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Title:

Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, Chapter 16 'Emotions of Protest'

Abstract:

Emotions have motivated, maintained, and even brought about the decline of protest movements. Organisers and protesters have harnessed the energy of a range of feelings, from anger and indignation to joyous defiance. They have done this to bind members together, interface with the opposition and elicit sympathy from the general public. This chapter will outline the vital role that emotions have played in historic protest movements. It will examine the growing and changing media through which protest movements have expressed emotions including, for example, print culture, political ephemera, public demonstrations and social media. It will introduce a range of historiographical issues scholars might encounter when reconstructing a history of political emotions using an ever-growing and diverse body of sources.

Chapter:

In 2016, when Hillary Clinton was running against Donald Trump in the US presidential race, the US media – indeed, the global media – was saturated with the emotions of politics and political protest. Trump's rhetorical attacks on women and minorities and his 'Make America Great Again' slogan were aimed at restoring white working-class men's pride; negating their shame and relegitimising their place in American society.[1] Trump's deployment of emotive strategies sparked a passionate backlash headed by feminists, including Clinton, which sought to call him out for, among other things, his offensive and crude misogyny.[2] Clinton herself did not escape being tainted by the emotions of political protest, even those of feminist protest. Rather, she was shamed in the media as every form of 'bad' feminist.[3] Commentators, from actors to activists, labelled her a bad pacifist feminist, bad intersectional feminist and a bad 'blame-the-woman' feminist.[4] In turn, these accusations spurred yet further emotional outbursts. An older generation of feminists smeared younger women who favoured more left-leaning Democrat Bernie Sanders over Clinton – the woman who could potentially be the first of her sex to occupy the highest position in US politics. For instance, 1970s feminist icon Gloria Steinem labelled them frivolous, boy-chasing girls. Former secretary of state Madeleine Albright also weighed in, telling Sanders-favouring women that they had ‘a special place in hell’ because they did not champion gender solidarity.[5]

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[1] Chris Wallace, 'Shame as a Political Weapon: Donald Trump and the US Presidential Election', *The Conversation*, 1 December 2016, https://theconversation.com/shame-as-a-political-weapon-donald-trump-and-the-us-presidential-election-69029, accessed 9 September 2019.

[2] Danielle Paquette, 'Public Slut-Shaming and Donald Trump's Attack on a Former Miss Universe's Alleged Sex History', *The Washington Post*, 30 September 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2016/09/30/public-slut-shaming-and-donald-trumps-attack-on-a-former-miss-universitys-alleged-sex-history/?noredirect=on, accessed 9 September 2019.

[3] Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, 'What's Gender Solidarity Got to Do with It? Woman Shaming and Hillary Clinton', *The Conversation*, 8 November 2016, https://theconversation.com/whats-gender-solidarity-got-to-do-with-it-woman-shaming-and-hillary-clinton-68325, accessed 9 September 2019.

[4] Douglas Ernst, 'Susan Sarandon: Hillary Clinton "more dangerous" than Trump', *The Washington Times*, 3 June 2016, https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2016/jun/3/susan-sarandon-says-hillary-clinton-more-dangerous/, accessed 9 September 2019; and, Amanda Erickson, 'The Flawed Feminist Case against Hillary Clinton', *The Washington Post*, 28 July 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/book-party/wp/2016/07/28/the-flawed-feminist-case-against-hillary-clinton/, accessed 9 September 2019.

Trump’s eventual success spurred arguably the largest single-day protest in US history: an orchestrated set of Women’s Marches that unified protesters from diverse political camps (including LGBTQ rights, environmental politics, immigration reform and other human rights branches). These marches were replicated globally (approximately five million people in 673 marches across 81 countries).[6] The emotional pitch was feverish, and this intense feeling was strategically deployed by intersecting political organisations.

What that 2016 political process – and many more before and after it – has demonstrated is that emotions are inescapably implicated in the realm of politics. The feminist in-fighting, the intra- and inter-party rivalries, the feminist/anti-feminist collisions and the mass coordinated protests – all revealing uncomfortably high levels of emotional investment in the 2016 presidential outcome – demonstrate the multifarious uses and abuses of emotions in national and international politics. The tactics deployed by those on all sides of the political divide – the hurt that stemmed from the strategic use of vitriolic forms of shaming, as well as the sense of solidarity that derived from being a member of a group that rallied against such negative impositions – all of this confirmed that virtually no cause, no campaign and no campaigner was free of emotions, spontaneous or planned.

