Negotiating Treacherous Terrain: Disciplinary Power, Security Cultures, and Affective Ties in a Local Antiwar Movement

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After September 11, 2001, the calls of U.S. government officials for greater security measures and retribution for the lives and resources lost during the attacks elicited a range of responses within the United States. Although many people were angry and fearful of additional attacks, others were frustrated with the retaliatory and often racist rhetoric calling for war and for greater domestic surveillance, and dismayed that the ongoing neoliberal reduction of public space had found a new justification.[1] Many from this latter constituency took to the streets in protest of the invasion of Afghanistan, the dwindling civil liberties at home, the proposed (and later realized) military offensive against Iraq, and the disaster capitalism accompanying these invasions. In the United States and worldwide, the demonstrations reached their peak immediately before and just after the United States invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003. Much of the energy of the U.S. antiwar movement dissipated after the 2004 presidential election, which reinstated the administration that led the country into an always contested and increasingly unpopular war.

This article considers the antiwar movement in Santa Barbara, California, initiated during the buildup to the invasion and occupation of Iraq as a case study for exploring the use and creation of public spaces by antiwar activists, the

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different visions of activism and social life within the movement, and the impact of relationships to institutional power on the interactions between individuals and dissenting groups. This analysis occurs at the edges of dominant studies of social movements, as it addresses public space and the geographical dimensions of social activism.[2] Emphasizing space has numerous merits, including the possibility to focus on the interactions among different groups of people during public demonstrations. Although we recognize that most, if not all, public demonstrations, including those discussed in this article, are part of broader social movements, we emphasize spatial and power dynamics rather than political opportunities, collective identities, or resource mobilization in order to address aspects of social movements that are often undertheorized in existing literature.[3]

In particular, we discuss the utilization, theorization, and politicization of space by diverse constituencies in Santa Barbara protests against the latest U.S.–Iraq war. Moving beyond the usual state-versus-dissenter binary, this article deconstructs the unitary categories of "citizen" and "dissenter," discussing the ways in which different groups make distinct claims and have diverse imaginaries concerning the use of space. At the same time that public protest has been incorporated into the liberal state and routinized through the permit process, it has also become less effective at accommodating more radical positions against the war and the economic and security crises brought on by corporate globalization (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2005). Additionally, the demographics and history of Santa Barbara, including the presence of a large research university, largely predetermined the level of cross-racial and cross-class political collaboration that took place. Therefore, we use Jesse Mumm's (2008) concept of "intimate segregation" to highlight the ways in which marginalized people (particularly people organizing via queer, racial and ethnic, gender, and feminist identities), through creative organizing strategies and reappropriation of public space, articulate and enact forms of dissident citizenship distinct from more mainstream, and often explicitly patriotic, forms of protest. Mumm emphasizes how people occupy space differently and come to understand their place. In his example of gentrification in a Chicago neighborhood, "white people begin to internalize [segregation] as they learn to police local spaces, social life, and neighborhood narratives in order to maximize their privilege" (*Ibid.*: 18). A similar process, which we call intramovement disciplining, occurred in the recent Santa Barbara antiwar movement. As we explain below, the people able to exercise disciplinary power were part of or allied with a veterans' organization articulating a "peace is patriotic" framework for dissent. Their predominantly white and male identity enabled them to work closely with law enforcement and serve as representatives of state power when official state representatives were absent.

Examining divergent organizing strategies reveals the importance of security cultures and affective ties within collectives. The term "security culture" refers to the methods an organization uses to limit who has access to information about the organization's members and activities (Robinson, 2008: 225–252). Although all

groups, dissenting or otherwise, have ways of managing membership and access to data, security cultures are most often discussed in relation to groups whose activities are outside legal boundaries or whose ideology is contrary to dominant ideologies. Due to state surveillance and infiltration of dissident groups in the 1960s and 1970s, many organizations developed strategies for limiting membership and keeping information private.

The second concept, the notion of affective ties, denotes feelings of affinity within organizations, sometimes referred to as collective identity or solidarity. Just as each of these terms points to a slightly different type of bond between group members (relationship between self and group versus connections between people despite differences), the concept of affective ties points to the purposeful acknowledgement and cultivation of care between collective members. What Ann Cvetkovich (2003: 157) calls the "affective life of politics" emphasizes the intimate connection between the supposedly private experience of emotions and the public life of organizing.

The three groups we focus on—a veterans' organization (Veterans for Peace, or "Veterans"), a network of queer-identified graduate students (Queergrad), and a collective modeled on global justice organizing (ARISE)—cultivated activist cultures with different degrees of hierarchy in decision-making, distinct levels of openness to new members, and diverse approaches to the use of public space.

Methodology

As graduate students at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB), we took part in protests and other forms of organizing against the wars with Afghanistan and Iraq. We—a white woman, a black woman, and a white man—are all in our late thirties, cisgender,[4] able-bodied, and queer-identified. The three of us, along with colleagues from a variety of institutional locations, staged protests on our campus, participated in citywide demonstrations, and organized a series of town hall meetings following a call to evaluate the divisions within the movement published in a local paper. This was a time of great social and political engagement during our training as researchers and teachers, and an experience that has deeply influenced our approaches to scholarship, pedagogy, and activism.

We utilized a combination of ethnographic and autoethnographic methods. After several extensive discussions of our experiences, two of which we recorded and transcribed, we began interviewing other participants, some who still live in Santa Barbara and others (including former college students) who have since left the area. All of the people we spoke to remain activists, concentrating on ending the war with Iraq or addressing other social crises, including police brutality, local and global poverty, and the intertwined threads of racism, sexism, and homophobia. To date, we have conducted eleven individual interviews and one focus group involving four people. The people we interviewed are overwhelmingly female-bodied (eleven women, three cisgender men, and one transgender man), largely white (one African

American, one Arab American, two Asian Americans, two Latino/as, and nine white people, one of whom identifies as Jewish and another as Australian émigré), and were from their late teens to their seventies during the time of active dissent we examine. Many are queer-identified. All are able-bodied. Some came to this movement as seasoned activists, while others took to the streets for the first time. In what follows, we quote from these interviews and our own conversations. All names used, including those linked to our comments, are pseudonyms.

Documenting and promoting radical, intersectional, anticapitalist, anti-imperialist history is a key framework shaping this project. We document a history of radicalism and radical political thought for which Santa Barbara and UCSB are critical sites.[5] This campus, which has the highest family income and the whitest student body of any University of California campus, paradoxically produces some of the most sustained political campaigns within this ten-campus public university system: from the North Hall takeover by black undergraduate students (1968) to the inaugural meeting of the Chicano student movement leading to the introduction of the "Plan de Santa Barbara" (1969), both of which sought the institution of ethnic studies at the university level; from the burning of the Bank of America in Isla Vista (an unincorporated area of college residents, Latino families, and retirees next to UCSB) in 1970 during the height of the movement against the Vietnam War to the civil disobedience directed at the 1969 offshore oil spill that helped spark the contemporary environmental studies movement; and from the unionization of thousands of graduate student state employees to the uninterrupted protests against the war on terror. Even in late 2011, UCSB leads other UC campuses and U.S. higher education institutions in creative responses to the economic recession.

