The University Of Sheffield.

PROTEST IN CONTESTED PUBLIC SPACE

An investigation into the performative act of protest as a mechanism by which to define the changing social, political and spatial terrains of neo-liberal London.

Carl Leigh Fraser (CLF)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The University Of Sheffield, Faculty of Social Sciences, School of Architecture

July 24th 2016

Supervisor: Doina Petrescu, second supervisor: Tatjana Schneider

Table of Contents

Table of Contents **2**

Table of Figures **3**

Section1: Introduction **6**

Tools of Representation *7*
Finding My Subject Matter *11*
Common (shared) land *16*
Public**(ly accessible) **Space *19*
Protest 22
A Dual Purpose: Right & Tradition *24*
Neo-liberal Britain *25*
Research Question *28*

Section 2: Methodology **30**

Multiple Readings & Realities *30*
Mapping *31*
Conceptual Framework *32*
Research Approach *34*
Auto-ethnography & Ethnography *39*

Section 3: City & Power **41**

Power *43*
Power & Knowledge *45*
Conflict *48*
Iconic Spatial Identifiers *51*

Section 4: Protest **56**

Rights & Resistance 56
Tools of engagement *61*
Global Influences *61*
The Performative Practice *62*

Section 4: Case Studies **65**

Student Tuition Fee Protests **66**

Kettling: an in situ response *71*
Development of Practices *72*
Perimeter Space *78*

Occupy LSX **81**

Approach *82*
Protest Space *85*
Demarcation *86*
Opposing Notions of the Public *92*
The London Stock Exchange & Wall St *93*
Alternative Spatial Practices *94*
Theoretical Analysis *95*
End of the Occupation *103*

August Riots **108**

Approach *110*
Theory *111*
Historical context *113*
Metropolitan Police Specialist Training Centre *117*
French Riots *120*
Participants *121*
100 Days After The Riots *125*

Off Duty Police Officer March **130**

The March *136*
Approach *137*
Theory *140*

Section 5: Counter Mapping & Conclusions **143**

Conclusions **150**

Exclusion and inclusion *153*

Propositions **155**

Academic Contribution *155*
Politicised Spaces: Socio-economic Conditions *156*
Learning from Protest *158*

Bibliography **162**

Appendix **165**

Spatial Governance **165**

Unused Images Thumbnails **175**

End Notes **181**

Table of Figures

1: Photo: St Paul's Churchyard 6
2: Napoleon's Russian Retreat (1812) 7
3: Mississippi River Meander (1944) 7
4: Czechoslovakian Air Map (1933) 7
5: Theory of Evolution (2000) 7
6: Protest Contingencies Map (2010 early version) 8
7: Protest Contingencies Location Map 9
8: Thatcher & The Employment Act 9
9: Mapping Architectural Theory 13
10: La Pianta Grande di Roma: 15
11: Focus on Piazza Navona 16
12: Westwood Common (1635) 16
13: Parish of Llyswen commoning (1840) 16
14: Common land & Enclosures 18
15: Photo: Mobile Protest Unit 19
16: Photo: The Battle of Orgreave (1983/4) 24
17: Photo: The Brixton Riots (1985) 24
18: Photo: Poll Tax riots (1990) 24
19: Photo: August Riots (2011) 24
20: Mapping London's Institutional Powerbase 41
21: Psychogeographic Guide of Paris 47
22: Political Consensus 48
23: Trafalgar Square 51
24: Parliament Square 51
25: Paternoster Square 52
26: Speakers' Corner 52
27: Photo: Anti-Iraq War Protest 52
28: Arch of Power 53
29: Photo: Women's Sunday, Hyde Park 54
30: The two roles of the practice of protest 58
31: Official Protesters of the Olympic Games (London 2012) 60
32: Photo: Mohammed Bouzaziz 61
33: Publication: Person of the year 61
34: Mapping Austerity Protests 62
35: Different Spatial Typologies of Protest 63
36: Photo: Student Tuition Fee Protests 65
37: Photo: Occupy London Stock Exchange 65
38: Photo: August Riots 65
39: Photo: Off Duty Police Officer's March 65
40: Location Map: Student Tuition Fee Protests 66
41: Causation: Student Tuition Fee Protests 1of1 67
42: Extract: Student Tuition Fee Protests 67
43: Causation: Student Tuition Fee Protests 2of2 68
44: Co-ordinated Attack on Public Space 69
45: Student Tuition Fee Protest Route 70
46: Photo: Kettling lines 71
47: Photo: Kettling: Clearing the side-lines 71
48: Photo: Kettling: Side-street 71
49: Sukey Website Banner 72
50: Sukey Protest Map 73
51: Photo: Student Tuition Fee Protests 73
52: Student Tuition Fee Protest Routes 75
53: Photo: Pop-up tents 76
54: 4 forms of spatial protest 76
55: Photo: Battle over Parliament Square 77
56: Photo: Smashing Windows at The Treasury: 78
57: Photo: Violent Clashes 78
58: Photo: Setting fire at Trafalgar Square: 78
59: Photo: Occupying Parliament Square: 78
60: Location Map: Occupy LSX 81
61: Photo: Occupy's Map of their camp 83
62: Mapping: Occupy In-situ 86
63: Photo: Continued change of state 86
64: Photo: Writing as ownership 86
65: Photo: Fencing at Cleary Gardens 87
66: Photo: Paternoster Square 87
67: Photo: Tools of Demarcation 87
68: Tent Typologies and Fence paths 88
69: Paternoster Square historical overlay 89
70: Photo: Protests Kettle at Cheapside 90
71: Mapping Occupy LSX Kettle 91
72: Tents on St Paul's Cathedral land 91
73: Occupy: 951 cities in 82 countries 93
74: Aerial Photo: Occupy Wall Street & Zucotti Park 94
75: Aerial Photo: Occupy LSX & The London Stock Exchange 94
76: Interdependent bodies 96
77: Extract: Mapping Austerity Protests 98
78: Key Operational Apparatus 100

