

**The Seductions of Arson:
Ritualized Political Violence and the Revelry of Arson**

By

Matt Hinds-Aldrich

School of Social Policy, Sociology, and Social Research

University of Kent

In this paper I explore the symbiotic relationship between political agitation and visual media through an analysis of the use of arson in clandestine political actions. First, I forward a methodological argument on the utility of ‘found’ visual imagery in sociological research. Second, I deploy the concept of ‘performative violence’ to account for the persistence of arson as a tactical preoccupation and an icon of resistance. I offer a protest arson typology in an effort to expose and interrogate the various interpretations at play in the collection of photographs and visual media assembled. This typology is offered principally to make sense of images so as to facilitate the subsequent theoretical explorations of the cultural, instrumental and affective nature of political violence.

Keywords: cultural criminology, arson, violence, photography

Mais qu'est-ce, mais qu'est-ce qu'on attend pour foutre le feu?

Les années passent, pourtant tout est toujours à sa place

Plus de bitume donc encore moins d'espace

—Suprême NTM, *Qu'est-Ce Qu'on Attend*, 1995

What is it, what is it you're waiting for to start the fire?

The years go by, but everything is still the same

Which makes me ask, how much longer can it last?

—Translation published by the BBC (Schofield, 2005)

Pressed to explain and contextualize the eruption in rioting in the Parisian banlieues in late 2005 the BBC drew upon the incendiary lyrics of the now-defunct rap duo known as Suprême NTM, or simply NTM (vulgar French slang). The BBC was certainly not the first to suggest a causal relationship between the sounds of the street and the subsequent behaviors in the street, then-Interior Minister Nicholas Sarkozy had already gone so far as to initiate legal action against one such group for lyrically inciting violence (Guitta, 2005). Short of dismissing the effort to link ‘youth (or street) culture’ with street violence out of hand it is instructive to consider NTM’s incendiary lyrics, that is, their employment of the language and image of fire in an effort to catalyze their particular social agenda. In this analysis I consider the peculiar persistence of

arson—despite remaining one of the most rudimentary weapons and tactics—as a tool of political resistance. As NTM’s lyrics suggest, to understand the role of fire and arson in political movements we must also simultaneously explore the multiple ways in which the image and language of fire has entered the iconography and lexicon of political protests.

Capturing the story (or more accurately, the stories) of protests, much like the stories of crime, is an inherently problematic endeavor, regularly muddled by the complexity of human agency especially when counterposed with the artifacts of social repression (Presdee, 2005: 69; 2000; Ferrell, 1995; 2002; Hayward and Young, 2004). To excavate the story of protests is to excavate and unpack the various intertwined and intersecting narratives within the highly charged and dynamic protest sphere. A daunting task indeed even in the most capable of hands. Evidence, while abundant, is only available if we are willing to escape the epistemic shackles of traditional methodologies and explore the unfamiliar and perhaps uncomfortable existential contours of life. As Presdee reminds us, we need not pander to the positivistic impulses of mainstream criminology and sociology for we can more than adequately excavate the contours of modern social phenomena by exploring the “‘evidence’ of everyday existence, wherever it is found and in whatever form it can be found; [for] the debris of everyday life [should become our] ‘data’” (2000: 15).

In an effort to make sense of the vast mountains of ‘debris’ casually scattered across the increasingly digitized late-modern landscape, it is instructive to inspect the arson typology proposed by Sun-tzu, the ancient Chinese philosophizer and military tactician. Sun-tzu, writes: “There are five types of incendiary attacks: the first is to incinerate men, the second to incinerate provisions, the third to incinerate supply trains, the fourth to incinerate armories, and the fifth to incinerate formations” (Sun-tzu, trans. 1994: 227). While tactically germane, Sun-tzu’s instrumental assertion ignores the powerful expressive impact of particular tactical formations and weapons. For example, the success of the Roman Legions and Nazi Blitzkriegs is not sufficiently captured in a mathematical calculation of the number of soldiers multiplied by the speed of deployment. Like the recent ‘Shock and Awe’ campaign in Iraq, the image of waves of well-armed Roman legionnaires or endless swarms of Luftwaffe Messerschmitts was also intended to cultivate a sense of impending doom at the hands of an overwhelming foe as much as it was to simply engage in combat or deliver munitions. Consequently, any understanding of the use of arson during protests, and perhaps arson more generally, must both acknowledge and attempt to marry the instrumental capabilities and expressive components so as to facilitate a more robust empirically informed reading of the event(s).

It would follow, then, that the employment of fire during warfare or protests is not singularly focused on the destruction of identifiable targets; rather, fire also functions as a symbolic tactic designed to test the resolve of the enemy. To this end, I propose an alternative phenomenologically-informed ‘protest arson typology’: the first type is to destroy or disfigure material assets; the second to kill or maim persons; the third to punish perceived working-class turncoats; the fourth to evidence the resolve of the respective actors and the gravity of their claims, the fifth to stimulate popular deliberation of the cause; and the sixth, and most important for the purposes of this analysis, to answer a perceived challenge to ones’ life, sovereignty or honor.

My goal here is to explore the hitherto under-recognized story of symbolic arson within clandestine political resistance. Consistent with this aim, I have proffered this protest arson typology in an effort to interrogate and expose the various interpretations at play in the collection of photographs and visual media assembled. The utility of such a typology is to make sense of the unyielding crush of images so as to facilitate subsequent theoretical explorations of the cultural, instrumental and affective nature of political protests and violence². Finally, I wish to make clear that the subsequent analyses, observations and reflections are my own meditations about why the photographer or artist chose to capture this particular moment. In questioning the photographic intent, or more accurately, the composition of the image, I am attempting to draw out the multiple interpretations contained within each image and thus the subsequent analyses should not be read as a projection of my personal opinions. In what follows I begin with a discussion about the employment of visual data in sociological and criminological research. Second, I call upon Feldman's (1991) notion of performative violence in an attempt to marry the instrumental and affective aspects of political violence. Third, I begin my analysis of protest arson by drawing upon the ideas of context and interpretation in an effort to explore how the image of fire has become something of an icon of political resistance. Forth, I deploy the protest arson typology to analyze a collection of photographs and other visual media in an effort to further develop an understanding of the persistence of arson in clandestine political actions. And, finally, I attempt to weave together the various strings into a more robust understanding of the continued salience of fire as a vehicle of political agitation.

The Case for Visual Methods

The history of visual sociology is one of missed connections. While photography and sociology developed nearly simultaneously, the two expository traditions developed largely independent of one another save a few brief forays in early *American Journal of Sociology* articles (Becker, 1986; Harper, 1989). Even the heavily lauded documentary work of Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine failed to capture the 'sociological imagination' (Strangleman, 2008; Becker, 1986). It was not until the turbulent 1960s and 1970s when cameras were rendered affordable and traditional research methods and disciplinary boundaries increasingly untenable that the vast potential of visually-informed sociology began to be realized. Since that time, however, there has been little in the way of disciplinary consensus as to the most appropriate method to employ the visual in sociological inquiries. Methodological consensus or not, visual sociologists make use of photographs and other visual media to explore the vivid ideographic and nomothetic contours of life too often glossed over by other methods. For photography, as Ferrarotti (1993: 75) succinctly captures, 'is meaning congealed, condensed, concentrated, gathered together in a single point.'