As members of Queergrad (and, in one case, ARISE), we draw on the legacy of several generations of political participation and on the desire to create space for the next generation of radical action and scholarship. The authors of this essay and other members of Queergrad were deeply influenced by political formations and movements such as the Third World left, immigration rights, ACT UP/Queer Nation/Dyke March, women of color feminisms, black feminism, standpoint epistemology, and the black radical tradition, as well as the Catholic Worker Movement, feminist Marxist anthropology, Alinskyite community organizing, and housing rights activism. At the same time, members were actively engaged in other organizations focused on genderqueer and bisexual politics, transgender performance art, disability rights, women-initiated antiwar organizing, community radio, and grassroots social justice organizations and campaigns. Despite their post-identitarian critics, political movements engaging with identities grounded in social and material conditions have flourished, using heterogeneous and intersectional identities, experiences, and cultural productions as meaningful grounds for producing resistant subjectivities and analytical tools to evaluate shifts in global capital, state violence, and premature death.[6] Even encyclopedias of feminist theory and politics have consistently confused the standpoint epistemology with an essentialist

theory that homogenizes experiences of disadvantage and emphasizes the non-rational character of women's culture. Repeatedly overlooked is that standpoint epistemology foregrounds complex and contradictory material conditions, the dialectic of oppression and resistance, and "culturally specific, resilient lifelines that can be continually refashioned in response to changing contexts" (Collins, 2000: 179). By contrast, the common cultural understandings and community building strategies, the search for a chosen family, and the high value placed on an ethic of community building and political conscientization that members brought from an array of prior experiences make Queergrad an exceptional vantage point from which to consider antiwar coalition politics.

Public Space and Dissident Citizenship Practices

That people outraged about the invasion and occupation of Iraq would take to the streets is unsurprising. Displaying opposition through the physical presence of dissenting people conveys messages that letters, votes, and lobbying for legislation cannot. Don Mitchell (2003: 52) claims that "to win the right to representation as part of the political public, excluded groups have taken the streets, plazas, and parks and transformed them into places for representation." Representation is not only central to inclusion in political life: "representation both demands and creates space," Mitchell argues, describing oppressed communities' struggles to gain and maintain access to public spaces as acts of survival as well as paths toward social change (*Ibid.*: 35). In addition, space constantly shifts as it is claimed and reclaimed. We hope to emphasize this fluidity within the negotiations among different factions of protestors. Space shifts not only due to power differences between the state and the dissenters, but also due to hierarchies within dissenting populations. As Michel Foucault (1994a: 372) observed, focusing on a simple opposition between state and civil society ignores the complexities of social movements and the multiple sites of confrontation. Such unequal arrangements are often based on longstanding gender, racial, and age privileges, and draw from existing and desired relationships to the state and its institutions.

Santa Barbara residents disagreeing with government plans to pursue military action in Iraq used public spaces—parks, key intersections, outdoor spaces (including those designated as "free speech zones") at the local university, and State Street, Santa Barbara's main commercial and tourist strip—as forums for political views not represented in the mainstream media and government proceedings. They also claimed these spaces in ways that required negotiation with the city and fellow dissenters. Disagreements about how to utilize public spaces overlapped with philosophical differences among participants. For some demonstrators, the struggle to prevent and later end the war with Iraq was distinct from larger domestic and international issues. For others, this military aggression was inexorably connected not only to other current and historical aggressions, but also to what some refer to as "the war at home" over the uneven distribution of power and resources during

the second Bush presidency. Therefore, the messages conveyed within each protest reflected divisions within the larger movement and competing forms of citizenship being enacted in the streets. In addition, individuals and the collectives they were part of had varying relationships to patriarchal and white privilege and participated to different degrees in ageist and homophobic practices. Thus, social inclusion was constantly negotiated during protests and organizing.

Although we are primarily concerned with diverse political agendas within the broad category of "dissenters," state surveillance and different relationships to state institutions (such as the military and the police) influenced the relations among protestors. Some movement participants believed that the state would protect their right to dissent so long as protestors followed a prescribed set of rules. Others did not see state institutions as permitting systems and the police as innocuous, or actively pushed beyond the limitations of legal protests. In the end, protestors whose interests were more closely aligned with the state gradually fulfilled a paternal, disciplining role within the movement.

In Santa Barbara, local and federal law enforcement officials engaged in many forms of surveillance and suppression, including denying permits, taking photographs and videos of protestors, especially those engaging in unsanctioned direct actions, using easily identifiable "covert" operatives,[7] refusing to support protestors attacked by bystanders, arresting people under terrorist charges for taking part in unpermitted demonstrations, and donning riot gear to suppress at least one demonstration. Jules Boykoff (2007: 730) emphasizes the spatial and cultural implications of surveillance: "State surveillance can impinge on the practice of dissent, constraining spatial scales." The spatial boundaries and scale of demonstrations result from negotiations between demonstrators and the state, and between different groups of protestors. Different surveillance tactics have unique impacts upon public demonstrations, but all have the possibility of diminishing political activity by exerting physical violence, fomenting internal disagreements, and creating logistical hurdles to legal protest. Dissenting parties responded by accepting the limits on protests, refusing to work within restricted spaces, stretching the spaces provided, and/or creating new spaces.

Intramovement disciplining was as salient for many demonstrators as state surveillance, showing the multivalent functioning of power. Foucault explores how the art of government, or governmentality, establishes continuity in the exercise of power in both upward and downward directions. The downward direction, for example, instills authority in male heads of household, and by extension in other male authority figures, to ensure good behavior among the population (Foucault, 1994b: 206–207). Thus, in the Santa Barbara antiwar movement, the policing of protesters went beyond the state. Self-designated male "authorities" also endeavored to ensure the "good behavior" of other participants by taking stock of behaviors they deemed questionable, holding meetings about people they viewed as out of control, and confronting people about their conduct. This disciplining responded

to and helped to create loci of confrontation among dissenting constituencies, showing a more complex set of relations than can be addressed by an analysis of the state versus dissenting citizens. These disciplinary dynamics originated in conflicts regarding the weekly antiwar march and continued in contentions about alternative direct actions.