79: Photo: Embodiment of public 100
80: Photo: (The People's) Kitchen..... 101
81: Sketch: The People's Kitchen 102
82: The People's Kitchen Tent Arrangement 103
83: Photo: Occupy LSX 'info tent' 105
84: Photo: Occupy Finsbury Square..... 105
85: Photo: Bank of Ideas 105
86: Location Map: August Riots 108
87: Photo: A Carpet Right store set ablaze 109
88: Infogram: Appetite for Destruction..... 113
89: Extract: British Riots Lineage..... 114
90: Tottenham: Socio-political Catalysts 116
91: Phases of Dissent..... 117
92: Pitch Battles 117
93: Photo: Gravesend: an external view..... 118
94: Gravesend 'Long shield barrier' 119
95: Gravesend formations 'Mounted charge'..... 119
96: Gravesend formations 'Short shield' 119
97: Mapping: France disturbances (2005)..... 120
98: A Typology of Involvement:..... 121
99: Clarence Road 122
100: Photo: Loose Kettle…..... 122
101: Photo: Police Lines Advance... 123
102: Photo: Distructive disruptioun: Phase 1a 124
103: Photo: Loitering (without intent): Phase 1b 124
104: Photo: Clean out: Phase 2a..... 124
105: Photo: Clean up: Phase 2b..... 124
106: Photo: Re-opening: Phase 3a 124
107: Photo: Re-branding: Phase 3b..... 124
108: Photo: First Day of The Riots 125
109: Photo: 100 Days After The Riots..... 125
110: Publicity: 100 days after the riots..... 126
111: Photo: Event Presenters..... 126
112: Location Map: Off Duty Police Officers' March 130
113: Photo: Officers Maintaining Hierarchy..... 131
114: The Police Federation Magazine: April & May 2012..... 132
115: Policing Public Space..... 133
116: Policing Public Space (Focus) 134
117: Off Duty Police Officer's March 136
118: Photo: Mutual Applause..... 138
119: Photo: Scheduled Clean Up 139
120: Photo: Side-lines 140
121: Photo: Clear Out..... 140
122: Initial Time Line Diagram 145
123: Time Compression & Expansion 146
124: Poll Tax Riots..... 146
125: Events group 147
126: Legislation strata 147
127: Power group 147
128: Media strata..... 148
129: Protest strata..... 148
130: Table of Comparative Spatial Approaches 152
131: Napoleon's 1812 Russian campaign..... 177
132: Charles Jencks: Map of The Theory of Evolution 178
133: Harold Fisk: Mississippi Meander Map (1944) 179
134: Czechoslovakian air route map (1933) Author unknown 179

Page intentionally left blank

Section1: Introduction

1: Photo: St Paul's Churchyard

London, Oct 2011, (Author)

This thesis is an investigation into the role that public(ly accessible) space[1] plays in contemporary society. Exploring how these locations can be utilised as a platform to better understand the relationship between citizens and their representatives. The social, political and economically motivated activity which engages with this spatial potential is protest[2]. This thesis will research the way in which locations which are recognised as spaces of congregation such as squares, markets, plaza and parks are intrinsically political, both in the way these locations come into being and the way that their presence is utilised by a politically active user group. In tandem, the thesis will also research locations with a more temporary association with socialisation, but are utilised by activists for their spatial significance when pertaining to a particular cause, complaint or agenda which sparks an idealistic conflict. These are spaces which, as inhabitants of the city we all transgress; such as streets, thoroughfares and intersections. They often come into tension with existing boundaries within the city, such as lines of ownership, and other tools used to subtly control the structure of urban territories which are shared through the necessities of urban life. These are locations where conflicts of interest can and will occur in contemporary society and will thus feature heavily as case studies in future chapters.

Both the trajectory of the research and the subsequent identification of the relevant territories of action, are developed through a series of investigations into high profile or well attended protest actions which took place in London between 2010 to 2013.

This is a significant timeframe, as these protests manifest only a few years after the global economic financial crash of 2007/8 and start in earnest in the year of the European Sovereignty Debt crisis of 2010. The UK coalition government is elected this year and their politics challenged exiting social practices. Global events such as the "Arab Spring" (2010/11) and the "Indignados" movement in Spain (2011/12) were part of a rise in activism[3] which also played a part in forming the identity of these domestic protest events.

This chapter will outline the environment in which these activities occur, identifying key moments in the past that structure the conditions of the present. As such, this thesis will build upon the notion that these economic events were seismic, not just in terms of their immediate financial consequences but also their effect on cultural practices and how they subsequently established new expectations and behavioural norms, thus changing the way in which citizens related to each other and the institutionalised mechanisms by which society operates. This thesis focuses specifically on landed, physical protests which take place in ***publicly accessible locations***. The mechanisms by which these actions are

1 This definition will be used extensively throughout this thesis as it moves us away from the dichotomy of "public" and "private" spaces. Instead looking at *accessibility* and *proximity* to define spatiality. The term "public space" is redefined through the injection of the suffix "ly" and the adjective "accessible" in regards to the level of public access to a location as opposed to its ownership or management practices. A full description can be found in the "Public(ly accessible) Space" subsection of this "Introduction" chapter.

2 Used in this thesis to refer to an act of dissent, or organised opposition to existing dominant practices. A full description of the term "protest" and how it will be used throughout this thesis, can be found in the subsection "Protest" of this "Introduction" chapter.

3 A more comprehensive list of the effect that these global protests have had on the emergence of the protest activity bubble in the UK can be found in the chapter "Protest" in the subchapter "Global Influences".

supported, such as digital or virtual networks of communication, are researched and outlined as secondary constructs supporting and in some cases hindering the action which take place on the ground; with the main focus being on the indeterminate nature of physical spaces of cultural and social exchange.

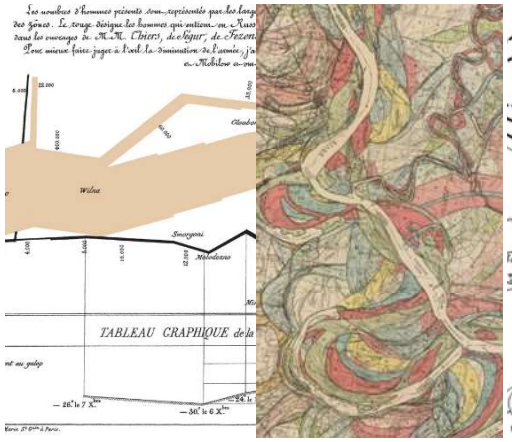
This thesis will begin by questioning hither to broadly defined structures which affect the designated use and thus much of the understanding around the role in society of publicly accessible spaces. Most acutely, it will question the grouping of varied typologies of spaces to create the notion of public and private realm. It will consider legislation affecting planning guidelines, methods of law enforcement and parliamentary processes as constructs which at different times impose a contradictory set of rules on the use of such spaces. This research is interested in interrogating the role of these practices in relation to their influence on civic society. By questioning these, the aim is to propose a change in the way their roles are legitimised (both socially and legally) in urban environs. Due to recent developments within neo-liberal societies, the rules of association which quantify the role of political representatives are changing. As such, the remit that these officials operate within is not clearly defined or understood by the majority (those operating outside of the corridors of power). In conjunction the role of external lobby groups, NGOs[4] and powerful non-democratic organisations is not constitutionally defined, as such, their ability to inform the trajectory of national and international politics is not recognised or challenged by existing forms of democratic representation.