The utilization and (and perhaps more importantly) inclusion of photographs offers a much-needed measure of methodological transparency. The reader is provided an opportunity and in fact is encouraged to reflexively engage with the images questioning how our subjective filters influence our understanding of the 'explicit meanings' contained therein (Ferrarotti, 1993: 80 see also Becker 1986: 241; Becker, 1974; Becker, 1981). Importantly, however, the matter of photographic intent—taken to be so fundamental in visual methodologies (*cf* Harper, 1989)—is to a certain degree rendered moot as Becker (1986: 277) reminds us,

We needn't restrict ourselves to questions the photographs suggest. We can also use them to answer questions the photographer did not have in mind and that are not obviously suggested by the picture.... We can thus avoid interminable, unresolvable and irrelevant questions about the photographer's intent, for, whatever the intent, we can use the photograph to answer questions we want to raise and still not do violence to the work of the artist-photographer.

Without such an active engagement the photographs risk becoming little more than an "illustrative accessory" (Ferrarotti, 1993: 81), a colorful anecdote amid a sea of typeset. Photographs, then, are but 'visual vignettes' through which the story of protests are most appropriately explored and explained (Ferrell, 2006: 29; see also Harper, 1989: 88).

For the purposes of this analysis the photographs and images will be examined consistent with Ferrarotti's three dimensions of visual analysis, the aesthetic aspect, the socio-psychological aspect and of particular importance the historico-contextual aspect (1993: 88). Aesthetically, the distribution and orientation of the photographs in this analysis owes heavily to Mead and Bateson's (1942) treatment of photographs as visual data (see also Harper, 1989: 87-88; Becker, 1998: 4 and Becker and Becker, 1980). This analysis will display a page of photographs opposite a page of text so as to allow and encourage the reader to also actively read the photographs while reading the written analysis. The author, like the reader, read the *photographic 'montage'* dialectically, to borrow a phrase from Einstein and Trachtenberg (cited in Becker, 1998: 5). Each photograph and passage of text conditioned the reading of the other as I oscillated between theory and observation attempting to reconcile the two—each illuminating and informing the reading of the other (Sontag, 1977: 19; Becker, 1986: 293-6).

The 'visual vignettes' employed in this analysis were obtained from the Internet photo sharing community www.flickr.com. The Flickr® website allows photographers of all abilities and from all outposts to post photographs, art and commentary for the consumption of other visual explorers. While other visual search engines impart a certain degree of anonymity between photographer and audience, Flickr® provides a forum through which to secure photographic permission and perhaps more importantly to foster dialogue between the photographer who captured the image and the researcher who subsequently employs it³.

Theoretical Underpinning: The Patterned Preformativity of Protests

The violence that occasionally accompanies political protests remains enigmatic as it is often framed polemically on the one hand as senseless and terroristic or sympathetically on the other as overblown, and even occasionally, legitimate. Both accounts, however, speak more to the social position of the commentator than the question at hand. In order to avoid the trap of such a dichotomy I have employed the concept of 'performative violence' first proposed by Allen Feldman (1991) and subsequently refined by Rhodes (2001) and Juris (2005) to couch tactical choices, even violent tactical choices, within the repertoire of symbolic tactics. For Juris (2005: 415) performative violence is the,

[s]ymbolic ritual enactment of violent interaction with a predominant emphasis on communication and cultural expression. This is in contrast to direct political

violence, [which is] meant to cause death or injury to human beings, although the difference is often one of degree. In the context of political action, performative violence can be seen as a mode of communication through which activists seek to effect social transformation by staging symbolic confrontation[s].

To examine performative violence, then, is to conceptualize street protests as street theater. The selection of tactics, as Juris (2005) suggests, is as much a product of the theatrical capacity of the respective tactic as it is a pragmatic choice dictated by the exigent circumstances.

Understanding acts of protest arson as performative violence helps us begin to explain the historical persistence of arson as a tactic of collective action, what Charles Tilley (1978; see also 1995; Traugott, 1995) would call a tactical 'repertoire'. Short of conducting an exhaustive historical survey of the various ways in which arson has been employed in a political capacity, which is unfortunately beyond the scope of this analysis, it is important to bring into relief the historical tension between the instrumental and affective aspects of both the subject matter and the method. It can be argued that every case of arson contains elements of each; the distributive ratio is then simply a product of interpretive position. While the problematic question of interpretation seemingly invites argumentation we might just as easily sidestep the issue altogether. By embracing the interpretive fluidity that simultaneously renders a burning police vehicle an indefensible, wanton criminal act *and* a justifiable reaction to intolerable oppression we are able to begin to peel away the irreducible layers of understanding that color the world we inhabit.

Appreciating the intricate web of interpretations is made even more salient when we consider that the street theatrics of protests are not so much directed at an immediate antagonist as they are at an unseen audience far removed from the chaotic carnival of the protest space comfortably confined in their own living rooms. In fact, the overwhelming presence of photographers within protest space evidences the shifting role and engagement of the general public in the modern public spectacle. With crash helmet clad photographers now occasionally outnumbering lay spectators, grassroots campaigns must focus more attention on creating and disseminating appropriate narratives to accompany the photographs than actively challenging the dominant order and ideology (Schwartz, 2002: 27). Indeed, Juris recounts, 'social movement struggles are largely waged through media wars of symbolic interpretation' (2005: 416). Activists not only seek immediate political redress but also just as importantly they appeal to the "sense of justice" of the community (Habermas, 2002: 373). However, as the explicit and implicit appeals filter through the existing grassroots and popular media outlets the once sympathetic messages are easily recast as 'anti-social', 'criminal' or even 'terroristic' (Ferrell, 1995: 26; Juris, 2005: 421-3; Schwartz, 2002; Zulaika and Douglas, 1996: 204 cited in Juris, 2005: 422). Consequently, many messages lose whatever coherence they might once have had.

Visual Theory: Iconography and the Image

The question of coherence is fundamental as we begin to excavate the various filters through which we come to understand our world. Like beauty each image speaks to each of us differently. Each interpretation is a cumulative amalgam of the constellation of our previous understandings. The young child depicted in the mural (Figure 1) speaks directly to this tension.

On the one hand the mural presumably captures the essence of the Republican struggle for independence in Northern Ireland; one in which the struggle is portrayed as not one of convenience or youthful transgression but one of survival. Thus, while the child may prefer to carry a football or cricket bat the Molotov cocktail is presumably wielded out of necessity. On the other hand, however, we are encouraged to probe the photograph more thoroughly. The scale and location of the mural belie a more interesting reading. First, the mural is set upon a—presumably British controlled—public housing complex which immediately questions the reading that this is a clandestine mural sympathetic to the Republican independence movement. Second, the proportions of the mural—three stories tall—are well beyond the capabilities of most clandestine artists, which suggest that this mural was officially sanctioned. And, finally, the mural was left unblemished—if one is to inspect previous photographs of this mural (not included)—during a considerable renovation, including the installation of a new roof, further suggesting that the Protestant Ulster government not only acknowledged the mural but perhaps even commissioned it. The mural, then, cannot be so easily pigeonholed. Like our understanding of arson we must attempt to balance the instrumental and affective aspects of the image itself. Herein lies the crux of Ferrarotti's tripartite analytical method introduced previously.