The spaces used for dissent in Santa Barbara were overlaid with cultural meanings and racial and class stratification. In 2000, approximately 35 percent of the people living in Santa Barbara were Latino/as or "Hispanic" of any race; however, 51 percent of the residents living below the poverty line were Latino/as. Given that census data typically ignore undocumented workers, both percentages are likely to be underreported. The median family income among Latinos is $36,547, compared to $66,152 for white families and $57,880 for the overall population. Housing costs in Santa Barbara, like in many California cities, are high. According to the California Association of Realtors, the median home price was $975,000 in March 2008 (falling to $735,000 by March of 2009), influencing the high rate of renter-occupied homes: 58 percent of the homes in Santa Barbara are renter occupied, compared to 39 percent nationwide.[8]

Our analysis begins in September 2002, when weekly antiwar marches commenced along the main commercial and tourist strip of Santa Barbara, an already gentrified area called State Street. The street's charm and transition have been well documented in online forums concerned with local architecture. One site, for example, explains that "before the eighties ... it was a seedy area."[9] This shift from establishments serving working-class, often Latino/a patrons, to more middle-class, white patrons hit a new pitch with a second turnover of retail spaces from independently owned boutiques and restaurants and lesser-known chains to major national chains such as Gap, Anthropologie, and Starbucks. Indeed the decided displacement and replacement of black- and Latino-owned small businesses and community associations from this business corridor to others closer to the East Side of Santa Barbara has been a creeping, decades-long process. In fact, the battle over the La Casa de la Raza community center that splashed across local newspapers in 2011 and 2012 indicate the intense racialization, homogenization, and sanitization of downtown space through attempts to marginalize, harass, and badger the attempts by the black and Latino communities to protect and claim space for alternative visions of economic and community development.[10] Predictably, colonial aesthetics mandate that the aesthetic is "Spanish colonial"; most roofs are covered in red-orange terracotta tiles, nearly all storefronts are stucco, and intricate wrought-iron trim is common.[11] Despite the long-term drought in the area, elaborately tiled fountains and plants from all over the world line the street. Rotating sculpture exhibits by well-known and up-and-coming artists are strategically placed along the approximately fourteen-block commercial strip between the 101 freeway and the beginning of a residential section of the street. The last liquor store disappeared after the marches began in 2002, leaving a single sex shop as the only reminder of a less manicured

urban landscape. Even before this, the historic Second Baptist Church, a major site on the map of black Santa Barbara, moved away from its eighty-year history on Gutierrez Street just doors from the sex shop, but within viewing distance of lower State Street.[12] At the launch of this era of U.S. occupation, gentrification in Santa Barbara, like that in other cities with far less wealth inequality, followed unoriginal trends in mapping public space that typically overlay sexuality, sexual practice, and race in land use codes and building permits issued.

Such changes in atmosphere require everyday disciplining along with more long-term demographic shifts. State Street's sculpted space is subtly, rather than overtly, policed; non-consumers are discouraged from lingering too long on the benches in front of the shops and restaurants by merchants, patrons, and, when necessary, security personnel. Although people from a variety of racial backgrounds inhabit these spaces, consumer options cater to predominantly white wealthy residents and tourists. This "consumerist city," like most urban spaces in the United States (and, increasingly, the world), prioritizes economic transactions over other forms of sociality (Dawson, 2006: 124).

The Weekly March and the Veterans for Peace

In September 2002, Rebecca, a Lebanese American woman, and Helen, a Japanese American woman, both in their late fifties, together with a few other UC staff, sent an email inviting people to gather one Saturday morning to express their frustration regarding the ongoing war in Afghanistan and the proposed war with Iraq. This brief memo was an overwhelming success. Helen remembers being surprised to see "close to two hundred people there—and multigenerational groups of people [with] banners, posters, drums, music, you know, it was an incredible gathering. It just brought tears to my eyes because ... we really needed this." Rebecca explains, "We marched on the sidewalks" through downtown, "we had signs, we said we weren't interested in taking over the streets, that we were exercising our right to assembly." Using the sidewalks along State Street provided the largest possible audience and maneuvered within the laws regarding public assembly without needing city sanction or a police escort. This expression of dissent soon became a weekly ritual and continued to grow in size, reaching a few thousand people at its peak (out of a local population of 150,000). After several weeks, someone informed Rebecca that a police escort had been arranged and that traffic would be stopped, allowing the march to occupy the streets of downtown Santa Barbara, including State Street.

For Rebecca, this defeated important aspects of the initial plan. First, "One of the things we had wanted from the outset was to not ask for permission." Second, "When we walked on the sidewalks rather than in the street, all the traffic kept moving and we had a different kind of an audience than we did once we took the streets," she explains. Once the march was legitimated by a city permit, "The police would close the streets to all traffic so all of the people who used to be passing by us in cars were no longer doing that." In Richard Schechner's (1993: 48) terms,

they became "more a parade and less an infiltration." According to Scott, a white Queergrad member, "It was also ... creating a space where people knew to avoid every Saturday morning so that they could tune out if they wanted to." According to the people who secured the protest permit, working with the police was advantageous to marchers. Teri, a white woman artist in her fifties who, as of this writing, is one of the few people continuing to march every Saturday morning, portrayed the police as "friendly." Reflecting Teri's sentiments, Helen also describes the process as "on the whole ... a well-endorsed kind of partnership between the city and the peace marchers." However, Helen notes that including a police presence was also the beginning of a "tug-of-war" within the march between those who envisioned a more creative stretching of existing space and those she describes as the "law-and-order types," including the local chapter of the Veterans for Peace. Veterans for Peace is a national organization founded in 1985 by veterans of World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars to "draw on [their] personal experiences and perspectives gained as veterans to raise public awareness of the true costs and consequences of militarism and war—and to seek peaceful, effective alternatives."[13] The Santa Barbara chapter was founded in 1990 to oppose Operation Desert Shield and organizes Arlington West, a weekly silent memorial on the beach with wooden crosses on the sand representing U.S. troops killed in the current Iraq war.

Due to the shift in style and geography, dissident voices were contained in a limited space with a diminished audience. Limiting the location and timing of demonstrations through permits enables control of their content. If people must express dissent in a place where intended targets can avoid them and at a time that limits who encounters them, the desired audience is greatly reduced and the content does not reach them (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2005). In addition, as Ron, a black transman graduate student in his thirties affiliated with Queergrad and ARISE, points out, permits and police escorts also provided opportunities for the identification of participants.

A shift in the march's message accompanied this "friendly" surveillance and limited audience. One week, Rebecca recalls, "someone decided that the Veterans for Peace should lead the march. And they did, and that was fine. But subsequently every week it was insisted that the Veterans lead the march." The placement of a collective holding American flags directly behind the police escort at the beginning of the march showcased a limited or "focused" challenge to the status quo, resulting in the marginalization of other voices. Sophie, a white Jewish woman who was an undergraduate student working with ARISE, explains: "I guess because of their stature as veterans and also their own unacknowledged privilege as middle-aged white men, [the Veterans] decided that it was their role to take on leadership of these marches, [to] both figuratively and literally lead the marches." The spatial privileging of this group and their patriotic props symbolically represented the power they sought, and achieved, within the march leadership. Insisting that they lead every week naturalized a particular order and message. Helen describes this vision of

patriotic citizenship as taking "back the flag ... for a different kind of patriotism ... that doesn't believe in an illegal and immoral invasion." This framework questions a more dominant form of patriotism, according to which supporting the troops is the only way to demonstrate love for one's country; however, it simultaneously upholds the nation as the legitimate locus of loyalty, a position that ignores the ways in which nation-states rely upon social hierarchies that privilege those with greater social and cultural power.

