

“HANDS UP, DON’T SHOOT!”
THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

by

Micah J. Chrisman

University of Central Missouri

An Abstract

of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in the Department of Communication
University of Central Missouri
December, 2015

ABSTRACT

by

Micah J. Chrisman

This research examined the evolution of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement from a social movement rhetoric (SMR) standpoint. Specifically, it explored the “confrontational rhetoric,” “image rhetoric,” and “body rhetoric” of the Ferguson, Mo., protestors and their utilization of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture after a local 18-year-old black youth, Michael Brown, was fatally shot by Officer Darren Wilson on August 9, 2014. In the year since Brown’s death, the Ferguson protests continue to spark similar demonstrations across the U.S., and all over the world. Since the Ferguson protests, and later the BLM demonstrations, are affecting public policies, law enforcement, and political leaders alike, this researcher discovered that the persuasive arguments being made within this movement highlight societal issues regarding racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces within the U.S. Overall, the rhetorical analysis of these demonstrations affords better insight into the persuasive exigencies fueling this movement and the social and political implications that have followed in its wake.

“HANDS UP, DON’T SHOOT!”
THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

by

Micah J. Chrisman

University of Central Missouri

A Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in the Department of Communication
University of Central Missouri
December, 2005

© 2015

Micah J. Chrisman

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

“HANDS UP, DON’T SHOOT!”
THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

by

Micah J. Chrisman

University of Central Missouri

APPROVED:

Thesis Chair: [Dr. Eric Newsom]

Thesis Committee Member: [Dr. Wendy Geiger]

Thesis Committee Member: [Dr. Musa Ilu]

ACCEPTED:

Chair, Department of Communication: [Dr. Arthur Rennels]

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL MISSOURI
WARRENSBURG, MISSOURI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must express my sincere gratitude for my thesis committee, for their depth of knowledge and helpful critiques throughout this research process. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Eric Newsom for being the finest thesis advisor a graduate student could ask for. Words cannot express how much I have appreciated your mentorship over the past year, Dr. Newsom. Finally, Mom, Dad, and everyone else in my family—thank you for your love, support, and all the late night discussions. Because of you all, this whole experience has fundamentally changed me and my views of the world. My prayer is that this work helps fulfill the overall mission of restoring peace in our broken world.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: **INTRODUCTION**..... 1
 The Rhetorical Situation of Ferguson..... 2
 “Hands up, don’t shoot!”: the Symbol of Ferguson..... 5

CHAPTER TWO: **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**..... 10
 Subalterns, the Public Sphere, & Counterpublics..... 10
 Social Movement Rhetoric..... 12
 Body Rhetoric & Symbolic Action..... 14
 Literature Summary..... 20

CHAPTER THREE: **THE METHODOLOGY**..... 23
 Timeline: From Brown’s Death to Wilson’s Non-Indictment..... 23
 Defining Terms & Establishing Rhetorical Perspectives..... 25
 Establishing Video & Image Artifacts..... 30
 Methodology Summary..... 33

CHAPTER FOUR: **THE BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT**..... 35
 A Movement Full of Leaders..... 35
 A Visual Culture in a Digital Age..... 38
 The Subaltern Counterpublics of BLM..... 41

CHAPTER FIVE: **THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON**..... 45
 Origin of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” Narrative..... 46
 August 9, 2014: Protests Begin..... 49
 August 10, 2014: the Civil & Uncivil Protests..... 51
 August 13, 2014: “Hands up, don’t shoot!” Literalized..... 58
 “Hands up, don’t shoot!” Post Officer Wilson’s Non-Indictment..... 60
 Summary of “Hands up, don’t shoot!” as Symbolic Action..... 66

CHAPTER SIX: **DISCUSSION: IMPLICATIONS & FINDINGS**..... 67
 “Hands up, don’t shoot!” Across the U.S. & the World..... 68
 Black Lives Matter & Its Effects On U.S. Society..... 73
 Implications for SMR Scholarship & Conclusion..... 77

References..... 80

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

“Hands up, don’t shoot!” has been the resounding chant and symbolic gesture¹ of Ferguson, Missouri protesters ever since Darren Wilson, a white police officer, shot and killed Michael Brown, an 18-year-old black² youth, on August 9, 2014. According to a Department of Justice (DOJ) investigative report (2015), at approximately 11:53 a.m., Brown stole several packages of cigarillos from a convenience store in Ferguson, Mo., with his friend and accomplice, Dorian Johnson (p. 6). The same report detailed the following events that transpired: Wilson responded to the “stealing in progress,” but initially chastised Brown and Johnson for walking down the middle of Canfield Drive (p. 6). Brown reached into Wilson’s SUV and an altercation ensued, resulting in Wilson shooting Brown in the hand. Unarmed, Brown and Johnson fled and Wilson pursued. Brown turned around in the chase and “charged” at Wilson once again, which is when Wilson shot him multiple times (p. 6). In a two-minute time span, a total of twelve shots were fired, of which as many as six to eight bullets struck Brown who, again, was unarmed (p. 7).

Following this event, the racial tensions in the St. Louis area and across the U.S. have escalated. If the death of Trayvon Martin in 2012 was the crack in the dam, Brown’s death was the breaking point. Protests have taken place all over the nation: in Ferguson, Chicago, New York, Baltimore, Minneapolis, Berkeley, San Francisco, among others. Although some

¹ Throughout this research, the author will be analyzing the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture and similar symbolic postures, and it must be understood that these nonverbal forms of body rhetoric were paired with verbal arguments as well. Therefore, it must be noted that when a particular posture is being discussed, these protestors undoubtedly accompanied their gestures with verbal argumentation as well. However, because the emphasis of this study is on “body rhetoric” as symbolic action, even if these oral arguments are not explicitly discussed, they can be assumed to some degree.

² Because not every person of color is “African-American”—someone with African origins—I will use the word “black” with a lower case “b” to identify an individual’s racial demographic.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

dissenters³ have taken advantage of these demonstrations by looting local stores, committing arson, and vandalizing property, Ferguson protestors have primarily used nonviolent demonstrations as their rhetorical instrument (Hahn, 2014; Salzman, 2014; Underwood, 2014).

Protests have been answered with fierce police action. In fact, according to Swaine (2014), the St. Louis County Police Department has spent \$172,669 on restocking tear gas and “less lethal” ammunition for fear of future demonstrations, which has spurred a nationwide discussion regarding the militarization of police forces (Chokshi, 2014; Shinkman, 2014; Szoldra, 2014).

Because the scope of this issue has extended well beyond the borders of the St. Louis area, many are calling the Black Lives Matter (BLM) cause the new civil rights movement of our age (Day, 2015; Demby, 2014; Ross, 2015). As a result, the rhetorical situation of the BLM effort must be examined to ascertain what messages are being created and, subsequently, are being interpreted (or misinterpreted) by audiences across the U.S. Rather than simply labeling this year of civil unrest as a “pro-police” versus “pro-black” issue, these demonstrations are highlighting broader issues that plague our society, such as racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces. It must be noted that these protests in Ferguson are indeed rhetorical by nature, in that persuasive messages are being expressed through symbolic gestures in order to reshape the public’s opinion about state-sanctioned killings that tend to target black Americans. Before one can understand these action-related arguments, a justification for exploring this rhetorical situation is needed.

The Rhetorical Situation of Ferguson

³ The author is using the word “dissenters” as a general statement for all parties who actively confronted the power systems in Ferguson and/or similar situations. “Dissenters,” then, will be used interchangeably for both civil and uncivil protestors. Words such as “protestors,” “demonstrators,” and “activists” will be used when describing nonviolent groups. However, words such as “mob,” “rioters,” and “looters” will be used when describing violent groups.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) examined the nature of rhetorical situations and how rhetoricians interpret various events and artifacts from an argumentative standpoint. These authors believed that by “selecting certain elements and presenting them to the audience, their importance and pertinency to the discussion are implied” (p. 116-117). Situations are then rhetorical in and of themselves and salient topics—especially those portrayed by mass media outlets—are ascribed meaning by their interpreters. Edelman (1971) supported this very point by stating the following:

Political events can become infused with strong affect stemming from psychic tension, from perceptions of economic, military, or other threats or opportunities, and from interactions between social and psychological responses. These political “events,” however, are largely creations of the language used to describe them. (p. 33)

Consequently, the language used by social and mass media outlets has obscured the symbolic messages behind the Ferguson protests, resulting in widespread misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the movement. Officer Wilson was not indicted for first- or second-degree murder charges, nor was he indicted for voluntary or involuntary manslaughter charges. As a result, the organized protests that ensued following the jury’s decision coincided with looting and arson once again, causing certain celebrities, politicians, and other critics to decry the movement as a whole. For example, according to Chasmar (2014), Duval County, Fl., GOP secretary, Kim Crenier, reportedly experienced some major social media backlash after she posted the following on Twitter: “A suggestion for Ferguson- fire hoses. Grt big fire hoses, serious water pressure. Kn0ck those thugs over. They probly need a shower anyway [sic]” (para. 2). Florida civil rights activists called for Crenier’s resignation as a result. Similarly, celebrity Ted Nugent—a rock

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

musician and political activist—called the Ferguson activists “thugs” and described their dissenting acts as “a plague of black violence” (Jeanty, 2014, para. 1). Additionally, Mike Huckabee, a former Arkansas governor and as-of-this-writing Presidential candidate, stated that Michael Brown would not have been killed if he “behaved like something other than a thug” (Moftah, 2014, para. 1).

These cited persons were just a few in a number of opposing voices that have described Ferguson protestors as being “thugs” following the weeks of riots. In future research, this author intends to study how modern society has shifted from using the word “nigger” to using “thug” when describing black people in a derogatory way. Today, the word “thug” is not only being used to dehumanize both nonviolent and violent Ferguson activists alike, but it is also being used to belittle and delegitimize the BLM movement as a whole.

Consequently, these violent and nonviolent protests should be analyzed in what Haiman (1967) described as “the rhetoric of the streets,” which he believed were legitimate modes of First Amendment exercises. He warned critics in the following passage to not delegitimize violent protests by saying:

Perhaps the best one can do is avoid the blithe presumption that the channels of rational communication are open to any and all who wish to make use of them and attempt, instead, a careful assessment of the power structure of the situation. To whatever extent one finds an imbalance of power and a concomitant unwillingness on the part of the holders of power to engage in genuine dialogue, he may be less harsh in his judgment of those who seek to redress the balance through non-rational strategies of persuasion. (p. 114)

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Essentially, the general public, with regards to the Ferguson demonstrations, has lacked the formative dialogue in which to assess these events. Officer Wilson's non-indictment was, in a sense, a symbolic act that stripped away these protestors' abilities to voice the underlying injustice of Brown's death to the ones who hold power. Although it may be a "non-rational strategy," as Haiman would suggest, the need to demonstrate in a violent manner should provoke critics to explore the exigencies of the movement in order to explicate the rhetorical arguments being foregrounded in Ferguson. In essence, if we stand for social justice and wish to restore peace in our communities, then we must understand the persuasive messages that are be posited by these protestors through their physical, and yet *symbolic*, demonstrations.

"Hands up, don't shoot!": the Symbol of Ferguson

Just before Michael Brown was shot, some eyewitnesses said they saw him raise his hands as if to surrender, though court evidence does not corroborate this. All the same, it is the perceptions surrounding this narrative that have created the unifying experience for the people of Ferguson. The "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture became the symbol of Ferguson's systematic oppression. A majority of black persons are marginalized by the general public and, in many instances, are excluded from and mistreated by the power systems that are in place. For example, according to Roth (2014), "Though whites make up just 29% of the city's residents, five of Ferguson's six city council members are white, as is Mayor James Knowles. And six of the local school board's seven members are white" (para. 5). Essentially, the mistrust and exclusion that Ferguson communities experience stem well beyond the police force and extend to the city government as well. Thus, Ferguson and the "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture serve as a microcosm of these disenfranchisements.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

In a separate DOJ report (2015), it detailed the Ferguson Police Department's (FDP) conduct and practices, as well as further exposed the city's mistreatment of its black residents. This research revealed that the FPD primarily focused on generating revenue over the years, which led to unconstitutional vehicle stops/arrests and faulty charges. The following narrative was published in the same report:

For example, in the summer of 2012, a 32-year-old African-American man sat in his car cooling off after playing basketball in a Ferguson public park. An officer pulled up behind the man's car, blocking him in, and demanded the man's Social Security number and identification. Without any cause, the officer accused the man of being a pedophile, referring to the presence of children in the park, and ordered the man out of his car for a pat-down, although the officer had no reason to believe the man was armed. The officer also asked to search the man's car. The man objected, citing his constitutional rights. In response, the officer arrested the man, reportedly at gunpoint, charging him with eight violations of Ferguson's municipal code. (p. 3)

This story is one cited example of the abuse of power that has been systemically used against blacks in Ferguson. Additionally, the report stated that Ferguson police officers "... are inclined to interpret the exercise of free-speech rights as unlawful disobedience, innocent movements as physical threats, indications of mental or physical illness as belligerence" (p. 3). This analysis corresponds with police treatment of Ferguson activists after Brown's death, which was fierce and aggressive action, even towards groups of demonstrators who simply refused to move onto the sidewalk as a form of protest. Furthermore, the DOJ audited Ferguson municipal courts and discovered that they were taking advantage of residents who missed court

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

appearances by trumping up additional “charges, fines, and fees for each missed appearance and payment” (p. 3). The document consists of various subheaders like “Racial Bias” (p. 3), “Community Distrust” (p. 5), and “FPD Engages in a Pattern of Excessive Force in Violation of the Fourth Amendment” (p. 28). This final aspect, excessive force, especially addresses the overall cultural climate of the St. Louis suburb prior to Brown’s death. Black persons within Ferguson were so utterly tired of systemic police brutality and racial profiling taking place within their communities that once Brown was shot down on Canfield Drive, his death pushed them over the edge to where they finally had to take action and protest in mass numbers.

The same night after Brown was shot, organic protests formed, where participants could be seen raising their hands in a symbolic representation of Brown’s alleged surrender. As protests grew the following day, other forms of uncivil disobedience—looting and arson, for instance—took place within the city. In reaction to this and growing numbers of protesters, a militarized Ferguson police responded throughout the next week with tear gas, rubber bullets, high-frequency sirens, flash grenades, and other methods of less-lethal force against the gathered citizenship. Thus, the original visual symbol of “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture that corresponded to Brown’s surrender became literal once again as Ferguson protesters sought refuge or, in some cases, confronted police lines directly. Following the non-indictment of Darren Wilson for the shooting of Brown, protests sprung up nationwide, using the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” symbol as both an indicator of the original shooting and in reference to the conflict between protesters and militarized authorities in Ferguson.

This thesis seeks to situate and explicate the symbol of “Hands up, don’t shoot!” as a primary instrument in the development of a movement around the Ferguson shooting and the demonstrations that followed. The “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture was first a literal act for

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Brown, then a symbolic stance for demonstrators, and then it was literalized once again in the conflict between police lines and protesters. Thus, the gesture came to represent not only the original dispute between Wilson and Brown, but it also encapsulates the systemic marginalization of black persons in Ferguson and the U.S. as a whole. This symbol substitutes for movement leadership in an age where visual images create counter-discourses that more easily transmit and distribute messages than public address or speeches. In summary, a rhetorical analysis approach will provide the means in analyzing the Ferguson demonstrations and the symbol of “Hands up, don’t shoot!” However, the key difference between this research and similar social movement rhetoric scholarship is that, rather than study just the “image rhetoric” or “confrontational rhetoric” or “body rhetoric” of Ferguson through isolated perspectives, this author intends to employ all of these lenses as a means to fully understand the persuasive arguments being posited in Ferguson.

In the following chapter, a brief overview of the literature surrounding the “public sphere,” social movement rhetoric (SMR), and “body rhetoric” as symbolic action will be discussed. Next, in Chapter Three, the methodology for this research will detail how the author will apply a rhetorical analysis approach to study of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture in order to explore how it shaped early demonstrations in Ferguson and how it has evolved throughout the movement thus far: from a literal posture, to a symbolic one, and then a literal gesture again. In Chapter Four, a brief summary of the BLM movement will be given in order to understand BLM’s leaderless approach, as well as identify its various stakeholders. Next, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture will be analyzed in Chapter Five via social media outlets, such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and Vine posts/videos, in order to typify how it evolved from a literal posture, to a symbolic one, and then a literal gesture again. Finally, in

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Chapter Six, this research will conclude by detailing the social and political implications underlying Ferguson and the BLM movement and how these symbols have affected the national discourse surrounding racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Since the Black Lives Matter (BLM) cause is being viewed as the new civil rights movement of our time, it is imperative that we explore some of the literature surrounding social movements within the last one hundred years. Any research applicable for this study will be most beneficial if it is limited to 20th and 21st century examples, due to technological advancements, globalization, and the evolution of social movements as a whole. Additionally, rather than remain fixed on race-related research only, examples of subjugated groups dissenting from oppressive, hegemonic states will be analyzed as well (e.g. Marxism, environmental awareness, LGBT activism, and income inequality).

Subalterns, the Public Sphere, & Counterpublics

Antonio Gramsci, a Marxist theoretician and political activist, was arrested for opposing Mussolini's fascist regime at the time. He wrote a series of essays and historical pieces in notebooks while being imprisoned, which have been compiled in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (Gramsci & Hoare, 1972). We first encounter the term "subaltern" from Gramsci's writings, which he essentially used as a replacement word for "proletariat" while he was in prison, for fear of further persecution. To Gramsci, a subaltern is any lower ranking group that is being subjugated by a hegemonic, elite class. Louai (2012), who researched the evolution of Gramsci's term, described the subaltern as "... a particular marginalized subject position in any given cultural or social context" (p. 7).

