ARGUMENTATION AND ADVOCACY

NOT JUST A PLACE TO PARK YOUR CAR: PARK(ING) AS SPATIAL ARGUMENT

Danielle Endres, Samantha Senda-Cook, and Brian Cozen

In 2005, an art installation transformed a leased parking space into a temporary park. When the image disseminated online, it sparked a global movement to rethink urban space. The PARK(ing) Day movement enacts a spatial argument at the intersection of localized PARK(ing) installations in particular places and the dissemination of the concept of PARK(ing) Day in online spaces. We show how residual traces of temporary installations exist in online spaces that shape the broad dissemination and development of this movement and its message, which then influence the construction of PARK(ing) installations. In exploring this play between place and space, endurance and ephemerality, we highlight how the movement constrains and enables the tactical deployment of PARK(ing) installations as spatial arguments.
Key Words: Place/Space, Spatial Argument, Place in Protest, Social Movements, PARK(ing) Day

> *"Providing temporary public open space . . . one parking spot at a time."*
>
> –PARK(ing) Day[1]

Metered parking spaces are a valuable commodity in most cities. Car drivers vie for a precious parking spot in busy urban centers. Cars move in and out of these parking spaces into seemingly endless flows of traffic and congestion. But is it possible to reinvent the metered parking space? Might the space be used for a purpose other than parking a car? Is it possible to reimagine an urban parking space as a temporary city park? Rebar, a San Francisco interdisciplinary studio working at the intersection of art, design, and ecology to engage in "creative repurposing of familiar elements to produce new meaning" (Merker, 2010, p. 51), did just that. In the spirit of The Situationist International's "inclination to transgress the boundaries found in culture and cities" (Sadler, 1998, p. 44), Rebar created the 2005 performance installation, *PARK(ing)*. Noting how parking spaces in San Francisco are not explicitly reserved for private vehicles, the group leased a parking spot, rolled out sod, erected a potted tree, and put down a bench for passersby to stop and sit. Rebar described it as a "temporary public park that provided nature, seating, and shade . . . thereby tempo-

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[1] Rebar Group, Inc., 2012a, n.p.

Figure 1. The first PARK(ing) Installation in 2005 (Rebar Group, Inc., 2012a).

rarily expanding the public realm and improving the quality of urban human habitat, at least until the meter ran out" (Rebar Group, Inc., 2010, para 3–4).

Following the initial installation, the image of a park oddly sitting in a parking space in San Francisco (see Figure 1) became an image event (DeLuca, 1999a) that quickly disseminated in the public screen (DeLuca & Peeples, 2002). Co-organizer Blaine Merker (2010) explained, "The combination of the iconic image of parking-space-as-park and its accompanying descriptive name created a 'sticky' idea that transmitted readily across electronic media" (p. 46). Eventually people from all over the world contacted Rebar to find out how to stage such an event. In 2006, Rebar picked a day as "PARK(ing) Day" and encouraged people to make their own creative, artistic, tactile and performative PARK(ing) installations on that day to raise awareness of a variety of issues and causes facing urban dwellers (Stuart, 2006). In the years since, PARK(ing) Day has become an international movement that takes

place annually on the third Friday of September "with organizations and individuals (operating independently of Rebar but following an established set of guidelines) creating new forms of temporary public space in urban contexts around the world" (Rebar Group, Inc., 2012a, para. 1). The latest numbers posted on the PARK(ing) Day website reveal that the 2011 PARK(ing) Day included 957 parks in 162 cities, in 35 countries, and across six continents (Rebar Group, Inc., 2012d).[2] However, according to the organizers, quality is more important than quantity. They acknowledge that a high number of PARKs is good, but counter that, "having great PARKs is even better; PARKs that propose an alternate vision for the use of urban space, PARKs that convince others to join the cause, PARKs that change minds, PARKs that make you smile" (Rebar Group, Inc., 2012e, para. 1). PARK(ing) is a playful subversion of the enduring normalized spatial practices of the built urban environment, a spatial meme for users to rethink and recreate their own public urban spaces.

While there are many ways to engage with the PARK(ing) movement's experiments in representing what alternative urbanity might look like including the aesthetic, embodied, and performative nature of the PARK(ing) installations,[3] we are particularly interested in how the movement uses place and space to make arguments. PARK(ing) installations and the larger movement are non-verbal spatial arguments that put forward an alternative vision of urban space. The installations themselves make an argument that parking spaces can be used for things other than cars. The installations serve as examples of the different uses that are possible. They rely on the tactical reconstruction of place to argue for these possibilities. PARK(ing) installations are an example of what Endres and Senda-Cook (2011) call *place in protest,* a heuristic that describes how despite normalized understandings, places/spaces are sites of contestation, or protest, wherein the practiced norms are constantly being challenged or reinforced.[4] PARK(ing) installations are temporary places in protest, or temporary tactical disruptions of normalized spatial practices that seek to spur change in thinking about urban planning, automobility, and public space. Yet, beyond the particular PARK(ing) installations, PARK(ing) Day is an international movement that is sustained the other 364 days of the year in the residual traces of particular installations that are archived and disseminated through photos, videos, websites, written accounts, and other forms of documentation. The PARK(ing) Day website serves as a centralized node for archiving and disseminating the idea of PARK(ing).

In this essay we examine PARK(ing) installations and PARK(ing) Day as forms of spatial argument. PARK(ing) Day is a spatial argument that reveals the processual nature of the built environment and practices in space. It highlights how place, even if it has a relatively stable normalized meaning, is always in process and therefore always subject to alternative arguments. While parking spots may seem to be ordinary and relatively durable fixtures in many large cities, they only seem that way because of the repeated practices that normalize their meaning. It is only in temporary moments of transgression and resistance like PARK(ing) that we see fissures in these spaces. PARK(ing) and other transgressions of space reveal how

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[2] At the time of writing, the PARK(ing) Day website does not include the statistics for 2012, 2013, or 2014.

[3] The performative and aesthetic opportunities with PARK(ing) installations carry on a long tradition of using art, tactile engagement, beauty, and pleasure to challenge dominant social norms. The reinterpretation of spaces invites this kind of expression. PARK(ing) is both an argumentative vision and an embodied affect. The tactile, aesthetic sense of these installations is a key aspect of the rhetorical function of these performances. For a series of essays that have attempted this difficult yet fruitful bridge between rhetoric and performance, see Gencarella and Pezzullo (2010).