Yet, academics have been slow to centre their investigations on the often leading or at least highly influential role that emotions play in political machinations. Over the past two decades, sociologists have turned their attention to this phenomenon. Historians, however, have been hesitant to enter the fray. While sociologists can interview their subjects to determine their emotional motivations and strategies, historians recognise that their access to the emotions of protest tend to lie elsewhere than in the minds of live subjects. They must be creative in seeking out alternative sources. Some historians have addressed these challenges to produce a small, but growing, body of research.

This chapter will outline possible approaches for scholars wishing to enter this realm of historical enquiry. It will trace the place of emotions in the history of politics while also detailing the work undertaken by sociologists on the relationship between politics and emotions. What implications might this research have for the historiography of protest emotions? The essay will then offer examples of histories of the emotions of protest and explore some of the opportunities and challenges faced by researchers working in the area, including: the emotions of workers and workers’ movements; campaigns that harness fear and those that centre on dignified or joyous defiance; feminist protest as a means of accessing the interface between protestors and opponents; and transient emotional sources and the growing volume of digitised sources.

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[5] Kathleen Parker, ‘What Steinem, Albright, and Clinton don’t get about Millennial Women’, *The Washington Post*, 9 February 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/what-steinem-albright-and-clinton-dont-get-about-millennial-women/2016/02/09/7d156d80-cf73-11e5-abc9-ea152f0b9561_story.html, accessed 9 September 2019.

[6] Matt Broomfield, ‘Women’s March against Donald Trump is the Largest Day of Protests in US History, say Political Scientists’, *The Independent*, 25 January 2017, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/womens-march-anti-donald-trump-womens-rights-largest-protest-demonstration-us-history-political-a7541081.html, accessed 9 September 2019; and Sharon Crozier-De Rosa and Vera Mackie, *Remembering Women’s Activism* (Oxford: Routledge, 2019), 7.

Writing emotions into histories of politics

German emotions historian, Ute Frevert points out that the relationship between politics and emotions is not a new subject. As far back as classical Athens, practitioners and theoreticians of politics have clearly understood that the two are deeply connected. Aristotle, she said, gave advice about how good orators could use rhetorical strategies to move their listeners – to make them feel certain emotions which would help speakers to achieve their political ends. This advice, Frevert states, was taken up by a number of influential leaders, from Pericles in ancient Greece to Abraham Lincoln during the American Civil War.[7]

However, despite the obvious presence of emotions in politics, sociologists Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta argue that there has been some hesitation on the part of academic observers to admit to this presence. Instead, they have managed to 'ignore the swirl of passions all around them in political life'.[8]

In accounting for this relative absence, political scientist Carol Johnson cites the perceived gendered nature of emotions generally. Traditionally, emotion was associated with the feminised private sphere of home and family, while emotion's supposed antithesis, reason, was associated with the masculinised public world of business and politics.[9]

James Jasper agrees. He argues that this dualism – reason versus emotion – has two thousand years of Western philosophy behind it. As he explains it, politically, a traditional dualism existed between 'incompetent (emotional) masses and masterful (rational, calculating) elites'. In Plato's day, it was slaves who were deemed incapable of reason, driven only by 'appetites'. In the nineteenth century, Jasper traces this maligning of groups of people as irrational to the emerging working class. For centuries, he adds, women were considered far too emotional to make decisions, hence their exclusion from democratic processes, including voting. In the twentieth century, he concludes, the study of protest and that of voting went separate but parallel ways. Sociology absorbed the former and social sciences the latter. But the central debate in both fields was whether rationality or irrationality characterised 'normal' people's engagements with politics.[10]

Sociology may have absorbed the study of protest more generally, but by the mid-twentieth century history had turned to the study of the crowd. In 1985, in their ground-breaking text on 'emotionology', Carol Stearns and Peter Stearns noted that historians who had begun writing crowd history in the 1960s, like George Rudé and Charles Tilly, took the approach that rioters tended to carefully and logically formulate their goals and choose their targets.[11] Twenty years later and the historical study of protest remained dominated 'by the claim to rationality, to the extent that some authorities argue that emotions enters their subjects not at all'.[12] Doubtless, these proponents of the logical and rational crowd were retaliating against the pioneering study of crowd psychology – *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* written by Gustave Le Bon in 1895 – which characterised crowd motivations and actions as impulsive, unreasoning and primitive. Stearns' and Stearns' article extended this explanation. It was not simply that twentieth-century crowd historians were directing their energies towards refuting Le Bon's characterisations, but rather that they did not consider the emotional dynamics of protest movements as being relevant. Instead, 'Emotionology' argued, they deemed emotions to be 'an irrelevant by-product of protest, whose contours are firmly determined by organizational potential and rational crowd goals'.[13]

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[7] Ute Frevert, 'Emotional Politics', The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy Annual Lecture presented in The Hague on 24 January 2019, file:///C:/Users/sharo/Downloads/ute-frevert-emotional-politics-wrr-lecture-2019%20(1).pdf, accessed 9 September 2019.