By looking at Gramsci and Louai, we can see how the activists associated with the Ferguson demonstrations are representative of a larger subaltern group, namely, black persons who are disenfranchised and subjugated by the U.S. hegemonic, political structures in place. These two opposing forces were personified when Officer Wilson killed Michael Brown;

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

however, this occurrence now represents two socially polarized groups on a larger scale, one being law enforcement agencies—which are a part of a larger hegemonic power structure: the U.S. legal system—and the other group being black people collectively. In order to better understand the social stratification of these Ferguson protestors, we must examine some other terms that have been used to study dissenting groups.

A counterpublic is a group of people who has been excluded from the primary discursive processes that are formulated in what Habermas (1962/1989) called the “public sphere.” The public sphere is not necessarily an institutionalized collection of appointed persons who have been given the immediate power to decide which political and social issues are discussed among the affluent. Instead, Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox (1964) described it as, “. . . a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body” (p. 49). In essence, the public sphere—according to these authors—is a collection of voices that are meant to keep political structures in check, due to the increasing influence behind these unified masses. In reality, the public sphere tends to be the assemblage of the affluent: individual citizens who have a greater voice within political and social structures who, although they may provide checks and balances against governmental processes, still do not represent the whole of society.

As a result, Frasier (1992)—who built upon Gramsci’s work—coined the term “subaltern counterpublics” in order to not only further expound upon Habermas’ public sphere, but to also better describe the disenfranchised voices that are otherwise silenced within social structures. Frasier defined subaltern counterpublics as “parallel discursive arenas where members of

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

subordinate social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs” (p. 123).

In relation to this study, the various BLM groups across the U.S., including Ferguson protestors, could be seen as subaltern counterpublics, while citizens who observe these demonstrations from a distance could be regarded as the general voices within the public sphere. These protestors are more accurately described as subaltern counterpublics because they not only make up a collection of subjugated persons (“subaltern”), but they have also been actively creating counterdiscourses through their demonstrations in order to reshape their cultural identities (“counterpublic”).

By using this terminology, one can better understand the diverse subaltern counterpublics in Ferguson, as well as other parts of the country, and how these groups are using their physical bodies as a means to create counterdiscourses against the public sphere. A more in-depth break down of these various BLM factions, and their vested interests in the cause, will be detailed in Chapter Four when we analyze the social movement as a whole.

Social Movement Rhetoric

Theorists have often studied social movements as “already-constituted entities, with empirical identities, stages of development, strategies, and so on” (Cox & Foust, 2009, p. 610). However, some scholars, such as McGee (1980), have argued against this approach, and suggest that social movements are “a set of meanings” that are not always observable (p. 233). In the same vein, rather than using systematic modes of social movement criticism scholarship in a logical, positivistic way, such as Simons’ (1970) “functional approach”—which views social movements as an organization of “uninstitutionalized collectivities” (p. 3)—it is imperative that we see the Ferguson effort as a multiplicity of subaltern counterpublics, each one having a

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

distinct set of demands and goals. Furthermore, the Ferguson demonstrations do not necessarily follow one particular leader or organizational pattern of development. These dissenting groups have not specifically appointed a frontrunner to lead their efforts. In fact, the few who have tried to unify protestors into an organized movement have been met with opposition (Savali, 2014).

Although there is plenty of scholarship surrounding social movements as organizations (Davis, 2008; Diani, 2012; Fuchs, 2006; Stewart, Smith & Denton, 2012), with a few key leaders being at the forefront of their social efforts, today researchers are seeing new types of social movements beginning to form, most of which are straying away from hierarchical structures and, instead, are fostering decentralization. In fact, Fuchs (2006) supported this argument by giving a succinct definition of social movements as self-organizing systems:

Social movements are self-organizing systems, the actors engaged in these systems have political beliefs [sic] according to which they want to change society. A social movement is a social system that is characterized by a certain protest identity, i.e., a specific form of giving meaning to the world and its problems and by specific practices. It is a collective subject whose identity and practices oppose dominant values, institutions, and relationships and want to realize alternative values and goals. (p. 129)

Additionally, the aforementioned Demby (2015) article quoted Sarah Jackson, a professor at Northeastern University, saying that she believes the BLM cause is straying away from the, ‘Martin Luther King-Sharpton model’—which emphasizes mobilizing people for rallies and speeches and tends to be centered around a charismatic male leader. But the younger activists are instead inclined to what Jackson called the ‘Fannie

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Lou Hamer-Ella Baker model’—an approach that embraces a grass roots and in which agency is widely diffused. (para. 5)

However, one should not simply assume that the Ferguson protestors and the BLM movement are entirely leaderless and/or unorganized. Instead, each subaltern counterpublic is *full* of leaders and their organizational formation is an interconnected system (or systems) of stakeholders that are primarily self-mobilized and self-led via a grass roots approach, much like the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement⁴ in 2011. Because movements are engaged most fundamentally in struggles over meaning (Stewart et al., 2012)—much like the OWS cause was—social movement rhetoric (SMR) seeks to unveil the agency and meaning behind the formation of subaltern counterpublics and their symbolic actions. Specifically, “body rhetoric” has enabled researchers to use the body-as-symbol in order to create counterdiscourses that can persuade the public sphere on a given issue.

Now that SMR as an umbrella framework for analyzing the Ferguson demonstrations has been established, examples of how body rhetoric has been utilized in past movements must be identified before it can be used as a specific lens to explicate the symbolic meanings behind the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture in Chapter Five.

Body Rhetoric & Symbolic Action

While traditional rhetorical analysis might have studied social movements through speeches, pamphlets, and other artifacts—much like neo-Aristotelian scholars do—researchers now have a litany of rhetorical scholarship to study the persuasive power behind corporeal

⁴ In this instance, protestors took direct action by occupying Zuccotti Park within New York City’s Wall Street Financial district. College professors, students, blue-collar workers—a “diversity of age, gender and race” (Noveck, 2011)—came together to protest income inequality and economic disparity within the U.S. “We are the 99%,” was their primary slogan, which referred to their social classification as subjugated citizens (Occupy Wall St., 2014). In essence, they not only felt that the wealthy 1% were the primary cause of income inequality in the U.S., but their whole movement was a critique of unfettered capitalism.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

objects. The human form has been a rhetorical instrument for change throughout the centuries, from Women's Suffrage to the Civil Rights and countless other movements. The body "both represents strategic, linguistic persuasion and exceeds symbolic action through its bare material presence" (Cox & Foust, 2009, p. 616).

In the same spirit of Burke's (1966) arguments for language as symbolic action, and his definition of humans as being "symbol-using (symbol-making, symbol-misusing)" animals (p. 16), body rhetoric assumes human beings have the potential to interpret physical acts as symbolic gestures that can illuminate veiled arguments. Hence, body rhetoric is not only a legitimate tool that can be used for persuasive purposes, but its symbolic implications can transcend other rhetorical instruments, in that the fragility of the human form can evoke deeply-rooted, anthropic responses from the masses to enact change.

Haiman (1967) argued against three primary criticisms that the general public usually make against "body rhetoric," or more commonly known as civil and/or uncivil acts (e.g. picketing, sit-ins, marches, etc.). The first criticism often made is that public dissenting, in any form, ultimately promotes anarchism and breaks down conventional modes of communication. No matter the noblest of motives a counterpublic may have, their efforts intrinsically oppose other forms of rational discussion, such as the court systems, legislation, and the public forum (p. 100). The second argument posits there are acceptable methods of protesting and demonstrating, but they should be confined to a certain time, place, and manner that does not infringe upon the general public's right to privacy. Thirdly, and in direct relation to the second criticism, if demonstrations are not prescribed a time, place, and manner deemed acceptable by city ordinances and officials, then these deviant forms of activism are acts of power and coercion, and are not legitimate forms of discourse at all (p. 102).

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

One of the most pertinent counterarguments that Haiman made was that most protestors understand they are violating city or state laws in order to get their message across, and they do not expect special treatment from authorities. Essentially, the nonviolent activist who marched for Michael Brown in Ferguson—and consequently blocked traffic, disturbed the peace, etc.—understood that he or she would most likely get arrested and/or fined. As a result, civil disobedience, although it may lead to unconventional modes of discourse, is still a conscious, rhetorical act, and thus a legitimate form of persuasion—not coercion. On the other hand, Haiman admitted that *uncivil* disobedient acts, such as looting and arson, etc., are less credible forms of dissenting. However, he also acknowledged that the violent demonstrations of the Civil Rights and Vietnam War era expedited social reforms that would have otherwise taken years to come to fruition. Is it possible that the uncivil disobedient acts in Ferguson may lead to societal reform regarding racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces? This question will be further explored in the discussion portion of Chapter Six.

Lastly, Haiman made important counterarguments against the “innocent bystander” theory, which suggests “...protest is permissible only so long as it is confined so as to affect the legitimate targets of the protest but not inconvenience others” (p. 102). Haiman looked at the marches on Mayor Daley’s house in 1965, where protestors circled his home in protest of racial discrimination in Chicago. Issues of right to privacy immediately surfaced following the event, especially from surrounding neighbors who were not necessarily affiliated with Mayor Daley. However, as Haiman pointed out, how “innocent” were these civilians who lived in a primarily white neighborhood and whose real estate intrinsically fostered white demographic growth in decades past? This is not to say, of course, that those who live in higher socioeconomic

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

communities are guilty of racial discrimination, but they still benefit from white privilege all the same.

A slippery slope is created when critics of civil disobedience argue against the discommoding of the affluent, especially when one of the purposes of civil dissenting is to disturb the status quo—to send a message of dissatisfaction to those who hold power within the public sphere. If protests, sit-ins, and peaceful marches were only allowed in designated areas and prescribed times on assigned days, then these rhetorical acts would lose their potency, yielding to the preservation of cultural mores.

Although Haiman addressed all of these arguments with these and additional counterpoints, he acknowledged that the ethical legitimacies of each instance of civil disobedience are contingent upon their own set of circumstances. Thus, the protests in Ferguson, Mo., for Michael Brown must be ethically weighed and examined separately from similar protests that took place across the U.S. for other 2014-2015 black American deaths (i.e. Tamir Rice⁵, Eric Garner⁶, Freddie Gray⁷, to name a few.). Furthermore, the body rhetoric of the groups dissenting in each city must be analyzed interdependently from one another in order to explore their distinct exigencies.

⁵ In this situation, police shot and killed 12-year-old Tamir Rice while he was playing outside in a park with a toy BB gun. In fact, the 9-1-1 caller who was concerned about the potential threat had “stated twice that the gun was ‘probably fake’” (Fitzsimmons, 2014, para. 4). Protests spawned organically in the region because of this incident (Danylko, 2014).

⁶ Garner’s situation will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

⁷ Twenty-five-year old Freddie Gray was falsely arrested for allegedly carrying an illegal switchblade in Baltimore; however, court evidence revealed that the knife he carried was of legal size (Fenton, 2015). During the van ride back to the station, the police officers who had arrested Gray had failed to secure him in the back of the BPD wagon and Gray suffered a spinal injury that later resulted in his death (Malone & Simpson, 2015). Six police officers were eventually arrested and charged for killing Gray, due to this negligence (Blinder & Pérez-Peña, 2014). Because Gray’s death occurred in 2015, the protests and rhetorical situation within Baltimore will not be discussed in greater detail for this research.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Writing in the same vein, DeLuca (1999) analyzed how three activist groups used body rhetoric as a means of persuasion to enact social change. Earth First! fights to preserve old growth forests; ACT UP, which stands for Aides Coalition to Unleash Power, strives to raise awareness about the injustices that are committed in the U.S. health care system; and Queer Nation utilizes confrontational tactics in order to be a voice for the LGBTQ community. Because groups such as Earth First!, ACT UP, and Queer Nation do not usually hold to conventional democratic processes within their organizational structures, and thus do not have budgets in place to pay for air time on television networks, they must use their physical bodies as a means for drawing the media's attention to their efforts. However, they typically only have seconds to get their message across (DeLuca, 2009, p. 10). These activists utilize various forms of protestations, such as chaining themselves to buildings or choosing to live in the canopies of trees. DeLuca called these "image events," which, according to him, "revolve around images of bodies—vulnerable bodies, ludicrous bodies, transfigured bodies. These political bodies constitute a nascent body rhetoric that deploys bodies as a pivotal resource for the crucial practice of public argumentation" (p. 10).

Similarly, Deluca and Harold (2005) not only argued the credibility of body rhetoric as a form of argumentation, but also the use of images—especially those of victims of injustice. Photographs can cause the public sphere to question their cultural mores; such was the case of Emmett Till. This black youth was killed in 1955 for allegedly making a flirtatious pass toward Carolyn Bryant, a white woman and shopkeeper of a grocery store in Mississippi. While the accounts vary about how Till approached her and how the Bryant responded, the result is the same: it cost him his life. Till was indisputably killed by Roy Bryant (Carolyn's husband) and J.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

W. Milam, and there is evidence that they did not act alone; however, they were found not guilty by the all-white jury at the time.

Although photographs of murdered black persons have historically been used to demonstrate white power and supremacy in the rural south, the image of Till's mutilated body created such societal backlash that it spurred public outrage against racial violence and hate crimes altogether. Deluca and Harold (2005) wrote, "The dissemination and reception of this image—of the severely mutilated face of a child—illustrates the rhetorical and political force of images in general and of the body specifically" (p. 266).

Thus, "image rhetoric" and body rhetoric are not mutually exclusive with their persuasive capabilities. On the contrary, both strategies, especially when coupled together, can create powerful messages that decry racial injustices. It is not enough to *read* about the body rhetoric of the Ferguson protests, or the peaceful marches in New York City, Chicago, Baltimore, and other parts of the U.S.—they must be *seen* as well. The efficacy of these movements is bolstered by the dissemination of images and videos through news outlets and social media sites.

It was discussed earlier that those who hold power within the public sphere often silence the voices of various subaltern counterpublics. As a result, out-groups, such as those in Ferguson, sometimes feel they must resort to violent acts in order to get their messages across. An example of this is clearly demonstrated in the 1999 protests in Seattle, Washington, where over 40,000 people protested against the World Trade Organization (WTO) summit being held in the Washington State Convention and Trade Center. In the same spirit of the Ferguson demonstrations, a multiplicity of activist groups organized to perform nonviolent protests in order to decry multilateral economic policies that intrinsically excluded third world countries and other smaller economies. The protestors only expected violence from Seattle police officers.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

However, despite the original peaceful measures that were taken, and after the mob reached its peak in numbers, several activist groups smashed dozens of local shops and vandalized vehicles, including police cars.

When analyzing the rhetorical acts behind this “Battle in Seattle,” DeLuca and Peebles (2002) stated, “Both establishment voices and nonviolent activists denounced the violence, especially the symbolic violence of the anarchists.... The dominant response lamented the violence as drowning out the message of the nonviolent protestors” (p. 138). However, the authors went on to postulate that both the symbolic violence (peaceful protests) and uncivil disobedience (violent protests) worked in “concert” with one another in nuanced ways. Both forms of activism provoked the news media to cover their efforts. Similarly, when one examines the civil and uncivil protests in Ferguson, it must be recognized that both types of dissenting are what caught the mass media’s attention. Had the looting and arson not taken place, most of the U.S. might not have even heard about Brown’s death story.

Literature Summary

Heretofore, the literature surrounding SMR, body rhetoric, and the persuasive legitimacies behind confrontation have been discussed. However, a point must be made, which was also posited in Scott and Smith’s article (1969), regarding some presuppositions that can be made by general social movement researchers: the idea of “confrontation” should not just be described as a tension between the “haves” and the “have-nots.” Although these two terms can still be useful in understanding cultural divisions that are cultivated in modern societies, to describe protestors as the “have-nots” who are trying to obtain something from the “haves,” can be a misrepresentation of these people groups and thereby promote a type of dehumanization.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Furthermore, by categorizing them as such could lead to a misinterpretation of their rhetorical acts. Scott and Smith summarized this argument as follows:

Those on the ‘have not’ side of the division, or at least some of their theorists and leaders, no longer accept designation as an inert mass hoping to receive what they lack through action by the ‘haves.’ Neither do they accept any assumption that what they wish is membership in institutions of those who have, or an opportunity to learn and join their value system. Rather the ‘have nots’ picture themselves as radically divided from traditional society, questioning not simply the limitations of its benevolence but more fundamentally its purposes and modes of operation (p. 2).

Hence, when analyzing the protests surrounding the death of Michael Brown, this researcher will examine these groups of protestors’ modes of body rhetoric in order to explicate their rhetorical messages. It must be stated that the faction groups within these distinct movements *do* want something to change in society; otherwise they would not be dissenting. However, it is not the author’s intention to merely describe what the “have-nots” (protestors) are trying to obtain from the “haves” (police, court systems, etc.). To do so would lead to some egregious assumptions that could intrinsically detract from the original purpose behind these demonstrations, which is to question the status quo and compel those within the public sphere to examine the injustices that are currently in place.

In the following chapter, the methodological process to study the body rhetoric of Ferguson will be detailed. Firstly, the author will provide a timeline of the events in Ferguson that will be specifically analyzed in Chapter Five. Secondly, by discussing parallel SMR studies, the researcher will define key terms and, consequently, establish some rhetorical perspectives.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Finally, once a rhetorical analysis approach has been justified, image rhetoric will be utilized to review videos and photographs of the Ferguson protests via social media outlets. These artifacts will give the reader an “on-the-ground” perspective of police and protestor confrontations, and thus, enable this researcher to focus on the body rhetoric of Ferguson.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

CHAPTER THREE THE METHODOLOGY

After a detailed timeline of the Ferguson demonstrations has been established, an explanation for limiting the research period from Brown’s death to Officer Wilson’s non-indictment will be given. Secondly, the author will examine similar social movement rhetoric (SMR) research in order to establish some rhetorical perspectives and justify a rhetorical analysis approach for this study. Finally, a specific amount of videos and photographs will be listed so that the body rhetoric of Ferguson can be analyzed in Chapter Five.

