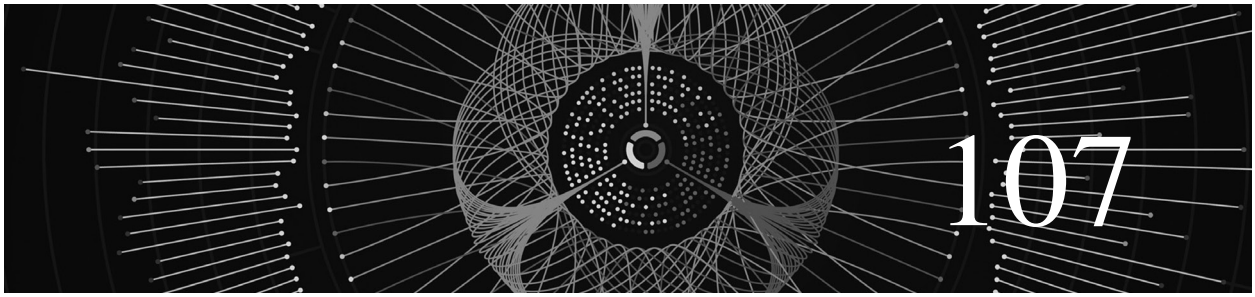

Resisting Youth: From Occupy Through Black Lives Matter to the Trump Resistance

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In 2011, the Arab Uprisings, the Libyan revolution, the UK Riots, the Occupy movements, and other political insurrections cascaded through broadcasting, print, and digital media, seizing people's attention and emotions, and generating complex and multiple effects that may make 2011 as memorable a year in the history of social upheaval as 1968 and perhaps one as significant. Critical pedagogy had its birth in the struggles of the 1960s and global anti-imperialist movements that shaped the thought of Paulo Freire and others involved in disseminating and producing critical pedagogy throughout the world.

In this chapter, we wish to show that a new wave of struggles demonstrates the continued relevance of Freire and critical pedagogy on a global scale, and that global movements of youth provide a base for the growth of critical pedagogy in the future. Indeed, the present moment exhibits the expansion of youth resistance movements paralleling new social movements of the 1960s. Following the year of upheaval in 2011,[1] new movements such as Black Lives Matter emerged, accompanied by Dreamers and Latino youth struggling for basic rights for immigration and to stay in a country to which their parents brought them. These struggles were followed by Bernie Youth during the 2016 Democratic primaries, where an army of youth mobilized behind progressive candidate Bernie Sanders in his struggle against Hillary Clinton for the Democratic Party Presidential nomination.

After the election of Donald Trump in 2016, from the beginning there has been resistance to Trump's presidency beginning with the Women's March on Washington, the largest demonstration in U.S. history, the day after Trump's inauguration and continuing with an ever-growing Trump Resistance movement (Kellner 2017).

Bernie Youth remained active during and after the election and were part of a Trump resistance movement consisting of Black, Brown, White, and a rainbow of youth struggling against the Trump administration, along with highly organized groups of women and men. After a series of mass shootings in the Trump era when the Trump administration

and Republican controlled Congress refused to take any action on rational gun control, in Parkland, Florida, after a school shooting on February 14, 2018, which left 17 dead and 17 wounded, the students of Parkland mobilized a national pro-gun control movement under the hashtag #NeverAgain, a movement inspired in part by the ground broken by the #MeToo movement and the 2018 Women's March. #NeverAgain demanded legislative action to prevent similar shootings and vowed to organize and defeat lawmakers who received political contributions from the National Rifle Association in the upcoming 2018 Congressional elections and beyond. The group rallied on February 17 in Fort Lauderdale and planned to focus on legislative action; rallies in support took place all over the world. The Women's March Network organized a school walkout that took place on March 14, and the Parkland youth and their supporters helped organize demonstrations named 'March for Our Lives' on March 24 which included a march in Washington, DC.

In all these cases, the insurrectionary youth movements used media spectacle and new media to mobilize resisting youth, so we begin with a study of political insurrection as media spectacle in contemporary US politics to provide a context for the study of the rise of multiple youth movements in the past years across gender, race, class, regional, and other divides.

POLITICAL INSURRECTION AS MEDIA SPECTACLE

> In societies dominated by modern conditions of production, life is presented as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*. Everything that was directly lived has receded into a representation. Guy Debord

In the past decades, media spectacle has become a dominant form in which news and information, politics, war, entertainment, sports, and scandals are presented to the public and circulated through the matrix of old and new media and technologies. By 'media spectacles', we are referring to media constructs that present events which disrupt ordinary and habitual flows of information, and which become popular stories that capture the attention of the media and the public, and circulate through broadcasting networks, the Internet, social networking, cell phones, and other new media and communication technologies. In a global networked society, media spectacles proliferate instantaneously, become virtual and viral, and in some cases become tools of sociopolitical transformation, while other media spectacles become mere moments of media hype and tabloidized sensationalism.