[4] Although Endres and Senda-Cook's (2011) essay uses place in protest to examine social movement protests, the concept itself more broadly applies to any type of dissent against normalized practices in a place. Place in protest then is a state in which there are challenges to the meaning of place whether or not those challenges are specifically defined as protest.

places/spaces are constantly being (re)made through argument. Our examination of PARK(ing), therefore, not only reveals the argumentative potential of place/space but also reveals that the common uses of place/space are normalized arguments. The (re)construction of place/space is in process and open to alternate arguments.

In addition to furthering our understanding of spatial arguments, we are particularly interested in examining how the spatial arguments of the PARK(ing) movement engage with a tension between ephemerality and endurance that ultimately constrains and enables the tactical deployment of future PARK(ing) installations. Using Taylor's (2003) terminology, PARK(ing) installations act in the realm of the "ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/ knowledge" because they perform temporary argumentative fissures in the normalized meaning of urban space, whereas the PARK(ing) Day website acts in the realm of the "*archive* of supposedly enduring materials" (p. 19, italics in original). The PARK(ing) Day movement resides at the intersection of the ephemeral and the archival, involving both localized temporary installations in particular places and the documentation of the PARK(ing) concept on the website archive. We examine how the archiving of PARK(ing) installations shapes the broad dissemination and development of this movement and its main argument, which then influences the construction of future PARK(ing) installations. This movement between the archive and the repertoire of PARK(ing) constrains and enables the argumentative resources available for future spatial arguments.

We begin by further examining spatial argument as a significant form of non-verbal argument worthy of the attention of argumentation scholars. Then, we turn to an analysis of PARK(ing) as a spatial argument. We show how PARK(ing) engages with the tension between ephemerality and endurance. We reveal how: 1) ephemeral spatial arguments can temporarily challenge collective, normalized understandings of places and spaces; 2) the documentation and archiving of ephemeral spatial arguments can extend their lives and create more enduring arguments about spatial practices; and 3) the archive of past spatial arguments can constrain and enable future argumentative force. As our conclusion suggests, this analysis has important implications not only for argumentation studies of non-verbal forms of argument but also for thinking about processes of resistance to normalized spatial practices and tensions that emerge for social movements.

SPATIAL ARGUMENT

Place and space are mutually constitutive terms (Blair, Dickinson, & Ott, 2010) that allow researchers to examine the relationship between humans and geography. In further defining the place/space relationship, geographer Cresswell contends that, in general, interdisciplinary research assumes that "Space is a more abstract concept than place" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 8). In our focus on spatial *argument*, we use the term to suggest a general focus on how spaces can act argumentatively while recognizing that spatial arguments are embedded in particular place-based practices. Because of the fluid relationship between place and space, we will use the term place/space for the remainder of this essay unless we are specifically placing our focus on one term or the other.

Scholars are increasingly using place/space concepts to examine the rhetoricity of a variety of phenomena including memory places and memorials (e.g., Blair, 2001; Blair, et al., 2010; Blair & Michel, 2000; Brouwer, 2007; Dickinson, Blair, & Ott, 2010), places of consumption (e.g., Dickinson, 1997, 2002; Modesti, 2008; Stewart & Dickinson, 2008), museums (e.g., Brady, 2011; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2005, 2006; Kelly & Hoerl, 2012;

Zagacki & Gallagher, 2009), social movements (e.g., Endres & Senda-Cook, 2009, 2011; Singer, 2011; West, 2007, 2010), urban centers (e.g., St. Antoine, 2007; Wood, 2009), and cultivating a sense of place (e.g., Cantrill, 1998; Cantrill & Senecah, 2001; Cantrill, Thompson, Garrett, & Rochester, 2007; Dickinson, 2011; Spurlock, 2009). Collectively, these studies assume that places and spaces are forms of material rhetoric (Blair, 1999).[5] It is not just the discourse about places and spaces that is rhetorical, but places and spaces themselves enact consequential rhetorical performances.

Argumentation scholarship has yet to engage in an extended discussion of place/space as argument, or what we term spatial arguments. When the concepts are engaged, argumentation scholars tend to refer to space as an abstract symbolic resource for thinking about argumentation, such as argument spheres as spatial topoi for thinking about argument types (e.g., Goodnight, 1982; Keremidchieva, 2009; Murray, 2012) and how "theories of public space embody different attitudes toward argumentation" (Fleming, 1998, p. 148; see also Brouwer & Asen, 2010). In line with Blair, Balthrop & Michel's (2011) argument "that places have argumentative 'potency'" (p. 450), we propose that analysis of spatial arguments can contribute to our understanding of non-verbal argument forms. An overarching purpose of this essay, therefore, is to demonstrate how place/space is argumentative and further expand understanding of forms of non-verbal argumentation. Studies of visual argument (e.g., Birdsell & Groarke, 1996; Blair, 1996; Finnegan, 2001; Fleming, 1996; Palczewski, 2005; Pineda & Sowards, 2007) and bodily argument (e.g., Darwin, 1999; DeLuca, 1999b; Harold, 1999; Hauser, 1999; McNaughton, 2007; Torrens, 1999) have widened our perception of what forms of discourse can be arguments. Spatial argument furthers these conversations by expanding non-verbal argument to include place/space.

The turn to spatial argument assumes that material alterations of place/space can make arguments. In other words, a place/space can make claims and provide support for claims in an enthymematic process wherein audiences that encounter them fill in the premises. Spatial arguments are often interrelated with but not necessarily dependent on verbal arguments in a larger circulating set of discourses (Blair, et al., 2011; see also note 5). Using PARK(ing) as our example, we consider the (re)constructions of place by PARK(ing) installations to be material spatial arguments that call for adherence to an alternate vision of what a parking spot, and urban space more generally, can be. Particular PARK(ing) installations serve as a form of argument by example, with the installations as the evidence for the claim that reconceptualizing parking spaces is not only possible but also desirable. The installations demonstrate that it is possible to re-envision urban space generally because they have re-envisioned that particular space and invited participants to experience it. This argument does not rely upon audiences having already encountered the verbal arguments made by organizers of the particular installation or the larger PARK(ing) movement. Encountering a PARK(ing) installation as one walks down a street, for example, holds the potential for experiencing the installation as an argument absent a supplementary verbal message.