Timeline: From Brown’s Death to Wilson’s Non-Indictment

The following information for this timeline was provided by McCormack and Siddiqui (2014) and Brown (2015), and has been collected and edited for the purposes of this research:

AUG. 9, 2014: The Shooting of Michael Brown	AUG. 10, 2014: Protests Begin	AUG. 15, 2014: Darren Wilson is Identified	AUG. 16-18, 2014: “State of Emergency” is Declared & the National Guard is Deployed to Ferguson
Michael Brown is shot and killed by Officer Darren Wilson and his body is left in the street for several hours. Community protests begin that day.	Following a candlelight vigil, hundreds of protestors take to the streets. The demonstrations turn violent as rioters smash car windows and loot local stores.	Ferguson, Mo., Police Chief Thomas Jackson names Darren Wilson as the officer who shot and killed Brown. Protests continue.	On August 16, Gov. Nixon declares a state of emergency and institutes a citywide curfew. On August 18, Gov. Nixon orders the National Guard into Ferguson after protesters shoot at police, throw Molotov cocktails at officers, loot local businesses and carry out a “coordinated attempt” to block roads and overrun the police's command center (Brown, 2015, para. 54).

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

<p>AUG. 21, 2014: The National Guard is Withdrawn</p>	<p>AUG. 25-SEPT. 3, 2014: Brown’s Funeral is Held & State of Emergency is Lifted</p>	<p>OCT. 10-31, 2014: “Ferguson October” Begins</p>	<p>NOV 24-28, 2014: The Court Fails to Indict Officer Wilson</p>
<p>Gov. Nixon announces that the National Guard will systematically withdraw from Ferguson.</p>	<p>Brown’s funeral is held at Friendly Temple Missionary Baptist Church on August 25. Prominent voices speak out during the ceremony, including Rev. Sharpton.</p> <p>On September 3, Gov. Nixon lifts the state of emergency.</p>	<p>Nonviolent/civil disobedient protests are initiated. During this time police arrest clergy and other activists as they marched from a church to the police station.</p>	<p>After the jury does not indict Officer Wilson, Ferguson protests escalate. “Crowds of protesters filled streets near the Ferguson police station following the announcement. A police car and stores were set on fire, other stores were looted, gunfire was heard and bricks were hurled. Police later said they came under heavy automatic weapon fire, and some buildings were left to burn because of the danger. County police said an officer suffered a gunshot wound, but it was unclear if it was because of the protest violence” (Brown, 2015, para. 89).</p>

Although additional demonstrations and other rhetorical situations could be analyzed from December 2014 and on, limiting the scope of this research to this time period (August 9, 2014- November 26, 2014) is justified for the following reasons: firstly, many of the protests started to lose their momentum throughout the month of December, due to Missouri winter conditions. Many of the activists had families and jobs to think about as well, so it would not be until spring 2015 that protests would be rekindled in full vigor in Ferguson. Secondly, the initial use of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture could be best analyzed during the earlier months of the demonstrations. Although this mantra—combined with the raised hands gesture—could also

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

be examined in later months, this research gains more heuristic value by analyzing the body rhetoric of Ferguson in its earlier stages. Finally, the vast amount of protests and Black Lives Matter (BLM) events that have taken place over the past year are too extensive to investigate. Information regarding the BLM movement is always in flux, and therefore too capricious to monitor. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, it is necessary to provide a succinct time frame in which to assess the Ferguson events thoroughly.

Now that a timeline of the events to examine has been established, similar SMR studies and rhetorical perspectives must be discussed in order to help shape the language and model being used for this analysis.

Defining Terms & Establishing Rhetorical Perspectives

Social movement rhetoric (SMR) was discussed in Chapter Two, but it must be noted that rhetorical scholars have not strictly defined this approach as a fixed, theoretical domain or framework. Because SMR is in flux and its roots in phenomena, meaning, and/or historical approaches (James, 1980; Lucas, 1980; McGee, 1980) have been debated, it is difficult to formulate a monolithic framework for SMR since social movements themselves tend to resist being monoliths. While this presents some difficulties in not having a prescriptive model for our methodology, this gives us the flexibility to study each movement as a “set of meanings,” as McGee would suggest (1980, p. 233). In essence, SMR could be categorized as a research approach that seeks to unveil the agency and meaning within the formation of social movements (i.e. subaltern counterpublics,) and their symbolic actions/persuasive messages.

Thus, it is *within* SMR that researchers identify their methodological/rhetorical perspectives. For example, McGee (1980) argued against viewing social movements as being strictly phenomenal when he stated:

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

‘Movements’ are not phenomena, nor does the concept ‘movement’ explain a phenomenon empirically; rather, ‘movement’ is an analogue comparing the flow of social facts to physical movement.... If the study of ‘movement’ is ever to become a ‘distinctive theoretical domain,’ I believe that it must be as a ‘hermeneutic’ theory, not purely ‘behavioral’ or ‘phenomenal’ theory. I would like to seek an account of human consciousness, not an account of human organizational behavior. (p. 236-237, 242)

In essence, according to McGee, when one labels a movement a “phenomenon,” one is drawing a faulty absolute—one that is a taking an *a priori* standpoint and could be confirming social/historical biases. Instead, he believed that any transformation within societal ideographs (or ideologies, or meanings) could be evidence of an evolution of the human consciousness, and thus, a signifier of a movement. To study a movement, then, is to seek out those meanings by exploring the rhetorical exigencies within the collective consciousness of a subjugated/dissenting people group. According to McGee, when such a qualitative approach is taken, one’s label of a movement becomes a conclusive argument, not just a fact or premise.

Lucas (1980), on the other hand, criticized McGee for creating a false dichotomy between phenomena and meaning. According to Lucas, McGee misclassified phenomenal theory and its usefulness in rhetorical scholarship. Instead, Lucas believed there is a union between phenomenon and meaning. He described this unification as follows:

Subjective reality does not exist independently of social forces, events, and institutions, but is intricately interconnected with them, both influencing their nature, direction, and impress, and in turn being influenced by them. Social movements are both phenomena and meaning. They exist in the phenomenal

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

world, but they are phenomena about which we form perceptions, interpretations, and judgments. (p. 288)

Although McGee made a compelling case for studying social movements as only “a set of meanings,” Lucas’ arguments for both phenomena and meaning propounds a more holistic approach, one that both recognizes historical, phenomenal changes within social movements (i.e. settings/events, behaviors, organization, etc.) and the evolution of meaning/ideas (i.e. changes in human consciousness that affect the status quo). It is from this standpoint that the author of this study will investigate the phenomenal experiences of the Ferguson protestors as a “set of meanings,” so that he may perceive, interpret, and judge the evolution of the collective consciousness within the BLM cause.

Furthermore, Cathcart (1980) built upon this notion that rhetorical analysis is a necessary approach to understand the “socio-symbolic interactions” within social movements, a component that sociologists tend to otherwise miss due to their *post hoc* explanations of movements (p. 267). Additionally, Cathcart argued that a primary difference between the rhetoric of social movements and the rhetoric of other organized collectives (i.e. pressure groups, lobbyists, etc.) is the “dialectical enjoinder in the moral arena,” or “confrontational rhetoric” (p. 267-268). He affirmed this argument when he stated:

I believe that the key to defining a social movement lies in the perception that confrontation has taken place rather than in the mere existence of a non-institutionalized collective or in the act of mobilization for change. It is in the emergence of a rhetoric and counter-rhetoric raising the possibility that the system itself is in question and that a group can successfully challenge it that creates the perception of a social movement. (p. 269)

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Despite the clear, inferential claims Cathcart has made, it must be noted that just because a subjugated group of people utilizes a rhetoric of confrontation to challenge cultural norms and/or to redefine their cultural identities, this does not necessarily classify them as a “movement.” This is why defining social movements by their rhetorical strategies is almost too difficult to establish. Ultimately, it may be too early for researchers to label the Ferguson protests and the BLM cause as a “movement” entirely; however, this author is less interested in deciding whether or not the BLM movement is, indeed, a movement, and is more eager to explore their persuasive messages. Therefore, understanding that the use of the corporal body as a symbol in order to create counterdiscourses that can persuade the public sphere on a given issue is at the forefront of this research. This rhetoric of confrontation will, at the very least, elucidate the phenomenal “set of meanings” following Michael Brown’s death, and could even shed light on issues of racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces within the U.S. overall.

Although McGee, Lucas, and Cathcart cannot provide a succinct definition for the rhetoric of social movements, these authors have given a framework of sorts to help scholars see “body rhetoric” as a legitimate form of persuasion—not *coercion*. Their studies have further propounded that body rhetoric is not simply a mode in which to follow a sequence of uncivil acts and violent behaviors; it is a crucial lens that can help unveil the symbolic messages behind the Ferguson demonstrations.

Finally, another key component for this research is “image rhetoric,” which was briefly discussed in Chapter Two. Similar to body rhetoric, image rhetoric utilizes images (photographs, videos, posters, etc.) as a symbol in order to create counterdiscourses that can persuade the public sphere on a given issue. Whenever a picture or video of an abject and/or abused body is

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

used as a resource to persuade/change cultural perceptions, DeLuca (2009) called them “image events” (p. 10). As discussed in Chapter Two, combining both body rhetoric and image rhetoric forms a formidable argument. The public needs to not only *read* about the dissenting bodies in Ferguson; they need to *visualize* them as well. However, as discussed in Chapter One, because of the deluge of images and videos being presented in the mass media regarding the Ferguson protests, some of the symbolic messages being expressed through body rhetoric are being misinterpreted. Therefore, it is to the benefit of these protestors, as well as social movement criticism and SMR scholarship as a whole, that we analyze the image and body rhetoric of the Ferguson demonstrations.

As previously discussed, a rhetorical analysis is an appropriate approach to explicate the persuasive elements in the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture. While historical or sociological modes of research could give researchers insight of the behaviors and events that transpired in Ferguson, this author’s interest lies in the evolution of the phenomenal, collective consciousness of protestors in Ferguson, and how their mantra and “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture have created a “set of meanings.” Thus, a rhetorical analysis will help researchers examine these messages, as well as competing messages within the media, in order to truly understand this subjugated group’s counterdiscourses and experiences.

In summary, now that some rhetorical perspectives and frameworks have been established, and a rhetorical analysis approach has been justified, videos and images of the Ferguson protestors utilizing the “Hands up, don’t shoot” gesture must be detailed if they are to be analyzed for this research.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Establishing Video & Image Artifacts

There is a plethora of videos on YouTube that cover the Ferguson demonstrations; in fact, when “Ferguson protests” was searched without a filter, the result showed 82,300 videos available. Similarly, when “Ferguson riots” was searched without a filter, there were 71,000 videos listed with those keys words. Finally, “Ferguson demonstrations” was searched without a filter and there were 7,550 videos. There is no doubt that the videos associated with those keyword searches had some crossover into similar categories; that is to say, they were not mutually exclusive, and therefore the total number of videos may be less. However, the fact remains that a thorough textual analysis via YouTube’s video archives is unachievable and, more importantly, is not valuable for this research. It is not the author’s intention to sift through each and every video relating to Ferguson, just to fall prey to a false perception of “objectivity.”

Additionally, the same issue arises when sifting through Google Images and trying to select photographs of Ferguson protests. There are millions of images relating to the search terms “Ferguson protests” in Google Images. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, social media outlets will be utilized for examining both videos and pictures/photographs. Specifically, YouTube, Twitter, and Vine artifacts will be analyzed for their image rhetoric. Some references to similar social media outlets, such as Instagram and Facebook, will also be discussed; however, most of the artifacts selected for this study will come from the social media sites aforementioned. Even then, narrowing down the vast amount of video and image artifacts on these sites would be an impossible undertaking. Therefore, some limitations must be discussed.

When Goffman and Berger’s (1986) “framing theory” is examined, one discovers that *how* something is framed can reshape the natural and social perceptions of an audience. In essence, depending on how something is focused via a camera lens, the viewer is intrinsically

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

missing other details outside of the frame, which, if revealed, could change their interpretations of the events recorded. Thus, trying to remain “objective” while recording an event is not possible. The filmmaker chooses to focus on certain details and not others because he or she believes that they contain the most pertinent elements for his/her audience.

Therefore, the criteria for selecting videos and images of the Ferguson demonstrations for this research is, indeed, subjective. Since rhetorical analysis takes a qualitative approach, the researcher’s social biases are not only to be expected, but even welcomed to some extent. For example, Alexandria (2008) argued that researchers should not seek to define phenomenon with empiricist intent; instead, they should strive to create meaning out of those phenomena so as to spur dialogue and examine reality through “multiple truths” (p. 101). From this perspective, consequently, the researcher’s co-interpretation of the rhetorical exigencies of the Ferguson protests will not necessarily detract from the meaning-making process; in fact, he is expected to add heuristic value by analyzing the artifacts. Considering this, the author can proceed with the selection process of the video and image artifacts being used for this research.

In order to mitigate some of the social biases this author might have, the criteria was as follows: videos and images that observe the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture—which show protestors lifting their hands in a universal sign of surrender while simultaneously chanting “Hands up, don’t shoot!”—were selected for this study. Additionally, videos and images that feature protests following Brown’s death, as well as the protests following Wilson’s non-indictment were chosen. Finally, these selected videos and images specifically show police and National Guard soldiers clashing with protestors from citizen journalists’⁸ perspectives. By showing direct conflict between these clashing groups during these two critical time periods—

⁸ By “citizen journalists,” I mean common persons who use smartphones or other devices to record and/or take pictures of events. These persons do not present major news networks.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

especially from the point of view of amateur documentarians—one can capture the *inside* perspectives being sought for this research: image rhetoric, confrontational rhetoric, and body rhetoric. Image rhetoric is utilized by examining these videos and images from the perspectives of citizen journalists; confrontational rhetoric is typified when Ferguson’s counterdiscourses are observed via protest footage; and finally, body rhetoric is used as a lens to interpret the phenomenal “set of meanings” behind the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture.

This author strayed away from selecting videos and images that were filmed and/or photographed by professional journalists associated with major news networks; however, a few images taken by professional photographers will be analyzed as well. That is not to say, of course, that the footage or images shot by major television and/or news networks would not be valuable for this research. In fact, the videos and photographs shot by experienced journalists tended to have clearer footage, due to their advanced equipment, professional backgrounds, etc. However, most of these outside reporters tended to interject their own views and perceptions of the events as they unfolded. Once again, in order to stem some of those imposing voices—which tend to be “framed” for the general public’s interests—the author sought videos and images that revealed raw footage of these demonstrations via social media outlets. So, despite the poor aesthetic quality of these files, they give us a closer look at the hectic, frantic, and even violent scenes that unfolded in Ferguson—all shot from the street level of the protestors.

Thus, the following list details the exact amount of artifacts that will be discussed in Chapter Five, as well as the corresponding social media platform and/or type of journalist/citizen journalist they are associated with: three Twitter photographs, posted by everyday citizens; one Facebook video, taken by a citizen journalist; one Instagram photo, taken by a citizen journalist; two Vine videos, recorded by citizen journalists; three photographs,

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

taken by professional photojournalists; and five YouTube videos, all recorded by citizen journalists. This list of image events will *not* be analyzed in the given order. Instead, the author will describe and study each video and image artifact that corresponds with their related timeframe. For example, if a video or photograph was posted on/around August 9, 2014, those artifacts will be evaluated as part of the “After Brown’s death” time period. The same method will be employed when examining artifacts that were posted on/around November 24, 2014—“Officer Wilson’s non-indictment” time period.

Methodology Summary

In this chapter, the timeline of Ferguson events to be analyzed was established for this research, specifically, the protests that occurred post Brown’s death, as well as the demonstrations that took place after Officer Wilson’s non-indictment. Next, some research terms and rhetorical perspectives were described in order to help shape the qualitative approach that this researcher will undertake for this analysis. Next, the work of McGee, Lucas, Cathcart, DeLuca, and similar authors were examined in order to justify a rhetorical analysis approach. These authors provided a framework to help scholars see body rhetoric as a legitimate form of persuasion and not coercion. From this standpoint, the author will investigate the phenomenal experiences of the Ferguson protestors as a “set of meanings,” so that he may perceive, interpret, and judge the evolution of the collective consciousness within the BLM cause.

In the following chapter, the decentralized nature of the BLM movement and the diverse subaltern counterpublics that have vested interests in the movement will be discussed. This brief overview of the BLM movement will provide invaluable insight of the social media, rhetorical platforms that have stemmed from recent black deaths (i.e. Brown, Rice, and Garner). Once these different advocacy groups have been identified, the focus of this research can be fixed on

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

the body rhetoric of Ferguson in Chapter Five. Specifically, image rhetoric will be utilized to study video and image artifacts that have been selected in order to explore the persuasive messages being foregrounded in the confrontational, body rhetoric of Ferguson.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT

If the formulation and evolution of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement is to be better understood, then its lack of organization and leadership must be analyzed from a social movement rhetoric (SMR) standpoint. Specifically, the influence of a hyper digital age will explain how these subaltern counterpublics have utilized “image rhetoric” as their primary mode of message dissemination. Additionally, to fully understand the phenomenal “set of meanings” behind these early demonstrations in Ferguson, a brief overview of the BLM movement is needed. Therefore, the grass-roots nature of the BLM cause, its leaderless approach, and its use of image rhetoric in a digital age will be discussed in greater detail. Next, these various subaltern counterpublics and their vested interests in the movement will be examined overall. Finally, once these stakeholders have been identified, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture can be better analyzed in Chapter Five.