Although many march attendees were uncomfortable with this shift toward overt patriotism, Vince, a retired white male in his seventies and a member of Veterans for Peace, defended it: "I believe we're much more effective as patriotic Americans—especially as American veterans—than we are as peaceniks.... American values are not free love, drugs, and dropping out." For him, social perception is more important than knowledge: "I'll tell you," he asserts, "the kids I've met from UC and the City College are the most tuned in to what's really happening; unfortunately, [they are also] the freakiest-looking," which matters for him because "appearance is number one."

This framework developed from a specific vantage point within a particularly fraught political climate. Despite his frustration with the paternalism of the Veterans, Scott guesses that their political orientation was strategic: "The mainstream media was posing it as, 'Oh, only these crazy lefties or these crazy fringe people are against the war, but mainstream America is solidly behind the war.'" Similarly, Tim, a white man in high school at the time, describes the march as helping to show that people questioning the war were not just "a few crazy people," but rather were "your neighbors." Teri, who works closely with the Veterans, enjoys working within legal limits because of the message it sends. It is important to her that the focus remains on the war rather than on issues she considers divisive and distracting, including racism and gender dynamics. She believes that radical messages and more aggressive tactics turn people away from activism: "They back away from it because they don't want to be seen as a fanatic or part of a group that is, in their mind, not something that represents their own approach or ideas."

Honoring this normative, patriotic vision within the march gave this worldview clear priority over other ways of dissenting. Ron observes that this "undermined everything I wanted to do, or wanted to say." To him, a black, non-normatively gendered person and a self-identified radical, state power itself, not a particular abuse of power (for example an unjust war), was the problem. In addition, Rebecca notes that there were other constituencies who had equally legitimate claims to lead the weekly march, such as "high school students who were being recruited" to military service. These "kids," in Vince's terms, presented a greater challenge to the status quo by questioning the war outside a patriotic framework. While they helped these students in their school-based counter-recruitment efforts, the Veterans insisted on sole leadership of the community march because of their

focus on respectability as defined by "mainstream America." "It's a little hard thing for a lot of people to take, but I do believe now that flags give us credibility among the non-choir," Vince insists. Paradoxically, the "non-choir" became less engaged once the marches were officially sanctioned. The encouraging toot of the car horns and the shouts of encouragement from car windows—often the only forms of interaction between marchers and other members of the public—became rarer as traffic was rerouted away from State Street and downtown. The spatial privileging of a patriotic, militarized, patriarchal form of dissident citizenship worked in concert with "friendly" police surveillance to minimize the presence and impact of more radical visions. Intra-movement disciplining tapped into the power of the state and patriarchal and racial norms, keeping a particular ideology and people adhering to it in control of an expression of dissent supposedly open to all community members critical of the war.

Despite the ideological and spatial privileging of this narrow vision, participants in the Santa Barbara antiwar movement articulated many creative responses to the war, moving toward what Wanda, a black Queergrad member, describes as "really incredible and very effective fragmentation" that allowed a variety of positions to be articulated. Of particular note are two examples of organizing premised on a critique of U.S. imperialism. The first, Queergrad, began as a support and networking space for queer-identified graduate students at the local university. Once the U.S. government began articulating plans to initiate war with Iraq, the group members' frustration with the Bush administration's domestic and global policies led to a broadening of Queergrad's foci to include organizing against the war with an explicitly feminist, queer-positive, antiracist agenda. The second, ARISE, an anti-imperialist direct-action organization, grew out of an impromptu strategy meeting the night the war started, which led to a series of direct actions all over the city the following morning. A number of other groups also organized in Santa Barbara at the time, including local chapters of Not in Our Name, MoveOn.org, CODEPINK, and People in Black (after the global network of Women in Black). A longstanding local chapter of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom (WILPF) took part in the citywide marches and occasionally attended ARISE meetings. In addition, some people attending the town hall meetings organized by people affiliated with Queergrad formed the Townhall Peace Activists, who helped the Veterans assemble their weekly beach memorial. Other community members occasionally performed street theater as part of the weekly marches.

We focus on ARISE and Queergrad because they provide distinct alternatives to the Veterans' patriotism and spatial orientation. While sharing similar cultural critiques, the unique strategies of these two collectives developed distinct spatial and organizing tactics. Their differences are particularly evident in a mock funeral procession that involved the two factions, a creative expression we explore after examining each group's public demonstrations and modes of organizing.

Queergrad: Integrating the Personal and the Political

One Saturday morning, Queergrad members performed a set of die-ins during the weekly march. One participant read a list of reasons women should oppose the war in Iraq based on a document compiled by the Woman of Color Resource Center of Oakland, California, while approximately ten female-bodied people (including one transman) wearing T-shirts that identified them as collateral damage laid down in crosswalks in front of traffic that had stopped for red lights.[14] Another participant blew a whistle when the light turned yellow. When the whistle sounded, the group rose to their feet, or for one participant, her wheelchair, and moved along the street with the rest of the march until the next intersection. Stretching the space allotted for dissent, they maneuvered just within the limits of the permitted march. They sought an audience lost when the march received official sanction and transformed other participants into observers and performers.

Their embodied strategy drew from a history of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered) activism acknowledging the stigmatizing experience of being queer in a heteronormative society. Influenced by ACT UP's direct actions and those of other groups in response to the AIDS pandemic, this collective of queer people and allies used their bodies as reminders of the death and destruction of war (Crimp with Rolston, 1990; Gould, 2004). As bodies already deemed abject by dominant standards, they used this outcast positionality to connect to other neglected people. Laying on stretches of pavement where cars usually drive, people walk, and rubbish is discarded, these protestors enacted the so-called collateral damages of war: civilians killed by rocket fire and bullets from the guns of scared young soldiers, women raped by occupying forces, and families of military personnel devastated by the loss of a loved one or living with post-traumatic stress–related disorders and violence. Die-ins demand the acknowledgement of the human tragedies of war and an emotional engagement with those killed or maimed. Coupled with a transnationally aware feminist analysis, this action emphasized aspects of the war that are unacknowledged by patriotic perspectives seeking minimal challenge to the status quo and focused on the U.S. casualties, often declared to be the trigger behind the souring of U.S. "public opinion."