Keeping with the mural portraying a child wielding a Molotov cocktail (Figure 1) it is instructive to begin this visual analysis here for the image contains two moments of analysis, the mural and the photograph. Without getting mired in photographic theory we must remember that both visual mediums contain an element of composition and both the artist(s) and the photographer(s) consciously chose what to enclose and what to exclude. The ease by which the mural in Figure 1 is so readily identified with the iconography of the Republican resistance was certainly not lost on the artist(s) or the photographer, even if it was not their primary purpose. This tension was brought into sharp relief during the artistic and legal feud between artist Joy Garnett and photographer Susan Meiselas debated in a jointly written article entitled 'On the Rights of Molotov Man' (Garnett and Meiselas, 2007). In that article Garnett explained and defended her 'appropriation' and re-interpretation of Meiselas' celebrated photograph in a collection of 'decontextualized' larger-than-life paintings she called the *Riot Series*. She defended her project as an interest in 'the human figure in *extremis*' (Garnett and Meiselas, 2007: 53) in which she deliberately divorced images culled from internet photo search engines from their original context in an effort to expose at the visceral human experience contained therein. Set against a collage of *agitprop* [agitation propaganda] created in response to the effort to censor her work she lays bare the fundamental question underlying the legal debates over copyright protection and fair use: "Who owns the rights to this man's struggle?" ('nmazca' cited in Garnett and Meiselas, 2007: 55)



Figure 1: 'The Petrol Bomber' © Martin Melaugh <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bogsideartists/>

In her retort to Garnett's position, Meiselas argued that, copyright protections aside, if we are to do justice to our subjects there can be nothing more sacred than the context in which the photograph was originally taken. To understand Meiselas' position we need only consider how once divorced from the context of her initial photograph [partially due to subsequent 'cropping' of the photograph, (see Garnett and Meiselas, 2007: 56)] the image of the Molotov wielding man is easily miscast as a Sandinistan rebel attempting to overthrow the repressive Somozan regime. Placed back into its original form and its original context, however, the iconic Che-like 'revolutionary' is exposed as its antithesis—a member of Somoza's National Guard mounting a last stand against the populist Sandinistan 'rebels'. The fluidity with which 'Molotov man' was so erroneously inverted owes, in part, to the overwhelming crush of images that bombard us daily. As a consequence we often look without truly 'seeing' and just as quickly file



Figure 2: www.theyliewedie.org



Figure 3: © David Sands

images into our subconscious using readily available cognitive heuristics—such as the one that tends to link Molotov cocktails with subversive political movements (Ferrarotti, 1993; Arpan et al., 2006; Garnett, 2004; 2005).

While to a photographer this context-busting interpretive license may be unconscionable, so too is the loose framing practices of the media. Entman suggests that the media ‘[s]elects some aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation’ (1993: 52 cited in Arpan et al, 2006: 3). The media are not alone in this selective reading of history. The art in Figures 2 and 3 intentionally divorces the Molotov wielding figures from any contextual information. In Figure 2 the contextual vacuum of this minimalist drawing begs the viewer to create a context, to create the story, to breathe life into the lifeless figure. Similarly, the shirtless figure in Figure 3 only hints to his grievances (see also Figure 17). Set against a silhouette of the urban jungle the gas mask belies the presence of riot police off in the distance. As Katz reminds us, ‘a tough appearance may be accomplished by using symbols and practical devices that suggest an impenetrable self’ (1988: 81). Figures 1, 3, 6, and 12 illustrate the practical and symbolic flair that such garb offers. As a consequence of these strong countercultural images, the presence of heavily fortified riot police is easily cast as a necessary defense against the pending scourge of chaos and anarchy (see especially Figures 3, 16 and 17). As such, the State is afforded considerable leeway in squelching dissent (even if occasionally affected brutally and unnecessarily) in defense of the *thin blue line* between ‘order’ and ‘anarchy’ (Manning, 1997: 22).

Ultimately, the question of interpretation is not easily resolved and serves many masters. So while Molotov cocktails may have joined bullhorns, cobblestones, and other improvised weapons in the iconography of protests they may not necessarily evoke exactly the image that

those whom drew upon them had in mind—that is, the struggles of dispossessed and indigenous people. The fluidity of interpretation allows an image to be pressed into service simultaneously both for and against the interest(s) of the very subjects contained within them. Balancing the multiple and often conflicting readings is essential if we are to adequately employ visual data in social scientific research. This tension between the multiple readings cannot be resolved, as Susan Meiselas might suggest, by an appeal to the original context of the photograph alone. Nor can this tension be resolved by the employment of some photographic metric. It is through this tension—not its resolution—that we can begin to truly appreciate the salience of photography as both a research tool and research subject. Thus, so as to avoid getting bogged down in the potential quagmire of counter-interpretation (and to adhere to the publication parameters) I have had to select some interpretations to engage with while occasionally setting aside other competing readings for the moment. As I have previously discussed, the photographs have been included for this purpose so as to allow the reader an opportunity to draw their own conclusions. To guide the discussion and reign in the fluidity of interpretation I have adhered closely to the proposed protest arson typology in the following sections.

Proposition 1: The Instrumental Aspects of Protest Arson



Figure 4 © Pierre-Emmanuel Weck



Figure 5 © Hughes Léglise-Bataille www.flickr.com/photos/hughes_leglise

Turning once again to the images, the hapless Citroën captured in both photographs above (Figures 4 and 5) during the recent anti-CPE⁴ protests in Paris captures the overrepresentation of photographers in the modern protest space (see Traugott, 1995)⁵. The apparent disengaged presence of riot police (in the distance beyond the roundabout marker) (Figure 4) appears to further evidence the effort of the State to reframe the protest narrative as one of youthful transgression encouraging the parallels with the recent Parisian riots in which burning cars became synonymous with senseless destruction. (Spicer, 2005; Landler & Smith, 2005) Presumably the riot police could be simply awaiting the anticipated arrival of appropriately equipped firefighters [who consequently arrived soon thereafter (see Hughes Léglise-Bataille's time stamped sequence of photographs)]; however, the absence of an active engagement between the protesters and the riot police successfully disassociates the burning car from the intended protest narrative similarly rendering it little more than senseless destruction.