A Movement Full of Leaders

As previously discussed, Fuchs (2006) argued for social movements as “self-organizing systems” (p. 129). This grass-roots approach is comparable to the anti-hierarchical development of the Ferguson demonstrations, and later the BLM cause as a whole. This decentralization is a key component to the rhetoric of Ferguson. By opposing major leadership roles within the movement, protestors create a sense of solidarity with one another. This uniting narrative of an oppressed group coming together to oppose those with power is the driving force behind BLM; thus, the subaltern counterpublics within this movement do not desire key figures to rally their efforts. For example, Rev. Al Sharpton has tried to lead the BLM movement on numerous occasions. Although Sharpton’s track record for supporting civil rights issues is apparent, activists have often met the reverend with opposition, for fear of their movement being co-opted

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

by his National Action Network (NAN). First, Sharpton visited and spoke at Michael Brown's funeral vigil in Ferguson and later he gave speeches at different BLM rallies. In one particular instance, Ferguson protestors rushed the stage in Washington D.C. to take the microphone away from Sharpton and his NAN members during a "Justice for All" march. Savali (2014) reported the following:

The primary concern among critics is what appears to be the purposeful distancing of Saturday's march from the revolutionary movement that began in August after the state-sanctioned shooting death of 18-year-old Michael Brown by former Ferguson, Mo., police Officer Darren Wilson, while simultaneously benefiting from its momentum. (para. 3)

Essentially, because NAN and National Urban League (NUL) organizers refused to let other key Ferguson activists give their statements during the march, many of the protestors felt that Sharpton and his constituents were merely benefiting from Brown's death and were shutting out the voices of those closer to the cause.

Although BLM groups resist Sharpton's direct leadership attempts, this does not mean there are not key figures within the movement. DeRay Mckesson and Johnetta Elzie, for instance, are both leaders in a civil rights activist group called We the Protestors and both have become invaluable voices for the Ferguson cause. For example, during the aforementioned "Justice for All" rally, it was Elzie who was the first one to take the microphone away in order to get her message out to the crowd. In a separate instance, according to Craven and Reilly (2015), both Elzie and Mckesson were arrested with 55 other protestors during a sit-in protest that took place outside of the St. Louis U.S. attorney's office. Elzie and Mckesson have taken direct action

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

against racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces on many other occasions.

One could argue that the key difference between Sharpton's leadership style and Elzie and Mckesson's approach is that there are hundreds of "Elzies" and "Mckessons" in the BLM movement; that is to say, leadership has been diffused to everyone who is a part of these diverse, subaltern counterpublics. In fact, the official founders of the BLM organization—Patrisse Cullors, Opal Tometi, and Alicia Garza—argued at a recent Politicon event that "black lives matter" is more than just a hashtag; it is a global movement. Cullors stated during the panel: "I think that the difference between BLM and Occupy is that we're really trying to build a mass movement that centers the conversation around racism and I think Occupy focused on class in a way that isolated a lot of people. And I think that our movement is trying to develop a mass movement, it's trying to base build and organize" (Moons, 2015, para. 15).

Essentially, BLM activists recognize the importance of self-organizing and so they are attempting to mobilize via a grass-roots approach. Just as Cullors stated, perhaps the Occupy Wall Street protests waned over time because they excluded certain socioeconomic groups of people from their cause, namely, middle to upper-middle class U.S. citizens. In contrast, the BLM movement is striving to include various subaltern counterpublics, including black women, black LGBTQ persons, black families, black disabled persons—to name a few (Cullors, Garza, & Tometi, 2015). Perhaps by having a multiplicity of oppressed groups ban together to voice their counterdiscourses, they will have a greater chance in securing the movement's fervor and resilience.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

A Visual Culture in a Digital Age

According to Google Trends, (a public, Google function that calculates the amount of times a certain word/phrase are searched across the Internet), the keyword phrase “hands up don’t shoot” was nationally searched the most during two critical time periods: August 2014 and December 2014, which correlates with Brown’s death on August 9 and Officer Wilson’s non-indictment on November 24. The Google Trend chart reveals that roughly 8% of all Google searches of the phrase “hands up don’t shoot” occurred in August; similarly, this keyword search spiked to 10% of all searches in December. This typifies the drastic dissemination and virality of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” counterdiscourse that originated in Ferguson.

With the rise of social media and a hyper digital age, images and messages can circulate across the world instantaneously. The study of old mass media outlets, which would have encompassed variations of print and speech artifacts, no longer completely situates and explicates evolving rhetorical events. For example, during the Civil Rights era, activists needed the guidance and leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr. to mediate the meaning of the movement’s symbols and actions to the public sphere. In contrast, mobilized collectives today horizontally disseminate and explain the symbols and meanings of their movement through social media outlets. Rather than rely on a single leader to interpret and define a movement’s focus from a hierarchical standpoint, images and words can now be spread virally by on-the-ground activists via the Internet.

When looking at Ferguson, the symbol of the “Hands up, don’t shoot” gesture continues to evolve and reshape the public sphere’s perceptions surrounding the BLM movement. Social media sites such as Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube provided the necessary means for activists to mediate their messages and images so that issues of racial discrimination, police brutality, and

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

the militarization of police forces could be situated in a time and place. For example, Bonilla and Rosa (2015) stated, “Today, 56 percent of the U.S. population carries video-enabled smartphones, and the use of mobile technologies has provided new tools for documenting incidents of state-sanctioned violence and contesting media representations of radicalized bodies and marginalized communities” (p. 5). Essentially, protestors were able to capture the events in Ferguson due to new modes of citizen journalism; that is to say, the utilization of smart phones as recording devices has provided a checks-and-balances system against severe police action. Bonilla and Rosa also confirmed that there were over 3.6 million posts on Twitter within the first week that documented the “emerging details surrounding Michael Brown’s death” (p. 4). Because many of these Twitter posts contained photographs and videos of the demonstrations, the utilization of image rhetoric enabled these activists to capture the vivid imagery and raw footage of the “body rhetoric” in Ferguson. Specifically, images of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture became Ferguson’s referent—its symbol—of oppression and, consequently, its dissent.

However, DeLuca (2006) warned against studying photographs as frozen moments in time for researchers to merely describe using words, though he acknowledged that researchers must try, all the same (p. 79). Instead, he believed rhetorical scholars should analyze photos for their immanence, not their transcendence (e.g. the image of the “Flag Raising on Iwo Jima” as an iconic event that transcended place and time). DeLuca clarified his position when he wrote the following:

I am suggesting speed, distraction, and glances are immanent concepts, not transcendent categories that corral photographs, interpret photographs, give us their meaning. Speed, distraction, and glances as modes of orientation, practices for engaging photographs, modes of intensities. Perhaps the most pressing

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

problem with concepts like ‘circulation’ and ‘icon’ is that they are dependent on habits of analysis indebted to print, calling the studious gaze of the academic and reinstantiating the print perspective.... My goal here is not to put forth a method for better capturing the meaning or essence of photographs. Speed, distraction, and glances suggest not a subject dominating an object, but a relationship of simultaneous becoming. (p. 87-88)

What DeLuca is describing is important for the perspective of this research. Rather than simply examine Ferguson photographs like any other speech pamphlet or rhetorical, print document, the researcher should recognize the virality and immediacy of these images, and strive to make meaning from the *photo*'s standpoint. Images and videos in the twenty-first century are, indeed, experienced in disorienting haste, which is why this researcher disagrees with DeLuca in this respect: to approach and study an image—of a captured moment in time and place—is to experience transcendence. In essence, because the “present” is already in the “past,” then to explore evolving exigencies, one must suspend his or her “present” reality to engage in co-interpretation of image events far removed from the researcher. An *a priori* standpoint for studying images is unobtainable, which is why—just as DeLuca previously stated—one must attempt to study images and use words to describe them, all the same. However, it is this author's intent to study selected images and videos of Ferguson for their immediacy and virality. By analyzing the “Hands up, don't shoot!” gesture for its evolution in symbolism, one engages with the exigence of an immanent, societal shift, one that has been expedited by a hyper digital age.

In summary, rather than entrust their cause to a few famous names, BLM subaltern counterpublics seek to renegotiate their cultural identities—namely, to be understood as a global movement that lives, breathes, and moves as one. They would prefer to mediate their

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

counterdiscourses through horizontal diffusion methods—such as Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, and other social media outlets—rather than let key figures or hierarchies mediate their cause to the public sphere *for* them. Specifically, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” symbol provides a mode of co-interpretation, a means of understanding the “speed, distraction, and glances” of the immanent evolution of BLM movement. In Chapter Five, this gesture will be the touchstone for studying the phenomenal “set of meanings” that stemmed from Michael Brown’s death.

Moreover, to better understand the various BLM groups that mobilized following the death of black citizens Brown, Rice, and Garner, one must identify their distinct, and yet not mutually exclusive, goals and vested interests. In the following section, the author will detail some of these subaltern counterpublics that have emerged from these tragic events, as well as describe the specific issues they are fighting for.

The Subaltern Counterpublics of BLM

One subaltern counterpublic is protesting race-related murders in the U.S. as a whole. Many of the voices within this particular group view the killing of Michael Brown in the same way Trayvon Martin was shot and killed by George Zimmerman in 2012 (Day, 2015; Demby, 2014). In this particular situation, racial tensions were heightened when Zimmerman was acquitted from second-degree murder charges after he killed weaponless Martin, a 17-year-old black youth. Many of the Ferguson activists view the Brown and Martin cases as racially driven murders, both of which reveal intrinsic discrimination in the U.S. In fact, Martin’s mother, Sybrina Fulton (2014) wrote a letter to Lesley McSpadden, Brown’s mother, expressing her condolences and reassuring her that “neither of their lives shall be in vain” (para. 7).

Similarly, advocates within this particular subaltern counterpublic have flooded social media outlets with “#BlackLivesMatter” as a means to illuminate the racial prejudices and

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

mistreatments of black persons that still occur today. “#BlackLivesMatter” was originally created by Alicia Garza after Trayvon Martin was killed, but the hashtag had a resurgence on social media sites due to recent black American deaths (i.e. Brown, Rice, Garner, etc.) (Guynn, 2014). Similar to Burke’s (1966) arguments regarding “terministic screens,” by using “#BlackLivesMatter”, modern civil rights activists are making the rhetorical argument that the public sphere must think *black lives don’t matter*, although they do not explicitly say this. “#BlackLivesMatter” then is an example of a counterdiscourse against the non-verbalized/non-mediated argument “#BlackLivesDontMatter”.

Furthermore, there are other subaltern counterpublics dissenting against police brutality across the country following the jury’s decision to not indict New York City police officer, Daniel Pantaleo. Pantaleo had performed a chokehold and, consequently, killed Eric Garner on July 17, 2014, a black man who resisted arrest for illegally selling cigarettes. In this instance, the jury claimed there was no “reasonable cause” to indict Officer Pantaleo (Eversley & James, 2014, para. 2), even though Julie Bolcer, a spokeswoman from the medical examiner's office, explained in a CNN article that the autopsy reports revealed that Garner died of “compression of [the] neck (choke hold), compression of [the] chest and prone positioning during physical restraint by police” (Sanchez, 2014, para. 5). After officers Wilson and Pantaleo were not indicted—both within a two-week time period—the aforementioned Eversley article reported that the jury’s verdict incited anti-police-brutality protests across the country (para. 40-41).

Finally, there are subaltern counterpublics who have partaken in Ferguson “sister” protests in order to decry the militarization of police forces. For example, recent BLM demonstrations have been putting pressure on 2016 Democratic presidential candidates (i.e. Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders, and Martin O’Malley), demanding criminal justice reform to

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

mitigate the mass incarceration rates of black Americans, as well as urging new policies that stem the militarization of police forces (Kamisar, 2015; Craven, Grim, & Reilly, 2015).

Specifically, BLM advocates criticized Hillary Clinton's support of policies, "“which instituted draconian penalties for drug possession and abuse at the same time they funnel money away from anti-poverty programs and into hyper-militarization of urban police forces and the institution of white supremacist police profiling policies”" (Kamisar, 2015, para. 3).

In summary, all of these subaltern counterpublics within the BLM movement and their goals are not mutually exclusive. Their causes and demands span various racial and social issues, and yet, they intersect on many levels. Even though some would say the death of Trayvon Martin was the single event that sparked the movement (Kamisar, 2015, para. 6; Cullors et al., 2015, para. 2), it can be argued that the recent deaths of Brown, Rice, and Garner have emboldened these pluralistic voices to speak out against a manifold of injustices. In Chapter Six, the social and political effects these subaltern counterpublics have had on the public sphere will be discussed in greater detail.

In this chapter, the decentralized nature of the BLM movement and its grass-roots approach was examined. Next, the immediacy and virality of images in a digital age, and the importance of studying the "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture for its immanence and transcendence was discussed. Additionally, this researcher identified some key issues that these subaltern counterpublics are focusing on and clarified that these distinct causes are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, these groups intersect at many points. It was important to parse out these separate rhetorical platforms and describe their center of interests so that this author can specifically examine the body rhetoric of Ferguson and the "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture in the following chapter, as well as describe how this action has played a vital role in forging a

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

unifying symbol for these subaltern counterpublics. Image rhetoric will be utilized by analyzing various videos and images of the Ferguson protests. These video and image events will provide an “on-the-ground” perspective of the confrontational, body rhetoric that took place in Ferguson and, consequently, sparked a national discourse surrounding racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

CHAPTER FIVE THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Not long after Brown's death, protesters organized and marched down West Florissant Avenue, waving cardboard signs that read variations of, "Hands up, don't shoot!" Their chants and physical demonstrations mimicked those of Brown's—only this time it was not being used as a sign of submission; it was being used to create a counterdiscourse, one that was denouncing the systemic racism behind police brutality and the militarization of police forces. Soon thereafter, violent demonstrations took place and, subsequently, this "rhetoric of the streets" was answered with more police aggression.

Social media outlets flooded with personal footage of St. Louis police and National Guard soldiers firing rubber bullets into crowds of nonviolent and violent demonstrations alike. Moreover, thousands of YouTube and Vine videos show nonviolent groups raising their hands and chanting, "Hands up, don't shoot!" just before police fire tear gas canisters, flash grenades, and rubber bullets at them. Here, we can see the second emblematic evolution of the body rhetoric being used. "Hands up, don't shoot!" began as a literal act for Brown before it became the symbolic gesture for activists; however, once arson and looting took place, the nonviolent protestors were treated no differently from violent rioters and, as a result, the symbolic gesture returned to a literal state again. Crowds of Ferguson residents lifted their hands as they were fired upon and shouted repeatedly, "Don't shoot! Don't shoot!" before they were dispersed.

In this chapter, an analysis of the Ferguson protests will situate and explicate the symbol of "Hands up, don't shoot!" as a primary engine in the development of a movement. The "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture was first a literal act for Brown, then a symbolic stance for demonstrators, and then it was literalized once again in the conflict between police lines and protesters. Various videos and images will be studied from a rhetorical analysis standpoint;

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

specifically, image rhetoric will contextualize the confrontational rhetoric between police lines and protestors. Consequently, the utilization of body rhetoric (i.e. the use of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture) by demonstrators will reveal the phenomenal “set of meanings” that unified these dissenting subaltern counterpublics. As detailed in the timeline that was provided in Chapter Three, this research will analyze protests that occurred right after Brown’s death and post Officer Wilson’s non-indictment.

Origin of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” Narrative

When tracing back the hashtag phrase “#handsupdontshoot” using Twitter’s advanced search options, its first appearance on Twitter was posted by user @_neuni on August 10, 2014 and it read, “#HandsUpDontShoot [Sad emoji] thats [sic] sad” (The Lash Girl, 2014). The next earliest tweet was from user @HeGotTweets and he stated, “#handsupdontshoot #MikeBrown #justice is needed for that young man” (The Dom, 2014)⁹. By looking at these dates, it can be inferred that the phrase “Hands up, don’t shoot!” was already circulating as a rhetorical instrument even a day after Brown’s death. Other hashtags were used on the actual day of the shooting, such as “#MikeBrown” and “#JusticeForMike”.

In fact, user @Twists_nd_turns tweeted the following at 2:57 p.m. on August 9, 2014 while Brown still lay dead on Canfield Drive: “#MikeBrown #JohnCrawford #EricGarner #TrayvonMartin #MichaelDunn #JordanDavis #OscarGrant #KendrickJohnson among so many more..” (Briana J., 2015). By including Brown’s name in a list of other prominent race-related murder cases, this tweet, and others like it, exemplifies Ferguson’s dialectical enjoinment with the public sphere, as Cathcart would suggest (1980). In essence, tweets with hashtags such as

⁹ It must be noted that these two tweets may only appear as originators of the “#HandsUpDontShoot” hashtag. The author merely describing initial search results on Twitter as of Nov. 5, 2015. This does not account for tweets that could have been deleted or censored, due to their content.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

“#JusticeForMike,” “#IfTheyGunnedMeDown,” and, most importantly, “#HandsUpDontShoot” became the unifying narratives for these subaltern counterpublics (all within a short, twenty-four hour period) in order to confront U.S. power systems. It was this outpouring on social media that drew mass attention and, as a result, placed Ferguson, Mo., on the public sphere’s radar for the first time.