Thus, one of the aims of the thesis is to create a series of tools which outline how notions of democracy and citizenship are intertwined with the fate of designated publicly accessible spaces. This is achieved through mapping spatial and temporal conditions on which the act of protest is contingent, thereby using these mappings to inform the development of my theories. As such, the affect that these constructs have on each other and the act of protest will be explored and represented through a series of diagrams mapping extensively the relationship between different events which both affect and are effected by publicly accessible spaces and the activities which migrate there.

4 NGO: Non-Government Organisation, used in relation to a not-for-profit citizen's or community based group which can operate on a variety of strategic levels (be they local, national or global).

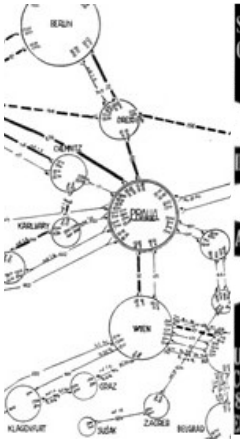
Tools of Representation

As such, mapping is a key component in analysing and testing these theoretical ideas. These visual aids are developed in conjunction to theories on public protest. The development and implementation of my mapping technique utilises methods employed by significant historical maps. The work of Edward Tufte which looks at the use and representation of information graphics, brings together a significant number of relevant maps. Of particular influence is his book Envisoning information (1990). Here, there are a number of timelines which span long or complex periods such as Charles Minard's illustration of Napoleon's 1812 Russian campaign, Harold Fisk's Mississippi Meander Map (1944) and the Czechoslovakian air route map (1933). Also of significance is Charles Jencks map of The Theory of evolution (an overview of 20th century architecture). Each of these examples use a degree of sequential and coincidental timelines to expose relationships between events, spaces or ideas. The interface of key moments represented as a consequence of other incident is a construct which they all share and which I wanted to adopt into my main theoretical timeline. These maps maintain a core structure, whilst allowing the consequence of other activities to be explored by the user. Thus there are several layers of interaction with the core data that the reader can engage with.



2: Napoleon's Russian Retreat (1812)

3: Mississippi River Meander (1944)



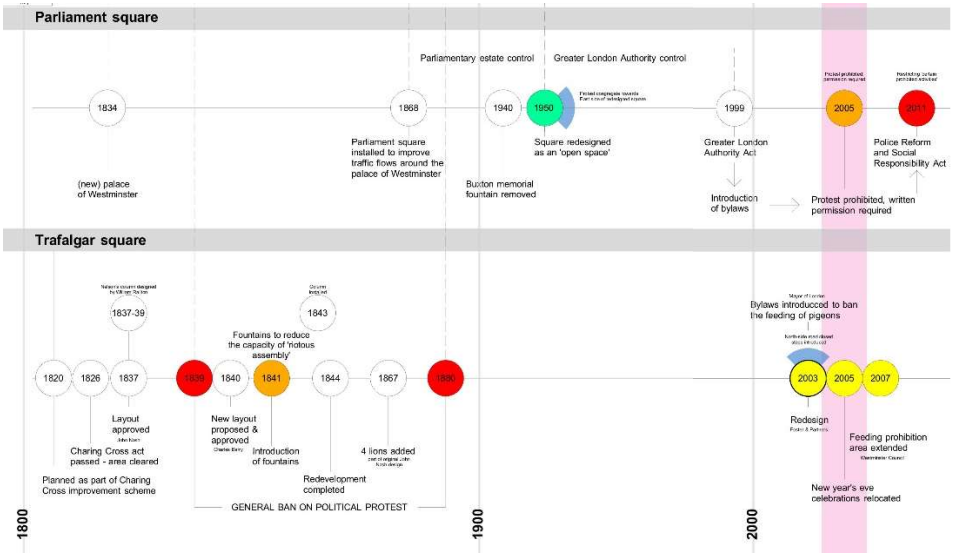
4: Czechoslovakian Air Map (1933)

5: Theory of Evolution (2000)

A larger version of these maps can be found in the appendix

Napoleon's campaign (or retreat as it is sometimes known) utilises several illustrative structures to exemplify key information. Although essentially a timeline, it integrates elements of a traditional bar graph to convey its key information (the dwindling of troop numbers over time). There are geographically specific elements which give additional information (most noticeably the location of rivers), as well as an indication of temperature, which when read in combination with troop numbers creates another layer of contextual information. This system of using several strands of information to bolster the main narrative is something which I wanted to integrate into my understanding of the history of protest. Similarly, Fisk's Mississippi map creates dense layers of colour coded information which after in-depth analysis clearly outlines the trajectory of the river over an expansive time period. Once familiar with the system, this coding allows the reader to scan the document focusing on information of interest to them (in this case, correlating patterns of movement at a particular time of year). This was a system of repeating activity which I wanted to employ in my timeline, to colour code different strata of information. The Czechoslovakian air route map deals with the problem of finding a method to represent causation between events, utilising mechanisms of a traditional flow or tree diagram. Although this relates to the arrival and departure time of flights; its method for representing multiple points of activity in which a hierarchy of activity points are created; could quite easily be employed in my nodal based timeline as a way of giving emphasis to key events. Charles Jencks maps has a stronger thematic link. Also a timeline, this map shows continuity (of conceptual approach) by setting up a series of horizontal strata which meld into each other to emphasis the lack of finite beginning, middle and end to the movements and figures being documented. As such, my main timeline that spans from the Norman Conquests (1066) to the oppositional movements that began then in England - to the 2010-2013 protest bubble which is the topic of this thesis, utilises many of the techniques of these grand timelines.