The Veterans responded by immediately attempting to curtail this use of public space and critique of military policy. Colleen, a white member of both Queergrad and ARISE, remembers "these older white men yelling at us when we did the die-ins, [claiming] that we were endangering the whole march and that what we were doing was distracting from the point because we were trying to talk about gender and race." Wartime rapes, the myriad effects of heightened instability within countries under occupation, and the impact of excessive military spending on social services at home were marginalized as distractions from the march and the movement. Queergrad members questioned patriotic values the Veterans held dear and threatened to make the march's message less palatable to the audience the

Veterans wanted to reach. Queergrad also deployed an embodied politics that was antithetical to the media ban on images of soldiers' coffins returning from Iraq and other battlefields. Although the bodies lying temporarily in the street were not the actual corpses of fallen soldiers and civilians, they served as reminders of the dead that the public was not supposed to see. Although the Veterans later organized a beach memorial for U.S. lives lost (Arlington West) that addressed concerns similar to Queergrad's, Queergrad violated the spatial, ideological, and body politics the Veterans wanted marchers to adhere to.

In contrast to the Veterans' patriotism, Queergrad articulated a critical and affective dissent, revealing and analyzing the larger web of violence and control within which the twenty-first-century invasion and occupation of Iraq were embedded. Their public actions solicited emotional-political responses to the human costs of war and their organizing strategy was premised on cultivating and nurturing connections among participants. Queergrad members demonstrate that political participation cannot be separated from affective ties to family, ethnic and racial communities, political allies, or friendship networks by positing affective connection as the basis for effective organizing and cultural critique (Mookherjee, 2005: 31–50). Despite these commitments, Queergrad's orientation had limitations. Most Queergrad members were uncomfortable with race as a basis for political action, and did not succeed in making Queergrad a space for mobilizing against racism. Many members included race in their research, but in terms of organizing, the space was still dominated by white group members and reflected the status privilege and aspirational bourgeois ideologies of doctoral education. Non-black members were sensitive to being praised as exceptional white people or having blackness turned into a spectacle for imitation. Still, the organization lacked basic clarity about race and racial violence.

Even in the context of long-term commitments to antiracism, the level of dialogue about race remained prosaic rather than being a primary motivating factor shaping political work. For example, the project of family-making and constituting mutual obligations rested on core assumptions in associational practice. These assumptions require ignoring a hard-nosed assessment of the "burdened individuality," "shattered [familial] bonds," and the state-sponsored temporal and spatial family disruption and geographic displacement that constitutes the psychic and material world of most black and Latino people (Hartman, 1997; Roberts, 2003). As family relations and kin ties continue their legacies as material features of the propertied possession of whiteness, Queergrad's lack of a more astute analysis of racial violence meant that members overlooked important and vital genealogies of revolutionary political practice and filled them with imaginaries of possibility, geographies of witness, and testimonies of affiliation that echoed the many makings of political family, intimacy, comfort, and solace under extraordinary duress (Beam, 1986; Riggs, 1989; Lorde, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 2012; Dececco and Nelson, 1994; Johnson and Henderson, 2005; Arnold and Bailey, 2009; Johnson, 2011; Moore, 2011).

Queergrad was a site of what Michael Hames-Garcia calls "fugitive thought" made out of utter paradox, especially for people for whom legibility as "family" and "kin" are always mutually constituted with dispossession, containment, gratuitous violence, and assimilation (Somerville, 2000; Sycamore, 2004; Sharpe, 2010; Hong and Ferguson, 2011). Yet such paradoxes are worth examining for what they portend for substantive radical politics. Queergrad was not an explicitly genderqueer space and lacked a robust analysis of the implications of militarism and nationalism for sexual identity (Puar, 2007). Instead, most members were motivated by a desire to step outside the perceived ghettoization of queer politics into the political economy of sexuality. Nevertheless, a queered politics provides resources that enable practiced imaginaries of family ties and mutual obligations. Queered politics were the essential groundwork for the political mobilization of the straight and queer participants in the Queergrad-led antiwar actions (Cvetkovich, 2003).

The die-ins described above were one of many actions intended as political education. Topics shifted weekly and included media complicity in the Bush administration's policies, the impact of armaments containing depleted uranium on cancer rates, and the impact of war, nationalism, and militarism on women. While other transnational organizations in Santa Barbara utilized similar typecasts (for example, the local chapter of Revolutionary Afghan Women's Association encouraged white women to wear burqas to publicize the plight of women under the Taliban), the performances by Queergrad members encouraged people to think about everyday examples of racialized gender—including, for example, the fact that walking in downtown Santa Barbara as a dark-skinned women was often treated as racial spectacle by tourists. Each week's performance included a visual component, such as dresses meant to signal group membership, distribution of flyers, and chants related to the week's theme. As expected, this greater visibility—combined with explicit pedagogical tools such as handouts—generated a greater degree of interaction with bystanders. Despite the occasional demand to "support our troops," which rang particularly hollow the week the group focused on depleted uranium's impact on people, including U.S. troops, in fields of battle, most reactions were quizzical and curious. Most often, onlookers accepted the materials offered by demonstrators.

Zoë, a mixed-race, queer-identified Latina who organized with Queergrad and ARISE, describes the affective dimensions of organizing in Santa Barbara: "I was still ... searching for the folks that were going to be my people for the time I was there and I think that when the war started there became a really clear sort of way to ... recognize these people that I really want to be friends with or close with or to politically align with, or just have the emotional common understanding of the world." Queergrad's organizing also allowed for flirtation, creating a space of comfort and camaraderie in a homophobic and racist culture, city, and broader antiwar community. Freedom from the guarded behavior often necessary for survival in homophobic cultures became an important part of building community and envisioning intersectional responses to the war. Monisha Das Gupta discusses

a similar experience of LGBT organizing in her research about South Asian LGBT organizations: "Love, affirmation, empathy, understanding, and protection all became central to the stories ... members relate about their organizations" (Das Gupta, 2006: 173).

Queergrad's multi-issue antiwar campaign created space for the activism and leadership of queer people and their allies. For example, Kyle, a white male graduate student who participated in some creative interventions in the weekly march, describes protesting as "an opportunity" to practice his values while building an intimate relationship and friendships with people in Queergrad. Similarly, Cathy, a white queer-identified professor who did her graduate work in Santa Barbara and whose partner was finishing her doctorate in the years Queergrad was active, was drawn to the group because of existing friendships and a romantic partnership. She recalls "stepping into ... this collective of graduate students" who were invested in connecting "larger issues of militarism and misogyny and racism." This creative engagement was particularly meaningful because she "got a sense that all of us had this feeling of ... being isolated" for a number of reasons, including "quite possibly from being queer in Santa Barbara." Cathy also emphasized the importance of "being visionary about women's bodies," and carried at the weekly marches a sign reading "Feminist Bush is Sacred, Nationalist Bush is Profane." This multilayered slogan transformed the president's name into a sexual pun while positioning policies championed by the Bush administration within larger processes controlling women's bodies.