Dramatic news and events are presented as media spectacles and dominate certain news cycles. Stories like the 9/11 terror attacks, Hurricane Katrina, and Barack Obama and the 2008 US presidential election were produced and multiplied as media spectacles that were central events of their era. The year 2011, in retrospect, appears as a year of popular uprisings in an era of cascading media spectacle. Following the North African Arab Uprisings, intense political struggles erupted across the Mediterranean in Greece, Italy, and Spain, all of which faced economic crisis and cutbacks of social programs. In February and March 2011, workers and students in Madison, Wisconsin, occupied the state capital building to protest and fight against cutbacks of their rights and livelihood when a rightwing Governor, Scott Walker, signed a bill to curtail union rights and cutback on social programs, including student aid and healthcare; Egyptians declared their solidarity with protesters in Madison and sent them pizzas. For weeks during the summer of 2011, widespread demonstrations also erupted in Israel in which demonstrators, like in Tahrir Square in Cairo, occupied and set up a tent city in Tel Aviv to protest against declining living conditions and government policies in Israel.

In the face of the failures of neoliberalism and a global crisis of capitalism, tremendous economic deficits and debts in these countries, enabled and produced by unregulated neoliberal capitalism, there were calls by established political regimes to solve debt

crises on the backs of working people by cutting back on government spending and social programs that help people rather than corporations. These struggles emerged globally with powerful protest movements against government austerity programs emerging in Spain, Italy, the UK, Greece, and other European countries, intensifying as capitalist economic crises intensified. In many of these struggles youth played an important role, as young people throughout the world were facing diminishing job possibilities and an uncertain future in an era of global economic crisis.

FROM OCCUPY WALL STREET TO OCCUPY EVERYWHERE!

In September 2011, a movement, 'Occupy Wall Street', emerged in New York as a variety of people began protesting the economic system in the United States, corruption on Wall Street, and a diverse range of other issues. The project of 'Occupy Wall Street' was proposed by *Adbusters* magazine on July 13, 2011, and on August 9, Occupy Wall Street supporters in New York held a meeting for 'We, the 99%'. On September 8, a 'We are the 99 Percent Tumblair' was launched and on September 17, Occupy Wall Street protesters began camping out and demonstrating at Zuccotti Park in downtown New York close to Wall Street, setting up a tent city that would be the epicenter of the Occupy movement for some months. Using social media, more and more people joined the demonstrations, which received widespread media attention when police attacked peaceful demonstrators, yielding pictures of young women being pepper-gas sprayed by police. Mainstream media attention and mobilizing through social media brought more people to demonstrate, and by the first weekend in October a massive protest in lower Manhattan led to a march across the Brooklyn Bridge that blocked traffic, yielding over 700 arrests.

The idea caught on and during the weekend of October 1–2: similar 'Occupy' demonstrations broke out in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston, Denver, Washington, and several other cities. On October 5 in New York, major unions joined the protest and thousands marched from Foley Square to the Occupy Wall Street encampment in Zuccotti Park. Celebrities, students and professors, and ordinary citizens joined the protest in support, and daily coverage of the movement appeared in US and global media.

As it has come to own all major political stories of 2011, the *Guardian* was initially the place to go for Occupy Wall Street in the global media, with a Live Blog documenting news and actions related to the movement, and a webpage collecting their key stories with links to other stories at http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/occupy-wall-street (accessed on October 3, 2011). As the Occupy movement came to London, *The Guardian* focused special attention on their local occupation that involved dramatic clashes with the City of London and Catholic Church when occupiers set up a camp outside the venerable St. Paul's Cathedral; church debates over how to deal with the occupation led high-ranking officials to resign.

In the United States, police violence against the movement appeared to intensify its support and Al-Jazeera had telling footage on October 5 of demonstrators videotaping police beating up their colleagues, calling attention to the fact that the participants were using media to organize, to document violence against them, and to circulate their message globally, and that the Occupy Wall Street movement was traversing the globe as a major media spectacle of the moment.

During the weekend of October 8 and 9, large crowds gathered in Occupy sites throughout the country, and it appeared that a new protest movement had emerged in the United States that articulated with the global struggles of 2011. Like the movements in the Arab Uprising, the Occupy movements were using new media and social networking to

both organize their movement and specific actions, as well as to document police and government assaults on the movement – documentation used to recruit more members and to intensify the commitment and resolve of its participants.

Occupy Wall Street was focused against financial capitalism and the corruption of the political class in the United States, just as the 1990s anti-corporate global capitalism movement focused on the WTO, World Bank, IMF, and other instruments of global capital. In Greece, Spain, and Italy, people were demonstrating against these same institutions of global capitalism, as well as their own national governments. Like the Arab Uprisings, the Occupy Wall Street and other anti-corporate movements were outside of the domain of old-fashioned party politics, embraced diversity, and tended to be leaderless. Although after meeting with Egyptian and other militants, some members of Occupy Wall Street indicated that they were going to search for specific issues that could lead to particular actions, so far no specific demands have been made to define the global movement as a whole, while specific actions have been undertaken by different Occupy groups.