[8] Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta, 'Introduction: Why Emotions Matter', in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements,* ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 1–24 (1–2).

[9] Carol Johnson, 'From Obama to Abbott: Gender Identity and the Politics of Emotion', *Australian Feminist Studies* 28, no. 75 (2013): 14–29 (15).

[10] James Jasper, *The Emotions of Protest* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2018), 7.

Whether new histories of protest from the 1960s onwards denied the relevance of emotions due to a deliberate strategy of combating earlier characterisations of the impulsive crowd that worked to delegitimise its grievances and goals or whether they simply overlooked the significant role played by emotions in political machinations, it remains that until very recently historians have omitted consideration of emotions from their protest histories. As I have said, the most detailed and extensive work carried out on the relationship between emotions, affect and protest has been in the field of sociology.[14] In the next section of this essay, I will explore what sociologists have discovered about the role of emotions in politics and how this can be used by historians to deepen our understanding of the politics of emotions and the emotions of politics.

However, what must be kept in mind, and as emerging histories of emotional politics demonstrate, historians ask different questions of their sources, thereby producing studies not only of the emotional dimensions of past social movements but, more crucially for the discipline, of the changing dynamics of emotional politics over time. So, whereas a sociologist might analyse the role played by anger in the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1970s, a historian will work to contextualise the relationship between anger and gender over a longer run. By way of an example, a historian might ask if a 1910s suffragette's hammer is more evocative of unruly protest emotions than a 1970s feminist's militant actions because female anger was much more heavily frowned upon at the beginning of the century than at the end. What can consideration of this question tell us about the place of anger and the acceptability or otherwise of women's emotional outbursts over the twentieth century?

Sociology and protest emotions

In attempting to establish an agenda for future enquiry into the relationship between protest and emotions, Jasper advised scholars to 'move beyond ancient but sterile debates over the rationality of voters and protesters

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[11] George F.E. Rudé, *The Crowd in History: A Study of Popular Disturbances in France and England, 1730–1848* (New York: Wiley & Sons, 1964); and Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1978).

[12] Peter Stearns and Carol Stearns, 'Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (1985): 813–36 (816).

[13] Stearns and Stearns, 'Clarifying the History of Emotions', 816–17.

[14] See also Joachim C. Häberlen and Russell A. Spinney, 'Introduction' (Emotions in Protest Movements in Europe Since 1917), *Contemporary European History* 23, no. 4 (2014): 489–503 (490).

(and politicians, although their rationality is rarely challenged in scholarly research)'.[15] Fellow sociologists Helena Flam and Debra King encouraged those interested in the study of political emotions to expand their emotional repertoire; to move beyond what they identified as 'the standard set' of protest emotions, shame, pride, anger and solidarity, and to instead embrace 'loyalty, joy, hope, fear, contempt, sadness, distrust, empathy, compassion, altruism, courage, gratitude and happiness'.[16] Through acknowledging the sheer range and diversity of the emotions implicated in protest politics, scholars could embark on a more complex journey towards understanding how proponents of social and political movements selected specific emotional formulae in order to cultivate their desired emotional milieus. They could examine individual groups' rationale for deploying love, loyalty and solidarity or anger, indignation and rage to achieve their political goals. Chief among these aims might be: using love and loyalty to motivate and sustain group membership; and/or, deploying anger and indignation to direct a movement's interface with its opponents or inculcate sympathy when engaging with the general public.[17]

Yet another sociologist, Deborah Gould, continues to argue that emotions scholars can go further than simply analysing protesters as 'rational actors' who seize political opportunities. They can instead see how activists – sometimes consciously but often less purposely – 'nourish and extend' a common sense of feeling that works to build a sense of the collective and that sustains social movements. The strong emotions that activists feel towards each other help sustain their relevant movements.[18] Jasper follows this approach up by questioning the degree to which calculating and unthinking or spontaneous emotions can be separated anyway.[19] Surely, he argues, individual protesters' feelings and the emotions on display in protest movements – through, for example, campaign posters, banners, slogans and ephemera – are intertwined.