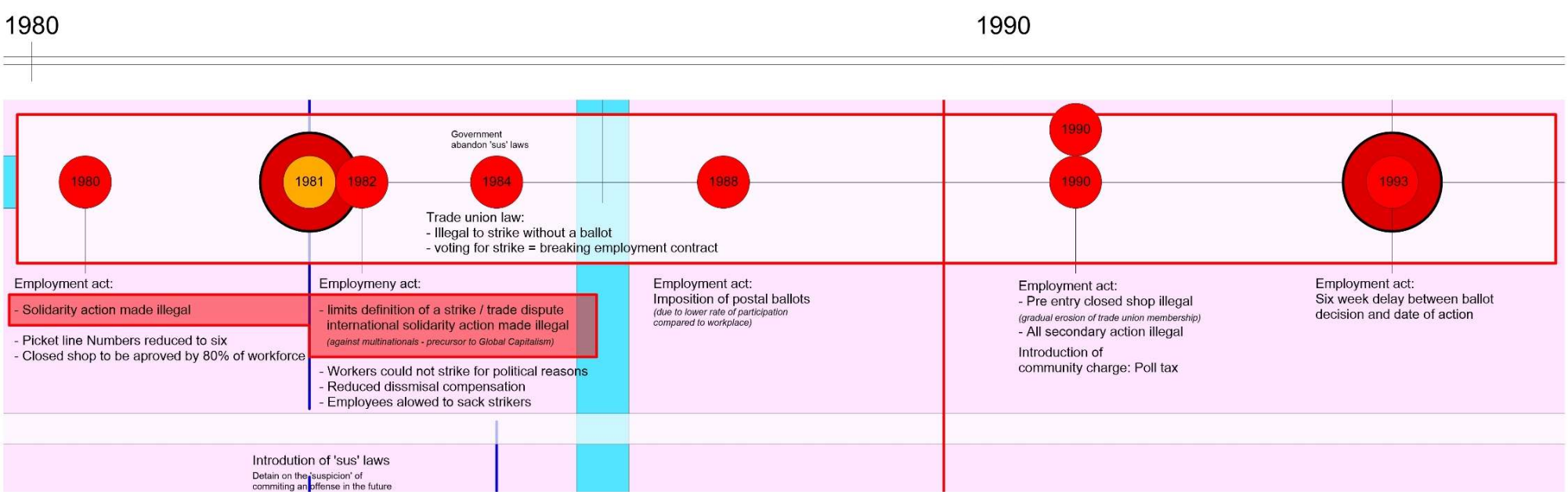
This mapping was developed in conjunction to the linear development of conceptual ideas (through text) as an alternative to counteract with some of the inherent limitations of this format and to offer an additional tool to develop and focus on key thematic issues. The initial iteration of the map grew out of a necessity to understand the development of land rights issues in relation to key spaces of dissent in London (Trafalgar and Parliament Square).



6: Protest Contingencies Map (2010 early version)

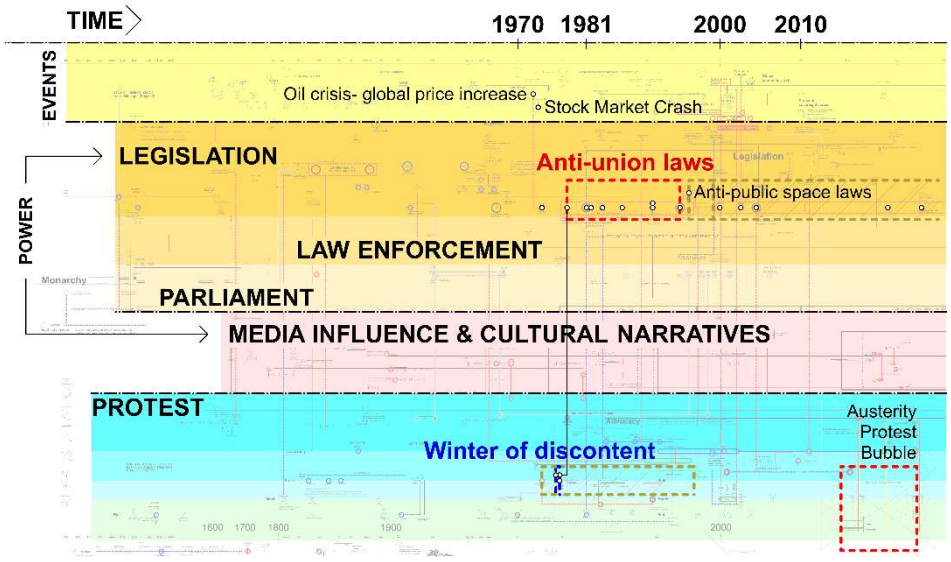
– a larger version can be found in the appendix

Over a series of months, these are developed throughout the thesis to encompass all of my theoretical threads and is now called the "Protests Contingencies" map, although it went through many iterations before it took the form that it now has. It was a tool which allowed me to map relationships between different events and their causality on the development of protest in public(ly accessible) space. As such, it will appear with frequency throughout this thesis as I highlight many different events which inform the efficacy of protest action. Using its layers to focus on different areas of interest in relationship to social, political or economic events, I can make tangible the political continuity which facilities spatial action. In general, the diagrams outlining these relationships will be used as a way to find continuities and in particular the shifts in the balance of power between citizens and their relationships which would otherwise be difficult to correlate. To take legislation as a key example, changes continually re-define spatial territories through the use of draft proposals which use specific language expressed and presented in exclusive forums, which are read by few people in society but affects us all. Thus, understanding the creation of, or a series of changes made to an existing act within a (relatively) short space of time; are not easily understood by those whose occupation doesn't allow them to be familiar with these practices. Thus the map operates as a way of breaking the boundary between the written legal propositions and their outcomes. Identifying moments in time and correlating them with actions:



8: Thatcher & The Employment Act

Protest Contingencies map: Extract (Author) See appendix for a more in-depth description of related acts[i]



7: Protest Contingencies Location Map

The image above shows the implementation of a series of laws which completely changed the conditions under which unions' operated in the UK. Over a thirteen-year period unions went from being the dominant oppositional political force, to the much diminished position that they hold today. The reasons for this transition become tangible when represented in this redacted diagrammatic form. By drawing and effectively documenting these changes within the structure of a timeline, the key changes of both political trajectories and their effect on physical space can be made tangible. This theoretical notion of representational justice is tested by the visualisation of this system of accumulative piecemeal change. The decisions that they implement, result in tangible physical changes in the types of activities which ***can*** occur in said territories. Thus, public(ly accessible) spaces in proximity to powerful institutions are spaces typically subjected to such legislative constraints including expulsion or omission based on identity or varied methods of profiling[5]. Without a visual representation of the trajectory of these changes as they are implemented through time, the restrictions can easily progress without public knowledge[6] or understanding of their impact. Thus discourse or resistance

5 The use of CCTV, drones, and practices of greater subfigure which allows individuals activities to be tracked. For more information, see the chapter on "City and Power" in reference to "Trafalgar, Paternoster & Parliament Square."

6 More information on *knowledge* as a socially and politically constructed phenomenon can be found in the chapter "City and Power in the subsection "Power and Knowledge"

in relation to the embodied consequences is subdued, curtailed or does not manifest at all. As a result, key constructs in society can change before citizens have the opportunity or the awareness to contest such actions. By mapping these changes as they become manifest, social, political or cultural shifts can then be visualised and subsequently referred to in context to the development of protest events which manifest in opposition within physical spaces. At its most effective, mapping in this way can facilitate a reciprocal passage of information between policy maker and citizens. This relationship can be made visible and tangible though the use of diagrammatic imagery which highlights emerging continuities and speculated on their outcomes. Timeline mapping features heavily throughout this thesis which is divided into five sections.