While the specific relationship between place/space is widely debated within the interdisciplinary field of spatial studies, we rely on two interrelated concepts to highlight how

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[5] We follow Cresswell's (2004) argument that space and place are always both material and symbolic. Indeed, we reject the common desire to dichotomize the material and the symbolic, rather seeing the material and symbolic as always intertwined in a fluid relationship. Blair's (1999) conception of the materiality of rhetoric similarly recognizes that rhetorical performances are a combination of material and symbolic qualities with consequences. Our examination of arguments from this perspective on material rhetoric not only focuses on material structures, but also the verbal symbols that are interrelated with these structures. (See also: Blair & Michel, 2000; Dickinson, Ott, & Aoki, 2005, 2006; Dickinson, 2002; Modesti, 2008).

place/space–PARK(ing) Day, in particular–can be an argument. First, some scholars con-
ceive of space as empty and place as space that is imbued with meaning (e.g., Tuan,
1977/2001; Cresswell, 2004). The term place refers to a particular semi-bounded physical
location whereas space refers to that which is "open, undifferentiated, undesignated" (Blair
et al., 2010, p. 23). In relation to PARK(ing) Day, we might think of emplaced PARK(ing)
installations as creating a temporary disruption of the normalized meaning of urban space
and revealing the open possibilities for use of such space. The process of making meaning
in space is, in part, a process of argumentation in a field of open possibilities. An argument
for a particular understanding of place is presented to audiences for assent or dissent.
Normalized conceptions of place/space can create meanings for places, but these places and
meanings are never absolute. There is always room to propose an argument for a different
interpretation of place. PARK(ing) offers a window into how dominant place meanings can
become normalized–parking spots are for cars and motorcycles, urban space is for the
maintenance and continuous expansion of car culture–and how those meanings can be
challenged through alternate arguments–parking spots can be public gathering places, urban
space can be reimagined.

This leads into the second way of understanding the relationship between place/space as
socially constructed sets of social practices (e.g., Cresswell, 1996; Lefebvre, 1992). Abstracted
space is a set of social practices that regulate society whereas place is particularized, local
enactments of spatial practices. In *The Production of Space,* Lefebvre (1992) attempts to break
material/mental or subjective/objective binaries by showing how practices in what he terms
"social space" are influenced by and influence spatial perceptions, abstracted conceptions of
space, and lived experiences. He notes, "(Social) space is a (social) product," meaning that
space is always under construction (p. 26). The constructed and practiced nature of place/
space allows for resistance through argument. Cresswell (1996) notes, "Just as it is the case
that space and place are used to structure a normative world, they are also used (intentionally
or otherwise) to question that normative world" (p. 9). PARK(ing) attempts to disrupt
normalized spatial practices that regulate how we conceive of and act in parking spaces,
reimagining them as urban spaces with the potential for numerous alternative uses, such as
public parks. The argument of a PARK(ing) installation may, for example, be that public
green spaces are preferable to parking spaces because you can see or experience for yourself
that the PARK(ing) installation looks better and brings people together.

Analysis of PARK(ing) installations not only provides examples of spatial arguments, but
also allows a consideration of how these spatial arguments play into the larger PARK(ing)
movement that has expanded beyond particular PARK(ing) installations. Our analysis
highlights a tension between endurance and ephemerality in the argumentative advocacy of
the PARK(ing) movement. Relatively ephemeral spatial arguments can gain a sense of
endurance through documentation, archiving, and dissemination on the PARK(ing) website.
This type of spatial argument possesses both ephemerality and endurance, and the oscillating
relationship between them constrains and enables future localized PARK(ing) installations.

EPHEMERALITY AND ENDURANCE IN PARK(ING) ARGUMENTS

Our analysis focuses on the interplay between localized PARK(ing) installations and the
PARK(ing) Day movement, between the relatively ephemeral installations and the enduring
archive on the PARK(ing) website. We see ephemerality and endurance as sitting on
opposite ends of a continuum as opposed to being starkly delineated. As such, we see

ephemerality as temporariness, in which an act or argument is time bound. Ephemerality is closely linked to embodied or lived arguments that occur within a set time frame. Endurance conveys a sense of relative stability. Although there are very few things that are literally stable, we use the term endurance for acts or arguments that stand the test of time, so to speak. They endure beyond their initial instantiation. Taylor's (2003) concepts of the archive and the repertoire further explain the distinction between endurance and ephemerality. "Archival memory," according to Taylor (2003), "exists as documents, maps, literary texts, letters, archeological remains, bones, videos, films, CDs, all those items supposedly resistant to change" (p. 19). In this sense, the PARK(ing) Day website and other sources that document the spatial arguments that comprise the movement act as an archive of the embodied and emplaced phenomenon of PARK(ing). "The repertoire, on the other hand, enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing–in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge" (p. 20). Localized PARK(ing) performances act as the repertoire in that they are temporary spatial arguments for rethinking urban spaces. The archive and the repertoire are not in an either/or relationship, but rather "exist in a constant state of interaction" (p. 21) that constitute an understanding of the fluidity between documented and embodied, space and place, normalization and resistance, and enduring and ephemeral. The archive acts as a sort of centripetal force that centers the concept of PARK(ing) while the repertoire acts as a centrifugal force that pushes back against the centering of the archive. In other words, the archive brings together all the photos and residues that keep PARK(ing) installations consistent while the repertoire allows for creative variations. The main argument of the PARK(ing) movement–to reimagine parking spots and urban space more generally–relies on both the archive and the repertoire, the semi-permanent documentation of PARK(ing) and the ephemeral enactments of localized PARK(ing) installations.

The PARK(ing) arguments we analyze engage with the endurance and ephemerality continuum in three ways: 1) PARK(ing) challenges the normalized and semi-enduring nature of urban space through temporary fissures; 2) the documentation and archive of PARK(ing) reveals the possibility of endurance for ephemeral spatial arguments; and 3) the endurance of the PARK(ing) archive enables and constrains the repertoire of future ephemeral PARK-(ing) installations. On one level, PARK(ing) installations are spatial arguments that disturb normalized practices of place/space. These normalized practices are routinely remade until there are fissures that break the normalized practice and expose the processual and argumentative nature of place/space. While parking spaces are normatively understood as places to park cars, trucks and motorcycles, PARK(ing) installations challenge this norm by offering an ephemeral glimpse into an alternative way of understanding this particular artifact of urban place/space. These glimpses expose the ever-changing, processual nature of place/space; what we may see as an enduring aspect of urban space is actually a normalized pattern of repeated practices. Importantly, we are not arguing that urban spaces are permanent and unchanging–indeed, urban spaces are often under construction or in transition–but that the norm of how urban space is used and practiced is a largely unquestioned assumption that endures until alternate arguments are posed. On a second level, individual localized PARK-(ing) installations, despite their ephemerality, gain a sense of endurance through their documentation on the PARK(ing) Day website archive and through dissemination in other platforms. The embodied, emplaced, and time bound installations move closer to the endurance end of the continuum when they are documented, archived, and disseminated. Finally, on the third level, the PARK(ing) archive serves as a source of power that enables

and constrains future PARK(ing) arguments. The durability of the archive and its centrality to the movement has consequences for future temporary PARK(ing) installations.