In essence, it was the speed and virality of Brown’s death-story that unified these subaltern counterpublics. Because community protests formed within hours of the shooting, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” narrative quickly circulated throughout the surrounding neighborhoods, much like how the 1965 Watts Riots began¹⁰. Hunn and Bell (2014) did some rigorous researching, surveying, and interviewing in order to compile a detailed hourly timeline of the events that transpired on August 9, 2014. A summary of the report is as follows: Officer Wilson shot and killed Brown around 12:02 p.m. and his body lay in the middle of Canfield Drive, “surrounded by long sidewalks, green grass and 14 multiunit apartment buildings. The street sloped slightly. Brown’s blood, which otherwise might have pooled underneath him, ran in a wide ribbon several feet down the hill” (para. 12-13). Although a paramedic was able to confirm Brown’s death by 12:05 p.m., his body would remain in the street until being signed in at the morgue at 4:37 p.m. (para. 42).

Because of St. Louis County’s negligence to move the body in a timely manner, crowds formed around the police tape demanding answers. The immediate use of images being coupled

¹⁰ In this situation, Marquette Fry, a young black man living about two miles south of Watts—a primarily black neighborhood of Los Angeles—was stopped by a Highway patrolman for drinking and driving. When Fry resisted arrest, residents in the area watched as the police used excessive force to detain him. As a result, a crowd of over a thousand black residents surrounded the police officers and started throwing empty bottles, stones, and other projectiles at them. This incident, which took place on August 11, 1965, sparked a series of protests so expansive that “When the situation was finally brought under control five days later, there were 34 persons killed and 1032 reported injuries” (Matei & Ball-Rokeach, 2005, p. 302), due to the riots that took place.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

with counterdiscourses like “#JusticeForMike” and “#HandsUpDontShoot” is also evident during this time frame. For example, user @LuhhNate tweeted “#JusticeForMike [Three clapping hands emojis]” at 2:09 p.m. on August 9 (StrokeGameCrazy, 2014). This hashtag was the caption for two images that were cut and pasted into a single image, one on top of the other. The image on top reveals what appears to be Brown’s father, Michael Brown Sr., holding a cardboard sign that reads: “Ferguson police just executed my unarmed son!!!” The bottom image shows a lifeless Brown lying down in the middle of the street with a police officer standing next to his corpse and onlookers staring across yellow tape.

This tweet is a prime example of the persuasive power behind coupling images with protesting bodies as a rhetorical strategy, as DeLuca and Harold would suggest (2005). An image of Brown’s father holding a cardboard sign as a form of dissent would, no doubt, stir local Ferguson residents to protest as well. In fact, according to the aforementioned Hunn and Bell article, as the narrative of Brown’s death spread and crowds formed around the scene, county police began to worry about the security and safety of the situation, and so, “By 1 p.m., they had dispatched more than a dozen units, according to the county log. By 2 p.m., a dozen more, including two with police dogs” (para. 21). Additionally, by “... 2:45 p.m., four more canine units arrived. At 3:20 p.m., tactical operations officers—the county SWAT team—began pulling in” (para. 30). Although the crowd started to become hostile and shout phrases like “Let’s kill the police” (para. 25), Brown’s mother, Lesley McSpadden, tried to keep them calm by saying, “All I want them to do is pick up my baby.... Please respect him. Please move back” (para. 28). However, the intensity of the crowd continued to grow despite her efforts. Ferguson police used police dogs to keep the pressing lines of outraged citizens from overrunning the crime scene.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

As a result, image rhetoric and body rhetoric were utilized in the first hours of Brown's death in order to condemn St. Louis County's heinous act. For example, Ace Johnson (2014) posted an amateur video on his Facebook page that captures the initial moments after Brown was killed. About five minutes into the clip, Johnson states multiple times, "They killed him for no reason..." and "They said he had his hands up and everything, and they still shot him." Additionally, about three minutes into the video, Johnson records a man—whom he and others believed to be Brown's father at the time, but was actually Brown's uncle—moving passed the yellow tape to identify the body. Even though the crowd shouts repeatedly, "It's his son! It's his son!" the police still rush to stop him from approaching the corpse. When watching the officers circle Brown's lifeless body from Johnson's perspective and, consequently, the crowd's perspective, their expressions and demeanor appear rigid and unfazed—their only concern being the swelling ranks of angry Ferguson residents. To date, this video has had a total of 102,837 shares on Facebook. It was this type of on-the-ground footage that would continue to spark outrage in the Ferguson area. Protestors would later use the same "Don't shoot!" phrase and it's corresponding hands-up gesture as a rhetorical instrument to confront police lines and canine units that very night.

August 9, 2014: Protests Begin

David Carson, a photojournalist for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, shot some of the most vivid images of the initial protests in Ferguson. One photo in particular captured a distinct moment on August 9 of when protestors confronted Ferguson police lines after sunset. Carson's (2014) image shows two white, stern-faced police officers staring down lines of protestors. The officer closest to the camera (left-third frame) is standing at the ready with a barking German Shepherd tugging at the leash; all the while the crowd of demonstrators have their hands raised in

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

a surrender-like pose. In an article by Hunn (2014), he interviewed his fellow journalist and coworker, Carson, about the violent experiences he encountered while documenting the initial protests. Hunn wrote,

‘I arrived just as they were hosing the blood off the street,’ Carson said. At first, the crowd was quiet, even peaceful, he said. But as night dropped, more began showing up. And cops came, too, with riot gear and assault rifles. At one point, residents raised their hands—just as Brown had moments before he was shot, they said—and started walking toward police. (para. 13-15)

In essence, once Ferguson residents caught onto this narrative—of a black youth, *their* neighbor, being gunned down in the middle of Canfield Drive and then being left in the summer heat for hours—they took on his death story as their own. Brown’s death reshaped their own perceptions of themselves, because everyone on the other side of the yellow tape undoubtedly must have thought, “That could have been me.” So they took on Brown’s death and rhetoricized it, casting it as their own.

After the sun set on August 9, protests grew steadily in number, and these once placated residents took a stand and faced-off with police lines and their trained canines. They lifted their hands, but not in submission; their hands were raised as a form of confrontation—a body rhetoric, as DeLuca would suggest (1999). By lifting their hands and pressing their bodies against police lines—just as Hunn and Carson described in their article—this body rhetoric was stating, in a sense, “Here I am, officer, with my hands raised. Are you going to shoot me *too*?” While many of the protestors operationalized a gesture of passivity and made it confrontational—namely, by lifting their hands and chanting, “Hands up, don’t shoot!” and thus pushing the bounds of “civil” protest—other dissenters reacted more violently.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

August 10, 2014: the Civil & Uncivil Protests

When the key words “hands up don’t shoot” are searched via Twitter’s advanced search options—with a time range set from August 9, 2014 through August 11, 2014—the results show that user @KevinWalsh222 posted one of the earliest “Hands up, don’t shoot!”-related tweets. At 6:11 a.m. on August 10, 2014, he tweeted, “#UPPERS black ppl across the country should stop, put up their hands and say ‘dont shoot’ EVERY TIME THEY EVEN SEE A COP! SHAME THEM!!” (Kevin, 2014). This is an early example of how these subaltern counterpublics were trying to mediate their counterdiscourses to the public sphere. By asking black persons across the country to partake in this form of body rhetoric, they were utilizing the evolving, phenomenal experience tied to Brown’s death in order to unite a plurality of voices. The invitation was, in a sense, extended to anyone who had ever felt oppressed, or subjugated, or discriminated against by police officers. The invitation was to get them to join in on a universal level and express their frustration with the power systems in place by lifting their hands and saying, “Don’t shoot!”

Additionally, Twitter user @HomeTeamMonee tweeted the following at 12:08 p.m. on August 10, 2014: “#Ferguson ‘Hands up dont shoot’ Take a picture with your hands up to show support #justicemikemike #justiceforbrown #Ferguson #CNN” (HomeTeamMonee, 2014). @HomeTeamMonee’s next tweet that followed had a picture of a woman standing in her home with her hands raised. The caption read, “‘Hands up don’t shoot’ #justicemikemike #justiceforbrown #JustStl #HomeTeam #Ferguson #CNN” (HomeTeamMonee, 2014). To reiterate, tweets like these are prime examples of the circulation and virality of this “hands up” counterdiscourse. Only a day later and @HomeTeamMonee and other users were trying to get everyone engaged with the injustices of Brown’s death in Ferguson, but on a national scale. Not only did these subaltern counterpublics want individuals to utilize the “Hands up, don’t shoot!”

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

gesture, but they also wanted them to take a picture and spread it on social media. It was the adaptability and co-creation/co-interpretation of the “Hands up, don’t shoot” symbol that made it salient and universal for outside audiences. Just as Lucas (1980) suggested, these subaltern counterpublics had formed their own “perceptions, interpretations, and judgments”, which linked them to this phenomenal experience (p. 288).

Similarly, these early dissenters not only utilized image rhetoric by taking photographs of their “Hands up, don’t shoot!” body rhetoric, but they also recorded videos of it as well. For example, Antonio French, who serves as the St. Louis alderman for the 21st Ward (which represents parts of the neighborhoods of Penrose, College Hill, and O’Fallon) posted a Vine video (2014) of a protest that took place during the day on August 10, 2014. The clip, which is less than ten seconds long, shows a group of primarily black demonstrators chanting over and over again “Don’t shoot! Don’t shoot! Don’t shoot!” to a line of white police officers. French’s caption for the video simply stated, “‘Don’t shoot! Don’t shoot!’ #ferguson”. To date, the video has had 433,119 Vine Loops, which indicates how many times individuals have viewed it since it was posted. Once again, this video exemplifies the expansive circulation of video artifacts that captured the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” symbolism espoused by Ferguson protestors.

Although one could argue that because French represents a municipal assembly/council, he then is an extension of the public sphere and, thus, an outside authority. However, because he partook in the initial protests and joined the ranks of citizen journalists to decry the death of Brown, his confrontation/image/body rhetoric via social media outlets created a sense of solidarity with these subaltern counterpublics. Essentially, French’s direct action in Ferguson represented a shift in his societal stance. By videotaping the initial protests and disseminating those counterdiscourses, French was, in a sense, stepping down from his authoritative role and

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

stepping into a new one: becoming one of the dissenters. In fact, according to Scher Zagier and Roberson (2014), French was arrested alongside other protestors later that very week (para. 10).

It was easier for public figures, like French, and other persons within the public sphere to sympathize with the *civil* protests that took place midday on August 10, 2014; however, once demonstrators committed *uncivil* forms of body rhetoric later on that night, such as looting and arson, it became difficult for many of these individuals to validate the cause. Nevertheless, as previously discussed, Haiman (1967) argued that when there is an imbalance of power, those who cannot affect change through established “channels of rational communication” will, in the end, confront this communication gulf through “non-rational strategies of persuasion,” or a “rhetoric of the streets” approach (p. 114). The citizens of Ferguson certainly recognized this communication gap between themselves and Ferguson’s police chiefs and the rest of the police department, especially since, according to the aforementioned Scher Zagier and Roberson article, “two-thirds of the 21,000 residents are black and all but three of the police force’s 53 officers are white” (para. 20). Because no answers were being given as to why Brown was shot and killed in the middle of Canfield Drive, and since Officer Wilson’s name was not being released to the media at the time, these subaltern counterpublics sought alternative ways of discourse—namely, by returning violence with violence.

The escalation of protest aggression throughout the day on August 10 is evident within YouTube’s video archives. One citizen journalist, Umar Lee¹¹, documented many of the Ferguson protests and thus became a prominent activist following Brown’s death. One video in particular (Lee, 2014) shows a large mob marching down West Florissant Avenue toward a

¹¹ It must be noted that sources have labeled Umar Lee as a radical Islamic convert (Hoft, 2015; Spencer, 2013). Although this fact does not necessarily discredit his recorded video footage, his motives and opinions via his YouTube channel may have further skewed perceptions surrounding Ferguson’s cause, namely, by promoting violence and agitation.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

police barricade just before sunset. They chant “No justice, no peace!” for about two minutes into the clip until the police fire a warning flare above the multitude. By firing a red flare above the approaching crowd, the police were making their presence known and thus drawing a “line in the sand,” so to speak. This intimidation tactic was a statement to protestors that “We are here, on the other side of the divide. If you cross ‘the line’ in any way, we will respond in turn.”

After the warning shot, someone off screen immediately starts to chant, “Hands up, don’t shoot!” Others slowly join in on the mantra and lift their hands. Moments later, the entire crowd is yelling “Hands up, don’t shoot!” in unison and mimicking Brown’s death-posture. Once again, at this present moment in time, the gesture has taken a symbolic turn and no longer represents a sign of surrender. This body rhetoric is now being used as a mode of protest, of conflict, of reproach. This once passive pose was now being used as an offensive tactic in order to confront police lines. As the crowd closes in, they cease marching about 20-30 yards away from the militarized police barricade. A stereo system plays hip-hop music off to the left side of the frame. Nonviolent protestors try to get everyone to sit down in the middle of the street, and a few individuals comply; however, the vast majority continue to walk up and down the lines, taunting police officers by flipping them off and shouting obscenities across the divide.

Then, about four minutes into the clip, some dissenters begin to throw rocks and bottles at the officers. The nonviolent protestors immediately rebuke their actions and order them to stop. The video’s running time stops at 5:15 and viewers never see if these two opposing groups ever clashed in this particular clip. However, Umar Lee posted a separate YouTube video (2014) on August 11 in which he describes how the police eventually felt threatened by the crowd’s increasing numbers, and so retreated inside of their police vehicles. The protestors then took their chance and threw more projectiles at their SUVs. While the property damage to these police

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

vehicles might have been minimal, it would only be hours later that rioters would not only confront police lines, but they would also loot and set fire to a Quick Trip gas station.

A separate citizen journalist, Premiere ExclusiveVidz (2014), posted a 1:22 long YouTube video later on that night of rioters looting a Ferguson Quick Trip. In the clip, people run in and out of the gas station, carrying armloads of soda, beer, snacks, and other random items. The chaos is so evident that a black man wearing a white tank top shirt ends up hitting the camera. The scene changes and the videographer is now standing outside of the Quick Trip and filming the entire situation. Towards the end of the video, he captures the initial flames igniting. Before long, the entire Quick Trip is set ablaze, with emergency vehicles parked at a distance.

Quick Trip was not the only business to be ransacked that night. According to Culley et al. (2014), over a dozen Ferguson businesses were vandalized and/or looted following Brown's vigil, including Footlocker, Wal-Mart, Taco Bell, and Walgreens, to name a few (para. 11). In fact, the violence in Ferguson became so extensive in the days that followed that Gov. Nixon declared a state of emergency on August 16, 2014. He then ordered the National Guard into Ferguson on August 18, 2014 "after protesters shoot at police, throw Molotov cocktails at officers, loot local businesses and carry out a 'coordinated attempt' to block roads and overrun the police's command center (Brown, 2015, para. 54).

Because of these uncivil acts, those outside of the protests tried to delegitimize the Ferguson cause via news and social media outlets. As discussed in Chapter One, there is a plethora of media evidence of individuals ridiculing the Ferguson rioters, calling them "thugs," "apes," and the like. Additionally, as a way of parodying the "Hands up, don't shoot!" phrase and symbolism, counter mantras were formulated, such as "Hands up, don't loot!" and "Pants up, don't loot!" In fact, according to Crilly (2014), a counter protest was held on August 16 to

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

support Officer Wilson, of whom “Many were police officers—or married to officers—and some discussed whether it would be appropriate to chant, ‘Hands up, Don’t loot’ . . .” (para. 12).

Additionally, according to a separate Chasmar (2014) article, “An avid supporter of the Ferguson police officer who fatally shot 18-year-old Michael Brown has successfully fundraised enough money to erect a #PantsUPdontLOOT billboard in the embattled St. Louis suburb” (para. 1).

This last debasement, “Pants up, don’t shoot!”, especially attempted to characterize the Ferguson protestors as nothing more than pants-sagging thugs. It could be inferred that this satirical phrase, “Pants up, don’t shoot!” derived from the Larry Platt’s “Pants On the Ground” song, which he sang for American Idol panelists in 2010 as a humorous way of making fun of today’s “sagging” style among black persons.

Essentially, the general public was trying to delegitimize the “Hands up, don’t shoot” gesture and symbol because of the uncivil riots that took place. By creating alternative phrases such as “Hands up, don’t loot!” and “Pants up, don’t loot!”, they were trying to discredit the Ferguson cause as a whole. This lashing out via the media is evidence of what Cathcart (1980) called “counter-rhetoric,” which “recognizes the impiety of their (protestors/rioters) rhetoric, and affirms the threat to the system” (p. 268). Essentially, these negative responses are evidence of the dialectical enjoinment between the public sphere and these subaltern counterpublics. This “threat to the system” would continue to take place on Ferguson grounds in the days to come. Their symbolic action of “Hands up, don’t shoot!” would continue to evolve and reshape people’s perceptions surrounding the movement.

For instance, the gesture would not only be realized via images of actual protests, but this body rhetoric would also be displayed on T-shirts and hoodies. On August 11, Olson (2014)—a Getty photographer—took a picture of two black Ferguson protestors holding up a white T-shirt

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

with the words “#DontShoot” written at the top and a drawing of an indistinguishable black figure below. Additionally, the black figure on the T-shirt has his or her hands raised, mimicking Brown’s death-posture. The person in the middle of the frame is holding the shirt up in the air, blocking his or her face, while the second person in the photograph, in the left-third frame, holds a piece of cardboard below the suspended T-shirt that reads “FTP.” It can be inferred that “FTP” stands for “For the People.”