In the process of becoming a public presence, Queergrad became a place for people sharing similar critiques to come together and produce a queer-friendly, antiracist, feminist response to national crises, providing an alternative to what Wanda describes as major problems with contemporary U.S. culture: "I think that we just have a very impoverished sense of the social," she observes. "I think citizenship is completely symbolic, is really boiled down to the least, the lowest common denominator. And they would really prefer for us to not be citizens and just be consumers." However, the lack of racial diversity within the group and the privilege of graduate students have limited the scope of this nurturing tactic even while it provided the basis for creative demonstrations.

ARISE: Confrontational Actions

Another alternative to the patriotic public space managed by the Veterans for Peace was a series of direct actions performed by an ad-hoc formation of people, some of whom later came together as ARISE. According to Sophie, "the day after the bombs started dropping in Baghdad, there was a pretty big group of lefty, progressive radicals," primarily from the university but with some representation from the broader community, "who decided that they needed to do something that was outside the bounds of this so-called peace movement that had developed." On March 21, 2003, the morning after the United States invaded Iraq, this collective

executed a set of direct actions throughout the city that explicitly moved away from the space claimed by the weekly march. They began with a series of die-ins at intersections, gas stations, and recruiting centers; two people also attempted to block the freeway early in the day, and at the end of the day the group joined a sanctioned march and then led a break-off contingent back towards the freeway and began marching up an exit ramp. As hundreds of people blocked the ramp, traffic ground to a halt and police blocked the freeway entirely. By stopping, however temporarily, the flow of traffic along the California coast and choosing gas stations and military recruitment centers as targets, this collective emphasized the economic aspects of the war and employed tactics more reminiscent of global justice protests than the queer, feminist tactics utilized by Queergrad (Brand and Wissen, 2002: 9–17; Starr, 2005).

Although both groups used die-ins as part of their public performances, the tone and context differed significantly. Acknowledging the devaluing of certain bodies, Queergrad members drew links between reviled queer bodies in the United States, including their own, and the unnecessary casualties of war, especially the civilians who become nameless, faceless, and storyless extras in the drama of war. Using the same tactic without the feminist overlay or link to queer organizing, ARISE critiqued unnecessary wartime deaths through connections to oil companies, contractors profiting from the war, and the recruiting strategies that draw young, often poor, people into the military. These embodied acts of resistance emphasized root economic causes and focused on the unequal power between nations based on money and military might, which has roots in colonialism. While this framework overlapped with Queergrad's critiques of war and militarism, gender was not a key component of ARISE's analysis.

As an organization, ARISE was very aware of COINTELPRO and other examples of U.S. government surveillance of dissenting groups (Day and Whitehorn, 2001: 285–297). This knowledge, combined with the presence of a police plant in the protests the day the war started, created a tight security culture within the collective.[15] Ron describes undercover cops following people and taking photographs during protests, which led to "being at [ARISE] planning meetings and really wondering who was an FBI informant." He believed that the state "wanted to make sure that no one was going to ... get to a level of coordinated activism and opposition to the U.S. structure as it had for, say, the Vietnam War." As a black person, Ron felt particularly visible and therefore especially targeted by the police, based on his understanding of the ways that "structural violence gets particularly targeted to Black people" and his experience of being followed during demonstrations.

Ron was not alone in these trepidations. Fear regarding potential surveillance was a distinctive feature of ARISE's organizing process. "We knew that there were Santa Barbara police that were videotaping these marches [and] infiltrating the marches and being undercover marchers along with us," Sophie emphasizes, and "as people on the Left who know the history of COINTELPRO ... I think a lot of

people in ARISE were very conscious of the presence of surveillance or the likely presence of surveillance on our activities." The USA PATRIOT Act, which functions as a revision of the COINTELPRO policies that justified surveillance of civil rights, antiwar, Native American, and feminist activists in the 1960s and 1970s, was of particular concern to the organization (Taylor Saito, 2002: 1051–1132). Sophie recalls: "There was this substantive paranoia at the beginning that everyone was creating this lock-tight security culture to the extent that I think we even had a code name for our meeting spot and we weren't supposed to be communicating about our meetings by phone or email, only direct verbal communication." In addition, Colleen remembers that people had to be invited by someone who was already part of the organization in order to come to meetings or take part in actions. Although this security culture did not stop particular demonstrations—such as a mock funeral procession for U.S. and Iraqi casualties of the war, and a staged Israeli checkpoint on the anniversary of the 1948 war that brought much of historical Palestine under Israeli control—Sophie claims that "it more straight up stopped us from organizing." In her analysis, organizing is more than marching; it is working to build community and formulating collective goals. A space open to the public is required. Similarly, Zoë believes that the collective's investment in tactics rather than goals caused members who were more invested in community building to become estranged from the group. Tim echoes their assessment: "I didn't feel like ARISE really accomplished anything," he said, even though he agreed that the weekly march did not adequately address militarism. ARISE reacted to the Veterans' disciplinary behavior by creating a constricted organizing space that limited public dialogue.

For Zoë, tokenizing the few people of color proved exacerbating: "In some ways they'd be more concerned about the identity of antiracism, rather than the practice." Many students working with the local Latino/a community and for racial justice with campus-based organizations attended the meeting the night the war with Iraq began. There "was a list that got passed around of everyone in the room that night so that people could follow up," Sophie recalls. However, "it was destroyed or ... lost." Due to the list's disappearance and the rules regarding modes of contact, "a lot of those folks [who] were part of the die-ins that happened the next day" and were part of different social networks "didn't make it to the first ARISE meeting." Zoë echoes Sophie's comments: "It started out a lot bigger than it wound up being—and I actually think a lot more multiracial."

In addition, authority dynamics within the organization made organizing difficult for some people. Zoë notes that "there were a few really strong personalities, mostly white folks who were really, really committed to the idea of direct action" as a primary organizing tool. Similarly, Colleen claims that "inside the organization there were four heterosexual couples, three of whom were white, who kind of ran the show." Gender dynamics were contested but never completely addressed: "Some ... people actually spoke up against one of the white men who did the most shutting down of women ... but it still, I think, ended up being a space that was primarily for the heterosexually coupled white lefties," she asserted. Thus, although the principal players were younger than the Veterans, their politics were more radical, and women were involved in leadership, ARISE's organizing practices still replicated gendered, sexualized, and racialized social hierarchies.

Mock Funeral Procession

While Queergrad and ARISE had overlapping membership, they generally organized independently. However, one Saturday morning Queergrad participated in a mock funeral for U.S. and Iraqi victims of the war staged by ARISE in a suburban area away from the site of the weekly march. Like die-ins, political funeral processions express grief, acknowledge the human costs of political decisions, and evoke emotional reactions from observers (Gould, 2004; Munson, 2007: 121–135). Scott stresses the geographical importance of the location of this demonstration: "If you want to avoid the peaceniks you don't go to State Street, lower State [Street], Saturdays from 11 to 1." Located near the intersection of two major roads and a few blocks from an elite golf club, the chosen area emphasized leisure rather than urban consumption. Holding an unsanctioned but technically legal event by using sidewalks and parking lots promised an audience the weekly march could not deliver, and highlighting the emotional and bodily aspects of war appealed to each group's political, creative, and spatial investments. The assembled demonstrators followed a small musical ensemble that played traditional Middle Eastern funeral music, while shifting groups of pallbearers carried a cardboard coffin past the National Guard armory; other participants read the names of deceased U.S. and Iraqi military personnel and civilians and the dates of their deaths through a bullhorn. A group demonstrated their support of the war in front of the Armory, leading to verbal exchanges and competing chants from opposite sides of the street.