To explore these in further detail, we turn to an analysis of PARK(ing) that draws from a variety of textual fragments that represent the installations, the archive, and the movement. Specifically, we examine the PARK(ing) Day website (http://parkingday.org/), the PARK(ing) Day DIY Planning Network website (http://my.parkingday.org/), uploaded YouTube and Vimeo videos, and local PARK(ing) installations.

Challenging Normalized Practices

Many places ranging from cities to parking spots within cities lie on the endurance end of the continuum, in part due to their materiality and physicality and in part due to their design. Cities are most often built to stand the test of time, even if components within them are under construction. On a smaller scale, parking spots are also usually built to last as a part of city transportation planning. Buildings, asphalt, and other aspects of the built environment enhance this sense of endurance (although no place or physical structure is completely permanent). Even a building is only semi-permanent and relies on consistent and practiced maintenance to keep it standing. In addition to physical structures, repeated normative practices in place/space reinforce their relative endurance in that these practices define underlying assumptions about the use of place/space. In urban settings, the normative conception of a parking space is repeatedly maintained as people rent these spots for their cars or motorcycles while shopping, working, running errands, and so on. Our point, then, is that everyday practices maintain and reproduce the normative meanings of place/space, yielding a form of enduring meaning. Urban dwellers may face continual construction sites of parking lots and roadways, but what endures is the idea that urban space is designed to maintain car culture, a culture normalized in everyday practices.

PARK(ing) challenges this normative conception, revealing the processual and practiced nature of place/space not simply as the maintenance of place/space but also the maintenance of the *idea* of how such place/space can be used. When seen as in process and open to possibilities, place/space is open to argumentation as well. PARK(ing) performances help to reveal that the seemingly fixed normative conception of place/space—that urban space has taken-for-granted functions—is really a series of arguments repeated over and over until an alternate argument is advanced. Cresswell (1996) explains how "deviations from the dominant ideological norms [of place] serve to confuse and disorientate. In doing so they temporarily reveal the historical and mutable nature of that which is considered 'the way things are'" (p. 26). Alternative arguments for the use of place/space act as fissures that challenge the normative meanings of place/space and "transgress the expectations of place," albeit often just temporarily (Cresswell, 1996, p. 8).

PARK(ing) started as one temporary reconstruction of place for two hours in the middle of downtown San Francisco and is what Endres and Senda-Cook (2011) term a *temporary reconstruction of place*, "ranging between a couple of hours to a couple of months, which then return to status quo notions of place (albeit often leaving residual traces of the fissure in meaning)" (p. 268). In the original PARK(ing) installation and its numerous offshoots in the ensuing PARK(ing) Day movement, people temporarily rent out and occupy a parking space with something other than a car for a couple hours or a full day. These take a variety of forms including beautiful artistic installations, a patch of grass for relaxing, hand-constructed tables for eating lunch, communal art projects, and whimsical games like pin the tailpipe on the

local regulations and do you best to stay within the law. We've provided resources here to help like-minded people connect and get started building PARKs in their neighborhoods.

★ GET STARTED

1. Read the license (PDF). Understand that by participating, you agree to its terms. **Notice that the license only gives you the legal right to use the trademark "PARK(ing) Day," it does not give the right to occupy a metered parking space!** It is your responsibility to research the legal regulations in your area and, if necessary, contact the local authorities for permission. Obey the law and have fun.

2. Come back in just a few weeks to grab the updated, free PARK(ing) Day Manual. It's a portable, easy-to-download PDF that covers the basics and a little philosophy, and proceeds go to keep this site and the community network alive each year. Also check out the other resources that can help you mark your PARK.

3. Join the DIY Planning Network. It's a social network designed exclusively for PARK(ing) Day participants. Browse for a group in your city, or start your own and trade ideas for this year's event.

4. Add your planned PARK to the world map. This helps others find you and helps us track the growth of the movement to reclaim cities on PARK(ing) Day!

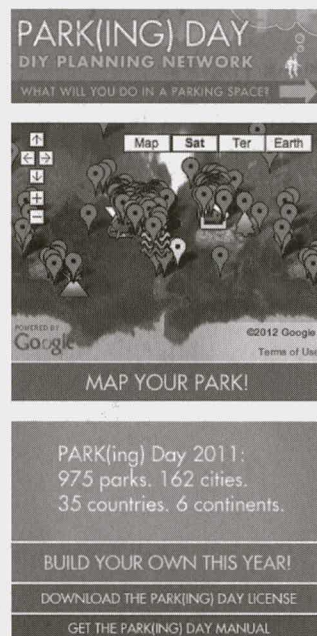PARK(ing) Day in Ijzerenleen (Belgium), 2007. Photo by K r i s.

Figure 2. Screen Shot of PARK(ing) Day website "Participate" page (http://parkingday.org/participate/; retrieved February 23, 2012).

car and Twister. These PARK(ing) installations create the opportunity for sensual, tactile, aesthetic, and civic encounters that allow organizers and passersby the opportunity to take a break, laugh, meet new people, experience art, and potentially rethink the use of public space. Yet, at the end of their time, the temporary park is dismantled and the parking space returns to its usual purpose as a place to park a car or motorcycle. Nonetheless, PARK(ing) acts as a critical interruption (Pezzullo, 2001) of the normalized argument of parking spots and urban space more generally.