Whether approaching protest emotions as strategically deployed or as experienced and embodied feelings, historians can capitalise on two decades of sociological questions about and findings on the role of emotions in motivating, sustaining and even bringing about the decline of political movements. As stated, however, historians face a particular challenge when undertaking this task. They cannot be guaranteed a ready access to interviews with protesters on the subject of emotions and politics. Therefore, they have to seek and locate alternative sources that will allow access to those emotions – individual or collective – as they were historically felt or displayed.

Histories and historical sources

When we think about the emotions of protest movements, strong images come to mind. Often these are of emotionally charged and confrontational or even violent episodes: protesters and police meeting head-on or furious crowds angrily demanding change. Yet, political protest showcases more than simply anger and rage, although these are often prominently on display.[20] Other images that may come to mind evoke more positive emotions: cheering crowds atop the crumbling Berlin Wall in November 1989; 1960s hippies adorned with signs promoting peace and love, not war and hate; or the hopeful sit-down protests of the mid-twentieth-century American Civil Rights Movement. In the remainder of the chapter, I will introduce a range of historical protest movements and explore some of the sources that will enable historians to access the diverse emotional dimensions of those campaigns.

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[15] Jasper, *The Emotions of Protest*, 2.

[16] Helena Flam and Debra King, 'Introduction', in *Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Helena Flam and Debra King (London: Routledge, 2005), 1–18 (2–3).

[17] Flam and King, 'Introduction', 3.

[18] Deborah B. Gould, 'Life During Wartime: Emotions and The Development of Act Up', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (2002): 177–200 (177). See also Deborah B. Gould, 'Concluding Thoughts' (Emotions in Protest Movements in Europe Since 1917), *Contemporary European History* 23, no. 4 (2014): 639–44.

[19] Jasper, *The Emotions of Protest*, 2.

Throughout modernity, people have protested over a multitude of issues. As nation-states have proliferated and democratic systems developed, they have demanded the right to be granted access to the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship, including voting. They have participated in movements that have brought about revolutionary overthrow. They have staged militant demonstrations in the name of civil liberties, labour protection, gender equality and redress for wartime sexual abuse and the disappearings of political regimes. In doing so, protesters have harnessed the power of negative emotions like anger and indignation, while others have performed silent vigils whose dignified and patient defiance aimed at eliciting a range of emotional responses from sympathy, even empathy, to anxiety and shame or perhaps anger and outrage.

Across all these movements, the vehicles for carrying and displaying emotions intersect. When attempting to reconstruct a history of political emotions, historians are faced with an ever-growing and diverse body of sources including: political periodicals, the popular press, songs, slogans, murals, placards and banners, campaign merchandise, as well as the bodies of protesters picketing, barricading and marching, and, more recently, social media sites. Whereas access to some of these sources is restricted – for instance microfilms of protest literature in libraries or archives, campaign ephemera on display in exhibitions and museums, and murals on the walls of global cities – others are increasingly being digitised – newspapers available online (e.g. the National Library of Australia's 'TROVE' database, the US Library of Congress's digital directory 'Chronicling America' and the National Library of New Zealand's 'Papers Past'),[21] images, films, testimonies and reports from violent campaigns (e.g. CAIN: Conflict Archive on the Internet for the Northern Irish Troubles),[22] and photographs and ephemera from feminist movements (e.g. the University of Florida's Women's March on Washington Archive and Northeastern University's Art of the March repository – discussed further at the end of the chapter).[23]

The emotions of working-class protest

Histories of the lower orders – the workers and the 'crowds' – offer us access to the emotions of the past. For example, labour and working-class movements harnessed a swathe of emotions to achieve their political ends; anger often being chief among these. Yet, as historian Thomas C. Buchanan points out, there is currently 'little in labor historiography that presents emotions as an important topic of study'.[24] This is changing. While historians like Peter Stearns analyse the reception of discrete emotions – for instance anger, which Stearns argues grew less acceptable in the face of a more lauded 'cool' emotional style which filtered down to affect all classes in a modernising USA[25] – others like Buchanan are now examining the emotional lives of workers, including workers' resistance, individual and organised.[26]

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[20] Häberlen and Spinney, 'Introduction'.

[21] TROVE, National Library of Australia, https://trove.nla.gov.au/; Chronicling America, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/; and Papers Past, National Library of New Zealand, https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers, all accessed 14 September 2019.