Turning to the proposed protest arson typology, the seemingly inconsequential Citroën Picasso speaks to part of the first postulate—the destruction of material assets. While the image of other 'high value targets' alight, such as police cars and other government property, may well have proven more iconic (see Figures 6 and 7), the makeshift blazing blockade met all of the requisite categories, namely it was readily available, internationally recognizable and highly flammable. The inconsequentiality of the car, however, suggests that it was chosen primarily for its proximity to the gathered photographers as opposed to some intrinsic quality of the target, as was the case of the destruction of rows of Sport Utility Vehicles [SUVs] at a Californian auto

dealership in 2003 (Rosenzweig, 2004). The utility of arson, in part, is disrupting the normal functioning of the opponent, at least for a time, even when this mythic ‘opponent’ is an unfortunate car owner who simply chose the wrong parking spot (*cf* Gottschalk, 1999). As convicted arsonist and animal rights activist Rod Coronado recalled: ‘After years of rescuing animals from laboratories, it was heartbreaking to see those cages refilled within the following days. And for that reason, arson has become a necessary tool’ (Bradley, 2005).



Figure 6: ‘Molotovs B and C’ © Antitezo www.ourwar.org



Figure 7: 'The Only One' © Antitezo www.ourwar.org

This 'necessary tool' is as much a powerful visual spectacle as a functional mechanical instrument. What Coronado importantly ignores is the impact that headlines like those about the spectacular fires at Michigan State University (for which he was convicted and sent to prison) or Vail Mountain had on the long running animal rights and environmental protection agendas. With the escalation in tactics, the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), Stop Huntingdon [Life Sciences'] Animal Cruelty (SHAC), Earth Liberation Front (ELF) and other radical animal rights and environmental groups succeeded in placing the matter on the public agenda, even if not in the way they might have expected or hoped⁶. Arson, in effect, offers a method to supplant the traditional legal process and ensure immediate satisfaction without the need to 'appeal to texts [or] submit to formal procedures to gain it' (Frierson, 2002: 146; see also Gottschalk, 1999). Arson remains the vehicle through which popular dissatisfaction is now often reified.

Proposition 2: Abandoning Nonviolence



Figure 8: © David Magyar www.fotolap.hu



Figure 9: © Antitezo www.ourwar.org

It is easy to get caught up in the emotive symbolism in the employment of such crude devices against heavy if often unnecessary armaments. Nonetheless, the fact remains, incendiary weapons, like other weapons, are dangerous and potentially deadly as is argued in the second proposition in the protest arson typology (see Figures 8 and 9). Thus we must be careful not to simply subsume all arsons that occur during protests, civil disturbances, or riots under the flag of theatrical civil disobedience or even performative violence. History, as Georges (1975: 206) recounts, is replete with cases in which arson served a genocidal agenda not the least of which were the violent racially-inspired arson attacks during the Los Angeles Anti-Chinese riots of 1871 and the East St. Louis riots of 1917. Returning to the images at hand, even the composed posture of the highly decorated police commander in the foreground of Figure 8 belies the gravity of the encounter, which is more accurately captured by the reaction of those officers who were close enough to apparently set their uniforms ablaze. Similarly, the body armor worn by the riot police in Santiago, Chile (Figure 9) offer little relief from the blistering flames. Whatever one thinks about the policies or politico that brought the two parties into conflict such violence is not easily explained away. How then can those protesting injustice reconcile their own injustices? The ability to reconcile behaviors that are at once dangerous even deadly and allegedly righteous even moral evidences the major shortcoming in the traditional and critical criminological literature alike. Herein lies the crux and strength of Katz's and the cultural criminologist's analyses. Returning to Katz's provocative thesis at length, he captures the paradox of *moral self-transcendence* writing:

Rage is a sophisticated incompetence... rage is often *coherent, disciplined action, cunning in its moral structure*. Would-be killers create their homicidal rage only through a precisely articulated leap to a righteousness, which logically resolves, just for the crucial moment, the animating dilemma. (1988: 30, emphasis added)

The essential, albeit momentary, liberation philosophically 'frees' the protester from the otherwise irreconcilable contradiction in the use of violence to protest intolerable oppression. It is instructive at this juncture to examine the target as not simply a symbolic surrogate for the State rather as a collection of individuals who physically reify the will of the State and perhaps more importantly who betray their traditionally working class pedigree by crushing the actions and interests of the People at the behest of the State.

Proposition 3: Betraying Ones Brethren

In a chapter aptly titled '*Letting Loose The Red Rooster*' Cathy Frierson (2002) lends weight to the third proposition in the protest arson typology as she chronicles the use of arson as a tool of local and interpersonal social control in Late Imperial Russia. Frierson explores the use of arson among members in the community to symbolically punish those who violated community norms thereby challenging the traditional conception of arson as tool of the dispossessed. While peasant-against-gentry incendiary protests were generally targeted at inanimate machinery, storehouses, and property, peasant-against-peasant incendiary protests were more often directed at the offenders' curtilage, residence, or person (Frierson, 2002:117-

126; Smith, 1985: 547; see also Jones, 1982: 47; Hussey and Swash, 1994: 1). More succinctly, arson ‘invoked fear and punished peasant turncoats, while serving as the peasant flag of resistance throughout the land’ (Viola, 1996: 124 cited in Frierson, 2002: 105). As such, protest arson is as much about social control as it is social justice (Frierson, 2002: 122).

While it may be ill advised to speculate as to the class status and motive from photographs of individuals in uniforms—official and clandestine—the various images seem to confirm Frierson’s observations. While not explicitly apparent in the photographs police officers are often presumed to represent blue-collar values and pedigree (Riener, 1978; Manning, 1997); similarly, while protesters represent many walks of life those protesters known or at least thought to often engage in inherently violent confrontations tend to be younger (See Figures 1, 6, 11, and 12). Presumably, then, the young Greek police officers fleeing the barrage of Molotov cocktails in Figure 8 are likely little older than the protesters who had them in their sights (See also Figure 6). If Frierson’s observations do, in fact, hold true empirically, arson as a social control mechanism against perceived working class turncoats adds an interesting avenue for subsequent analyses.

Proposition 4: Proving Ones’ Meddle



Figure 10: ‘Paris Riots #2’ © Richard Slack www.flickr.com/photos/titoslack

These confrontations with the attendant violence and flamboyance are intended to evidence the resolve of the protesters and consequently the gravity of their claims as is argued in the fourth proposition in the protest arson typology. While the mass demonstration in the streets of Paris captured in Figure 10 had already captured the attention of the Parisian police (as seen in formation at the bottom of the photograph) the tangential fire set to the kiosk (or perhaps, public



Figure 11: 'Street Fight' © Phillip Nicholas Hodges

toilet) confirms the crowds' willingness to move beyond non-violent civil disobedience (see also Figure 16). The escalation in tactics effectively forces the State's hand thereby expediting the transition into open confrontation. While potentially little more than a rallying cry, the message also becomes a cry for solidarity in the face of an overwhelming challenge (Rhodes 2001; Juris, 2005; Canetti, 1962).

In the same vein the young Palestinian boys in Figure 11 are certainly old enough to appreciate the irony and futility of throwing stones at a heavily fortified tank, the deed is presumably cathartic—believed to be a righteous, if ineffective, response to the ongoing occupation and genocide (Katz, 1988: 323; see also Figure 1). The older youth in the foreground in the midst of throwing a rock appears to be explicitly and implicitly instructing the other youngsters how to target the Israeli troops while protecting ones' self from the return volley of ammunition—rubber or otherwise. The older youth functions both as guide and mentor confirming that one's willingness to engage the enemy is a powerful *'rite of passage'* that simultaneously confirms their level of commitment and 'masculine political identity' (Juris, 2005: 416; see also Rhodes, 2001:3). Turning once again to Katz (1988: 24):

The loss of control over one's identity may seem irremediable when injury has been inflicted on one's public image; image or reputation is social and therefore, outside one's personal control. The experience of public degradation carries the fear of bearing the stigma of disgrace eternally.