Slogans such as 'We Are the 99 percent' and 'Banks Got Bailed Out, We Got Sold Out', and critiques of economic inequality and greed were becoming characteristic of the movement, which was producing a great diversity of slogans, including humorous ones like 'We Demand Sweeping, Unspecified Change!' and 'One Day the Poor Will Have Nothing to Eat but the Rich'. Momentum continued, the protests spread globally, and by mid-October there were over 1,000 Occupy sites in over 80 countries. Activism in these movements was taking place simultaneously online and in the streets, and activists circulated information, planned events, and mobilized for action. Indeed, by mid-October there were over 1.2 million followers of the Occupy Wall Street movement on Facebook and hundreds of pages all over the world; during the global protests on October 15–16, the overall volume of Twitter doubled, as an analysis from Trendrr indicated; see http://blog.trendrr.com/2011/10/21/trendrr-occupy-wall-street-press-recap/ (accessed October 22, 2011).

Interestingly, many of the tactics and goals of the Occupy movement replicated the politics and vision of Guy Debord and the Situationist International,[2] creating situations, demonstrating outside of organized party or movement structures, using slogans and art of different forms to raise consciousness and inspire revolutionary movements; 2011 was looking more and more like 1968, with eruptions of struggle, police and establishment brutality, and renewed protest and actions. Yet, new media and social networking were creating novel terrains of struggle. In using new media and social networking, the Occupy movements had the same decentralized structure as the computer networks they were using, and the movement as a whole had a virtual dimension as well as people organized in specific spaces. Further, even if people were not occupying the spaces where the organizing and living were taking place they could participate virtually and be mobilized to participate in specific actions.

While the rightwing Tea Party movement, which had helped the Republicans win Congress in 2010 and block all and any progressive and even mildly ameliorative initiatives, were hierarchical and top-down, the Occupy movements were genuinely bottom-up. The Occupy movement exemplified Deweyean strong democracy, was highly participatory, and was experimental in its ideas, tactics, and strategies. While the Tea Party was financed by rich rightwing Republicans like the Koch brothers and had a national television network in Fox News to promote their goals and fortify their troops, the Occupy movements produced their own media, including their own website, news media, videos, and Livestream that broadcasted live action taking place in Occupy sites (see the Occupy Wall Street website at http://occupywallst.org/ [accessed on January 3, 2012] and

Livestream at http://www.livestream.com/occupywallstnyc [accessed on January 3, 2012]).

As Michael Greenberg points out, by the middle of October, polls indicated that more than half of Americans polled had a positive view of the movement:

> By mid-October, according to a Brookings Institution survey, 54 percent of Americans held a favorable view of the protest. Suddenly, or so it seemed, there was less talk of budget cuts that would limit, if not dismantle, social insurance programs such as Medicare while extending Bush's tax cuts, and more talk about how to deal with economic inequality.
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> Several events pointed to an altered political climate. In New York, Governor Andrew Cuomo partially reversed his opposition to extending the so-called millionaire's tax, pushing through legislation for a higher tax rate for the wealthiest New Yorkers. Bank of America, Wells Fargo, and JPMorgan Chase abandoned plans to charge a monthly fee to use their debit cards after an outpouring of indignation from customers – a minor event in the larger picture, but indicative of the public's rapidly shifting mood.
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> More significantly, in Ohio 61 percent of voters rejected a referendum favored by Republican Governor John Kasich that would have severely restricted the collective bargaining rights of 360,000 public employees. And in Osawatomie, Kansas, on December 6, President Obama gave a speech that echoed almost verbatim what I had been hearing from protesters in Zuccotti Park. Obama deplored 'the breathtaking greed of a few' and called the aim to 'restore fairness' the 'defining issue of our time'.[3]

By the end of October establishment violence against the Occupy movements intensified, and on October 25 police brutality was used to forcefully remove Occupy Oakland militants, causing a concussion and hospitalization of Scott Olsen, a young Iraq war veteran. Olsen became a cause célèbre and the Oakland movement organized a general strike on November 2 that closed down much of the inner city and first slowed down and then shut down the Port of Oakland, the country's fifth biggest, as thousands of marchers descended on the Port. The same day in New York, demonstrators descended on Lehman Brothers, where George W. Bush was allegedly meeting, shouting 'Arrest George Bush' and calling for a citizen's arrest that apparently kept Bush imprisoned in the Lehman Brothers building until he was spirited out in a limousine after the demonstrators left for other destinations. Henceforth, demonstrators could be assembled in flash mobs that could occupy any site at a moment's notice and submit corrupt businessmen, politicians, and others to the wrath of the people.

The Occupy movements had generated a new political discourse that focused on economic inequalities, greed, the corruption of Wall Street and financial institutions, and the need for people to organize and demonstrate to force government to meet their needs. As evidence that the Occupy movements were constituting a threat to the established system of power, in November 2011 police and city governments closed down some of the biggest Occupy tent sites, sometimes violently, yet people continued to rally to the cause of the movement and demonstrations, occupations, and actions continued through the year. The brutality pictured in the closing down of the Occupy Wall Street site in December in Z park presented images of a fascist police state as images documented police beating up demonstrators, tearing apart and bulldozing their camp-sites, and throwing their possessions in garbage trucks, including the Occupy Wall Street library, which that had collected over 5,000 books.