[22] CAIN: Conflict Archive on the Internet, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/victims/about/index.html, accessed 14 September 2019.

[23] Women's March on Washington Archive, University of Florida, https://ufdc.ufl.edu/womensmarch; and Art of the March, Northeastern University, http://artofthemarch.boston/page/about, both accessed 14 September 2019.

Accessing sources that display a group's collective emotions (for example members' frustration and indignation as written on banners or comedic and satirical representations of shame and shaming or the public sympathy embedded in newspaper accounts or eyewitness statements) is often straightforward. For example, researchers can readily retrieve 2010s Irish pro-abortion placards reading 'I am NOT a walking womb!' or 1910s anti-suffragist postcards depicting offensively ugly feminist women or newspaper articles (like the *Pittsburgh Post Dispatch*) that allow us to trace the waxing and waning of public sympathy and support for striking Carnegie Steel Company workers in the face of crowd violence and angry savagery during the Homestead Strike of July 1892 in Pennsylvania.[27]

Getting at source material that depicts the intimate emotions of individual workers and their resistance is a little more problematic, but not impossible. As Buchanan shows in his article on restoring emotions to working-class histories and Phillip Troutman demonstrates in his work on slave letters, in their correspondence American slaves voiced the grief and sorrow, as well as familial love, of those used to a life of separation and loss.[28] On the other hand, slave narratives – the testimonies of those who had managed to escape – more clearly expressed rage. Therefore, whereas runaway narratives utilised anger 'to highlight the injustice of slavery to an audience supportive of domestic tranquillity', this was 'an emotion that had to be cloaked and muted in letters'; letters that were censored by slave owners.[29] Indeed, this mediation acts as a reminder to those using sources such as personal correspondence that they need to be keenly attuned to the fact that often the sentiments expressed in these texts were mediated through the middle classes. As such, these sources need to be read against the grain, as it were, if we are to get evidence of workers' actual emotional states.[30] This is a methodological challenge emotions historians – and others – face.

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[24] Thomas C. Buchanan, 'Class Sentiments: Putting the Emotion Back in Working-Class History', *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 1 (2014): 72–87 (73).

[25] Peter Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth Century Emotional Style* (New York: NYU Press, 1994) and Carol Stearns and Peter Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

[26] A good deal of this research is being carried out on workers' conditions and protest in Eastern Europe; for example: David Ost, *The Defeat of Solidarity: Anger and Politics in Post-Communist Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); and Laura A. Bray, Thomas E. Shriver and Alison E. Adams, 'Mobilizing Grievances in an Authoritarian Setting: Threat and Emotion in the 1953 Plzeň Uprising', *Sociological Perspectives* 62, no. 1 (2019): 77–95.

[27] *Pittsburgh Post Dispatch* cited in Buchanan, 'Class Sentiments'.

[28] Buchanan, 'Class Sentiments', 77; and Phillip Troutman, 'Correspondences in Black and White: Sentiment and the Slave Market Revolution,' in *New Studies in the History of American Slavery*, ed. Edward E. Baptist, and Stephanie M.H. Camp (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 211–42.

[29] Buchanan cites John P. Parker, *His Promised Land: The Autobiography of John P. Parker, Former Slave and Conductor on the Underground Railroad*, ed. Stuart Seely Sprague (New York: Norton, 1996).

[30] On 'reading against the grain', see Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, 'Introduction', in *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources*, ed. Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), xv.

From fear and shock to dignified or joyous defiance

A wide range of emotional states are present in protest movements. For example, fear plays a complex role in protest. Fear can paralyse. It can also be developed into outrage. Outrage can be harnessed to motivate protest. As Jasper argues, fear's complexity within the sphere of protest is due to the fact that it falls in between affective and reactive emotions. People can harbour an abstract fear, for example, a fear of war or of radiation. An unexpected event or reception of a new piece of information – for instance the beginning of a violent conflict or the building of a new nuclear reactor – can then trigger a moral shock. Shock, fear and anger can then be channelled into righteous indignation and political activity. Activists work hard to transform these sometimes 'inchoate anxieties and fears' into feelings of indignation and rage that are directed towards specific policies and decision makers.[31] This can be seen through, for example, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament or the Ban the Bomb protest movement from the 1950s to the 1980s. Fear that does not immobilise can be used by knowing activists in the attempt to produce change.