Presumably for these Palestinian youths the resounding thud of rock upon steel is the universal signal that the incivilities and atrocities visited upon the Palestinian populace



Figure 12: 'Against the Cops and the Repression' © Antitezo www.ourwar.org



Figure 13: © Hughes Légise-Bataille www.flickr.com/photos/hughes_leglise

will not pass unnoticed and unmatched. It should follow that the rocks and Molotov cocktails are not means in of themselves; rather, they are seen as purposeful warning shots fired over the bow of (what they would likely see as) the wayward Israeli military machine (see also Figures 6 and 7 from Santiago, Chile). Thus, Molotov cocktails being thrown at heavily fortified agents of the state powerfully signal the righteous potential of fire:

The possession of fire enabled humans to literally play at [G]od, to control life, to conquer and create yet also to resist, thus moulding our emotional responses to the possibility of its power. Ancient tyrants could instill fear through the burning of towns and villages yet the oppressed, in turn, use fire to destroy the possessions of the tyrant, making fire a genuine tool of resistance. (Presdee, 2005: 74)

Proposition 5: Placing Ones' Grievances on the Public Agenda

The communicative potential of fire rests in its exigency. It demands that we take a stance. To some it immediately elicits thoughts of unfettered destruction and chaos. To others it is redemptive and regenerative. Read against a political narrative fire projects these very same images and elicits the same raw emotion. The strength and longevity of protest arson is partially attributable to the fact that it is not as easily dismissed or ignored as other more peaceable protest tactics. Against the carnivalesque backdrop of often- highly choreographed protest space performative violence is designed to generate considerable public attention and, it is hoped, public deliberation.

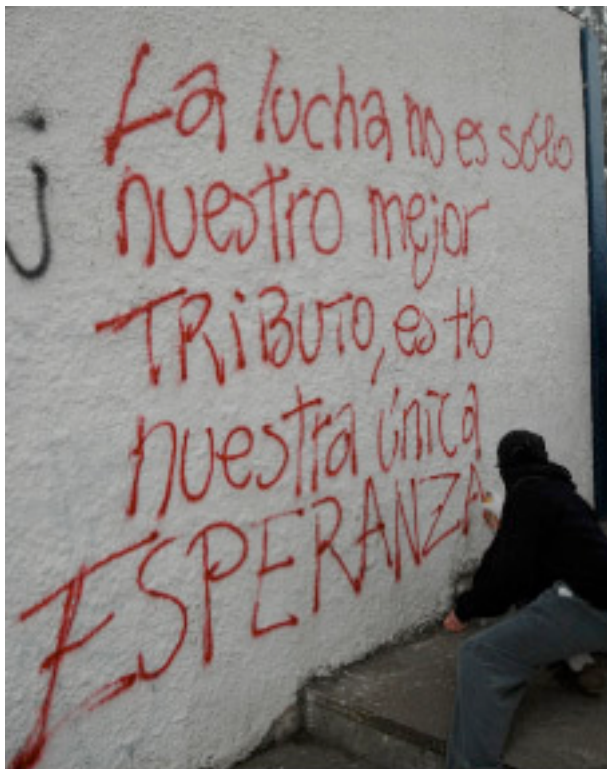


Figure 14: © Antitezo www.ourwar.org "Our fight is not only a tribute, it's also our only hope"



Figure 15: 'Fetishization of Sacrifice' © Kevin Marzahl

Recalling Habermas' observations that civil disobedience is, in part, an appeal to the publics' sense of justice one is well served to examine the deliberate staging of confrontations that underscore the disproportionality between the protesters and the State. The humorously outfitted protester in Figure 13 playfully questions the need for such heavily fortified forces to contend with deliberately disempowered protesters. The makeshift armor and costuming recalls an era in which street performers would covertly convey hard-hitting political and social commentary through the medium of comedy.

These carnivalesque non-confrontational tactics, also employed by groups such as *Reclaim the Streets* or the *Pink Bloc*, are powerful "figure events" deliberately employed to challenge the States definition of and monopoly on *public order*' (Deluca, 1999, emphasis in original; see also Juris, 2005).

The playfulness of groups like *Reclaim the Streets* should not be misinterpreted as adolescent antics for the festiveness generally belies a steadfast commitment to the cause. Nowhere is this more graphically illustrated than with the practice of self-immolation. Self-immolation, or setting oneself on fire, may well be the most forceful statement of ones' convictions and commitment to the 'do-no-harm-to-others' ethic of non-violence. This particularly gruesome technique was made famous in 1963 by the Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc in Vietnam and has been repeated countless times since then (*cf* Biggs, 2005; MSNBC, 2006). The abstracted stencil in Figure 15 attempts to capture our uncomfortable fascination with the grotesque. Much like the earlier artwork, the stencil begs of the viewer to develop its context, to impart his or her own story into this



Figure 16: © Rob Hearne www.robphoto.ie



Figure 17: www.theyliewedie.org

grotesque, albeit abstracted, image. The horrifying image of a person engulfed in flames is designed to stimulate intense public outrage and debate. As self-immolator Malachi Ritscher wrote in his suicide note posted for public consumption on his personal website:

What is one more life thrown away in this sad and useless national tragedy? If one death can atone for anything, in any small way, to say to the world: I apologize for what we have done to you, I am ashamed for the mayhem and turmoil caused by my country. (Ritscher, 2006)

Ritscher's largely unnoticed display of fatalism was his call for a forum—a forum to debate whether his actions were that of a 'martyr or terrorist', a forum to debate the course of this 'national tragedy' (MSNBC, 2006). Ritscher—like the Weather Underground years earlier, whose clandestine publication bore the telling title, *Prairie Fire*—hoped to spark a critical mass of collective outrage at American foreign and domestic policy that would gather momentum as it swept across the land.

Like Ritscher's horrific demise and protest arson more generally, the message in Figure 14 is directed as much to the general public as to their fellow compatriots. The message is a deliberate self-justification that seeks to reorient the popular conception of the movement through a medium that is not immediately subject to the will of the State (*cf.* Smith, et al, 2001).