One of the main features of the Occupy movements was having media on hand to document their activities and those of police brutality, and the spectacle of police throughout the United States brutally tearing down Occupy camps made the United States look like the thug regimes overthrown in the Arab Uprisings. The documentation accumulated of brutal police power provided material to radicalize new members and harden the resolve of the experienced ones, which made possible a continuation of radical Occupy movements in the future.

After the political establishment shut down some of the major Occupy sites, like Occupy Wall Street, members began taking specific actions, transforming public spaces into 'temporary autonomous zones' occupied temporarily by flash mobs of protesters. As Michael Greenberg indicates:

> On December 1, for instance, protesters gathered in front of Lincoln Center to await the end of the final performance of Philip Glass's opera *Satyagraha*, about the life of Gandhi. The idea was to dramatize their affinity with Gandhi's method of nonviolent resistance. The following day, occupiers launched twenty-four hours of dance, 'radical theater,' and 'creative resistance' near Times Square meant 'to educate tourists and theatergoers about OWS' and to demonstrate 'a more colorful image of what our streets could look like.' December 6 was the day to 'reclaim' selected bank-owned vacant homes in poor neighborhoods, reinstalling a handful of willing families that had been foreclosed upon and evicted. On December 12 there was a march on Goldman Sachs's offices in Manhattan. On December 16 there was a rally at Fort Meade in Maryland where Private Bradley Manning, a hero to the movement, was standing trial for allegedly releasing classified government documents to WikiLeaks. The next day, more rallies were scheduled in New York and elsewhere, this time for immigrants' rights. And so on.[4]

On December 16, the third month anniversary of the Occupy Wall Street movement happened to correspond to the first anniversary of the death of the vegetable vendor Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia, who had set himself on fire and burned to death in protest, a media spectacle that was frequently taken as the spark that ignited the Arab Uprisings (Kellner, 2012). As argued earlier, the Occupy Wall Street and Occupy Everywhere! movements were inspired by the Arab Spring, creating an American Autumn and Winter that guaranteed that 2011 will long be remembered in history books and popular memory as a time in which media spectacle took the forms of political resistance and insurrection.

As 2012 began to unfold, Occupy movements continued to undertake actions throughout the United States and the globe. In the United States and other countries, the movement morphed from being primarily located in tent cities and occupations of specific sites to groups focused on particular actions. The movement's base was expanding to include individuals who had not participated in the first wave of occupations and to make coalitions with varying groups for targeted actions.

Occupy groups in the United States also began focusing on politicians, heckling candidates for the Republican presidential nomination in the primaries, which began in earnest in early 2012. Those affiliated with the Occupy movement demonstrated against various and sundry politicians of both parties and carried out protest actions at various politicians' offices in Washington or locally. How the Occupy movements would participate in the 2012 presidential election was of interest to both parties and those participating in or sympathizing with the movement. Indeed, it was the very nature of the multiplicity and complexity of the Occupy movements that they could not fit into standard political models and were thus spontaneous and unpredictable in nature.

The Occupy groups and their allies could point to specific victories in early 2012 to which their movements had partially contributed. On January 18, 2012, major Internet industry websites went black in a day of protest against a proposed Congressional bill Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA) and a Protect Identity Property Act, which opponents claim could lead to online censorship and force some websites out of business. By midday, Google officials asserted that 4.5 million people had signed its petition against SOPA,[5] while Wikipedia claimed that 5.5 million people had accessed the site and clinked on a link that would put them in touch with local legislators to register their opposition to the act. Evidently, the action had an impact as politicians who had been for the bill suddenly indicated opposition to it, and the bill's sponsors withdrew it for further consideration.

On January 18, 2012, the Obama administration announced it would temporarily deny a permit for the building of the highly toxic Keystone XL Pipeline, which would have transported extremely dirty oil from a vast oil deposit in Alberta, Canada, to refineries on the Texas Gulf Coast.[6] And on the same day, activists were celebrating in Wisconsin having received over one million signatories to have a recall election to potentially unseat Governor Scott Walker, who was financed with ultra-right wing Tea Party movement money and had attacked union bargaining rights in a highly publicized affair that led union workers, students, activists, and their supporters to occupy the Madison Wisconsin state capital in protest in May 2011,[7] linking Occupy movements in the Middle East with the United States and anticipating the Occupy Wall Street movement by some months.

Hence, new politics and subjectivities were emerging from specific sites of the Occupy movement, which are global in inspiration, tactics, and connections, leading to a new era of global, national, and local political struggle with unforeseeable outcomes in the Time of the Spectacle. These movements were inspired by and connected in certain ways with the North African Arab Uprisings that began an intense year of struggle throughout the world in 2011. History and the future are open and depend on the will, imagination, and resolve of the people to create their own lives and futures rather than being passive objects of their masters. Media spectacle is a contested terrain upon which the key political struggles of the day are fought and 2011 was a year rich in examples of media spectacle as insurrection.