THE INTRODUCTION explores the overarching structures which frame the act of protest, looking at historical lineages which have made manifest a particular relationship between ***citizen's, institutions and representative bodies*** in the UK, looking specifically at London and how I arrived at the area of study.

THE SECOND SECTION explores and expands upon the appropriate methodology to research the topic of domestic, societal spatial contestation. Taking the decision that the form of organised action for this research is the act of protest that takes place in public(ly accessible) space, issues of access, safety and efficacy of the multitude of protest actions which occurred with regularity within this research period; have been assessed before being defined as appropriately informative case studies. As a result, this methodology utilises several techniques from different social science disciplines[7] including ethnography, auto-ethnography and elements of activist theory. The aim is to employ techniques which ***observe the alternative creation and use of public(ly accessible) space through non-hegemonic readings of the practice of spatial dissent*** (protest).

THE THIRD SECTION employs a more philosophical ***exploration into the relationship between contestation over territories*** which will inevitably occur within urban environments and is titled 'Cities and Power.' As our urban lifestyles emerged out of the structures and rhythms which dictated rural living; we see the contestation over the designation of space emerge and establish itself as different interest groups collide and begin to negotiate access to space and define the use of said territories. Cities are spaces of constantly negotiated power and the spatial consequences of which are explored in this chapter.

THE FOURTH SECTION will explore the case study protests themselves. Initially, location and number of participants will be used as a guiding tool which will be refined and added to as events develop on the ground. The purpose, is to explore the idea that the ***practice[8] of protest directly informs the theory***. Thus the criteria for each subsequent protest will be its relationship to the emerging spatial theory. Informing my understanding of the relationship between citizen's and their representatives finding both social and physical constructs by which they can be compared and evaluated. In turn, these case studies will illuminate contemporary understandings around the notion of rights, democracy, contestation and representation.

THE FIFTH SECTION will begin to expand upon the data collected at these individual protest events, seeing them in a wider interrelated context, existing at a moment in time along a largely oppositional trajectory which includes other protest events in different territories and historical timelines. These trajectories ***trace movements which oppose political ideologies which are borne out by successive legislative and subsequently spatial changes to public life***. By looking at these events collectively, I can identify the mechanisms of a practice in action. It may be possible from this position to understand protest as an ***approach to living[9]*** as opposed to an outbreak of unconnected or seemingly irrational opposition to the inevitability of hegemonic trajectories as often portrayed by mainstream

7 The study is both ethnographic and auto-ethnographic as it is a descriptive overview of a practice in situ. It also requires analysis of my own personal experiences of said practice to theorise upon its efficacy. My research also serves as a basis to examine larger theoretical aims. Predominantly identify the root cause of social inequalities, by carrying out research in direct cooperation with organised protest collectives where possible. A more detailed explanation of the research techniques employed can be found in the "Methodology" chapter.

8 The idea that protest is a "practice" will be heavily built on in the following chapters. It originates from the definition outlined by DeCerteau:

"...transverse tactics do not obey the law of the place, for they are not defined or identified by it... one can distinguish "ways of operating" - ways of walking, reading, producing, speaking etc."
(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984)

9 For more information on the philosophical approach associated with *shaping the city after your {own) desire* and making this a *practice of everyday life* (De Certeau) see the chapter on "Power and Knowledge" in the chapter "City and Power".

media and politicians. Thus the aim is to facilitating greater engagement in a more ***representative, transparent and equal society***.

Finding My Subject Matter

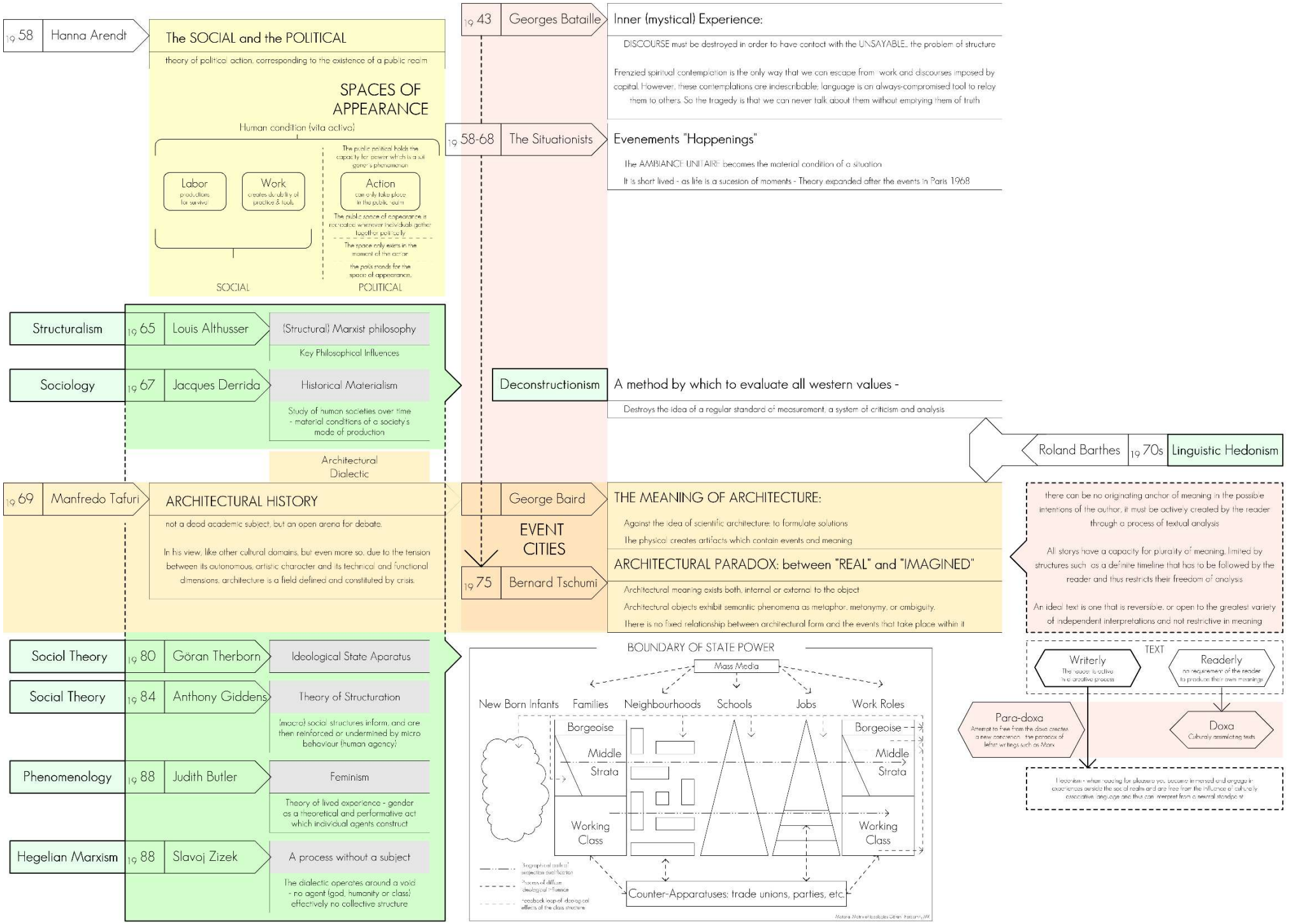
The desire to write this thesis developed over a number of years, primarily through questions that arose from the accumulation of a number of observations around the environment in which I grew up and lived. The daily constructs which defined that environment and the major events that I could not fully comprehend culminated to form a position towards several seismic socio-political events. As this environment went through a dramatic series of economic changes, my understanding of mechanisms for daily social identity were consistently being challenged. ***Public space*** was a term which was referred to by many but with a looseness of definition which defies true meaning. Growing up in Hackney, in North East London in the 80s and 90s I remember a distinct disconnect between the way in which the public spaces which I utilised on a daily basis in my borough were described by those who didn't live there and latterly by main stream media and politicians. Often characterised as poor, dangerous and crime ridden, places devoid of activities particularly for the young (as an explanation for these problems). I found that my experience greatly different from the established narrative, I personally never felt a sense of danger when moving through the most tarnished areas of the borough and the activities which seemed to be so lacking seemed to me to be ever-present, everywhere in public spaces. Activity was abound and the appropriation of space in a variety of different guises was there to see. The street where people burned-out and abandoned their cars always had kids inventively playing in them. Estates and street corners were always buzzing with music, food and activity. Buildings that had been abandoned by the council or private investors where rapidly and diversely occupied by those seeking alternative ways of defining their own internal spaces or as an alternative to the rental and property ownership ladder. Thus the disconnect between an experiential narrative and a hegemonic one was becoming clear to me.