Figure 18: © Hughes Légise-Bataille www.flickr.com/photos/hughes_leglise



Figure 19 © Pierre-Hervé Vérant

Like the use of highly visible tactics before throngs of photographers, street art is an effort to transfix the struggle within the public sphere, that is, to push the deliberations beyond the physical confrontations of the protest sphere to the reasoned dialogue of grassroots movements. Similarly, the French firefighters in Figure 18 and Figure 19 evoke the images of Molotov cocktails and street confrontation to catapult their contractual grievances onto the public stage. The sight of uniformed public servants lobbing simulated Molotov cocktails (actually relatively harmless safety flares) at heavily armed riot police signals the perceived gravity of their claims. In that way, the firefighters protest is most peculiar. The firefighters' protest demands that the public render a verdict in the counter claims to public safety. Like protesters more generally the firefighters in the photographs beg of the public, does the States' demand for 'public order' trump the citizens' demands for 'public safety' or said more broadly, in whose interest is defense of the status quo—the State or the People? For many wielding the wily 'red rooster' vigorously, yet succinctly, punctuates their respective claims. Those who were willing to employ arson in the protest sphere join 'an international fraternity of sorts, a community of frustrated and disenfranchised people who [protest] the injustice of their situation through incendiarism' (Frierson, 2002: 127)

Proposition 6: The Righteous Promise of Fire

Through fire everything changes. When we want everything to be changed we call on fire.
(Bachelard, 1938/1964: 57)

The most elemental question that has to this point remained unasked is perhaps the most important—why fire? The answer(s) may be as elusive as the question. The primacy of fire has emerged as the unifying trope woven throughout this essay. Unfortunately, however, fire and consequently arson remains just as enigmatic as before. The ubiquity of our experience with fire has rendered it effectively banal. Fire simply is. Fire is so fundamental few have paused to ponder its persistent ecological, anthropological, linguistic and symbolic import (Pyne, 1995). For legal scholar Robert Tsai the salience and persistence of fire owes much to its emotionality, that is, fire has escaped banality despite its regularity because of what it evokes in us:

We learn as young children that fire can hurt us. It can burn our body and lay waste to our home. It is at once terrifying and alluring, intense and blinding... The enduring image of fire—as well as our fascination with and understanding of its manifold characteristics—permeates our daily lives, flickering in and out of everyday language. (2004: 183)

The language of fire speaks to each of us differently. While some are content to simply employ fire to warm chilly evenings or enliven daily discourse others are only content along the existential boundary where the employment, and even enjoyment, of fire comes alive. One need only examine the contemporary practice of fire revelry prominently displayed at the annual artsy countercultural Burning Man Festival, in general, and the one-off arcade-style dancing contest featuring industrial blowtorches cleverly termed Dance Dance Immolation, in particular⁷. In this way, fire and crime are conceptually interchangeable, each equally ‘terrifying and alluring, intense and blinding’.

At this juncture we are once again reminded to bring into relief the tension between the instrumental and affective aspects of the crime of arson. Once we look beyond the emotive and symbolic aspects we find another reason for the persistent use of arson, political or otherwise, namely its devastating mechanical efficiency. Once ignited fires grow exponentially without requiring much in the way of technical skill or materials beyond what is generally available in the immediate area. The tactical efficacy of arson fosters a strong collective response which tends to resonate loudly: ‘The act of starting the fire—covert and individualistic—[is distinguished] from the subsequent reactions that the fire engender—overt and collective’ (Archer, 1990: 24 cited in Frierson, 2002: 145). Thus, arson is the archetypal form of ‘underground terrorism’ (Frierson, 2002: 145). By way of an example, one need only consider the plight of Blacks in the Reconstruction South. Overt retribution against the treatment by landed Whites was not only likely to be ineffective but also potentially suicidal. Thus, the covert nature of arson offered a capable tool through which ‘justice’ could be redistributed (Smith, 1985: 555). Similarly, unlike other more technically complicated forms of crime, or even forms of ‘terrorism’, we cannot attempt to stamp it out by limiting access to its component parts, as we might be able to with, say, ammonium nitrate. As Lt. Colonel Robert Baird (2006) laments, our historical susceptibility to fire, especially wildfire, has rendered this our most visible Achilles heal.

The persistent employment of nature’s crudest tool should not be surprising. For fire need not be necessarily associated with destruction but also with rebirth and regeneration. Thus,

fire is not only employed to capture the fleeting attention of the international media but just as importantly to breathe new life into withering campaigns.

Turning once again to the striking poetics of Gaston Bachelard,

[F]ire suggests the desire to change, to speed up the passage of time, to bring all of life to its conclusion, to its hereafter. ... Destruction is more than a change, it is a renewal. (1938/1964: 16)

Like the promise of a sapling poking through the blackened forest after a devastating wildfire, fire persists more for the hope it provides those who wield it than for the despair it brings to those it is wielded against. The potential for redemption lies in part in subsequent deliberation after the destruction. Recalling Rod Coronado's post-hoc play for legitimacy, he was banking on the conscious reflection of those affected whether to rebuild those very same buildings and thus perpetuate the allegedly 'grievous' practices that drew his wrath in the first place. Whether he was successful in convincing them to reconsider their 'misguided' ways or whether those affected simply refused to be 'intimidated' is another matter entirely. What remains significant is the self-justifying logic that underpins such a powerful event. We must therefore avoid the disciplinary temptation to render the tactical selection of fire insignificant by subsuming it in a flat narrative on tactical choices alongside other protest or 'terrorist' tactics.

The use of fire must never be divorced from its particular cultural and historical context. This cultural and historical context should also take into account the historical complexity of the crime of arson itself. While arson was Congressionally upgraded to a Part 1 crime (as catalogued annually by the FBI Uniform Crime Reports) during the height of the 'arson epidemic' of the late 1970s and early 1980s, arson statistics are still regularly excluded from most annual crime calculations (Douglas et al, 1992). Consequently, the crime of arson does not lend itself to traditional criminological analyses. Arson in the protest sphere is even more problematic. With a mind to methodological specificity it is easy to get mired in definitional limbo attempting to distinguish between arson that is 'an integral phase of riot behavior and [that which is] a criminal act committed independent of any form of collective violence' (Georges, 1975: 203). This heuristic dichotomy is ultimately of limited utility. Rather, it is instructive to read arson in the protest sphere as part of a 'conversation between two parties in conflict' (Frierson, 2002: 149)—a conversation in which arson becomes so iconic to approach sublime.

Conclusions: The Seductions of Protest Arson

To conclude, this essay simultaneously explored the persistent use of arson during political insurrections while also exploring the use of found images, or the debris of everyday life, as Presdee has come to term it, in the growing field of visual methods. Such methodological and empirical fluidity is certain to offend the scientific desire for specificity so vigorously championed by some; however, the intent of this essay was not to make definitive statements on method or subject rather to challenge the disciplinary boundaries that partition off as much as they include. The challenge with such an undertaking, particularly with such an emotive subject matter, was how to navigate such fluid boundaries without surrendering to the pornographic temptation to simply celebrate the image or the subject matter. The difficulties inherent in employing such vivid imagery should not preclude an active engagement with the material nor

should it be seen as evidence for the need for some sort of positivistic metric wherein the richness of visual data is carefully shoehorned into more comfortable methodological territory. Freed from the straightjacket of disciplinary and methodological boundaries we can begin to cast our net wider without sacrificing our genuine concern for precision. For if we are willing to scavenge and salvage (be that data or disciplines) that which others might mindlessly dispose, we will find that it is this debris that most vividly illustrates the complexities of our modern condition (Ferrell 2006).

