistic acknowledgment of its social and spatial temporality. And this acknowledgment marks a change in the way space has been perceived in the modernist version (all temporality, no space) and the postmodern (all space, no time), moving towards the configurations of multiple spheres, trajectories, and histories. In other words, activists have grasped that 'for the future to be open, space must be open'.[95] In this sense, the event (i.e. protest) and the place are seen as interrelated and cannot be understood in isolation from one another. This is not to say that protest cannot occur in other spheres (virtual or private), but in the public space, which is seen as belonging to the people as a whole, the exposure of grievances can affect or involve the culture of a community or a nation.[96] Thus, although there is no doubt that ICTs have contributed dramatically to contemporary protests, what is suggested here is a shift in the way people understand the notion of distance and the way they express this understanding in public space.

As a final point, from a planning perspective, both case studies are impressive acts of civil participation that use public space with full awareness of its meaning and power. The spatial manifestation of actions echoes a long debate on the process of producing space and the creation of distances and order: at one end, a central organization that establishes rules of operation and at the other end, self-organization that gives maximum possible power to the people. However, the question of distance and protest raises a larger question about the role of planners and designers in the concretizing of distances in space and about space and politics. Although distances are all about constraints and limitations, they are also about defining boundaries in space that can be

negotiated, opposed, and resisted. This particular dialectic of constraint and freedom, of distance and engagement, is what makes planned public spaces so crucial to political dissent and so strategic as a tool to allow people to negotiate distance practices.

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Notes

1. For further reading on the relationships between the design of place, national identity, and power, see Dovey, *Framing Places*; Leach, *Anaesthetics of Architecture*; Torre, "Claiming the Public Space"; and Vale, *Architecture, Power.*
2. For a discussion of the psychological approach to distance, see Liberman and Trope, "Psychology," 1201.
3. Canetti, *Crowd and Power*, 20.
4. Davis, "Power of Distance."
5. Canetti, *Crowd and Power*, 20.
6. "Occupy Wall Street."
7. Key actors and active planners in the development of RC were James Goodell, Kenneth Jadin, Tunney Lee, and John Wiebenson.
8. Among the scholars who supported and analysed the event were: Peter Marcuse, Jonathan Massey, and Brett Snyder.

9. This analysis of the cases is mostly based on archival documents supported by a limited number of interviews with key actors.
10. Goffman, *Behavior in Public Spaces*.
11. Collins, "Private/Public Divide."
12. Souza de Silva and Frith, *Mobile Interfaces*, 51.
13. Dovey, *Framing Places*, 11.
14. Vale, *Architecture, Power*, XII.
15. Edelman, *From Art to Politics*, 76.
16. Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, *Sidewalks*; Low and Smith, *Politics*; and Zukin, *Cultures of Cities.*
17. Gershuny, "Web Use and Net"; Pfaff, "Mobile Phone Geographies"; and Ratti, "Mobile Landscapes."
18. Sarjakoski, "Networked GIS for Public."
19. Brighenti, "New Media" and Manovich, *Language*.
20. Sheller, "Mobile Publics"; Young, *Exclusive Society*; and Wacquant, "Territorial Stigmatization."
21. Sennett, *Fall*.
22. Putnam, *Bowling Along*.
23. Turkle, *Alone Together*.
24. Bauman, *In Search of Politics*; see also the remarks of Žxzek to the activists of the occupy movement:

> There is a danger. Don't fall in love with yourselves. We have a nice time here. But remember, carnivals come cheap. What matters is the day after, when we will have to return to normal lives. Will there be any changes then? ("Occupy Wall Street")

25. Edelman, *Symbolic Uses*, 95–113.
26. Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space*, 202.
27. These resources include the Washington Monument, Thomas Jefferson Memorial, Lincoln Memorial, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, DC War Memorial, World War II Memorial, Korean War Veterans Memorial, Vietnam Veterans Memorial, George Mason Memorial, Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House, and numerous other historic sites, memorials, and parklands. For additional details, visit the official website, http://www.nps.gov/nama/index.htm.
28. For the history of the planning process, see Longstreth, *Mall in Washington*.
29. See website: http://www.nps.gov/nama/historyculture/index.htm.
30. Ibid.
31. Capitol Hill is the only area where monumental Washington abuts the city's ordinary fabric in any way. Although the mall provides a superb site for special occasions, for most of its expanse, it lacks easy integration with the life of the city. See Longstreth, *Mall in Washington*, 31.
32. See SCLC, "Minutes of the Shelters," 395. In an interview conducted with Tunney Lee, one of the planners on the team, other options were mentioned including Rock Creek Park and the National Airport. The airport had many advantages because of the asphalt, toilets, and restaurants. Lee and Vale, "Resurrection City," 113–14.
33. For further reading on the City Beautiful movement and the McMillan Plan, see Hines, "The Imperial Wall."
34. The particular significance of the Lincoln Memorial comes from Lincoln's legacy of preserving the Union while ending slavery and promoting economic and financial modernization.
35. SCLC, "Questions & Answers," 24.
36. Ibid.
37. Zuccotti Park was damaged by the 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and redesigned in 2006 by Cooper, Robertson & Partners. For a further spatial analysis of the park and details regarding the physicality of the event, see Massey and Snyder, "Occupying Wall Street."
38. Kayden, "Occupying Wall Street."
39. Ibid.
40. Massey and Snyder, "Occupying Wall Street."
41. See Massey and Snyder, "Mapping Liberty Plaza."
42. Indeed, technically, some would argue that Resurrection City is not 'on' the mall but off the main axis of it and adjacent to the location of other major protest events (the March on Washington in 1963 or

the Marian Anderson concert in the 1930s), yet it was perceived by the authorities and protestors as being placed on the Mall.