However, it was at the interface between these acts of public space utilisation and political intent that the disconnect became tangible. The M11 link road protests were an early example of such amalgamations. As a nine-year-old, I hadn't developed a full and frank understanding of taxation law or its implications, but I found it interesting the way in which you could use, back then, what I understood as a series of games in old houses and trees; as a way of disagreeing with government and political decision makers. Of course these protests were ultimately unsuccessful with the link road being built and used by all as if there was never any objection. However, I distinctly remember the connection between place and identify by some of those living in the area and those choosing to relocate there to object to the evictions and (I would later learn) disseminate their tactics of obstruction in other areas of the country, where link roads were being built. I was always interested in the notion of how these mechanisms of obstruction worked. Could anyone just turn up and use their body as a method of objection? And did it ever work? And more importantly was there an easier, or more logical way of making your objections known as a way to change society? I had to wait a decade later to get a comprehensive answer.

In 2003 when Tony Blair (at the height of his popularity and power declared that he was taking this county to war, the million march represented people power at its greatest potential. People took to the streets in a strong believe that the proposed military action could be halted. I remember at the time that official polls had the country divided 50/50 over whether going to war was a good, necessary or just pursuit – it struck me then that the decisions made by a politician in the middle of their term left the electorate with very few recognised forms of opposition to resist their shift in ideology. Protest seemed to be the only one with any gravitas, and even then, it requires a receptive hegemonic ear to see through its objectives.

At the time I was 21 and had experienced nothing like it in terms of organised political activity. It felt as if the streets of London were filled with optimism and ideological promise, that bodies on the street could dissuade government from perusing a decision which they were intent on. Of course taken in the strictest sense this action was ultimately unsuccessful with Tony Blair taking the British government and people as full participants in the third Iraq war costing millions of lives, pounds and good will across the globe. However, what I personally took from this event and its consequences were two things. The first was the ***social comradery born out of political social interaction which I have yet to find in another sphere in contemporary society, and secondly as the trigger point for a retrospective look at previous acts of protests and not just their validly but their place in the British psyche.*** In the industrialised West we live in a world of relative comfort, where struggles for principles such as human rights, suffrage and equality are established endeavours. However, none of these rights and the associated expectations that we now take for granted

were given freely, ***all were fought for against a resistant existing establishment.*** Furthermore, the signifiers of the pre-formed rebellions, riots uprising and movements are embossed in the landscape. Socio-political struggle for values which people hold dear take place in shared spaces because of a shared sense of ownership and rights related to these historic events. As a child I remember seeing scenes on the TV from the Poll Tax riots at Trafalgar Square (1990) and the Brixton Riots (1981/85) and it was clear that the role of the public and the architectural environment operated in a sphere much wider than that of the remit of the construction industry As I understood it. As I struggled to understand how decisions about building were decided and how the factors of everyday life where considered, whilst in 6th form college I had decided to write a paper on the area that I had grown up in, Hackney. I was quickly drawn to buildings whose functions typified the diversity of the area. The estate blocks (which were subsequently demolished to great public fanfare) the mosque whose minaret received some local condemnation once its planning permission was granted. And in general, the way that different immigrant communities redefined Hackney's wards – most distinctively through their food, fashion and social culture. All of this diverse public activity was in some way or another intrinsically linked to ***the creation of places - both socially and physically***, and for my part I could not separate the importance or the role of the two. How built spaces and social spaces were consistently informing each other's purpose and validity.



9: Mapping Architectural Theory

(Author) ongoing theoretical analysis

So in essence my reason for studying architecture at a higher level, and at a school of architecture renowned for its theoretical approach (the AA[10]) was in part, an endeavour to understand this relationship more clearly. Buildings often outlive their creators, yet they also facilitate activity beyond the wildest dreams of those whose actions facilitate their existence.

The desire to develop a theoretical understanding to the role of architecture in contemporary urban society, led me to investigate the validity of existing architectural processes, I was broadly familiar with the importance of some of the theories developed by Manfredo Tafuri, Bernard Tschumi and George Baird, in challenging the status quo and the accepted wisdom of established architectural practice, process and meaning. Starting with the views of Tafuri; that architecture is a battle between its artistic nature and the functional and technical requirements which are always at odds (and as such, create divergent views on ***what architecture is***. As such he saw architecture history (and thus our understanding) as an arena for contemporary debate. In relation, the relevance of Tschumi and Arendt in establishing (through the development of different theoretical approaches) the disconnect between the spaces that we imagine, design and build… compared to the way in which they are encountered, resonated with (my then) purely anecdotal reading of spaces being physical creations to the same degree that they are socially defined.