The funeral procession moved through a linked set of strip malls that included a Marine recruiting center, an upscale grocery store, an independent bookstore, a few small restaurants, and an assortment of other, often locally owned, businesses. As they moved along the concrete and blacktop, participants placed leaflets describing the human and financial costs of war underneath the windshield wipers of parked cars. A few car owners became enraged and started yelling at marchers. One middle-aged white man started his sports utility vehicle, revved the engine, and began moving toward the woman who had placed the flyer on his car. When confronted about his behavior by a woman holding an infant in a baby carrier, his rage soared. As a third woman, a Queergrad member, approached in an attempt to mediate the conflict, the man reached out and scratched her face. The woman he physically attacked was among the few African American participants. Another man punched a white male participant and Ron intervened when another white male bystander threatened a white woman participant.

Police officers, who observed the protest the entire time, did not intervene. Further, while the injured woman was reporting the assault, they refused to let her

female partner sit with her, using homophobia to further isolate her. The funeral procession used areas outside the places sanctioned for dissent, and while this demonstration was technically legal, the police demonstrated their disapproval of the group's actions through a combination of inaction and withholding of the injured woman's access to recourse. Tacit approval by the police of the attacker and the selective application of their duty to "serve and protect" citizens reinforced social norms valuing patriotism, heterosexual family structures, and white dominance. This "friendly" surveillance was not quite as friendly once people stepped away from the paternal, patriotic space of the weekly march. Rather than tending to the injured woman's needs themselves, ARISE organizers moved the action forward, highlighting differences between their organizing practices and Queergrad's .

The older white men objecting to the procession stood in for the state, national power, and exceptionalism that undergirded such spectacular military projects. Their actions were not officially sanctioned, but like the earlier California history of white terrorist vigilante violence against those protesting against racial and xenophobic violence, they were free to act. They communicated that the protestors had violated social and political norms (Stefancic, 1997; Goldsby, 2006, Chacon and Davis, 2006; Castro, 2007–2008; Shapiro, 1988). Just as the Veterans played a governing role within the antiwar movement, these men governed the strip mall. In neither case was their power officially bestowed upon them; however, they tapped into accepted racialized, patriarchal hierarchies that deemed them deserving of police powers.

Protestors were not prepared for physical violence during this demonstration. The seeming banality of the strip mall masked the volatility of the space. Similar to other social environments, the everydayness of a suburban area is cultivated and requires ongoing maintenance. Although procession participants did expect to shock observers and were prepared for the possibility of police repression, they underestimated how easily this space would become violent. Like other semipublic spaces, strip malls are subject to surveillance and owners are legally able to curtail behavior and limit who can utilize their property (Mitchell and Staeheli, 2006: 977–992; Low, 2001: 45–58). However, security personnel did not regulate protestor actions; customary users of the space did.

This set of interactions demonstrates the role of average citizens in disciplining protestors and highlights the differences in mode of engagement between ARISE and Queergrad. Privileging the action over individual needs followed from ARISE's central emphasis on direct action. Queergrad, in contrast, generally focused their organizing on affective ties, and some members stopped to comfort their colleague. ARISE's inattention to the emotional needs and affective ties of a queer woman of color is a particularly poignant example of Zoë's observation that the organization's identity as an antiracist organization often did not match their practice. The organization's emphasis on tactics rather than long-term organizing goals led to privileging finishing the demonstration over the immediate needs of one participant.

Conclusion: Intimate Segregation of Dissent in an Already Segregated Urban Space

As the above discussion makes clear, navigating the social and geographical terrain of Santa Barbara was a complex process for dissenting parties. The Veterans for Peace contended with a hostile political climate and other protestors with divergent agendas. Queergrad and ARISE negotiated the spatial and ideological limitations set by the city and the Veterans by utilizing different organizing methods and spatial practices. Members of these collectives also faced disciplining from city residents displeased with the expression of oppositional views. The organizing strategies each group employed also came into conflict during the joint mock funeral procession. A segmented movement emerged in which factions with different political and spatial orientations continued to protest simultaneously, but in ways intended to minimize contact and avoid or manage conflict. The cultural capital of different parties was central to this process, most obviously in the power held by those allied with the state, but also in the near complete exclusion by all three groups of certain populations, most notably Latino/a residents. The terrain was treacherous from all vantage points.

Distinct orientations to the use of public space and affective ties shaped different relationships with the greater public. The marches on State Street ostensibly directed to, in Vince's words, "the non-choir" had occasional affirmations from onlookers who even more infrequently joined in. Queergrad stretched the limits of this public space, including spaces not cordoned off by police escorts, and engaged the public during the marches. However, the most direct engagement, technically not on "public" land, triggered the greatest confrontation and hostility, particularly from vehicle owners. Despite their attempts to curtail Queergrad's affective practices, the Veterans' use of the beach as a mock cemetery engaged bystanders affectively. However, the success of the Veterans' mock cemetery must be tempered when we consider its overt nationalism and traffic in patriotism. Vince believed their most "successful" approach and "the best thing that happened—which couldn't have been planned—was Arlington West.... And the reason it's so good is: it's hands on, it's instantly rewarding, and ... you help people right then and there ... [and] you feel good." Yet this provides hollow comfort since the benefit of creating space for the acknowledgment of the losses and sacrifices of veterans is curiously delinked from the losses sustained by invaded peoples, communities, and lands. By removing the immediate context of warfare and racialized violence, ledgers of pain are tallied and higher value is ascribed to the lives of U.S. service members, whitened, and made innocent through their military service.

The linkage between people, public space, and social inclusion influences which issues are considered universal enough to apply to all members of the populace. According to some participants in the Santa Barbara movement, contesting the cultural acceptance of a second war with Iraq was the only message that the public could

handle. It was also the only challenge to the status quo that all dissenting parties could agree upon. This orientation was chosen at a time in which any dissent was explicitly viewed as unpatriotic, but by ignoring all other aspects of the militaristic ideology that cut social services and rolled back civil liberties domestically while waging a multifront war abroad, the Veterans adopted a position that presented a limited challenge to—and, in fact, a tacit approval of—broader systems of privilege. Their racialized and gendered politics naturalized their position as patriarchal arbiters of acceptable behavior while silencing other viewpoints.