43. Fager, *Uncertain Resurrection*, 15–17.
44. Poor People's Campaign News, "Dr. King Touring Nation," 185.
45. King wanted a multiracial movement, hence the name 'Poor People's Campaign', rather than a 'Civil Rights' movement that could be seen as centred on expanding opportunities for blacks only. Garrow, *Protest at Selma* and Lee, Interview with Author.
46. Poor People's Campaign News, "Dr. Abernathy Announces," 54.
47. Poor People's Campaign, "Questions & Answers," 24.
48. Members of the Structures Committee were James Goodell (then at Urban America), Kenneth Jadin (Department of Architecture, Howard University), Tunney Lee (architect and planner from Washington, DC), and John Wiebenson (School of Architecture, University of Maryland). See the SCLC, "Minutes of the Shelters" and Wiebenson, "Using Resurrection City," 58–68.
49. SCLC, "Administrative Units," 517.
50. Ibid.
51. See SCLC, "Minutes of the Shelters" and Wiebenson, "Using Resurrection City."
52. Lee, Interview with Author.
53. See SCLC, "Administrative Units."
54. Lee, Interview with Author.
55. SCLC, "Statement by Martin Luther King Jr.," 705.
56. SCLC, "Administrative Units."
57. Wiebenson, "Using Resurrection City," 58–68.
58. See, for example, the considerations for exploring alternate housing and transportation, as noted:

> To develop alternate housing arrangements in the Washington Metropolitan area (e.g., private homes, churches, gymnasiums, and hotel facilities) in case the participants are unable to live in New City. To develop resources (e.g., buses, cabs, and private cars) for transporting participants without expense to various campaign activities in the Washington Metropolitan area. (SCLC, "Poor People's Campaign," 298–9)

59. SCLC, "Nonviolent Action," 779.
60. Ibid.
61. SCLC, "Administrative Units."
62. Wiebenson, "Using Resurrection City."
63. SCLC, "Questions & Answers."
64. Valentine, "Confusion Obscures Specific Demands."
65. Weil, "Rain Causes Area Flooding."
66. Valentine, "Poor People Get Extension."
67. Wiebenson, "Using Resurrection City."
68. Tahrir Square, located in the centre of Cairo, was the key space for protests during the 2011 protest in Egypt. The space became a symbol of mega-scale dissent not only for the Egyptians but also universally.
69. Writers for the 99% (Group), *Occupying Wall Street*.
70. Graeber, "Playing by the Rules[."]
71. Marcuse, "Danger of Fetishizing Space."
72. Juris, "Reflections on #Occupy."
73. Marcuse, "Danger of Fetishizing Space."
74. Writers for the 99% (Group), *Occupying Wall Street*, 63.
75. Juris, "Reflections on #Occupy."
76. Marcuse, "Danger of Fetishizing Space."
77. Deleuze and Guattari, *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*.
78. Declaration of the Occupation of New York City, http://www.nationofchange.org/reader/2468.
79. Ibid.
80. Juris, "Reflections on #Occupy."

81. Cordero-Guzman, "Main Stream Support."
82. Hardt [and] Negro, "Fight for 'Real Democracy'"; Maeckelbergh, *Will of the Many*; and Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics."
83. Graeber, "Playing by the Rules"[;] Juris, *Networking Futures*; Nugent, "Commentary"; and Polletta, *Freedom.*
84. Writers for the 99% (Group), *Occupying Wall Street*, 11.
85. Ibid., 12.
86. Ibid., 27.
87. Ibid., 31.
88. Ibid., 32.
89. Hatuka, "Transformative Terrains."
90. Writers for the 99% (Group), *Occupying Wall Street*, 187.
91. Goffman, *Relations in Public*.
92. Goffman, *Behavior in Public Spaces*, 199.
93. Iveson, *Publics and the City*, 9.
94. Hatuka, "Civilian Consciousness."
95. Massey, *For Space*, 148.
96. In addressing contemporary protests, much attention has been given to the role of communication technologies and their impact on the relationships among activists. For further reading about how communication technologies impact dialogical dynamics in daily life and during protests, see, for example, D'Arcus, *Boundaries of Dissent*; Juris, *Networking Futures*; "New Digital Media["]; McCaughey and Ayers, *Cyberactivism*; and Souza de Silva and Frith, *Mobile Interfaces In Public Spaces*.

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