The role of fear does not stop here. The response of authorities – governments and police – to protest can elicit further emotional responses, including more fear or anger or outrage. Repressive and violent responses may effectively curtail protest. However, it may also radicalise it, sparking renewed protest. As Hélène Combes and Olivier Fillieule have argued, even within modern democracies where the tendency is towards pacific reactions to popular protest, marginalised groups – like ethnic, religious or low socio-economic groups – are particularly targeted by repressive measures and responses. This repressive approach can either be short term or longer term and can produce responses that are likewise short or long term. For example, police forces reacted forcefully, sometimes violently, to anti-globalisation demonstrations across the world from the late twentieth century into the early twenty-first century, further radicalising demonstrators. This link between repression and radicalisation has also taken on a more long-term relationship. For instance, during the Northern Irish Troubles, the fact that the police force was mostly made up of members of the dominant Protestant community fuelled not only fear but also further radicalising of the Catholic community – over a very long period of time.[32]

Fear and anger prevented, motivated and, in many cases, sustained political protest. Historians attempting to disentangle the multifarious roles played by fear in specific protest movements need to consider a range of sources. Broken windows and damaged property, demonstrators' angry slogans, placards and banners, images of riot police bearing down on crowds – all of these bear witness to the range of negative emotions fuelling and sustaining protest and conflict; as does graffiti and murals marking the walls of conflict zones – residential or commercial – a manifestation of political protest that will be mentioned again later in the chapter when discussing the digitisation of transient emotional sources.

Whereas many protest movements harness the power of negative or aggressive emotions, others have strategically deployed more positive emotions, including a patient display of dignified protest; those aimed at eliciting a complex assemblage of emotional responses from targets and spectators or onlookers alike, whether that response consist of more active affective reactions like outrage or more muted emotions like anxiety or frustration. Often, but not always, these protests have taken on a gendered dimension. For example, silent vigils staged by female bodies – protesting militarism, sexual violence and death – have attracted worldwide publicity.

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[31] James Jasper, 'The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Movements', *Sociological Forum* 13, no. 3 (1998): 397–424.

[32] Hélène Combes and Olivier Fillieule, 'Repression and Protest: Structural Models and Strategic Interactions', *Revue Française de Science Politique* 61, no. 2 (2011): 1–24.

The specifically gendered protests that I am referring to here include: the Women in Black (initially silent vigils protesting the continued occupation of territories by Israel and expanded to demonstrate against incidences of international militarism); the Plaza de Mayo demonstrations of the mothers and grandmothers of the 'disappeared' in Argentina (women carrying photographs of their missing children and grandchildren, drawing global attention to the more than 30,000 people who were kidnapped, tortured and executed by the military junta between 1977 and 1983); and the Wednesday demonstrations of the 'grandmothers' (since 1992, survivors of wartime sexual abuse at the hands of the Japanese military during the Second World War and their supporters hold placards in Japanese, Korean or English across from the Japanese Embassy in Seoul, Korea, demanding an apology from the Japanese government).[33]

As Vera Mackie and I argue in our book *Remembering Women's Activism*, the tactics and tools of the Seoul grandmothers' Wednesday protests are strategically employed in the attempt to elicit feelings of shame on the part of those who continue to deny redress to the elderly survivors. The use of elderly women's bodies patiently occupying stools across from the embassy – and the placement of the Peace Monument, a commemorative statue in the form of a young woman seated on a chair, facing the embassy, with an empty chair beside her – are also intended to generate public sympathy. The statue of the seated young woman represents the young Korean woman before her ordeal, while the shadow cast of an older woman – rendered via a mosaic 'shadow' on the ground behind the statue – depicts the old survivor who refuses to forget. The empty seat signifies those who are missing while also providing a place for visitors to sit, contemplate and have their photographs taken. By performing a dignified form of protest, the elderly survivors and their younger supporters stage a demonstration that is worthy of the respectful position that these 'grandmothers' (*halmoni*) have attained in life. Models of this Peace Monument have been replicated internationally (for example, life size in a Glendale Park in California, as well as sold in miniature in museums like Seoul's War and Women's Human Rights Museum) indicating not only the global influence but also the emotional salience of the protest.[34] Taken together, the evocative immobile statue and the weekly ritualistic performance of protest by elderly survivors and their younger supporters cultivate an emotional milieu that draws on a range of anticipated responses: sympathy from a receptive global audience; and anger from those who deny the shame of this past.