By mapping of the links between alternative architectural practices I could see the relationship between the ***written*** form of theoretical exploration and its connection to both ***illustrative*** and ***spatial*** methods which may exist in different academic fields and time periods. As illustrated [previous page] the lineage from Ronald Barthes pursuit of "linguistic hedonism" by developing methods to liberate both the writer and reader to greater plurality of meaning as a method to facilitating creativity, is explored in the writing of Tschumi (Advertisements for Architecture 1978) and subsequently a number of his buildings (most influentially Parc de la Villette 1982-1998). Similarly, the way in which the Situationists explore the notion of "eventments" (happenings) which emerge from the illustrative tools that Guy Debord presents in his Pychogéographique de Paris (1957), which shares a theoretical lineage to George Bataille's identification of language as an always compromised medium of exploring emancipation (and set about developing rules to destroy the inherent structure of discourse). This back and forth between different tools of cultural expression and spaces of identity (both internally and externally) provides an operational pivot to use throughout this thesis.

My question at the time was; to what degree were all of these social and physical factors considered by architects' planners and by necessity politicians? How far can you go in designing spaces for the necessary role of political dissent or adversary? The Houses of Parliament is a space designed for a degree of dissention, but such activity is limited by the very nature of its enfranchisement. Its ability to be representative is limited further still if we take into consideration the architectural typology which dominates its functionality (linked as it is to the specific requirements of a bicameral system of verbal political exchange).

Our current forms of enfranchisement - the forms of opposition or support open to the general public, such as (1) voting for a political representative, (2) unionisation, to protect our working rights (3) knowledge disseminated by an independent press working in the "public interest", or (4) lobbying and petitioning (of said representatives) ***require independent spaces*** from which to operate to give their process validity. However, the necessary social networks and continuities of civilian life which allow these modes to function as democratic mechanisms have been shown to be compromised. (1) The fact that the number of people voting has been on a general downward trend since the 1950s (65% in 2010 – with only 44% of those aged 18-24 turning out to vote), shows that voting isn't the great liberating act that it was 100 years ago when the franchise was necessarily expanded. (2) The operational function of unions is marginalised in a world of global corporations which can easily operate to undermine the national workforces, a problem reflected in the union membership numbers which are currently operating at an all-time low[11]. (3) The independent press is operated by large monopolies with singular interests - with news and views consumed by the public being produced by an increasingly powerful minority (with just 5 companies controlling 70% of reginal daily newspaper

10 The AA: Architectural Association, an independent school of architecture established in 1847.

11 Figures released by the Department for Business Innovation & Skill on Trade Union membership, shows systemic and continual decline over recent decades *(reports from 2011 and 2014)*

circulation in the UK[12]). (4) Lobbying is central to our ideas of democracy; it is a method by which we attempt to influence government decision. However, in practice the power lies with those who can afford to consistently lobby government officials behind closed doors. Currently there are some 4000 people working in the UK's £2billion "influence industry"[13], with the majority of them coming from corporate interests. They create a consistent level of pressure on our government which influences the decisions that they make for the benefit of large corporations and the finance sector rather than in the interests of citizens. So the practice of these democratic franchises in contemporary British society is compromised – suggesting a necessity for different or at the very least improved versions of these practices.

This reality causes me to look to the possible activities of representation which are ***not*** enfranchised, to see if they provide opportunities for better structured or more effective citizen representation. Public(ly accessible) space is often considered a forum by which alternative practices are facilitated. By looking at the nature of public space I can begin to explore how the duality of social and physical definitions of space are necessary to understand their relationship and efficacy – due to their implicit accessible nature. As the providers of spaces of representation, expression and opposition. The act of protest often highlights these ideologically oppositional notions of purpose for which public space exists and the social and physical manipulation of such spaces which ensue. Ultimately these machinations took me to the point of asking; what is public space? And what is its purpose?

Public & Private Space

A significant historical reference point for understanding public(ly accessible) spaces has to be the cartographic representation of public and private spaces of Giambattista Nolli's map of Rome (created in 1748). Nolli creates a clear notion of public and private ***space as defined by use***. His graphic representational system of using solid and void is a precursor to figure ground, where the nature of habitation within the space is represented, and treated with similar consistency and continuity – and where public space is considered with high import. This is a relatively[14] nuanced understanding, where ***public space exists across both internal and external accessible space***. As such, spaces such as the Pantheon [837] and the Piazza Navona [605] are both represented as public, because citizens of Rome could expect to be able to use these spaces with equal ease of access. Thus the notion of civic spaces and their role within society is represented cartographically as opposed to depicting lines and areas of ownership.

10: La Pianta Grande di Roma:

Giambattista Nolli (1748)

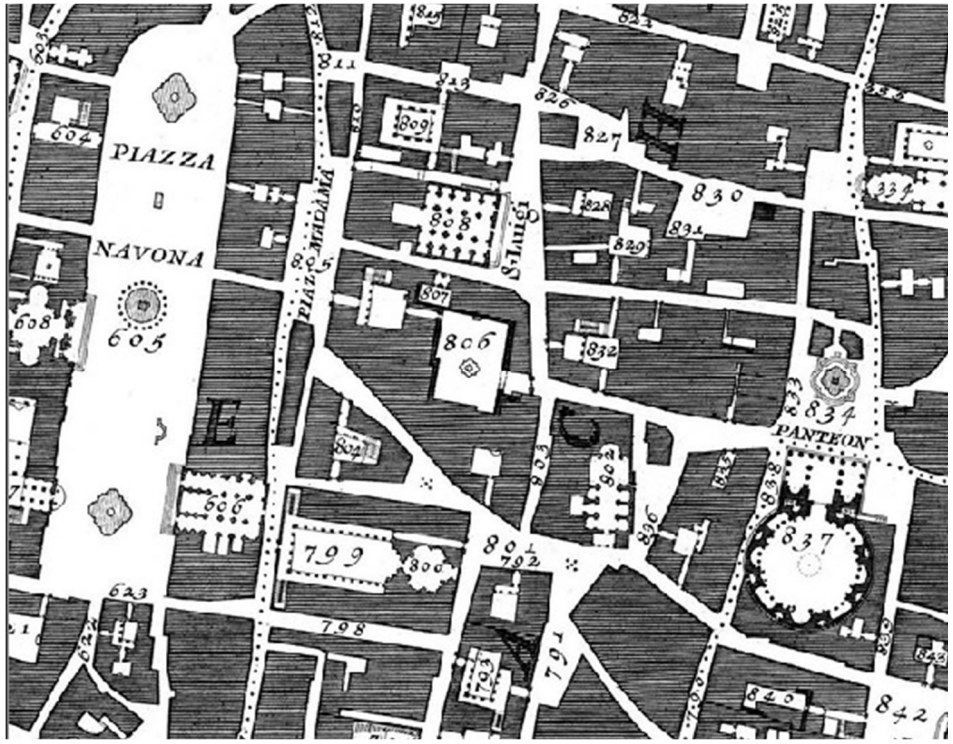
12 Information based on statistics published by the Media Reform coalition 2014