Returning to the proposed protest arson typology the photographs and the analysis have largely supported the first five propositions. Arson is quite obviously mechanically efficient when set to inflammable materials such as the hapless Citroën in Figures 4 and 5. Similarly, arson is devastatingly efficient when employed against persons. As Figures 8 and 9 depict, when thrown at persons Molotov cocktails are extremely dangerous and can result in horrific injuries and death. Most protest arson, however, does not appear intended to explicitly harm persons. Much of the confrontation in the protest space was shown to be symbolic and performative. In fact, the carefully scripted phalanx of riot police (often backed by water cannons) and the ad hoc assemblages of emboldened rioters (occasionally armed with crude Molotov cocktails) are independently yet complimentary claims to the same hyper-contested protest sphere—each action more cathartic and symbolic than the last.

In total, the images included in this analysis lent considerable support to the final proposition in the protest arson typology, namely, that arson is employed to answer a perceived challenge to one's life, sovereignty or honor. In dramatic, if occasionally violent, confrontations the protesters fight for not only the recognition of their grievances but also their humanity. As William Faulkner powerfully captured in his famous 'Barn Burning', 'the element of fire spoke to some deep mainspring of his...being, as the element of steel or of powder spoke to other men, as the one weapon for the preservation of integrity, else breath were not worth the breathing...' (Faulkner, 1950: 7-8). The employment of Molotov cocktails, and other forms of protest arson, then can be viewed as an emotional last-ditch effort to salvage one's integrity and sovereignty in the shadow of an overwhelming foe. Whether we are willing to grant them this air of legitimacy is another matter entirely. For regardless of whether we agree with the methods or motives of those we study we must, as a matter of practice, take seriously both that which animates them and that which they hope to animate.

Arson largely remains the de facto tactic of political insurrection. As Stephen Pyne (1995: 31) reminds us, insurrection is a clandestine art of opportunity: 'Carry a gun and you'll shoot it. Carry a rock and you'll throw it. Carry a stick and you'll set fire to the landscape around you'. Pyne continues, in Greece (and to a lesser extent the rest of the world) 'apart from outright war, almost any form of social unrest, from political protest to economic sabotage to insurrection, has quickly translated to fire. Citizens vote with the torch' (Pyne, 1995: 97; see also Figure 8).

Notes

1. In the protest sphere the iconic Molotov cocktail has become the archetypal form of protest—in a sense the *symbole de la résistance*. Molotov cocktails, firebombs, or petrol bombs, as

they also known, are improvised incendiary devices traditionally consisting of a glass bottle filled with a flammable mixture of gasoline, kerosene, oil, and/or Styrofoam and a wick which is then lit and manually thrown at a suitable target with the intention of setting the target alight (*cf* 26 U.S.C § 5845(f)(1); see also Hinds-Aldrich, 2006 for further discussion of the problematic linguistic liberation of otherwise distinct terms such as ‘firebombing’ and arson).

2. This protest arson typology should be understood as a conceptual heuristic, proposed, in this instance, principally to interrogate and analyze the images, which serve as the foci of this analysis. Employed in this way, this heuristic is not intended to serve as a stand-alone arson typology. Thus I hope to preempt the all too common tendency to presume that an empirical typology (especially ones based upon only those cases that successfully passed through the numerous filters of the criminal justice system) is a sufficient analytical foundation to base subsequent analyses, or worryingly, to orient our understanding and explain the behavior of ‘offenders’ in the practical sphere. Douglas *et al*’s (1992) arson typology, which consists of vandalism, revenge, excitement, profit, crime-concealment, and extremism, makes strides to strip away the layers of psychological obfuscation that have plagued previous typologies of arson although their wide remit and ideological commitments as career practitioners collude to limit our understanding of protest arson, for example, to the intrinsically polemical categories of extremism and/or vandalism. For a brief survey of the various historical classificatory efforts for the crime of arson see Doley (2003).
3. The author is particularly indebted to the photographers and artists who graciously granted free and unfettered permission to use the photographs contained herein without which such a project would certainly collapse. Web addresses were included in the captions of some pictures at the request of several of the photographers.
4. The anti-CPE [Contrat Première Embauche] movement is opposed to a series of changes to the labor law and policy in France that would allow employers more flexibility to hire and fire young workers in the early years of their contracts.
5. In the Flickr® comment section for a photograph entitled *March 18, 2006 – 18:21: Media Circus* (Figure 20 below) Hughes Légglise-Bataille astutely observes:
 Seeing the number of photographers (both pro and amateur), one can’t help thinking that to some extent, this is a big circus for the media where everyone is playing his [or her] part, from the ‘casseurs’ to the police to... the photographers.
 Disturbing...



Figure 20: 'March 18, 2006 – 18:21: Media Circus' © Hughes Légglise-Bataille
www.flickr.com/photos/hughes_legglise/115168048

6. Consider, for instance, the Environmental Corrupt Organizations-Preventive Legislation and Neutralization (ECO-PLAN) 'model legislation' developed and forwarded by the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) which seeks to extend Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization (RICO) legislation to environmental or animal rights organizations and to seize the assets of organizations (such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals [PETA] in certain cases) with ties to convicted 'eco-terrorists' among other rather draconian punitive measures.
7. See Lee Gilmore's treatment of the performative nature of fire revelry at the Burning Man Festival cleverly entitled, *Theater in a Crowded Fire: Spirituality, Ritualization, and Cultural Preformativity at the Burning Man Festival* (2005) [Gilmore's title plays upon a popular, albeit inaccurate, quotation by the late US Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. (249 U.S. 47 1919) who is often misquoted as having retorted that "shouting fire in a crowded theater" is but one example of speech that is not protected by the First Amendment of the US Constitution]. In Figure 21 below the Dance Dance Immolation 'contestant' must dance as instructed on the screen while wearing an aluminum foil like 'proximity' aircraft firefighting suit. With ironic parallels to some religious beliefs about punishment it only takes one misstep and the wayward 'contestant' is met with the hellfire of damnation—in this case a blast from an industrial blowtorch.



Figure 21 'Dance Dance Immolation' © Kristen Anklewicz

ENDNOTE

Matt Hinds-Aldrich is a postgraduate student and assistant lecturer in Sociology at the School for Social Policy, Sociology and Social Research at the University of Kent at Canterbury, UK. His current work concerns the sociology of the fire service, the discourses of risk, and cultural criminology. He wishes to thank Keith Hayward, Tim Strangleman, Greg Howard, Michael Biggs, Elaine Alden and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful and detailed comments on previous drafts of this manuscript. He can be contacted at m.i.hinds-aldrich@kent.ac.uk

REFERENCES

- Arpan, L. M., Baker, K., Lee, Y., Jung, T. Lorusso, L. and Smith, J. (2006). News Coverage of Social Protests and the Effects of Photographs and Prior Attitudes. *Mass Communication & Society*, 9(1): 1-20.
- Bachelard, G. (1964). *Psychoanalysis of Fire*. (A. C. M. Ross, Trans.) Boston: Beacon Press. (Original work published 1938).
- Baird, R. A. (2006) Pyro-Terroism—The Threat of Arson-Induced Forest Fires as a Future Terrorist Weapon of Mass Destruction. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 29: 415-428.