Endurance Through the Archive

While each PARK(ing) installation is an ephemeral spatial argument that lasts for a few hours or possibly a full day, the residual traces of particular PARK(ing) Day installations that exist in photographs, videos, and written accounts are remediated (Bolter & Grusin, 1999), documented, and disseminated through an archive. Online spaces, such as the PARK(ing) Day website or YouTube and Vimeo videos, not only document particular PARK(ing) actions, but also act as a repository or archive of the movement. PARK(ing) then achieves a sense of endurance in its archive. Both the temporary installation that may last just a few hours and the more permanent archive represent the dissemination of PARK(ing) as a challenge to our understanding of urban space.
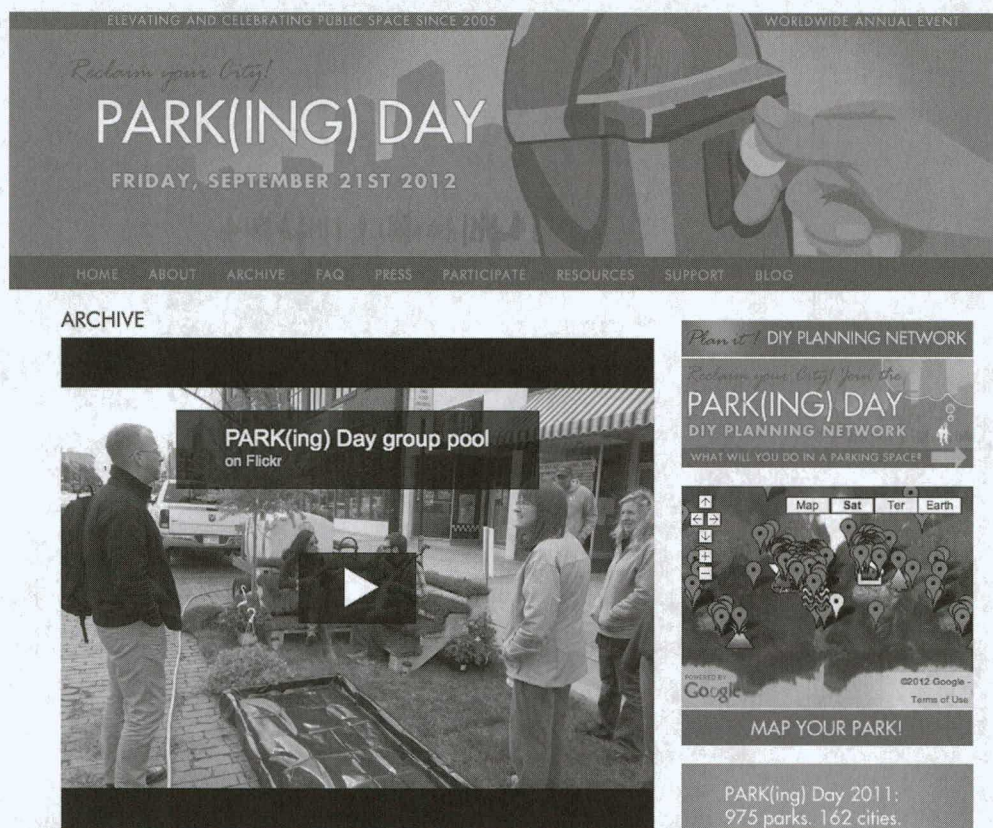
Figure 3. Screen Shot of PARK(ing) Day website "Archive" page (http://parkingday.org/archive/; retrieved February 23, 2012).

Documentation, archiving, and dissemination played a strong role since the inception of PARK(ing). In describing the initial installation in San Francisco, Merker (2010) notes that after the PARK was dismantled, "All that remained of the incident were the photos and video footage shot . . . Within several weeks a seminal photo had appeared in dozens of references on the Internet and news stories" (p. 46). This seminal photo (Figure 1), showing a person sitting on a park bench in a grassy, cordoned-off parking spot between two automobiles, documents Rebar's two-hour spatial argument. It became the start of an archive of the PARK(ing) concept that was then widely disseminated.

Beyond the initial event in 2005, the PARK(ing) movement continues to thrive through both residual traces of PARK(ing) installations documented in the archive and the repertoire of an annual PARK(ing) Day during which live installations are temporarily constructed. We argue that the archive gives the ephemeral spatial arguments of the repertoire a sense of endurance, thus creating more longevity for the overall argument of PARK(ing) Day. While the archive contains all of the documentation of PARK(ing) that may occur across multiple venues (websites, media outlets, etc.), for this section of the paper we hone in on the archive as represented on the two main PARK(ing) Day websites: the PARK(ing) Day homepage (http://parkingday.org/) and the PARK(ing) Day DIY Planning Network website (http://
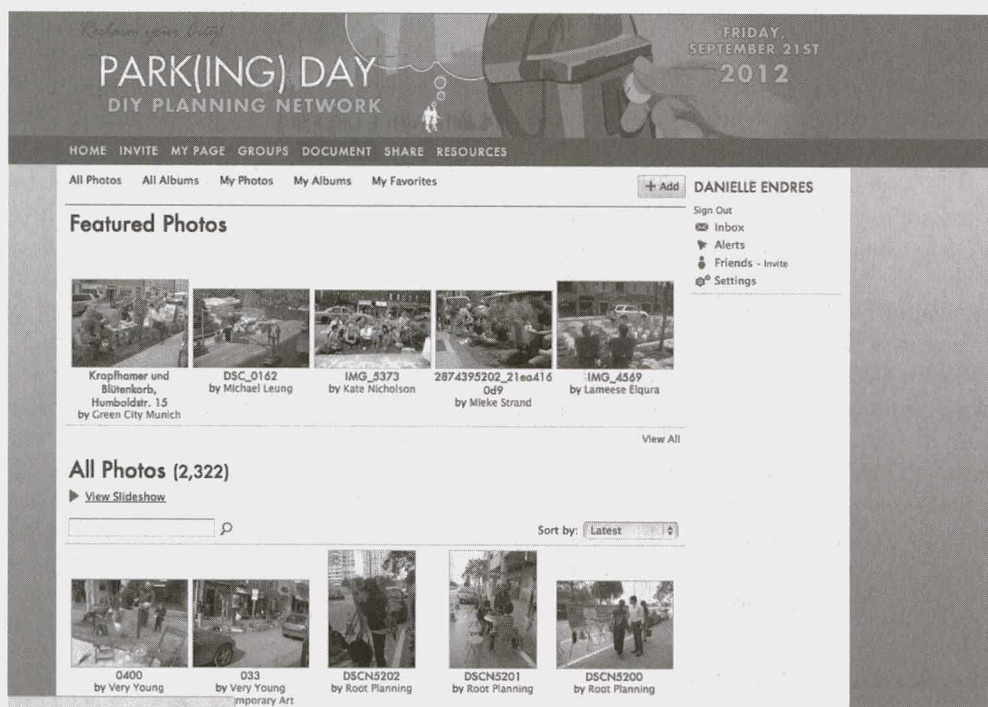
Figure 4. Screen Shot of PARK(ing) Day DIY Planning Network website "Photo" page (http://my.parkingday.org/photo; retrieved February 23, 2012).

my.parkingday.org/). These websites represent the movement's officially sanctioned archive of PARK(ing), a selection chosen by movement organizers and participants to document and disseminate the idea of PARK(ing).