Countless other political movements harnessed the affective potential of less unruly emotions. As mentioned, much-publicised branches of the global mid-twentieth-century anti-war campaign cultivated a peace-loving, conflict-averse strain of protest that emphasised love, compassion and understanding displayed through marches and sit-ins, as well as via songs, poetry, art and street theatre. Sources characterising some of these movements have since been collated and curated for museum-goers. For instance, the Wende Museum in California recently devoted an exhibition to the little-known Soviet hippie movement. Prominent Soviet hippies donated photographs, clothing and memorabilia that have worked to belie common perceptions about the emotionally restricted or stark experiences of life under the Soviet regime.[35]

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[33] All of these protests are discussed in Chapter 'Grandmothers' in Crozier-De Rosa and Mackie, *Remembering Women's Activism*, 161–199. For further reading, see Tova Benski, 'Breaching Events and the Emotional reactions of the Public: Women in Black in Israel', in *Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Helena Flam and Debra King (London: Routledge, 2005), 57–78.

[34] Crozier-De Rosa and Mackie, *Remembering Women's Activism*, 161–99.

More recent protests in places like Hong Kong have also placed trust in the sustaining power of positive emotional tactics. In recent years, the radical group People Power abandoned their previous disruptive approach to instead embrace a more festive form of joyous resistance. In their 2017 article, Vitrierat Ng and Kin-man Chan outline the details and successes, as well as the limitations, of this strategy.[36] In 2019, however, the limitations of this approach became increasingly apparent as demonstrations in Honk Kong erupted into violence. Still, commentators across the world continue to monitor protesters' stoic determination to show the 'spirit of struggle' in the face of China's coercive and authoritarian measures.[37] Television screens continue to relay images of the spirit of protest to audiences worldwide, conveying a clash of emotional cultures that reverberates globally.

Feminism and interfacing with opponents

Modern feminist campaigns have also cultivated a range of emotions to bind members of their movement together and to confirm the exclusion of those who refuse to affirm group actions and goals, including those vehemently opposed to those goals, namely anti-feminists.

As I have written elsewhere, specific emotions characterise feminist/anti-feminist interactions.[38] As a highly gendered and social emotion, for example, shame performed this role in the early twentieth century. Feminists – those fighting for the vote – attempted to shame apathetic or resistant women into honouring their connection with their protesting sisters through joining the campaign for the franchise. In turn, anti-feminists – those who cherished an ideal of a feminine community of womanhood untainted by association with the masculine world of politics – tried to shame their transgressive sisters into abandoning their ill-conceived quest which was jeopardising the cohesion of the community of womanhood, and to instead realign themselves with those advocating righteous models of femininity. Shame and its attendant virtues and values – disgrace, embarrassment, indignation, honour, courage and chivalry – were invoked, expressed, ridiculed and lauded as feminists and anti-feminists engaged in an emotional battle, with feminists emerging triumphant (in the battle, if not the war).

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[35] For a survey of the anti-war movement in the US, see Simon Hall, *Rethinking the American Anti-War Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012). There are too many texts on other region's anti-war movements to mention here. However, for Russia, for example, see Socialist Flower Power: Soviet Hippie Culture, Wende Museum 2018 Exhibition, https://www.wendemuseum.org/programs/socialist-flower-power-soviet-hippie-culture, accessed 15 September 2019.

[36] Vitrierat Ng and Kin-man Chan, 'Emotion Politics: Joyous Resistance in Hong Kong', *The China Review* 17, no. 1 (2017): 83–115.

[37] Rowan Callick, 'Hong Kong's Spirit of Struggle', *Inside Story*, 13 September 2019, https://insidestory.org.au/hong-kongs-spirit-of-struggle/, accessed 15 September 2019.

[38] See Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, *Shame and the Anti-Feminist Backlash: Britain, Ireland and Australia, 1890–1920* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

The early twentieth-century feminist and anti-feminist press proved invaluable for accessing this emotional interface. For instance, across the British Empire, feminist periodicals, like the *Irish Citizen* and the British *Votes for Women*, and conservative women's papers, including the British *Anti-Suffrage Review* and the Australian journal *Woman*, played host to a whole range of emotional expressions and tactics as editors and writers sought to convince readers to stay loyal to their cause. As a result of an intensive campaign to archive women's records – much of this happening in anticipation of the recent centenary commemorations of the granting of the female franchise – many of these periodicals have been digitised which now allows the feminist scholar ease of access.[39]

Feminist movements are also valuable for those wishing to trace change or continuity in emotional strategies and tactics over time because there is strong evidence that feminist practices connect era to era, as successive generations of women chase the seemingly elusive goal of gender equality. One very familiar and certainly topical example of this is the longevity of the Women's Marches. While their appearance in the 2010s mobilised feminist feeling globally, many commentators failed to recognise that this was more a reappearance than appearance. The suffragists of the early twentieth century – in Britain, America and beyond – had successfully harnessed the spectacle and political passion of the public parade. Historians have the opportunity of tracing the feminist emotional toolkit over the course of a century – as it was manifested through public pageantry, for example – to ascertain to what degree it reflects continuity or change.