Queergrad and ARISE each contested aspects of the Veterans' patriotic, patriarchal vision. However, neither group fully broke away from the segregated cultural and political landscape of Santa Barbara. Comprised primarily of university students, their form of privilege differed from that held by the Veterans. Regardless of whether Vince's claim that students "are the most tuned in to what's really happening" is correct, his perception is telling. University people often have more access to information and the time to spend gathering it. They also present themselves as more knowledgeable than "the general public." Therefore, in some ways, conflicts between patriotic and more critical political orientations reflect a clash of two forms of privilege. Many ARISE and Queergrad participants are from disenfranchised populations, but their educational privilege complicates any easy designation of them as disadvantaged within Santa Barbara. Rather than limit their activism to the university campus, they contested the Veterans' claim to dominance. Doing so demonstrated confidence that they should and would be heard and testified to the importance, and fragility, of bridging the "town-gown divide." Although these collectives had more gendered, racial, and sexual diversity than the Veterans did, their multiplicity was not drawn from the permanent local population. Nor were they firmly rooted in local struggles for racial or economic justice.[16] Thus, they represented only a limited challenge to the intimate segregation of the community.

Nevertheless, on the weekly march Queergrad and ARISE provided models of social interaction and uses of public space that offered an alternative to the Veterans' patriotic and patriarchal framework for dissent. ARISE presented a greater spatial challenge and more creative alternatives to the geographical norm than Queergrad did. In contrast, Queergrad pushed the boundaries of existing spaces for dissent, explicitly connecting the personal and the political in their actions and their planning. In our interviews, affective ties emerged as an especially fulfilling aspect of Queergrad's work, while such connections were not as central to Veterans for Peace or ARISE. Das Gupta (2006: 173) found a similar pattern, which she explains as resulting from "taboos on deeply exploring intimacy in all-women's groups and the heterosexual construction of cogender groups, where opposite sex relations are examined only in the context of sexual harassment." Nevertheless, there were certainly affective ties within ARISE and the Veterans. For example, Vince emphasized the importance of the "comradeship of the people" in the Veterans, while Teri, a white woman artist who worked closely with the Veterans, spoke fondly of the few people who

continue to protest each week. The ARISE meeting that occurred the night the war with Iraq began created a space where people could exchange ideas and plan events collectively. Tim describes "speaking from the heart and being listened to," which he really valued as a high school student whose voice was often ignored. Soon, however, ARISE's organizing became "ideologically driven" and less attentive to the needs of "different people and backgrounds and points of view," he claimed. Lack of outreach beyond existing friendship networks accompanied this political orientation. Thus, like Queergrad, the affective community that existed before the war reinforced itself.

Focusing on these three sections of Santa Barbara's early twenty-first-century antiwar movement demonstrates that although conflicts and negotiations with the state are central to the landscape of dissent, other sites of confrontation provide opportunities to analyze the structures of power and privilege that affect the types of demonstrations and the visions for change that can be articulated. Attention to these details can aid our understanding of movement processes, facilitating better organizing practices and stronger activist cultures for the future.

NOTES

1. See Mitchell (2003); D'Arcus (2006); Dawson (2006: 123–142).
2. See Mitchell (2003); Mitchell and Staeheli (2005: 796–813); D'Arcus (2006).
3. See Meyer and Minkoff (2004: 1457–1492); Benford and Snow (2000: 631–639); Taylor and Whittier (1992: 104–112); Gamson (1997: 178–199); Ling (2006: 202–214); and Gould (2004: 155–175).
4. Cisgender people are not transgender.
5. See Scheper (2005: 557–569) and Sullivan (2003: 91–116).
6. See Collins (2000); Pulido (2006); and Young (2006).
7. Two interview respondents identified covert operatives at direct actions and weekly marches. In addition, a middle-aged white man who interacted with one of the authors during the direct actions that led to the founding of ARISE later in the day emerged as part of the police contingent observing and documenting the demonstrations. One respondent also mentioned this man who, by virtue of his presence, had information that would have helped the police know where demonstrations would be staged.
8. See California Association of Realtors, "March 2009 Median Prices," at *www.car.org/economics/historicalprices/2009medianprices/mar2009medianprices/*; U.S. Census Bureau, "Santa Barbara City, California: Census 2000 Demographic Highlights," 2001, at *http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFFacts?_event=&ActiveGeoDiv=geoSelect&pctxt=fph&_lang=en&_sse=on&geo_id=16000US0669070&_state=04000US06* (accessed March 15, 2009).
9. State Street! At *http://lotsafunmaps.com/details.php?locationid=175*.
10. Ray Estrada, "La Casa de la Raza Marks 40 Years After Week of Controversy," Ray Estrada Media Consultant Blog (April 2, 2012), at *http://rayestradamediaconsultant.wordpress.com/2012/04/02/la-casa-de-la-raza-marks-40-years-after-week-of-controversy/*; Ray Estrada, "Irresponsible Reporting Damaging La Casa de la Raza" (March 28, 2012), *Santa Barbara View*, at *www.santabarbaraview.com/irresponsible-reporting-damaging-la-casa-de-la-raza26563/*; Editor, "La Casa de la Raza Demands Immediate Retraction of Articles Published in the Santa Barbara

News-Press" (March 27, 2012), *Santa Barbara View*, at *www.santabarbaraview.com/la-casa-de-la-raza-demands-immediate-retraction-of-articles-published-in-the-santa-barbara-news-press36367/*; Nick Welsh, "Casa de la Raza in Hot Water: Auction Block Looms for Headquarters of Latino Rights Organization" (December 20, 2011), *Santa Barbara Independent*, at *www.independent.com/news/2011/dec/21/casa-de-la-raza-hot-water/*.

11. City of Santa Barbara Community Development Department, "Guidelines: El Pueblo Viejo District, Santa Barbara, California: Revised Edition," Library of Congress Catalog Card Number, 86–73106, 1995, at *www.santabarbaraca.gov/nr/rdonlyres/16a17719–04f0–4fe6-b5ea-e44d43d72a81/0/epv_guidelines.pdf* (accessed May 20, 2009)

12. Rhys Alvarado, "Second Baptist Enters Second Century Here: Dignitaries Attend Centennial Celebration" (September 13, 2010). At *www.independent.com/news/2010/sep/13/second-baptist-enters-second-century-here/*.

13. Veterans for Peace, at *www.veteransforpeace.org* (accessed August 14, 2009).

14. Women of Color Resource Center (2002). Although Queergrad was a multigendered group, all of the participants in this action were female bodied and, with one exception, woman identified.

15. During at least two events where the authors were present, a pair of white men wearing dark glasses and dark suits stood across the street from the protest, alternatively taking photos with a zoom lens and talking into walkie-talkies. See also note 2.

16. Some members of each group did volunteer with racial and economic justice organizations and a few members of ARISE worked for local unions. However, these organizations did not explicitly target their activism toward the local Latino/a population, which is the primary working-class community in the area.

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