Throughout the PARK(ing) Day website, there are interspersed photos of events in cities such as New York City, Munich, and Belgium (see Figure 2) that not only display the range of variance in PARK(ing) installations but also represent that the movement has gone global. In addition to these photos embedded within the website, there is also a link to a shared Flickr pool on the "Archive" page of the main website (see Figure 3) as well as a photo archive on the DIY website (see Figure 4). These combined archives contain over 5,000 (some duplicated) images of temporary PARK(ing) installations ranging from transforming a parking space into an interactive art exhibit, to a place to practice yoga, to a bicycle-parking place, to an urban garden, to a living room with a couch, to a place for a poker game.

Rebar recognizes the importance of documenting and archiving PARK(ing) installations for the continued viability of the movement. The PARK(ing) Day website states:

PARK(ing) Day began as a two-hour installation, but a few good photographs kept the idea alive long enough for it to become a movement. Even as the event grows, documentation in the form of video and photography are key to its success as each year builds upon the last's inspiration (Rebar Group, Inc., 2012b).

Documentation of PARK(ing) through the archive creates a sense of endurance of the movement that then allows for its proliferation through the creation of more localized PARK(ing) installations. Extending Tuan's (1977/2001) notion of place as pause, the archive

enacts a lingering pause in relation to the fleeting pauses of local PARK(ing) installations. The lingering pause helps to document the idea of PARK(ing) and enables future invention in localized places. The documentation and dissemination of PARK(ing) opens up a space for thinking about and enacting ephemeral change in the physical, built environment. The archive acts as a source of creativity for future events.

The spatial arguments of PARK(ing) move back and forth between the local ephemeral installations and the general more enduring archive. Both the installations and the archive advance the argument of the PARK(ing) movement and encourage rethinking the practices that (re)produce urban space. The archive uses representations of the arguments of the local installations to highlight the ephemeral nature of places through the residual traces of their diffuse uses during PARK(ing) Day events. Hence, the documentation of transience high-lights the process by which practices are enabled by a spatial order, and opens up a space of possibilities for re-imaging these practices. This normalized spatial order is the generic form of the parking space, which naturalizes the urban environment as built around automobility. The Park(ing) Day archive encourages new ways to look at one's own spatial order by suggesting additional uses, adapted to local situations, in the shared experiences available online. The archive, then, not only offers a sense of endurance to the ephemeral arguments made by particular PARK(ing) installations but also makes and supports those arguments through representation.

The Archive as Enabling and Constraining

Documentation can also serve to fix meaning in place, defining the parameters of possibility by codifying them. As Taylor (2003) notes, "the archival, from the beginning, sustains power" (p. 19). The PARK(ing) archive also acts as a centripetal force that holds power to constrain and enable future PARK(ing) arguments and advocacy. The centripetal force of the archive ties together disparate manifestations of PARK(ing) around a central spatial argument (the parking spot, reimagined). The PARK(ing) Day website and the PARK(ing) Day DIY Planning Network serve both centripetal and centrifugal purposes in that they espouse the general message of the movement to "transform metered parking spots into temporary public parks" (Rebar Group, Inc., 2012f, n.p.) and offer organizing tools–including documentation of past PARK(ing) installations–for people to reinterpret and create their own take on PARK(ing) Day. The PARK(ing) archive guides activists in the construction of their own installations, encouraging participants across the globe to convert parking spaces into PARK(ing) places through performance, repetition, and amplification. No matter what local groups do–sod and trees to yoga classes to orange juice stands to an edible bus stop–the message of transforming a traditional parking spot into a PARK(ing) place for the purpose of reimagining urban space remains. This force may generate the diffuse possibilities of publics while creating limitations on how to participate in the move-ment.

The PARK(ing) archive serves Rebar's intention to make PARK(ing) Day an open source movement. According to co-founder Merker (2010), "Rebar treated the idea [of PARK(ing)] itself as open source and applied a Creative Commons license: as long as it was not used for profit, we encouraged people to replicate and reinterpret it" (p. 46). Further, the *PARK(ing) Day Manual* suggests that the archive itself follows an open source ethic: "The PARK(ing) Day Network is *the* open-source, user-generated living archive of the worldwide event" (Rebar Group, Inc., 2011, p. 14, italics original).

Open source means that creators make the source material for their idea or product available to the public so that others can use and build on the original material.[6] In this case, the original PARK(ing) installation is the original source material that gets replicated and reinterpreted. Harold (2007) notes that the philosophy behind open source allows for innovation and distribution:

Open content creates the conditions for invention to become an ongoing and public process. Its direction is somewhat unpredictable, because the lines that feed it and are produced by it are multifarious. Opening up cultural content to collaborative augmentation embraces rather than rejects the viral and distributive character of publics (p. 148).

The open source ethos of the movement is one of the enabling aspects of the PARK(ing) archive in that it not only contributes to the continuation of the movement but also encourages creative variations on the central argument. The archive (and open source ethos) enables a realm of generative argumentative possibilities from the diffuse publics that take up the idea.

PARK(ing) uses place-as-argument (Endres & Senda-Cook, 2009) in a basic message that unifies disparate PARK(ing) installations. Organizers are able to incorporate local issues without straying from the main spatial argument. Regardless of the verbal messages that accompany particular PARK(ing) installations and regardless of the different ways that these installations modify the parking spot, the spatial argument of each installation is consistent with the movement's central purpose to enact emplaced fissures in the meaning of a parking spot. From urban farming to business promotion to anti-pollution to artistic performance, the simple act of creating a temporary fissure in a parking spot enacts a centrifugal message of the PARK(ing) Day movement in a way that is unlikely to be overwhelmed by the localization and individualization of particular events. This works similarly to a protest march. Even if individual people are there for slightly different reasons, the march itself is a unified message. In the same way, the accumulation of individual events as archived communicates as a whole. As Rebar Group, Inc. (2011) explains:

The event continues to expand virally, over the Internet and by word of mouth. Since its inception in 2005, PARK(ing) Day has blossomed into a global experiment in remixing, reclaiming and reprogramming vehicular space for social exchange, recreation and artistic expression. (p. 1)

Even as the PARK(ing) Day movement grows and diversifies, the spatial argument remains consistent because of its ties to reconstructing physical parking spaces. The spatial message implants within it the implicit verbal message—reimagining urban spaces—by literally re-imaging urban spaces. This enables a consistent message and the longevity of the movement.