Transient emotional sources and digitisation

Technology now plays a significant role in writing histories of protest emotions, particularly feminist emotions. The digitisation of feminist sources offers emotions historians both unprecedented opportunities and challenges. Much of the passion and excitement of the 1910s American and British suffrage parades, as well as the anger and violence of onlookers, police and prison guards, has been captured by photographs and by ephemera on display (like the ladylike hammer that was used to destroy artworks and commercial properties and the force-feeding tubes that were forced on hunger-striking suffrage prisoners and the notes of solidarity written on pieces of prison-issued toilet paper, all on display in places like the Museum of London and the Occoquan Workhouse complex in Virginia, USA). While visitors cannot touch these items, they can see them in their original state, if out of their original environment.

With the use of digital technology, however, much of what characterised the passion and excitement of the recent Women's Marches has been transformed – morphed from tangible 'things'[40] (knitted 'pussy' hats and homemade paper banners) into digitised images: either represented somewhat chaotically on individual campaigners' social media pages or collected, collated, photographed, and then neatly categorised and presented on online databases.[41] This latter example of digital transformation enhances global access, levelling the playing field as it were for historians who have not been able to travel to faraway locations. However, what remains to be seen is the degree to which the rendering of the material three-dimensional object as a non-tactile representation of the sentiments of protest communicates or impedes the communication of those protest emotions.

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[39] Many of these periodicals have been very recently digitised (e.g. *Votes for Women* and the *Anti-Suffrage Review* which are now available via the London School of Economics Women's Rights Collection, https://digital.library.lse.ac.uk/collections/suffrage, accessed 15 September 2019).

[40] Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles, eds, *Feeling Things. Objects and Emotions Through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Of course, as germane as digitisation is to preserving and transforming feminist emotions, it is not only gendered protest movements that are affected by technology. A pertinent issue for historians of protest emotions more generally is the transient nature of so many of the sources which can be used to capture what are often impermanent emotions. Many of these form part of a particular campaign's emotional toolkit on a given day or over a given period. Projects such as the CAIN website (Conflict Archive on the Internet for the Northern Irish Troubles), for example, help to capture the transience of public expressions of protest. Political murals painted on the walls of private homes and commercial properties in Belfast and Derry turn public spaces into politicised places, serving as potent vehicles for ideals, ideologies, symbolism and propaganda (for example of the previously mentioned disenfranchised and radicalised Catholic community).[42] However, these murals are susceptible to change – they are amended, removed, replaced. They are impermanent reminders of the anger, outrage or hope that they initially embodied. By digitising them – archiving photographs of them in both their original and amended states – sites like CAIN can help historians to trace the contours of the shifting emotional politics of both the artists and their community. Digitising projects, then, play a crucial role in preserving more momentary evidence of political passions, at least those that do not vanish instantly, while documenting changing emotional contours – the stuff of histories of protest emotions.

Conclusion

A wide array of often conflicting causes harnessed the power of discrete emotions, or sets of emotions, to bind groups, sustain movements, and interface with the public and opponents alike. Artefacts left by these movements allow us access to the emotions on display – and sometimes the emotions felt and embodied – by protesters, from anger to joy, sadness to elation. Digitisation allows greater access to these artefacts – and therefore to protest emotions – which is particularly significant when so many of these sources are transient (for example murals on walls). But such a process of transformation also carries certain limitations. Whatever the limitations or the challenges, the politics of protest is a rich area of historical enquiry that warrants more attention.

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[41] Women's March on Washington Archive, University of Florida, https://ufdc.ufl.edu/womensmarch; and Art of the March, Northeastern University: http://artofthemarch.boston/page/about, both accessed 14 September 2019.

[42] Neil Jarman, 'Painting Landscapes: The Place of Murals in the Symbolic Construction of Urban Space', in *Symbols in Northern Ireland*, ed. Anthony Buckley (Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast: Belfast, 1998), 81–98.