BLACK LIVES MATTER

Race and racism have been a highly contested feature of US life throughout US history, and the color line between Black and White has been a defining feature of life in the United States. Since the 1960s Civil Rights movement, racism has been sharply opposed, and resistance and movements opposing racism have been a recurrent phenomenon in US politics. In 2013, after the acquittal of George Zimmerman, who admittedly shot a young unarmed Black man named Trayvon Martin, activist Alicia Garza turned to Twitter to express her devastation at the verdict. She wrote, 'Our Lives Matter, Black Lives Matter', which her friend and fellow organizer, Patrisse Cullors, quickly adapted into #BlackLivesMatter. The hashtag is commonly believed to have sparked a movement (NPR Staff, 'The #BlackLivesMatter Movement', 2016). While the hashtag, and subsequently the official Black Lives Matter network, provided a visible slogan and cause around which groups could coalesce and those new to activism could identify, the movement itself is built on a broader foundation established by those working for social justice and against anti-Black racism in intersecting areas of American life.

The Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) is 'a call to action and a response to the virulent anti-Black racism that permeates our society' (Black Lives Matter, 'About the Black Lives Matter Network', 2016). The call to action, the organization explains, was intended to move 'beyond the narrow nationalism that can be prevalent within Black communities… keeping straight cis Black men in the front of the movement while our sisters, queer and trans and disabled folk take up roles in the background or not at all'. In many ways, the rhetoric of BLM is consistent with Deborah Atwater's observation that, regardless of the historical era in which they live, African American women's rhetoric tends to display a 'driving need to establish personhood, dignity, and respect not only for themselves, but also for the men and children that they [are] close to… in a society that [is] often hostile and degrading to them' (2009: 1).

Unlike previous movements for racial equality, such as the Civil Rights movement, which conceived of a 'struggle for survival

[that] superseded and supersedes any preoccupation with gendered relations' (Robnett, 1997: 4), BLM was conceived with gender, intersectionality, and various identity differences in mind. However, in its first two years, mainstream news coverage of the movement focused most heavily on the movement's actions concerning male victims. In 2015, coverage of the movement's three female founders as well as adaptations of the movement such as #SayHerName and #BlackWomenMatter called attention to the ways that women and other non-cis male groups existed primarily in the background of major media coverage.

This section focuses on the Black Lives Matter movement and their attempt to advance an intersectional vision of liberatory politics while simultaneously centering Blackness in their struggle. We examine the public rhetoric of BLM Los Angeles, as well as national news coverage, social media, and some BLM leaders' public speaking events, asking: how can this movement address interlocking forms of oppression in a way that does not privilege one oppressed identity group over the others? Our inquiry is grounded in the scholarship concerning African American women's social movement rhetoric and Nancy Fraser's (2000) call to 'rethink recognition' by considering the ways that political claims-making rooted in calls for recognition of certain identity categories may have unintended consequences for the advancement of aggrieved communities, most importantly by obscuring calls for redistribution of resources. We argue that BLM's approach to activism has potential to align with Fraser's status model of recognition politics, but is simultaneously at risk of being, or being portrayed as, a simple identity model of recognition politics.

Black women have played major parts in the struggle for racial equality in the United States, even when their participation is ignored by the cameras. In the civil rights movement, women served as organizers, bridge leaders, protesters, and critical support for the movement. Yet, their involvement was rarely observed because, historian Steven F. Lawson argues, journalists focused their attention on male spokespersons, such as Dr King, who presented the movement's demands to the nation, rendering women nearly invisible (2003: 266). Similarly, Belinda Robnett argues that prominent historical records of women's history in the United States focus heavily on White women's achievements and 'filter out the accomplishments of Black women' (1997: 36). Both of these moves demonstrate a propensity to separate racial oppression from oppression based on sex, forcing Black women to ally themselves with other members of their race or their sex, but not both. When that happens, Robnett claims, race generally takes precedence.

Rhetorical tensions emerged as BLM attempted to reconcile the tensions in prior movements around the multidimensional oppression experienced by Black people who are also women, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or intersex. To fully appreciate the espoused views of the BLM network, observers must acknowledge its far more complex history than the mainstream media conveys. BLM evolves out of not only the Civil Rights Movement but also movements for human rights, PanAfricanism, women's rights, LGBTQI rights, and movements for ending mass incarceration, among others. As such, BLM activists distinctively attempt to bring together multiple expressions and communities of Blackness into a common movement for political, economic, civil, social, and cultural rights. At times and in certain contexts, BLM activists are connecting these justice heritages more effectively than others.