While the archive encourages participants to be creative in their interpretation of PARK(ing) Day, it also sets limits on how participants take up the idea through the website and its links to the *PARK(ing) Day Manual* (Rebar Group, Inc., 2011) and the *PARK(ing) Day Participation License* (Rebar Group, Inc., 2012d). The PARK(ing) archive promotes civil entertainment, highlighting safety and a temporary PARK(ing) place that does not extend beyond its borders. PARK(ing) disrupts normative spatial practices in productive ways, but it is enclosed within the space of the legally leased parking space. This is normal for a social movement to set some parameters on its members and their enactments. Yet, it is also normal for those parameters to get messy in practice, with some members challenging and

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[6] While open source often refers specifically to free and open source software (FOSS) (e.g., Coleman, 2004), the term has been more widely adopted to refer to new forms of activism and political participation that follow some of the basic tenets of open source technology (e.g., Coleman & Hill, 2004; Harold, 2007; Hindman, 2007).

Figure 5. Screen Shot of UrbanArch's 2011 installation in Memphis, TN (http://vimeo.com/29786385; retrieved June 16, 2013).

highlighting the constraints of the parameters. In identifying some of the constraints of PARK(ing) Day's archive, we are interested in taking a broader view of the movement and identifying both the enabling and constraining features of the PARK(ing) archive. The interplay between the repertoire of specific installations and this archive constrains some of the potential for radical transgression within the PARK(ing) movement. The power in designating temporarily constructed PARK(ing) installations at the center of the movement also acts as a parameter on the argumentative force. Such parameters serve to legitimate the movement and yet can limit the possibility of some types of ruptures to the "meaning of particular places" by disallowing or discouraging certain means of argument (Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011, p. 277). PARK(ing) pivots between playful subversions and constricting limitations to participant creativity. In other words, the archive in a broader social context discourages certain conceptualizations in order to encourage dissemination of the centralized meme. PARK(ing) works because it sets the parameters in a way that has legitimated the movement, but these parameters also minimize the possibility of certain transgressions of the parking spot. These parameters include explicitly not calling it a protest, the encouragement of lighthearted civility and decorum, and limiting it to one day.

The archive discourages using alternate forms of resistance, such as civil disobedience and protest, in future PARK(ing) installations. Official statements eschew the language of protest: "Remember, **you are not protesting**–you're using your public space to improve the quality of life for people!" (Rebar Group, Inc., 2011, p. 11, bold in original). The spatial argument, whether or not it is labeled a protest, is still a form of dissent because it challenges a normative set of spatial practices. The heuristic of place in protest (Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011) marks spaces under contestation. Rebar nonetheless defines acceptable forms of PARK(ing) by discouraging participants from defining the acts as protesting. This conceptualization of the event hedges legal ramifications, promotes the event as an affirming action,

defines protest as a negating reaction, and sanctions certain messages while potentially discouraging more radical transgressions of place within the movement. There are always options outside of the PARK(ing) movement to more radically challenge spatial practices or engage in forms of civil disobedience. The PARK(ing) movement asks its participants to follow a set of guidelines that will ensure the dissemination of the purpose of the movement as conceived by the organizers. This set of guidelines points to PARK(ing) Day's unified message, which places limits on the argumentative content and form of localized PARK(ing) installations.

An installation in Memphis (Figure 5) illustrates how the PARK(ing) archive can constrain argumentative choices through the encouragement of acceptable forms. UrbanArch Associates utilized PARK(ing) Day as a means to promote legitimate graffiti art. According to the narrated video archiving the event, graffiti "can be appreciated in the right forum," and is "acceptable" when it "is done legally and tastefully" (UrbanArch, 2011, n.p.), or in general when eschewing guerilla-like tactics. Thereby, UrbanArch fed the meter, erected wooden canvases, and gave two graffiti artists its "permission to entertain, inspire, and paint their mastery" (UrbanArch Associates, 2011, n.p.). In the sanctioned space, on this sanctioned day, the installation argued that graffiti is acceptable artwork through this context. This example utilizes the PARK(ing) concept to draw a resistive political aesthetic into the realm of accepted practice. This is an important and valuable contribution to the movement. Yet, thinking beyond the movement and about the argumentative possibilities for challenging spatial practices, it could be argued that any momentary resistance through this particular spatial form is potentially little more than "an image of contained revolt, of spectacular transgressions circumscribed, of crime as carnival, of resistance and chains" (Hebdige, 2005, p. 404). Such images linger in the online space, and with UrbanArch we see the centripetal "force of decorum" (Pérez & Brouwer, 2010, p. 317) that can have the implication of glossing over the racial politics of graffiti and the policing of graffiti artists.

The global event also imposes temporal parameters along with its spatial limitations. PARK(ing) Day is explicitly codified as one day, limiting the frequency of its physical enactment in temporary PARK(ing) installations (although visual and verbal representations on the website are not limited to one day). While there are some practical, legal reasons for holding one PARK(ing) Day a year, an implication of the temporal boundary is that the emplaced and embodied installations only temporarily build community, do a service, and then disappear until the next year. Framing the event as an annual, celebratory event has the advantage of local law enforcement, city officials, or neighbors seeing it as an acceptable sanctioned tactic as opposed to a chaotic, unplanned disruption. In response to the common question of whether or not organizers can use the PARK(ing) Day logo on a different day, the website jokingly compares that idea to celebrating major religious holidays in the wrong months (Rebar Group, Inc., 2012c). Therefore, while the archive encourages people to take up the meme in localized contexts, by setting a parameter on the time of year, it also discourages more spontaneous spatial arguments that potentially respond to a specific local kairotic exigence that might occur on a different day than the sanctioned PARK(ing) Day.

These limitations, while potentially constraining certain types of (more radical) spatial transgression within the PARK(ing) movement, do further the stated purpose of the movement to create a fun and legally-sanctioned way to challenge spatial norms. By engaging in unusual practices, creators of PARK(ing) installations make salient how routinized practices reify urban places/spaces and their meanings. The benefit of such actions is that they have the potential to reach broad audiences. By calling on participants to refrain from protest or other illegal actions, the PARK(ing) movement can avoid negative publicity that would result from more radical, and

illegal, forms of resistance. Avoiding confrontational, and sometimes illegal, protest strategies also makes advocacy available to those who would otherwise not participate in social movement events. Finally, limiting the form of reinterpretations may also discourage distraction from the core argument of the movement. The movement calls for rethinking urban space with the creation of temporary parks and constraints on the actions produces more consistent meanings.