This image illustrates how, even just two days after Brown’s death, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” emblem was being portrayed in various forms. By having an indistinguishable black person as the focal point on a T-shirt, there are several rhetorical arguments being made: firstly, racial discrimination has affected both males and females alike; therefore, the figure on the shirt is universal and could relate to all sexes and genders. Secondly, by portraying a black person in the center of a white T-shirt, it can be inferred that they are specifically recognizing black persons. Thirdly, by coupling the T-shirt with a “For the People” cardboard sign, they were trying to persuade other subaltern counterpublics to not only obtain the shirt, but to also *use* it as a form of body rhetoric during protests. This uniformity of clothing and symbols exemplifies McGee’s (1980) arguments for studying social movements as a “set of meanings” (p. 233). “Hands up, don’t shoot!” T-shirts, hoodies, and similar artifacts played a role in creating a unifying experience for those disenfranchised by the public sphere. These sets of meanings would continue to make rhetorical arguments against racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces in the months to come. However, before this end would be achieved, what began as a symbolic gesture for demonstrations, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture would soon turn into a literal expression of fear and self-preservation.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

August 13, 2014: "Hands up, don't shoot!" Literalized

During the initial riots, when there was looting and arson being committed across the city, there were both civil and uncivil protests occurring simultaneously. One YouTube video by Urban Armed (2014) shows some of the nonviolent protestors facing off with St. Louis County police forces on the night of August 13. The videographer shot the event with the night vision setting turned on, which gives a "war zone" feel to the footage. For the first minute of the video clip, the protestors form in the middle of the street and chant repeatedly, "Won't be no mass incarceration, when the revolution comes! Won't be no police brutality, when the revolution comes!" An indistinguishable man leads the mantra by chanting the words through a megaphone.

As the police lines approach in armored vehicles, some of the demonstrators sit down in the middle of the street to show they are peaceful. Additionally, they all raise their hands to perform what had now become the symbolic form of Brown's death-posture. Despite their nonviolent efforts, the police begin their attack by sounding a high frequency siren in order to disperse the crowd. The protestors cover their ears to try and block out the piercing noise. The police continue to advance, but the crowd stands their ground. With their hands raised in the air, they yell, "We are peaceful! Hands up, don't shoot!" However, about 3:39 into the clip, someone off-screen throws a glass bottle at the police and it shatters across the pavement. Seconds later, the police open fire. Smoke bombs, flash grenades, and rubber bullets fire into the crowd and even the videographer is hit by a projectile. A woman yells a moment later to someone in the crowd, "Fuckin' stop throwing stuff at them!"; it can only be inferred that she is rebuking the person who threw the glass bottle at the police line. She then yells, "The world is watching!" The crowd eventually retreats into a neighborhood with the St. Louis County police following closely behind and still firing their less-lethal weapons.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

This video exemplifies how even though Brown's literal death-posture became the symbolic body rhetoric for Ferguson protestors, the gesture returned to a literal state once again when police officers opened fire on the demonstrators. In essence, what began as a symbolic form for these protestors became a literal cry for self-preservation: "We are peaceful! Hands up, don't shoot!" Despite being nonviolent, these subaltern counterpublics were treated with aggression and brutality because of the individual who threw an empty bottle. Just as the woman stated in the clip, "The world is watching!" The "world" she is referring to is, in a sense, the public sphere. This very statement, "The world is watching!", shows that this woman was conscious of the movement's image rhetoric, meaning she and other protestors had a self-awareness of the wide diffusion of images and videos that would be viewed by the public sphere. This "self-checking" among dissenters was meant to curb uncivil acts, for fear of their movement being delegitimized. Essentially, the woman in the video knew their recorded actions would be shared across news and social media outlets and thus wanted to control their message, their body rhetoric, so that their nonviolent actions could yield a persuasive outcome. This particular YouTube video which, again, was documented by a citizen journalist, has 43,763 views to date. It is highly circulated videos like this that have mediated the body rhetoric of Ferguson's cause to the world, which is to decry racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces.

To summarize, some of the initial protests following Brown's death have been analyzed and the "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture has not only been situated, but its origin and virality has been examined via Twitter, Vine, and YouTube artifacts. Additionally, we observed the evolution of the "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture, which was first a literal act for Brown, then a symbolic stance for demonstrators, and then it was literalized once again in the conflict between

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

police lines and protesters. Next, the protests following Officer Wilson's non-indictment, as well as the evolution of the "Hands up, don't shoot" symbol during this timeframe, will be analyzed in the following section.

"Hands up, don't shoot!" Post Officer Wilson's Non-Indictment

While protests continued from August through October, the physical demonstrations lost some of their fervor leading up to Officer Wilson's court case; however, social media protest would be utilized in full strength as all of Ferguson waited anxiously for justice. Twitter's "live" feed blew up in the final days and hours leading up to the court's decision. Hashtag phrases such as "#Ferguson", "#HandsUpDontShoot!", "#JusticeForMikeBrown", and "#BlackLivesMatter" were readily used in Twitter conversations. This last hashtag, "#BlackLivesMatter", especially gained traction in the days leading up to Officer Wilson's trial, due to the shooting of Tamir Rice in Cleveland, Oh., on November 22, 2014, just two days before. In fact, because of these recent black deaths (i.e. Brown, Rice, Gardner, among others), not only was the "#BlackLivesMatter" hashtag quickly circulating once again on social media¹², before and after Officer Wilson's non-indictment, but as a consequence, the development of T-shirts and other products were created to express the importance of these black lives.

For example, a company called GLOSSRAGS had a surge in T-shirt sales during this critical time period. Their designs vary, but the general theme for each shirt is listing the names of race-related murders in the U.S. One clothing item in particular is part of the "And Counting" collection. It lists the following names in white print on a black T-shirt: "Emmett & Medgar & James & Amadou & Sean & Oscar & Trayvon & Jordan & Eric & Mike & Ezell & Akai & Tamir & Anthony & Walter & Freddie & Brendon &..." (GLOSSRAGS, 2015). Essentially,

¹² As previously discussed in Chapter Four, the hashtag "#BlackLivesMatter" was first used as a rhetorical instrument following the death of Trayvon Martin in 2012.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

their sales spiked prior to Officer Wilson's non-indictment because these subaltern counterpublics wanted to wear them as a form of social protest.

Additionally, this particular shirt is making a number of rhetorical arguments: firstly, the list starts with Emmett Till—who was briefly mentioned in Chapter Two—as an important black youth to be killed and, as a result, spark national outrage. Secondly, these names are not just black youth who have been killed by the State; the list of names also includes those who were victims of race-related murders. Finally, by having the list end with “&...”, they are suggesting that the list will continue to grow. Essentially, as millions waited to hear the court's verdict regarding Officer Wilson's crimes, thousands of these subaltern counterpublics started purchasing these types of shirts. For example, user @theREALLarBear tweeted a photograph of a GLOSSRAGS T-shirt on November 24 with the caption, “Just ordered this shirt #HandsUpDontShoot” (Larry, 2014). By pairing images of these shirts with the “Hands up, don't shoot!” symbol, and then posting them on social media, protestors were using these rhetorical instruments to argue for justice on a national scale, while simultaneously waiting for justice on a local level—specifically, in Ferguson.

During these final hours, there were also “counter-rhetorics” to the “#HandsUpDontShoot” and “#BlackLivesMatter” hashtags prior to Officer Wilson's non-indictment. For example, user @_USAPatriot tweeted the following at 5:42 p.m. that same day, “#HandsUpDontShoot? More like #PantsUpDontLoot. #Ferguson #MichaelBrown #MikeBrown” (#BlueLivesMatter, 2014). There are hundreds of these types disparaging tweets, each one attacking the legitimacy of the protests before and after Officer Wilson's non-indictment. Even the hashtag “#BlueLivesMatter” is a prime example of a “counter-rhetoric” for the developing “#BlackLivesMatter” hashtag. However, the number of tweets in support of the Ferguson cause vastly outnumbered these counter-rhetorics.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

This dialectical enjoinder between the public sphere and these subaltern counterpublics took place not only on social media outlets, but also in immanent spaces within Ferguson. In the days and hours leading up to court's decision of whether or not to indict Wilson for first- or second-degree murder charges, or voluntary or involuntary manslaughter charges, the Ferguson community prepared for the worst. Many businesses boarded up their windows and secured their locations for fear of looting and arson taking place once again. In fact, some businesses took advantage of the "Hands up, don't shoot!" symbol to try and identify with these subaltern counterpublics.

For example, user @DanielDZarazua (2014) tweeted on August 23—just before Officer Wilson's court verdict—an Instagram photo of a local Ferguson nail salon storefront called Crystal Nails (Zarazua, 2014). In the image, the entrance and all of the windows are boarded up, but pasted over the plywood are images of black hands and white hands, old hands and young hands—all with their fingers spread apart to accentuate the nails. Additionally, each pair of hands are side by side, with the backsides facing viewers, to look like they are lifted in surrender, the body rhetoric of dissenters. The argument here could be that it does not matter what race or age demographic one associates with; everyone can stand against racial discrimination and police brutality.

By looking at this example, it is evident that the dissemination of the "Hands up, don't shoot!" symbol has extended well beyond the realm of protestor circles and has now become an emblem utilized by those sympathetic to the cause. Crystal Nails and other businesses could have been using this rhetorical device in order to convince these subaltern counterpublics that they are, indeed, one of the outside voices joining the movement, and thus are simply trying to preserve their business from being ransacked. Additionally, they could have been taking advantage of this body rhetoric for sales and marketability purposes. All the same, by identifying

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

with Brown's death and protestors, they were able to mitigate some of these fears of being looted and/or set afire, should the court fail to indict Officer Wilson.

When the report came on November 24 that Officer Wilson would not be prosecuted for his crimes, these fears were realized. According to the aforementioned Brown article (2015),

Crowds of protesters filled streets near the Ferguson police station following the announcement. A police car and stores were set on fire, other stores were looted, gunfire was heard and bricks were hurled. Police later said they came under heavy automatic weapon fire, and some buildings were left to burn because of the danger. County police said an officer suffered a gunshot wound, but it was unclear if it was because of the protest violence. (para. 89)

Dissenters would make the world hear and see their outrage—at first with violent retaliation, and then with rhetorical strategy.

After a night of riots and devastation, protestors took to the streets again on November 25—not just in Ferguson, but all across the U.S. Only this time, protestors took on unique forms of Brown's body rhetoric. In a photograph by Somodivilla (2014), a young girl in Washington D.C. holds a sign that has "INSERT FACE BELOW" written in Sharpie above a cutout hole. Black hands drawn on top of a yellow backdrop flank either side of the hole. Other protestors, including this young girl, put their faces into the opening and took pictures with the sign. Here, the "Hands up, don't shoot!" symbol is being used universally, once again. By having various individuals insert their face into the cutout opening, protestors were making a few rhetorical arguments: firstly, every black person has the potential of being gunned down by police officers. In essence, any individual who has ever experienced racial discrimination, and/or has been disenfranchised by governing systems, is Michael Brown incognito. Secondly, it does not matter

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

how many black faces are inserted into the cutout; they are interchangeable to police officers.

And finally, no matter whose face accompanies a surrender pose—even a young girl’s—if they are a person of color, they will still be treated with aggression by the State.

Additionally, following Officer Wilson’s non-indictment, not only were images of unique protest methods utilized, but videos of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” body rhetoric were documented as well. For example, user @MarcusRSilva (2014) cross-posted a video to both Twitter and Vine on November 24 with the caption “#handsupdontshoot #nyc #unionsquare #ferguson” (Silva, 2014). He and thousands of other demonstrators rally in New York City’s Union Square and chant repeatedly, “Hands up, don’t shoot! Hands up, don’t shoot!” while holding signs that say “Justice for Mike”. People of different races can be seen chanting throughout the six-second-long clip, all with their hands raised. This video has 732 Loops on Vine to date, which may not seem significant in comparison to the other videos previously discussed. However, videos recorded by citizen journalists, such as @MarcusRSilva’s, do not need to be virally disseminated in order to raise awareness regarding the Ferguson cause. Because there are millions of these types of short clips, each one undoubtedly reached an affiliated demographic. All together, these short videos successfully used image rhetoric to capture the body rhetoric of Ferguson, even in New York City.

A similar, less-viral video was posted to YouTube by Turtle Poster (2014) on November 28, which illustrates how police forces, and other representatives of the public sphere, default to hostile methods when dealing with subaltern counterpublics. However, this clip captures the fierce nature of Ferguson police and National Guard soldiers after the court failed to indict Officer Wilson. For about forty-five seconds into the clip, nonviolent protestors chant repeatedly, “Murderers! Murderers! Murderers!” while facing off police and National Guard lines. During

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

this time, a police official uses a megaphone to warn protestors that if they do not move onto the sidewalk, they will be subject to arrest. When the crowd does not comply, the militarized force uses their shields to form a barricade before they violently smash into protestors. Chaos ensues as both police and National Guard soldiers start making arrests. Then, about 1:57 into the clip, the crowd starts to chant over and over again, “Hands up, don’t shoot! Hands up, don’t shoot!” as they regroup on the other side of the street.

Once the two opposing groups separate, the videographer starts to argue with a police official. When the videographer accuses him of escalating the situation, about 4:45 into the clip, the official responds by saying, “I asked them to clear the roadway. They chose to come out into the roadway. They knew they were subject to arrest. So when they stepped out into the roadway, they knew they were subject to arrest. They chose to make that action.” This conversation highlights another crucial characteristic about the Ferguson protests and their rhetorical strategies. Because the original conflict between Officer Wilson and Michael Brown related to jaywalking down Canfield Drive, many of the demonstrators would refuse to move to the sidewalks as a form of protest. Not only did they adopt Brown’s death-posture as their body rhetoric by shouting, “Hands up, don’t shoot!”, but they also recreated that original altercation by intentionally jaywalking. Just as the official stated, they *knew* they were subject to arrest. Thus, these subaltern counterpublics put their fragile, corporeal bodies in harms way in order to connect with the phenomenal experience tied to Brown’s death. Because of their willingness to suffer the physical pains of arrest, tear gas, rubber bullets, flash grenades, shield walls, and much more, their direct action would continue to decry issues of racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces, even months—and possibly years—afterwards.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Summary of “Hands up, don’t shoot!” as Symbolic Action

In this chapter, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” symbol was situated and explicated as a primary instrument in the development of the BLM movement. First, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture was studied as a literal act for Brown, and then it was analyzed as a symbolic stance for demonstrators. This body rhetoric was then literalized once again in the conflict between police lines and protesters. Social media outlets were utilized, such as Twitter, YouTube, Vine, Facebook and Instagram, as a means of connecting confrontational rhetoric with image rhetoric and, finally, with body rhetoric. Ultimately, the body rhetoric of these subaltern counterpublics after Brown’s death, and post Officer Wilson’s non-indictment, was used to illuminate issues surrounding racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces.

In the following chapter, the ripple effects of the Ferguson protests within the U.S. and across the world will be further analyzed. Specifically, an explanation of how the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture was eventually complimented, and then surpassed, by a more universal rhetorical instrument: the “#BlackLivesMatter” hashtag and mantra. The effectiveness of the “#BlackLivesMatter” rhetorical instrument will exemplify the solidification of a new movement, and its societal ramifications to date. Finally, the implications of this research and its contribution to social movement rhetoric (SMR) scholarship will be discussed.

CHAPTER SIX
DISCUSSION: IMPLICATIONS & FINDINGS

Today, the word “Ferguson” evokes emotions in people, much like “Selma” and “Birmingham” still do. Ferguson is no longer just a predominantly black-suburb of St. Louis; it is a symbol, a locale of systemic racism and abuse of power within governing systems. Additionally, Ferguson carries a phenomenal set of meanings—all linked to the death of Michael Brown. When someone says, “Hands up, don’t shoot!” or “Justice for Mike Brown” or “No justice, no peace!” or “Black lives matter”, a series of images, feelings, and arguments are immediately triggered on either side of the debate. “Debate” is being used in the monolithic sense, because, even a year after Brown’s death and the court’s failure to indict Officer Wilson, polarized groups are still disputing over the legitimacy of the Ferguson cause and its arguments surrounding issues of racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces within the U.S.

As discussed in Chapter Five, it was the image rhetoric disseminated via social media outlets that captured and circulated these exigencies. Furthermore, it was the confrontational body rhetoric of protestors and their “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture that situated the dialectical enjoinder between the public sphere and these subaltern counterpublics. When discussing the importance of these demonstrations, Muhammad (2014) wrote,

The events of the past few months, now simply referred to as Ferguson, have touched off nationwide protests of a scale not seen in a half-century. From billboards to T-shirts, protest banners and news headlines—all emblazoned with the words #BlackLivesMatter—we are witnessing the makings of a social movement of the 21st century kind. The revolution that Gil Scot Heron [sic]

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

famously said, “would not be televised”, is today, in fact, recorded and tweeted. (para. 1)

Thus, if Black Lives Matter (BLM) is to be labeled a movement stemming from Ferguson protests, then the dissemination of that movement-identity will, undoubtedly, continue to be mediated via social media outlets.

In the following section, the effects of Ferguson’s confrontational/image/body rhetoric will be analyzed, both within the U.S. and across the world. Physical and social media protests relating to Eric Garner will also be discussed in greater detail, and their relation to Brown’s death story. Next, the development and mediation of a new rhetorical instrument—namely, the “#BlackLivesMatter” hashtag—will typify an identity shift within this movement. Finally, a discuss of the implications of this research for future SMR scholarship will conclude this study.