Since abolitionist movements led by activists such as David Walker and Maria Stewart in the nineteenth century, human rights movements in the United States often centered around Blackness and liberation for people of African descent. Indeed, the particular methods by which systems and structures oppressed Black people continued and, at times, continue as the central focus through

which civil rights activists organized movements. As a result, the canonized rhetorics of the Civil Rights Movement privilege voices such as Martin Luther King, Jr., while marginalizing alternative perspectives that challenge the authority of mainstream rhetorical traditions. As Holmes juxtaposes the rhetoric of Ralph David Abernathy to that of Martin Luther King, Jr. as counterhegemonic communication not unlike the Underground Railroad, we contend that BLM's rhetors broadcast a formerly hidden 'hush harbor rhetoric', which Vorris Nunley defines as a poignant and productive form of unapologetic argumentation that occurs in safe places for free expression among African American speakers.

As hush harbor rhetoric, BLM uses nonstandard rhetorical strategies to make Blackness not only an intersectional social location, but also a contested space for recognition of multifaceted Black human experiences. BLM's 'hush harbors' provide activists spaces for assemblies where they are free to speak their minds without fear of reproach by conventional guards of acceptability. For instance, BLM local and national convenings often occur in scarcely known irreligious community centers located in the heart of impoverished communities. At times, the organizers appear to use these spaces in similar ways as activists of prior generations used mass meetings and secretive hush harbor worship spaces as inimitable forums for variegated rhetorical practices for Black people to declare freely the unvarnished truth by and for themselves (Holmes, 2013). Much like Kirt Wilson's (2006) description of the Holt Street mass meeting in 1955, BLM meetings are part political rally, part religious revival, and part business meeting. A caveat, however, is that the religion of BLM is Blackness, and the religious revival looks remarkably humanistic, non-sectarian, and multifaith.

BLM's rhetoric attempts to make Blackness operate as an umbrella wherein all Black people's issues may be addressed. Ransby (2015) explains BLM as not only a racial justice movement, but also an economic, social, and political justice movement:

> Black Lives Matter, which includes nearly a dozen black-led organizations, is as much an example of a U.S.-based class struggle as Occupy Wall Street was. To focus on the black poor is not to ignore others who also endure economic inequality. In speech after speech, the leading voices of this movement have insisted that if we liberate the black poor, or if the black poor liberate themselves, we will uplift everybody else who's been kept down. In other words, any serious analysis of racial capitalism must recognize that to seek liberation for black people is also to destabilize inequality in the United States at large, and to create new possibilities for all who live here. (31)

In so doing, recent reports suggest that communities are conferring to BLM activists greater cultural and political authority than of the African American preacher – particularly with audiences condemned by or estranged from the traditional Black church. Black LGBTQI activists particularly are telling *their stories* and attempting to advance a holistic, contemporary struggle for justice as BLM organizers and demonstrators. In the tradition of African American griots who teach about Black culture outside of mainstream venues as storytellers and guardians of truth, one might call the BLM activist a pedagogue of practical wisdom, as Nunley (2011) uses the term.

For BLM, combatting state sanctioned violence includes not only violence committed by the police, but also violence against Black people that is endorsed by the state through a failure to convict. For instance, in the murder of Trayvon Martin, Zimmerman was *only* a police officer in his own mind. But, according to BLM organizers, his actions constitute state sanctioned violence because his acquittal for an admitted murder of an unarmed, innocent Black youth amounts to an endorsement of his actions. In this regard, BLM is not merely calling for recognition. They are making what Fraser (2000) identifies as a status challenge to redistribute political, economic, and social power. BLM activists are challenging

the media, political candidates, leftists, and legislatures to address their concerns on all issues, not just supposedly 'Black issues'. For example, BLM members interrupted the Netroots conference and Bernie Sanders' August 2015 rally in Seattle to demand a stronger position against structural racism. They argued, 'The environmental justice movement simply cannot have speaker lineups with no Black voices. Organizations that work on issues affecting people of color must also interrogate anti-Blackness within their ranks' (Ransby, 2015). In the words of a popular BLMLA chant, 'Decisions about us without us are not for us'.

One cannot fully understand BLM without also understanding their womanist/feminist heritage. Ransby (2015) situates BLM's leader-full model in relation to Ella Baker's group-centered leadership style of organizing. As such, it moves away from providing one centralized voice through which the demands of many are presented and instead encourages everyone to lead where they are and prioritize the struggles of their local community in the hope of bettering the global community. This model has made space for many female and young activists to emerge as leaders where they, in the past, may have worked primarily in the background. In turn, womanist and Black feminist paradigms that emphasize the interplay between individual testimony as community exigency link BLM to a history that includes grassroots human rights organizing via alliances such as Incite, a coalition of women of color against violence; SisterSong, women of color for reproductive and sexual freedom; and the Black Panther Party for Self Defense's 10 point program.

Further, the young women who organize the founding chapters of BLM are intentional to connect the struggles of communities marginalized within the Black establishment. Although meetings have educational and informative purposes, these grassroots orators also forge pragmatic connections with their audiences by communicating about shared experiences of pain, dehumanization, and subjugation. With riveting emotional appeals, BLM meetings occasionally have the feeling of a support group as activists create cathartic communal engagement for participants to discuss experiences of not only racism, but also sexism, heterosexism, ableism, transphobia, and ageism as mechanisms for mobilizing membership and protests.