- Becher B and Becher H. (1980). "Water Towers". Black-and-white photographs mounted on board. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
- Becker, H. S. (1974). Photography and Sociology. *Studies in Visual Communication*, 1: 3-26.
- Becker, H. S. (1981). *Exploring Society Photographically*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Becker, H. S. (1986). *Doing Things Together*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern Univ. Press.
- Becker, H. S. (1998). Categories and Comparisons: How We Find Meaning in Photographs. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 14 (2): 3-10.
- Biggs, M. (2005). "Dying without Killing: Self-Immolations, 1963-2002" in Diego Gambetta (ed) *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bradley, E (Correspondent). (2005, November 13). 'Burning Rage'. *Sixty Minutes* [Television broadcast]. New York: CBS News.
- Canetti, E. (1962). *Crowds and Power*. New York: Viking Press.
- DeLuca, K. M. (1999). *Image Politics: The New Rhetoric of Environmental Activism*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Doley, R. (2003). Making Sense of Arson Through Classification. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 10 (2): 346-352.
- Douglas, J., Burgess, A. and Ressler, R. (1992). *Crime Classification Manual*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Faulkner, W. (1950). *Collected Stories*. New York: Random House.
- Feldman, A. (1991). *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ferrarotti, F. (1993). Culture and Photography: Reading Sociology Through A Lens. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 7 (1): 75-95.
- Ferrell, J. (1995). Culture, Crime, and Cultural Criminology. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture*, 3 (2): 25-42.
- Ferrell, J. (2002). *Tearing Down the Streets: Adventures in Urban Anarchy*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Ferrell, J. (2006). *Empire of Scrounge*. NY: NYU Press.
- Frierson, C. (2002). *All Russia Is Burning: A Cultural History of Fire and Arson in Late Imperial Russia*. WA: University of Washington Press.
- Garnett, J. (2004). *In Their Own Words: Joy Garnett*. NYFA Interactive. Accessed 31 March

2007 from <http://www.nyfa.org/level3.asp?id=349&fid=4&sid=8>

Garnett, J. (2005). Follow the Image. *Cultural Politics*, 1 (1): 119-134

Garnett, J. and Meiselas, S. (2007, February). On the Rights of Molotov Man: Appropriation and the art of context. *Harper's Magazine*: 52-58.

Georges, D. E. (1975). The Ecology of Urban Unrest: The Case of Arson—Newark, New Jersey, July 1967. *Environmental Systems*, 5(3): 203-228.

Gilmore, L. (2005). Theater in a Crowded Fire: Spirituality, Ritualization, and Cultural Preformativity at the Burning Man Festival. University of California at Berkeley: Unpublished Dissertation.

Gottschalk, M. (1999). Monkeywrenching as Punishment? *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 10(2): 193-211.

Guitta, Olivier. (2005, Sept. 19). Homegrown Gangstas; France Faces a Wave of Domestically Produced Anti-French Rap. *The Daily Standard*.

Habermas, J. (2002). '*Civil Society and the Political Public Sphere*.' In C. Calhoun, J. Gerteis, J. Moody, S. Pfaff, and I. Virk (eds.) *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Harper, D. (1989). '*Visual Sociology: Expanding Sociological Vision*.' In Grant Blank, James McCartney and Edward Brent (eds.) *New Technology in Sociology: Practical Applications in Research and Work*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Hayward, K. J. and Young, J. (2004). Cultural Criminology: Some Notes on the Script. *Theoretical Criminology*, 8 (3): 259-73.

Hinds-Aldrich, M. I. (2006). Burning Construction: From Pathogenic Etiology to Terrorist Ideology the Social Construction of Arson. Eastern Kentucky University: Unpublished Thesis.

Juris, J. S. (2005). Violence Performed and Imagined: Militant Action, the Black Bloc and the Mass Media in Genoa. *Critique of Anthropology*, 25(4): 413-432.

Katz, J. (1988). *The Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions of Doing Evil*. Basic Books

Landler, M. & Smith, C.S. (2005, November 8). French Officials Try to Ease Fear as Crisis Swells. *New York Times*. P.A1.

Manning, P. (1997). *Police Work*. 2nd Ed. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.

Mead, M. & Bateson, G. (1942). *Balinese Character*. NY: New York Academy of Sciences.

MSNBC. (2006, November 27). War Protester's Fiery Suicide Provokes Questions. Accessed 14

April 2007 from <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/15916765>

Presdee, M. (2000). *Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime*. London: Routledge.

Presdee, M. (2005). *Burning Issues: Fire, Carnival, and Crime*. In M. Peelo & K. Soothill (Eds.), *Questioning Crime and Criminology* (pp.69-82). Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.

Pyne, S. J. (1995). *World Fire: The culture of fire on earth*. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

Rhodes, J. P. (2001). *The Voice of Violence: Performative Violence as Protest in the Vietnam Era*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Riener, R. (1978). *Blue-Coated Worker: A Sociological Study of Police Unionism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ritscher, M. (2006). *Mission Statement*. Accessed 14 April 2007 from www.savagesound.com/gallery99.htm

Rosenzweig, D. (2004, November 10). *Trial Opens in SUV Arson*. L.A. Times. B3.

Schwartz, D. (2002). *Pictures at a Demonstration*. *Visual Studies*, 17(1): 27-36.

'Shen, K' and 'Starr, J.' (1995). *Qu'est-Ce Qu'on Attend [Supême NTM] Paris Sous Les Bombes [CD]*. Sony Records.

Smith, A. C. (1985). "Southern Violence" Reconsidered: Arson as Protest in Black-Belt Georgia, 1865-1910. *The Journal of Southern History*, 51 (4): 527-564

Smith, J., McCarthy, J. D., McPhail, C., and Augustyn, B. (2001). *From Protest to Agenda Building: Description Bias in Media Coverage of Protest Events in Washington, D.C.* *Social Forces*, 79 (4): 1397-1423.

Sontag, S. (1977). *On Photography*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Spicer, K. (2005, November 8). *Paris is on Fire*. *The [Montreal] Gazette*. P.A25.

Strangleman, T. (2008). *Representations of Labour: Visual Sociology and Work*. *Sociological Compass*, 2 (5): 1491-1505.

Sun-tzu. (1994) *The Art of War*. (R. D. Sawyer, Trans.) New York: Barnes & Noble. (Unknown original publication date).

Tilley, C. (1978). *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Westley.

Tilley, C. (1995). 'Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain, 1758-1834.' In M Traugott (Ed.) *Repertoires & Cycles of Collective Action*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Traugott, M. (1995). 'Barricades as Repertoire: Continuities and Discontinuities in the History of French Contention.' In M Traugott (Ed.) *Repertoires & Cycles of Collective Action*.

Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Tsai, R. L. (2004). Fire, Metaphor and Constitutional Myth-Making. *Georgetown Law Journal*, 93: 181-254.

United States Code. (n.d.). Definitions: Destructive Devices. 26 U.S.C § 5845(f)(1).

United States Supreme Court. (1919) *Schenck v. United States* 249 U. S. 47.