“Hands up, don’t shoot!” Across the U.S. & the World

As briefly discussed in Chapter Four, on July 17, 2014, Eric Garner—a black father of six children—was accosted by police officers for illegally selling cigarettes in New York City. When arresting Garner, Officer Daniel Pantaleo came from behind and put 400-pound, asthmatic Garner in a chokehold, a move that is forbidden within the New York Police Department (Diehm & Scheller, 2014). Despite crying out multiple times “I can’t breathe,” Garner died from asphyxiation as a result of the chokehold, all of which was captured with a cell phone by citizen journalist, Ramsey Orta (Karni, Parascandola, & McShane, 2014). Although this event took place a month before Michael Brown was gunned down in Ferguson, the court failed to indict Officer Pantaleo on December 3, 2014, less than two weeks after the court failed to indict Officer Wilson on November 24.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Once the court released its decision to not indict Officer Pantaleo, protests formed in New York City, shutting down parts of the city. Prokupecz and Sanchez (2014) reported that demonstrators held signs that read “No justice, no peace!” (para. 8), which parallels the protests in Ferguson; in fact, one protestor’s sign read, ““Ferguson is Everywhere”” (para. 13). These authors also compared Garner’s death to Brown’s when they stated, “Another similarity that has become the hallmark of protests in Ferguson: Garner put his hands up in the air, as the crook of Pantaleo’s elbow tightened around his throat” (para. 39). Because of the homologous, phenomenal narrative surrounding both Brown and Garner’s death stories, the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” symbol continued to circulate among protestors across the U.S. However, it was adopted in a slightly different form.

According to Baer (2014), local religious leaders in Chicago led their congregants in peaceful marches around different parts of the city on December 7, 2014. They did not just use the body rhetoric of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture; instead, they marched through the streets pretending to choke themselves as well, a symbolic form now linked to Garner’s death-posture. However, according to the Baer article, these congregants still chanted the words “Hands up, don’t shoot!” but used a different type of body rhetoric, namely, a mock self-asphyxiation gesture. A photograph associated with this article shows a black woman and a black man performing different stances side by side; the woman has her hands raised while the man is choking himself.

Here, Brown’s emblematic death-posture has evolved, once again. Rather than simply mimic the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture used by Ferguson protestors, other demonstrators across the U.S., such as in the Chicago example, combined variations of both Brown and Garner’s death-postures to create a more unified dissent experience. By chanting “Hands up,

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

don't shoot!" while simultaneously pretending to choke themselves, these protestors were connecting these separate, but equally similar, narratives.

Evidence of this can also be found in YouTube videos documented by citizen journalists. For example, MYSFACE (2014), (not to be confused with the old social media site), posted a three-part video series documenting Chicago protests on December 5, 2015. For about two minutes into the third clip, the protestors chant repeatedly "No justice, no peace! No racist police!" while marching down the sidewalks of Chicago. City police ride bicycles in the street to the left of the crowd, following their every step to make sure they do not become uncivil. After about two minutes, the protestors switch their chant to "I can't breathe!" to reflect Garner's last words. About 3:46 into the video, a woman somewhere toward the front starts to yell, "*Show* me what democracy looks like!", to which the crowd responds with "*This* is what democracy looks like!" This continues until 4:37 into the video, and then they switch to yelling, "Black lives matter!" Then, about five minutes into the footage, someone yells "Hands up!", to which the crowd echoes "Don't shoot!" They lift their hands and continue shouting this final mantra for the duration of the video clip.

Demonstrations, like this one, encapsulate the ever-changing rhetorical tactics being used by similar protestors across the U.S. Their body rhetoric took on the different narratives surrounding Brown and Garner's death in order to include a multiplicity of subaltern counterpublics. These varied strategies not only took place in Chicago, but also in cities such as Washington D.C., San Francisco, Baltimore, Boston, San Antonio and many others (Ballhaus & Brody, 2014).

In addition to protests taking place across the U.S. following the courts' decisions to not indict officers Wilson and Pantaleo, demonstrations took place in other parts of the world as

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

well. According to Mejia (2014), "... activists in Tokyo took to the streets in protest.

Demonstrators held up photos of the late Michael Brown, as well as signs reading 'Tokyo stands with Ferguson' and 'America, the world is watching'" (para. 2). Once again, these protestors in Tokyo had an awareness of the power behind image rhetoric, much like the woman in the Urban Armed (2014) YouTube video did, as discussed in Chapter Five. When the woman in that clip shouted, "The world is watching!", she was trying to make uncivil protestors aware of their actions that would, undoubtedly, go viral via social media outlets. Any false move and critics would seize the opportunity to attempt to delegitimize the cause. However, when these Tokyo demonstrators stated, "America, the world is watching", they were warning the governing systems in the U.S. (i.e. politicians, police departments, court systems, etc.) that *their* actions would also go viral via social media outlets. The world was, indeed, watching the U.S. to see how they would treat their own citizens during this critical time of unrest.

Additionally, Twitter user @NewsRevo (2014) reported that support protests occurred in Sidney, Australia. They tweeted the following: "#Ferguson, Melbourne #Australia stands with you. #EricGarner #ICantBreathe <http://youtu.be/PbsPSJ-13e8> via @occupySYDNEY" (Revolution News, 2014). This wave of social media support especially forwarded Ferguson's confrontational/image/body rhetoric in the Middle East. Harding, Kingsley, and Walker (2014) reported the following:

In Egypt, social media users drew comparisons between Ferguson and events in Cairo, where rampant police brutality since the 2011 revolution has only once resulted in a conviction, and which has consequently often sparked bloody clashes between police and protesters. 'Ferguson now looks like police assaults in Egypt,'

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

tweeted the Cairo-based former Human Rights Watch researcher, Scott Long.

‘Our world is melding into a single military regime.’ (para. 7).

Furthermore, Twitter users shared images of Palestinians expressing their support for the Ferguson cause. User @SarahElzeini tweeted the following: “Beautiful. War-torn Gaza: Palestinians show solidarity w/ #Ferguson. Globalized world, means no one gets left behind” (Elzeini, 2014). This caption was accompanied with two photos. In the first one, a man holds a sign that reads: “The Palestinian people know what it mean [sic] to be shot while unarmed because of your ethnicity #Ferguson #justice”. The second image has a picture of a young Palestinian girl wearing a headscarf; her sign reads: “Ferguson with love from Palestine”.

In the previous chapter, the evolution of the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture as a symbolic stance for Ferguson demonstrators was examined. However, as presently argued, the mantras and physical actions for this movement are changing from state-to-state and from country-to-country, allowing a multiplicity of voices to co-create their own body rhetoric associated with their own state-sanctioned killings. These physical demonstrations and social media forms of protest are evidence that the Ferguson cause has transcended state boundaries and cultural perspectives. These various subaltern counterpublics not only utilized emblematic gestures to make rhetorical arguments against a manifold of injustices, but they also accompanied this body rhetoric with images of their confrontations. In the following section, the movement’s phenomenal shift from these somewhat sporadic symbols (i.e. #HandsUpDontShoot, #NoJusticeNoPeace #ICantBreathe, etc.) to a more universal form of identification—“#BlackLivesMatter”—will be discussed.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Black Lives Matter & Its Effects On U.S. Society

Although the “#BlackLivesMatter” hashtag was originally created by Alicia Garza after Trayvon Martin was killed in 2012, as previously discussed in Chapter Four, it experienced a resurgence on social media during this critical time of unrest, due to the deaths of Brown, Rice, and Garner. Prominent Twitter account @YourAnonNews—the official account for the cyber-hacker group Anonymous—tweeted the following on November 24, 2014: “#Ferguson streamers, send us your links. We need the WHOLE world watching! #MikeBrown #FTP #BlackLivesMatter” (Anonymous, 2014). Once again, there was this emphasis that the world was watching; specifically, the world was watching this phrase—this symbol—become more and more prominent.

“#BlackLivesMatter” became a universal term for these disenfranchised subaltern counterpublics, more so than other emblematic phrases, such as “#HandsUpDontShoot,” “#NoJusticeNoPeace,” “#ICantBreathe,” and many others. While the “Hands up, don’t shoot” symbol was effective for protestors’ confrontational body rhetoric across the U.S., the “Black Lives Matter” rhetorical instrument was better suited for the movement’s identity and overall cause. In essence, not only did “#BlackLivesMatter” encapsulate all of these recent black American death stories, but it also incorporated other oppressed groups, such as black women, black LGBTQ persons, black families, black disabled persons, etc. (Cullors et al., 2015). While “Hands up, don’t shoot!” still carries a series of meaningful arguments, today, “Black Lives Matter” typifies the new movement against racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces.

This shift in symbolism has even brought various faiths together in order to expose the racial injustices taking place in the U.S. According to Lewis (2015), Jewish, Christian, and

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Muslim clergy staged a “die-in” protest in The Longworth Building cafeteria on Capitol Hill (para. 1-3). These local activists shouted, “Black lives matter!” before they laid down in the middle of the bustling cafeteria, filled with lawyers, congressmen, and congresswomen who sat eating their lunches. Lowery (2015) covered the same demonstration as well and outlined the protestors’ demands, which were: “to call for a congressional hearing on policing, end police militarization through the Pentagon’s Excess Property Program, urge Congress to pass a bill to end racial profiling by law enforcement, and see an end to ‘jump out’ tactics employed by D.C. police” (para. 6). Although these activists were swiftly escorted off of the property, they continued to peacefully protest once they were outside. In this instance, the message was quite clear: despite their religious differences, these different faith groups believed racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces are harmful to our nation.

In addition to these recent demonstrations, the “Black lives matter!” mantra has even trickled into pop culture circles, which has advanced the discussion surrounding racial discrimination in the U.S. For example, during the 2015 Grammy Awards ceremony, Pharrell Williams sang his popular song “Happy” in a slower, more dissonant manner, which contrasted the song’s typically upbeat timbre. In a separate *Essence* article, Lewis (2015) stated, “Williams and his hoodie-clad backup dancers took a dramatic pause while holding their hands up in the ‘Hands Up, Don’t Shoot,’ stance that has become synonymous with Michael Brown protests” (para. 4). During the ceremony, music artists Beyonce, John Legend, and Common also sang the song “Glory” from director Ava DuVernay’s historical drama *Selma*, a movie about the Selma voting rights marches that took place in 1965. After their last performance, Common assumed the “Hands up, don’t shoot!” gesture as well.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Essentially, the alleged dying action of Brown has, through the rhetorical shaping of the movements that used it, grown to powerfully and effectively encapsulate the conditions of the black American experience. By taking on the body rhetoric of the Ferguson protestors, the Pharrell and Common performances solidified that they were not only associating themselves with the cause, but they were also making the symbolic argument that “black lives matter.” This appeal to authority undoubtedly gave credence to the Ferguson effort and the BLM movement as a whole.

Additionally, some political effects have been achieved from the BLM movement. Rep. Hank Johnson has introduced legislation that would end free transfers of military equipment to local law enforcement agencies. Although the Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act was introduced on March 5, 2014, it has only been passed on to a congressional committee and has yet to be enacted. However, if it does go into effect, it will amend “the program under which the Secretary of Defense is authorized to transfer excess personal property of the Department of Defense (DOD) to federal and state agencies for law enforcement activities” (H.R.5478 - Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act 113th Congress, 2013-2014, para. 1). There are detailed restrictions within the bill, such as the prohibition of different types of armored vehicles that are similar to the ones that were used by police during the Ferguson protests.

While these subaltern counterpublics are waiting for public policies to stem the militarization of police forces, President Barack Obama has taken executive action regarding these issues. Not only did President Obama propose a three-year funding initiative to provide body cams for police departments nationwide to either incriminate or vindicate officers for their actions during conflict situations (Lee, Roth, & Timm, 2014), but he has also stated that he “... will ban the US government from providing certain types of military-style equipment to local

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

police departments and sharply control other weapons and gear provided to law enforcement” (Gambino, 2015, para. 2). Although the Obama administration already forced the Ferguson Police Department to return their armored, military Humvees to the Department of Defense back in August (Ackerman, Siddiqui, & Swaine, 2015), he hopes to continue demilitarizing police forces all across the U.S. by enacting long-term policies.

However, some activists do not believe these initiatives will be enough, especially when relating to police body cams. For example, during the “Justice for All March” in Washington, D.C. on December 13, 2014, Rep. Al Green from Texas mentioned during his speech that he would push a bill through Congress requiring police to wear body cams. However, according to the aforementioned Ballhaus and Brody (2015) article, “. . . several members of the audience suggested that wouldn’t be effective enough. ‘We had a camera,’ some shouted, referring to the fact that the choking death of Mr. Garner was captured on video, and still didn’t offer the grand jury enough evidence to indict the police officer” (para. 11). So while some subaltern counterpublics think body cameras may help incriminate violent police officers, others believe governing systems will continue to operate as per usual, by vindicating their own.

All the same, the fact that a national discussion surrounding issues of racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces is taking place—both in politics and on the streets—is considered a “win” for many within the BLM movement. However, had these protests and events not taken place—and had rioters not executed their own “rhetoric of the streets” despite the non-rationality of incendiarism, vandalism, and looting—perhaps these political discourses never would have taken place and the Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act would not have been written.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Implications for SMR Scholarship & Conclusion

Heretofore, the various rhetorical arguments that are being made both explicitly and symbolically within the Ferguson cause were discussed. First, in Chapter One, the importance of explicating the exigencies of the rhetorical situation surrounding Brown's death story and situating the "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture as the primary instrument in the development of the BLM movement was justified. Next, in Chapter Two, a review of the literature surrounding social movement rhetoric (SMR) was given. Habermas (1962/1989) helped identify the "public sphere" as a social arena where members can gather and discuss issues within their community, and yet, as witnessed in Ferguson, black persons there felt they could not go through the systems that governed them because of their mistrust of the public sphere. Thus, Gramsci and Hoare (1972) helped identify them as a "subaltern" collective, a group isolated from the public sphere and unable to join these discursive processes. Frasier (1992) expanded on Gramsci's work and coined the term "subaltern counterpublic," which are "parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinate social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (p. 123). This helped identify the Ferguson collective, and those disenfranchised by the public sphere, as subaltern counterpublics—oppressed persons who seek to create counterdiscourses in order to redefine their cultural identities.

Additionally, in Chapter Three, the works of McGee (1980) and Lucas (1980) provided arguments for studying social movements as a phenomenal "set of meanings" (p. 233), which played a key role in understanding what Cathcart (1980) called "confrontational rhetoric"—the "dialectical enjoinder in the moral arena" (p. 267-268). Essentially, confrontational rhetoric further justified both the civil and uncivil protests that took place within Ferguson, because of

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Haiman's (1967) arguments for "body rhetoric" as being legitimate modes of first amendment exercises. DeLuca (1996) not only added to Haiman's research regarding the use of bodies as rhetorical instruments as opposed to words, but he and Harold (2005) also discussed the importance of pairing body rhetoric with "image rhetoric." Image rhetoric aided this research in utilizing pictures and videos of vulnerable, corporeal bodies being abused in Ferguson as arguments for social change. In the case of Ferguson, the symbol of the "Hands up, don't shoot" gesture existed to those not physically present at the protests by the meditation of these images events.

In Chapter Four, the lack of organization and leadership within the BLM movement from a social movement rhetoric (SMR) standpoint was studied. Specifically, the influence of a hyper digital age explained how these subaltern counterpublics utilized "image rhetoric" as their primary mode of message dissemination. These grass-roots tactics explained the BLM's leaderless approach and its use of image rhetoric in a digital age. Additionally, a brief overview of the BLM movement helped identify the various subaltern counterpublics, or stakeholders, in order to contextualize the "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture in Chapter Five.

In Chapter Five, it was argued that the "Hands up, don't shoot!" gesture was first a literal act for Brown, then a symbolic stance for demonstrators, and then it was literalized once again in the conflict between police lines and protesters. Thus, the gesture came to represent not only the original dispute between Wilson and Brown, but it also encapsulated the systemic marginalization of black people in Ferguson and the U.S. as a whole. This symbol substituted for movement leadership in an age where visual images can create counter-discourses that more easily transmit and distribute messages than public address or speeches. By examining various videos and images that were posted to social media sites, it was concluded that the persuasive

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

arguments being foregrounded in Ferguson pertained to issues surrounding racial discrimination, police brutality, and the militarization of police forces.

Finally, in Chapter Six, this author extended this research by discussing the social and political implications of Ferguson's "Hands up, don't shoot!" symbol, and later, its developmental shift to the "Black lives matter" mantra as the movement's new identity. Once again, since the BLM cause is being called the new civil rights movement of our age (Day, 2015; Demby, 2014; Ross, 2015), this thesis has added heuristic value to SMR scholarship. Specifically, rather than just study just the "body rhetoric," or "image rhetoric," or "confrontational rhetoric" of Ferguson through isolated perspectives, the author of this research employed all of these lenses in order to fully understand the persuasive arguments being posited in Ferguson.

In summary, the effects of the Ferguson demonstrations are still prominent and continue to shape the "rhetoric of the streets" in various cities, states, and countries. The unifying, phenomenal narratives surrounding Brown and Garner's deaths have created a shared experience that has, and will continue to, generate "a set of meanings". The evolution of the BLM movement will, undoubtedly, continue to illuminate seemingly veiled discursive processes in both political and social arenas. So long as those who hold power in governing systems heed the body rhetoric of these pluralistic, subaltern counterpublics, the non-rationality of "rioters" and "looters" could be mitigated. Should the public sphere fail to do otherwise, the alternative responses from these oppressed persons could produce dire consequences.