Moreover, BLM organizers draw upon a rich rhetorical history of questioning and challenging theological, scientific, economic, and sociopolitical arguments in the traditions of Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McCloud Bethune, Fannie Lou Hamer, Audre Lorde, and other womanists and Black feminists. Increasingly, mothers (and some fathers) of victims killed by police are leading local, national, and global efforts. BLM also is cross-pollinating its rhetoric with that of groups like the African American Policy Forum and the Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies to move away from a focus on only Black male victims and toward the #SayHerName Movement that responds to calls for attention to police violence against Black women by offering a resource to help ensure that Black women's stories are integrated into demands for justice.

Coordinated actions such as these suggest that BLM is engaged in the status model of recognition politics, wherein redistribution of economic, social, and political power is inseparable from recognition. Here, like the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s, BLM articulates claims for recognition as a method for establishing themselves as full partners in social life who are able to interact with others as a peer. As with Fraser, BLM activists engage in internal and external arguments about the ways in which misrecognition functions as a form of institutionalized subordination that violates justice. Their demands for recognition often aim at overcoming subordination by deinstitutionalizing patterns of cultural devaluation that impede parity of participation.

For example, Melina Abdullah, an organizer of BLM's first local chapter in Los Angeles, articulates their goals in a PBS interview, as:

1 Firing the LAPD Chief because his is the most murderous police department in the country.
2 Instituting a reparations policy for families brutalized by police.
3 Establishing accessible police commissions where community members have parity in access, representation, and authority in adjudicating police conduct.

Each city and chapter has their own list of tangible demands, but most have similar elements. In fact, Chicago's BLM chapter has already achieved some of these objectives and many observers credit Los Angeles' BLM chapter for the LAPD chief's early retirement in 2018. Furthermore, on the national level, BLM organizers in 2016 called for presidential candidates to participate in a debate on the topic of 'Black Lives Matter' in relation to state violence, healthcare, wage parity, poverty, 'house-lessness', and other social issues. Although that did not occur, the presidential candidates responded with official statements and addressed related topics during general debates. Since the election of Donald J. Trump in 2016, an anti-Trump resistance movement has emerged consisting of people of color and a broad spectrum of groups and individuals organized against the Trump presidency.

ELECTION 2016 AND THE RESISTANCE

Many of the groups, from Occupy to Black Lives Matter, Dreamers and Latino Youth, and Bernie Youth, along with new sets of youth from every ethnic group and part of the country, have been coalescing into an anti-Trump Resistance. The presidency of Donald Trump has mobilized resistance from all sectors of youth.

The resistance began the day after the election, when vigils and protests flared up across the country as opponents of President-elect Trump displayed their anger and rage over the election results, highlighting continued division in the country and that the election was not over and the country was far from united. The Trumps got to view the protests up front and close, as thousands of protesters marched up Fifth Avenue toward the Trump Tower in midtown Manhattan, which was surrounded by giant garbage trucks filled with sand, armed police, and security guards. A crowd of thousands gathered in front of the president-elect's building with angry demonstrators chanting: 'Fuck your tower! Fuck your wall!' Several blocks of Fifth Avenue were blocked off from traffic, making New York appear a city under siege.

Elsewhere in the country, protesters held marches and sit-ins from sea to shining sea on election night and in some cases for days thereafter. College students gathered in spontaneous marches and asked university leaders to schedule meetings to assure students of color, Muslims, women, and others denigrated and threatened by Trump and his followers that they would be protected. Following Trump's victory speech, more than 2,000 students at the University of California, Los Angeles, gathered on campus and marched through the streets of Westwood. There were similar protests at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles, with rivals UCLA and USC united in their horror of Trump. Other campuses in the University of California system in Berkeley, San Diego, and Santa Barbara held protests, as did other universities throughout the country.

High school students also stormed out of class and held raucous anti-Trump demonstrations. Students walked out of classes in Arizona on election day to protest Trump and notorious Sheriff Joe Arpaio, infamous for his aggressive anti-immigrant policies and draconian treatment of prisoners (Arpaio lost his bid for re-election, was convicted of criminal contempt of court, and was pardoned by President Donald Trump on August

25, 2017). On Facebook, a page titled 'Not My President' called for protesters to gather on Inauguration Day, January 20, 2017, in the nation's capital.

> We refuse to recognize Donald Trump as the president of the United States, and refuse to take orders from a government that puts bigots into power. We have to make it clear to the public that we did not choose this man for office and that we won't stand for his ideologies.