In sum, PARK(ing) arguments challenge the normalized meanings of place/space in the city by disrupting the perceived endurance of parking spots. The challenges are regulated through the archive, which serves as a centripetal force, centralizing residues of the disruptions and both enabling and constraining future participation and spatial arguments. The continued interaction between the repertoire of live, emplaced installations and the archive of past iterations not only holds the potential to rethink spatial practices beyond the routine, yearly spatial meme but also places limits on appropriate forms of argument. This use of spatial arguments impacts the way we understand resistance and place. As cultural geographer Cresswell (1996) argues: "Place is produced by practice that adheres to (ideological) beliefs about what is the appropriate thing to do. But place reproduces the beliefs that produce it in a way that makes them appear natural, self-evident, and commonsense" (p. 16). As ephemeral and resistive spatial arguments endure online and within the yearly event, they both challenge common usages of space and risk sedementing undesired new norms that might undermine some of the goals of the movement, such as limiting advocacy temporally in ways that it has been limited spatially (e.g., a free speech zone), or inspiring new uses that do not open public space as much as create new parameters for how place/space can be used (e.g., privately-owned public spaces or POPS). Nonetheless, these parameters, along with the open source nature of the movement, also suggest that this yearly spatial meme enables important challenges to the normalized practices of parking spots that are accessible and open to a wide range of audiences, especially those who may happen upon a PARK(ing) installation and take a few minutes to smile and enjoy this temporary fissure.

CONCLUSION

This essay demonstrates that place/space can be an argument in itself. As the field of argumentation continues to grapple with the implications of visual and embodied forms of argument, spatial argument offers another fruitful vantage point from which to describe and analyze forms of non-verbal argument. Further, our analysis specifically focuses on resistive spatial arguments with implications for the study of social movements. Even though PARK-(ing) discourages organizers from conceptualizing what they are doing as "protest," it still makes a spatial argument that challenges the dominant meaning of place/space in order to suggest alternative ways of conceiving of, utilizing, and producing place/space. In other words, repurposing place in the way that PARK(ing) does presents an argument for an alternative use of public space. PARK(ing) challenges the meaning and use of places by remaking those places. In this sense, it is a place in protest (Endres & Senda-Cook, 2011), a dissenting perspective on the normalized meaning of parking spaces.

PARK(ing), as a spatial argument, moves simultaneously between the concepts of ephemerality and endurance, or between the repertoire of emplaced installations and the archive of documented examples. Our example illustrates the continuum of ephemerality and endurance that is common in social movement advocacy. Creating a physical, yet ephemeral, installation, PARK(ing) Day emphasizes the fluidity of physical places, countering generalized notions of the enduring practices of those places. Moreover, the online archive creates a more enduring

repository that documents and disseminates temporary installations, thus providing longevity to the arguments. Interestingly, this challenges common perceptions about the seeming endurance of physical places and the seeming ephemerality of online spaces. The PARK(ing) movement's arguments endure in the online space, and the temporary spatial arguments in the physical space disappear after a day (although as we will discuss below, the combined archive and repertoire of PARK(ing) has resulted in some more durable changes to urban space).

The play between the archive and the repertoire shows how the spatial arguments of PARK(ing) are in conversation with past iterations and their documentation. The parameters imposed on future spatial arguments are part of the success of PARK(ing) Day's longstanding challenge to rethink urban space. As Merker (2010) remarked, the movement "claims a new physical and cultural territory for the social and artistic realm" (p. 49). The combination of the archive and the repertoire create an overarching spatial argument in which physical places are changing and people are training themselves to see places differently. Instead of looking for a place to park their cars, they are looking for place to create public shared space such as a park. Yet, the archive also constrains some alternate forms of argumentative force that could challenge spatial practices in more radical, spontaneous, or longstanding ways. This tension is common to social movement arguments and advocacy beyond PARK(ing) Day. 350.org, for example, follows a similar model wherein the website acts as an archive and dissemination hub for localized place-based arguments that call for action on climate change. This is a tension that need not be resolved, but rather is a productive lens through which to understand the interplay between a centralized archive, or similar organizational structure, on the future argumentative enactments of a movement, be they spatial arguments, visual arguments, bodily arguments, or verbal arguments.

PARK(ing) installations also emphasize how contemporary social movements have added additional tactics to their repertoire for attempting to change societies. Social movement events often rely on a disruption of the normal operation of a place to make an argument. In conventional protests, people crowd together so that onlookers can see the mass of support, blocking a street or building so that business-as-usual will halt. Events such as PARK(ing) Day, by contrast, try to create a different kind of meaning. Although the reconstruction of place still happens in a street, the meaning created is more akin to a festival or celebration. They take a somewhat ironic or humorous approach to inviting people to reimagine places and relationships. This mode of social movement communication invites audience members to be participants, even if they were planning to do something else with their day, and tends to work within the boundaries of the legal realm.

In addition to creating both ephemeral and enduring challenges to the normalized parking spot, PARK(ing) has also influenced some changes in urban planning. Rebar's manual (2011) includes an announcement that "permanent change" can be a result of PARK(ing) Day efforts. It claimed, "In a growing number of cities around the United States, including San Francisco and New York, city agencies have created permit programs for merchants, organizations and citizens to convert metered parking spaces to permanent plazas, open to the public" (p. 15). These "parklets" (see Figure 6), as Rebar calls them, are forming in Vancouver, British Columbia, Philadelphia (King, 2011), and Long Beach, California (Vives, 2012). Largely supported by local businesses that pay the permit, parklets are more permanent parks in once-private parking spots.[7]

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[7] The Long Beach example is more complicated than the others, in that, while other parklets are open to the public, these appropriations of the PARK(ing) Day aesthetic are for patrons only: hence, indeed, not really a public park at all but a shift from one privatized use to another.

Figure 6. A Public Parklet in San Francisco. Photo by Danielle Endres.

Parklets illustrate the phenomenon that Endres and Senda-Cook (2011) articulate wherein the repeated reconstruction of place can lead to a more permanent change in meaning of the place. In this case, however, we would not expect that because the same parking spot has been transformed into a temporary PARK(ing) place year after year that it would become a permanent plaza. Instead, the accumulated efforts of many people around a city in different parking spots may encourage city officials to reconceptualize parking spaces more broadly. In other words, unlike Endres and Senda-Cook's proposal that a specific place like the Castro District can come to have a new physical presence and meaning, we contend that PARK(ing) Day has an impact on a generalized space–the parking space. Therefore, although the physical changes that result may not have a one-to-one relationship (i.e., a specific area becomes a parklet because someone hosted a PARK(ing) Day event there), they encourage a new perspective for seeing parking spaces and thinking about urban landscape as constructed. Ultimately, the case of PARK(ing) Day illuminates the productive possibilities of spatial argument.

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