References

- #BlueLivesMatter. [USAPatriot]. (2014, November 24). #HandsUpDontShoot? More like #PantsUpDontLoot. #Ferguson #MichaelBrown #MikeBrown. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/USAPatriot/status/537058633763147777>
- Ackerman, S., Siddiqui, S., & Swaine, J. (2015, August 11). Ferguson forced to return Humvees as US military gear still flows to local police. *The Guardian*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.
- Alexandra, D. (2008). Digital storytelling as transformative practice: Critical analysis and creative expression in the representation of migration in Ireland. *Journal of Media Practice*, 9(2), 101-112.
- Anonymous. [YourAnonNews]. (2014, November 24). #Ferguson streamers, send us your links. We need the WHOLE world watching! #MikeBrown #FTP #BlackLivesMatter. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/YourAnonNews/status/537040044960534528>
- Baer, S. (2014, December 7). Chicago pastors lead protests over deaths by police in Ferguson, NYC. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved April 16, 2015.
- Ballhaus, R., & Brody, L. (2014, December 13). Protesters Converge on Washington, Other Cities. *The Wall Street Journal*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.
- Blinder, A., & Pérez-Peña, R. (2015, May 1). 6 Baltimore Police Officers Charged in Freddie Gray Death. *The New York Times*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.
- Bonilla, Y., & Rosa, J. (2015). #Ferguson: Digital protest, hashtag ethnography, and the racial politics of social media in the United States. *American Ethnologist*, 00(0), 4-17.
- Briana J. [Twists_nd_turns]. (2014, August 9). #MikeBrown #JohnCrawford #EricGarner #TrayvonMartin #MichaelDunn #JordanDavis #OscarGrant #KendrickJohnson among so

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

- many more..” [Tweet]. Retrieved from
https://twitter.com/Twists_nd_turns/status/498226663432265728
- Brown, E. (2015, August 10). Timeline: Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, Mo., *USA Today*. Retrieved September 8, 2015.
- Burke, K. (1966). *Language as symbolic action: Essays on life, literature, and method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Carson, D. (Photographer). (2014, August 9). [digital image]. Retrieved from
<http://davidcarsonphotos.com/ferguson-michael-brown/140809-DC-Ferguson-Shot10/>
- Cathcart, R. (1980). Defining social movements by their rhetorical form. *Central States Speech Journal*, 31(4), 267-273.
- Chasmar, J. (2014, November 17). Darren Wilson supporter fundraises enough for ‘Pants up, don’t loot’ billboard in Ferguson. *The Washington Times*. Retrieved November 17, 2015.
- Chasmar, J. (2014, December 1). Florida GOP official suggests blasting Ferguson ‘thugs’ with fire hoses. *The Washington Times*. Retrieved April 9, 2015.
- Chokshi, N. & Larimer, S (2014, September 9). Ferguson-style militarization goes on trial in the Senate. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved April 2, 2015.
- Cox, R., & Foust, C. (2009). “Social Movement Rhetoric.” In Lunsford, A (Ed.), *The sage handbook of rhetorical studies* (pp. 605-626). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications
- Craven, J., & Reilly, R. (2015, August 11). Ferguson Protesters DeRay Mckesson And Johnetta Elzie Arrested. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved October 8, 2015.
- Craven, J., Grim, R., Reilly, R. (2015, August 13). Hillary Clinton And Black Lives Matter Feel Each Other Out. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved August 27, 2015.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

- Crilly, R. (2014, August 18). Supporters rally for police officer who shot dead Michael Brown. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved November 17, 2015.
- Culley, V. et al. (2014, August 10). Businesses damaged following violence over Mike Brown's death. *FOX2now*. Retrieved November 15, 2015.
- Cullors, P., Garza, A., & Tometi, O. (2015). Guiding Principles | Black Lives Matter. Blacklivesmatter.com Retrieved October 13, 2015.
- Cullors, P., Garza, A., & Tometi, O. (2015). Who We Are | Black Lives Matter. Blacklivesmatter.com Retrieved October 6, 2015.
- Danylko, R. (2014, November 26). Protests break out in Cleveland over Tamir Rice shooting, Ferguson grand jury decision. Cleveland.com. Retrieved November 19, 2015.
- Davis, G. et al. (2008). Introduction: Social Movements in Organizations and Markets. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 53(3), Pp. 389-394.
- Day, E. (2015, July 19). #BlackLivesMatter: The birth of a new civil rights movement. *The Guardian*. Retrieved August 28, 2015.
- DeLuca, K. (1999). Unruly Arguments: The body rhetoric of Earth First!, ACT UP, and Queer Nation. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 36(1), 9-21.
- DeLuca, K. (2006). The speed of immanent images: The dangers of reading photographs. In D. S. Hope (Ed.). *Visual communication: perception, rhetoric, and technology* (pp. 77-90). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- DeLuca, K. & Harold, C. (2005). Behold the corpse: Violent images and the case of Emmett Till. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 8(2), 263-286.
- DeLuca, K., & Peeples, J. (2002). From public sphere to public screen: Democracy, activism, and the “violence” of Seattle. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 19(2), 125-151.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

- Demby, G. (2014, December 31). The Birth of a New Civil Rights Movement. *POLITICO Magazine*. Retrieved August 28, 2015.
- Department of Justice (2015). Department of Justice Report Regarding the Criminal Investigation Into the Shooting Death of Michael Brown By Ferguson, Missouri Police Officer Darren Wilson. Justice.gov. Retrieved October 23, 2015.
- Department of Justice (2015). Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department Report. Justice.gov. Retrieved October 23, 2015.
- Diani, M. (2012). Interest organizations in social movements: *An empirical exploration*. *Interest Groups & Advocacy Int Groups Adv*, 1(1), 26-47.
- Diehm, J., & Scheller, A. (2014, December 5). The Chokehold Is Banned By NYPD, But Complaints About Its Use Persist. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved November 22, 2015.
- Edelman, M. (1971). *Politics as symbolic action: Mass arousal and quiescence*. Chicago: Markham Pub.
- Eversley, M., & James, M. (2014, December 4). No charges in NYC chokehold death; federal inquiry launched. *USA Today*. Retrieved April 23, 2015.
- Elzeini, S. [SarahElzeini]. (2014, November 25). Beautiful. War-torn Gaza: Palestinians show solidarity w/ #Ferguson. Globalized world, means no one gets left behind. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/SarahElzeini/status/537212893432127489>
- Fenton, J. (2015, May 19). Mosby's office: Defense attacks in Gray case 'like pinball on machine far past 'TILT'. *The Baltimore Sun*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.
- Fitzsimmons, E. (2014, November 23). 12-Year-Old Boy Dies After Police in Cleveland Shoot Him. *The New York Times*. Retrieved November 19, 2015.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

- Fraser, N. (1992). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Habermas and the public sphere* (pp. 109–142). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- French, A. [Antonio French]. (2014, August 10). “Don't shoot! Don't shoot!” #ferguson. VIDEO: <https://vine.co/v/MVQje76ul0d> [Vine]. Retrieved from <https://vine.co/v/MVQje76ul0d>
- Fuchs, C. (2006). The Self-Organization of Social Movements. *Systemic Practice and Action Research*, 19(1), 129-129.
- Fulton, S. (2014, August 18). Op-Ed; Trayvon Martin’s Mom: ‘If They Refuse to Hear Us, We Will Make Them Feel Us.’ *Time*. Para 7. Retrieved December 7, 2014.
- Gambino, L. (2015, May 18). Obama to ban police military gear that can 'alienate and intimidate'. *The Guardian*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.
- GLOSSRAGS. (2015). “And Counting” Vol. IX: Black Tee. Retrieved November 20, 2015, from <http://www.glossrags.com/shop/and-counting-volix>.
- Goffman, E., & Berger, B. (1986). *Frame analysis : An essay on the organization of experience* (Repr. ed.). Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Gramsci, A., & Hoare, Q. (1972). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International.
- Gynn, J. (2015, March 4). Meet the woman who coined #BlackLivesMatter. *USA Today*. Retrieved August 27, 2015.
- Habermas, J., Lennox, F., & Lennox, S. (1964). The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964). *New German Critique*, 49-55.
- Habermas, J. (1989). *The structural transformation of the public sphere* (T. Burger, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. (Original work published 1962).

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Hahn, V. (2014, November 13). Organizers hold training for non-violent Ferguson protests, plan 'shutdown' of Clayton. Retrieved April 2, 2015.

Haiman, F. (1967). The rhetoric of the streets: Some legal and ethical considerations. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 53, 99–114.

Harding, L., Kingsley, P., & Walker, S. (2014). From Cairo to Moscow: How the world reacted to Ferguson. *The Guardian*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.

Hoft, J. (2015, August 24). Radical Islamist and #BlackLivesMatter Agitator Umar Lee Gets Fired After Latest Dust-Up With Law. *The Gateway Pundit*. Retrieved November 17, 2015.

HomeTeamMonee. [HomeTeamMonee]. (2014, August 10). #Ferguson 'Hands up dont shoot' Take a picture with your hands up to show support #justicemikemike #justiceforbrown #Ferguson #CNN. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/HomeTeamMonee/status/498546411441356800>

HomeTeamMonee. [HomeTeamMonee]. (2014, August 10). "Hands up don't shoot" #justicemikemike #justiceforbrown #JustStl #HomeTeam #Ferguson #CNN. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/HomeTeamMonee/status/498555905172987904>

H.R.5478 - Stop Militarizing Law Enforcement Act 113th Congress (2015). (n.d.). Retrieved December 8, 2014.

Hunn, D. (2014, August 11). Attacked on the job: A Post-Dispatch photographer's tale. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Retrieved November 10, 2015.

Hunn, D., & Bell, K. (2014, September 14). Why was Michael Brown's body left there for hours? *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Retrieved November 6, 2015.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

- James, A. (1980). History and theory in the study of the rhetoric of social movements. *Central States Speech Journal*, 4(31), 274-281.
- Jeanty, D. (2014, October 3). Ted Nugent Slams 'Ferguson Thugs' And The 'Plague Of Black Violence'. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved April 9, 2015.
- Johnson, A. [Ace]. (2014, August 9). This some fucked up shit!!! [Facebook video status update]. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/ace.johnson.9/videos/537487053019061/>
- Kamisar, B. (2015, August 11). Clinton meets Black Lives Matter protesters shut out of event. *The Hill*. Retrieved August 27, 2015.
- Karni, A., Parascandola, R. & McShane, L. (2014, July 19). 2 cops pulled off streets, Staten Island DA looking into man's death after NYPD chokehold. *NY Daily News*. Retrieved November 22, 2015.
- Kevin. [KevinWalsh222]. (2014, August 10). #UPPERS black ppl across the country should stop, put up their hands and say "dont shoot" EVERY TIME THEY EVEN SEE A COP! SHAME THEM!!. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/KevinWalsh222/status/498456655823376384>
- Larry. [theREALLarBear]. (2014, November 24). Just ordered this shirt #HandsUpDontShoot. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/theREALLarBear/status/537117638615658496>.
- Lee, T., Roth, Z., & Timm, J. (2014, December 1). Obama to announce \$75 million for body cameras. *MSNBC*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

- Lee, U. [Umar Lee]. (2014, August 10). *Justice for Mike Brown March Meets Police Evening-Whirl Video* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wgQEE0h3Bic>
- Lee, U. [Umar Lee]. (2014, August 11). *Umar Lee Eyewitness: The Ferguson St. Louis Riot*. [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wa5jSDyRYcc>.
- Lewis, T. (2015, January 22). Demonstrators Stage 'Black Lives Matter' Protest in Capitol Hill Cafeteria. *Essence*. Retrieved April 16, 2015.
- Lewis, T. (2015, February 9). Hands Up, Don't Shoot! Grammy Performers Remind Audience That Black Lives Matter. *Essence*. Retrieved April 16, 2015.
- Louai, E. (2012). Retracing the concept of the subaltern from Gramsci to Spivak: Historical developments and new applications. *African Journal of History and Culture*, 4(1), 4-8.
- Lowery, W. (2015, January 21). 'Black Lives Matter' protesters stage 'die-in' in Capitol Hill cafeteria. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved April 16, 2015.
- Lucas, S. (1980). Coming to terms with movement studies. *Central States Speech Journal*, 31(4), 255-266.
- Malone, S., & Simpson, I. (2015, May 3). Festive Baltimore rallies in hope after police charged. *Reuters*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.
- Matei, S., & Ball-Rokeach, S. (2005). Watts, the 1965 Los Angeles Riots, and the Communicative Construction of the Fear Epicenter of Los Angeles A previous version of this paper was presented at the American Sociological Annual Conference, Chicago, 2001. *Communication Monographs*, 72(3), 301-323.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

- McCormack, S., & Siddiqui, S. (2014, November 25). Here's A Timeline Of The Events In Ferguson Since Michael Brown's Death. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved September 8, 2015.
- McGee, M. (1980). "Social movement": Phenomenon or meaning? *Central States Speech Journal*, 31, 233–244.
- Mejia, P. (2014, December 6). Ferguson, Eric Garner Protests Spread Worldwide. *Newsweek*. Retrieved November 23, 2015.
- Moftah, L. (2014, December 3). Michael Brown A 'Thug': Mike Huckabee Blasts Ferguson Shooting Victim, Protesters. *International Business Times*. Retrieved April 9, 2015.
- Moons, M. (2015, October 11). Politicon: Black Lives Matter Dubs Itself a Global Movement Opposed to 'Gun-Toting White Racists'. *Breitbart News Network*. Retrieved October 12, 2015.
- Muhammad, K. (2014, December 1). The revolution will be live-tweeted: Why #BlackLivesMatter is the new model for civil rights. *The Guardian*. Retrieved November 22, 2015.
- [MYSPACE]. (2014, December 6). *Eric Garner/Michael Brown Protest March "I can't Breathe" in Chicago part 3* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1k384PsxyuQ>
- Noveck, J. (2011, October 11). Occupy Wall Street Protesters Want World To Know They're Just Like Us. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved September 3, 2015.
- Olson, S. (Photographer). (2014, August 11). Outrage In Missouri Town After Police Shooting Of 18-Yr-Old Man [digital image]. Retrieved from

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

<http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/demonstrators-protest-the-killing-of-18-year-old-michael-news-photo/453508554>

Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (1969). *The new rhetoric: A treatise on argumentation* (pp. 116-117). Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

[Premiere ExclusiveVidz]. (2014, August 10). *Raw Footage Of The Ferguson, Missouri Riot/Looting* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EDrfJgJk2aM>.

Prokupecz, S., & Sanchez, R. (2014, December 4). Protests after N.Y. cop not indicted in chokehold death; feds reviewing case. *CNN*. Retrieved November 22, 2015

Revolution News. [NewsRevo]. (2014, December 6). #Ferguson, Melbourne #Australia stands with you. #EricGarner #ICantBreathe <http://youtu.be/PbsPSJ-13e8> via @occupySYDNEY. VIDEO: <http://youtu.be/PbsPSJ-13e8> [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/NewsRevo/status/541140292758687744>

Ross, J. (2015, August 19). How Black Lives Matter moved from a hashtag to a real political force. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved August 28, 2015.

Roth, Z. (2014, August 19). Ferguson's lack of diversity goes way beyond its cops. *MSNBC*. Retrieved October 26, 2015.

Salzman, E. (2014, November 11). *Organizers provide training in non-violent protest in Ferguson* [MSNBC]. New York, NY: National Broadcasting Company.

Sanchez, R. (2014, August 2). Choke hold by cop killed NY man, medical examiner says. *CNN*. Retrieved April 23, 2015.

Savali, K. (2014, December 14). The Fierce Urgency of Now: Why Young Protesters Bum-Rushed the Mic. *The Root*. Retrieved February 19, 2015.

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

- Scher Zagier, A., & Roberson, J. (2014, August 14). Amid criticism, police defend use of tear gas at Ferguson protests. *The Kansas City Star*. Retrieved November 14, 2015.
- Scott, R., & Smith, D. (1969). The rhetoric of confrontation. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 55(1), 1-8.
- Shinkman, P. (2014, August 14). Ferguson and the Militarization of Police. *U.S. News*. Retrieved April 2, 2015.
- Silva, M. [MarcusRSilva]. (2014, November 24). #handsupdontshoot #nyc #unionsquare #ferguson. VIDEO: <https://twitter.com/MarcusRSilva/status/537059939223875584>. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/MarcusRSilva/status/537059939223875584>.
- Simons, H. (1970). Requirements, problems, and strategies: A theory of persuasion for social movements. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 56, 1–11.
- Somodivilla, C. (Photographer). (2014, November 25). Protests Continue In DC One Day After Ferguson Grand Jury Decision [digital image]. Retrieved from <http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/chanting-hands-up-dont-shoot-more-than-one-thousand-news-photo/459589562>
- Spencer, R. (2013, June 22). Prominent American Muslim, Umar Lee, leaves Islam: “We were lied to”. *Jihad Watch*. Retrieved November 17, 2015.
- Stewart, C., Smith, C., & Denton, R. (2012). *Persuasion and social movements* (6th ed.). Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- StrokeGameCrazy. [LuhhNate]. (2014, August 9). #JusticeForMike [Three clapping hands emojis]. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/LuhhNate/status/498214303359438848>

THE BODY RHETORIC OF FERGUSON

Swaine, J. (2014, October 28). Ferguson police brace for new protests by spending thousands on riot gear. *The Guardian*. Retrieved December 7, 2014.

Szoldra, P. (2014, August 12). This Is The Terrifying Result Of The Militarization Of Police. *Business Insider*. Retrieved April 2, 2015.

The Dom [HeGotTweets]. (2014, August 10). #handsupdontshoot #MikeBrown #justice is needed for that young man. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/HeGotTweets/status/498646857401118720>

The Lash Girl [_neuni]. (2014, August 10). #HandsUpDontShoot [Sad emoji] thats sad. [Tweet]. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/_neuni/status/498494486360895488

Turtle Poster. (2014, November 28). *11-28-14 Police and National Guard clash with protesters in Ferguson!* [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3mPt-GpVGKU>

Underwood, M. (2014, August 14). A message from Birmingham to Ferguson: Keep protests non-violent, involve ministers, and communicate. *Al.com*. Retrieved April 2, 2015.

Urban Armed. (2014, August 13). *St Louis County Riot Police Using Tear Gas In Ferguson* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d_TyUuTbuK8

Zarazua, D. [DanielDZarazua]. (2014, November 23). Hands up don't shoot #ferguson #missouri #mikebrown #handsupdontshoot @ Crystal Nails. [Tweet]. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/DanielDZarazua/status/536672184563814400>