Thousands of anti-Trump protesters took to the streets all over the country to protest on election night, and the day after the election there were major demonstrations, with protesters marching and chanting 'not my president', while shutting down roadways, freeways, and downtown areas in major cities like Los Angeles, New York, Washington DC, and Philadelphia. Other demonstrations, fueled by social media, took place in Seattle, Portland, Oakland, Denver, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Portland, Oakland, and dozens more US cities. While the demonstrators were mostly peaceful, there were effigies of Trump burned, a piñata of Trump beaten to shreds close to Trump Tower, small fires in the street and broken windows in some cities that featured clashes between demonstrators and police. Often thought of as 'The King of Nasty Tweets', he was not happy with the demos and protests, writing:

> Donald J. Trump
>
> @realDonaldTrump
>
> Just had a very open and successful presidential election. Now professional protesters, incited by the media, are protesting. Very unfair!
>
> 6:19 PM – 10 Nov 2016

The protesters were not 'professional', but just ordinary people, and they were not 'incited by the media', but were protesting Trump's campaign and the horrors of a Trump administration. Protests were planned in the weekend following Trump's election and a major anti-Trump movement seemed to be in the making, as the political establishment and media which he had mocked was normalizing Trump, as if it was business as usual, and just another transition in the hallowed history of American democracy which Trump had mocked as rigged. Against media and establishment forces normalizing Trump, there were forces all over the country protesting and insisting: 'He's not my president!' On Saturday, November 12, 2016, there was a large demonstration of at least 10,000 marching through downtown Los Angeles, while on the other side of the country thousands marched down Fifth Avenue, surrounding once again Trump Tower, as Trump and his associates tried to prepare their transition team and government, for which insiders said they were woefully underprepared (apparently Trump is superstitious and did not want to talk about who would be in his administration until after the election).

Into the third year of the Trump administration as we concluded this study, resistance against Trump and his agenda continues to grow, although Trump maintained the support of his base. After the Parkland, Florida, school shooting on February 14, 2018, at the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, youth began speaking out against guns and the NRA, calling for gun reform, and carried out a march on Washington and demonstrations all over the country some weeks afterwards. Young people are stepping up voter registration in high schools and organized to support progressive candidates in the 2018 midterm US elections, in which Democrats gained decisive control of Congress, giving them control of investigatory committees and of a possible impeachment which is unfolding as we write.

Hence, youth have been on the march in a new cycle of revolt from the North African Arab Uprisings through the Occupy movement, Black Lives Matter, Dreamers, and high school students struggling for rational gun control. Ultimately, these young activists are calling for Congress' and global authorities' receptivity to students, teachers, and communities' demands for gun safety, protection against hate crimes, sexual aggression,

anti-Black racism, and most importantly, to ensure human rights and dignity for all. The spirit of Freire and critical pedagogy is alive and well in today's youth and the current historical moment could be read as a parallel to the global struggles of youth in the 1960s in which critical pedagogy was born.

Notes

1 On the struggles and movements that erupted in 2011, see Douglas Kellner's *Media Spectacle and Insurrection, 2011: From the Arab Uprisings to Occupy Everywhere*. London and New York: Continuum/Bloomsbury, 2012.

2 Guy Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967) was published in translation in a pirate edition by Black and Red (Detroit) in 1970 and reprinted many times; another edition appeared in 1983 and a new translation in 1994. The key texts of the Situationists and many interesting commentaries are found on various websites, producing a curious afterlife for Situationist ideas and practices. For further discussion of Debord and the Situationists, see Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, *The Postmodern Turn*. New York and London: Guilford Press and Routledge, 1997, chapter 3. On Debord's life and work see also Vincent Kaufmann, *Guy Debord. Revolution in the Service of Poetry*. Minneapolis Mn: University of Minnesota Press, 2006. On the complex and highly contested reception and effects of Guy Debord and the Situationist International, see Greil Marcus, *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990; Tom McDonough, editor, (2002) *Guy Debord and the Situationist International*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002; and McKenzie Wark, *50 Years of Recuperation of the Situationist International*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008.

3 See Michael Greenberg, 'What Future for Occupy Wall Street?' *New York Review of Books*, February 9, 2012, at http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/feb/09/what-future-occupy-wall-street/?pagination=false&printpage=true#fn-1 (accessed on February 10, 2012).

4 See Michael Greenberg, 'What Future for Occupy Wall Street?' *New York Review of Books*, February 9, 2012, at http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/feb/09/what-future-occupy-wall-street/?pagination=false&printpage=true#fn-1 (accessed on February 10, 2012).

5 There are a variety of online petitions against SOFA including the ACLU's 'Sign the Pledge: I Stand With the ACLU in Fighting SOPA' at https://secure.aclu.org/site/SPageServer?pagename=sem_sopa&s_subsrc=SEM_Google_Search-SOPA_SOPA_sopa%20bill_p_10385864662 (accessed on February 9, 2012) and Broadband for America's 'Hands off the Internet' at http://www.broadbandforamerica.com/handsofftheinternet?gclid=COqHzpuska4CFQN8hwod0GBVew (accessed on February 9, 2012).

6 There are multiple websites devoted to blocking the construction of the Keystone XL pipeline, such as the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC)'s site 'Stopping the Keystone XL Pipeline' at http://www.nrdc.org/energy/keystone-pipeline/?gclid=CMX6o7Gtka4CFQVahwodkAwofQ (accessed on January 9, 2012).

7 There are many Recall Scott Walker sites, such as 'United Wisconsin to Recall Walker' at http://www.unitedwisconsin.com/onedaylonger (accessed on February 8, 2012).

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