(based on statistics gathered in 2013)

13 *"We all know how it works. The lunches, the hospitality, the quiet word in your ear, the ex-ministers and ex-advisers for hire, helping big business find the right way to get its way... I believe that secret corporate lobbying... goes to the heart of why people are so fed up with politics. It arouses people's worst fears and suspicions about how our political system works, with money buying power, power fishing for money and a cosy club at the top making decisions in their own interest. It is increasingly clear that lobbying in this country is getting out of control. We can't go on like this."*

David Cameron (incumbent prime minister, speaking whilst opposition leader campaigning for election in February 2010)

14 The Nolli map is based on the techniques developed in Bufallini's map of Rome (1551). Although Nolli brought a degree of clarity and consistency to his map which was missing in Buffallini's, the notion of solid and void as a cartographic technique to represent public (or civic) space was nearly 200 years old when Nolli reproduces it technique during the Settecento period.



11: Focus on Piazza Navona

La Pianta Grande di Roma: Giambattista Nolli (1748)

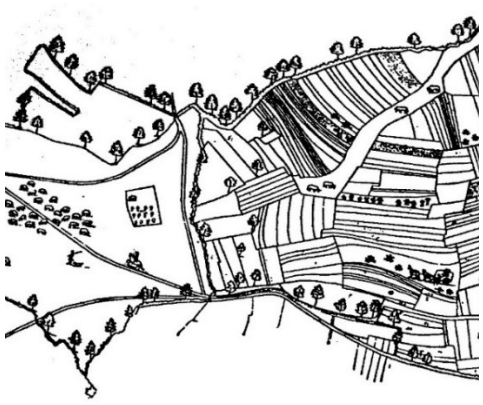
In Nolli's representation there is a level of clarity over the designation of space and how this transgresses physical boundaries. However, this map does not engage with certain nuanced levels of use which occur when attempting to access spaces within (this or any other) city. Concerns such as ***who*** these space are public(ly accessible) space for and ***when*** they are accessible are not expressed or explored through this binary form of representation. Similarly, the larger democratic and philosophical concerns over ***how*** spaces are "made or designated public" is another important exclusion from this historical map – thus the way in which society is in acceptance (or otherwise) around these guiding methods of space creation is relevant to ***how*** public these spaces truly are. As such, the mechanisms by which these spaces are created is an important sub category to understanding roles of spaces and places which are within the public stock[15].

15 Spaces which are considered to be in the *public stock* are those which host programs and operations which are integral to the running of everyday citizen life. Their power does not have to derive from a democratic process. However, they do include practices but such as parliamentary structures, institutions such as banks (which set monetary policy), Stock Exchanges and (high) Courts who establish standards by which decisions are made.

In reality - as with virtually all designations of public space; the definition includes a series of locations which exist as shades of grey between the black and white oppositional categories of public and private. Certain practices and sectors of society would be excluded from entry to these so called public spaces (in Settecento Rome). Here, the desire to freely use these spaces by operators such as merchants, political dissenters or those of oppositional or divergent denominations of faith would find themselves excluded. In reality no space (however public in essence or remit) is truly for everyone in society to utilise as legislation and social norms imparts rules of access and use along ideological lines. As such, when scrutinised, Nolli's map is an example of the ***limitation of the dichotomy of public and private space as a method to describe the complexity and contestation of urban space***, however what it does achieve is to create a platform which moves our understanding of space away from the narrow contemplation of ownership. Although ownership often delineates program and certain mechanisms within the life of the site; ***use*** is often defined in more nuanced terms as the notion of ***common land*** freely engages with.

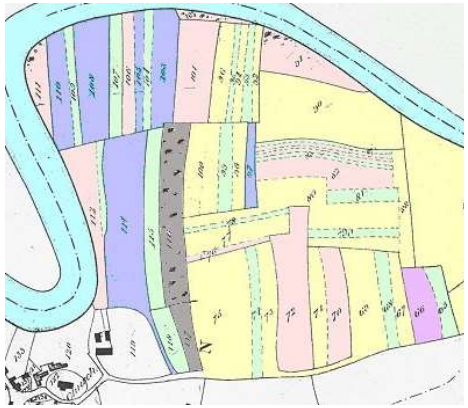
Common (shared) land

The notions of "the commons[ii]" or land held "in common" is an old one - a practice that has existed "since time immemorial" (Clark 2001).



12: Westwood Common (1635)

Laxton, Nottinghamshire, West Field and common field



13: Parish of Llyswen[iii] commoning (1840) before enclosures 1858

Commons refers to a variety of practices which have essentially developed to provide a degree of sustenance in a pre-metropolitan age. In England, commoning was established well before the Norman Conquests (of 1066). It does however have a great relevance as a social system, a backdrop to understanding the way in which we approach the notion of space (or land) and its function in contemporary society and our understanding of land rights over the past millennium. In the previous images, you can see diversely defined areas of use. With areas for spring, winter and fallow fields, meadows orchards, forest and pasture for varying methods of sustenance. In the two examples, domestic dwellings are incorporated into the system. Where the river runs, dependent industries are located such as the mill and the blacksmith. Essentially there were at least four delineations of space intermingled into this mode of production – (1) the domestic dwelling (2) the assigned land, (3) the "waste" or un assigned land (where the commoning occurs) and (4) the roads and lanes that bisect the land. As such, there is a plethora of activities which define and sustain daily life. Citizens have access to these spaces but no ownership over them. As a result, an implicit understanding develops between the land owner and users, that ***they are spatially dependent on each other for both social and economic means.*** Thus the notion of negotiated space defines the relationships that people develop with each other.

Today, the lexicon is peppered with references to the reductive notion of 'public' and 'private' space. This notion doesn't really engage with the nuances and variations of spatial typologies that one encounters at any singular pedestrian journey through the city.

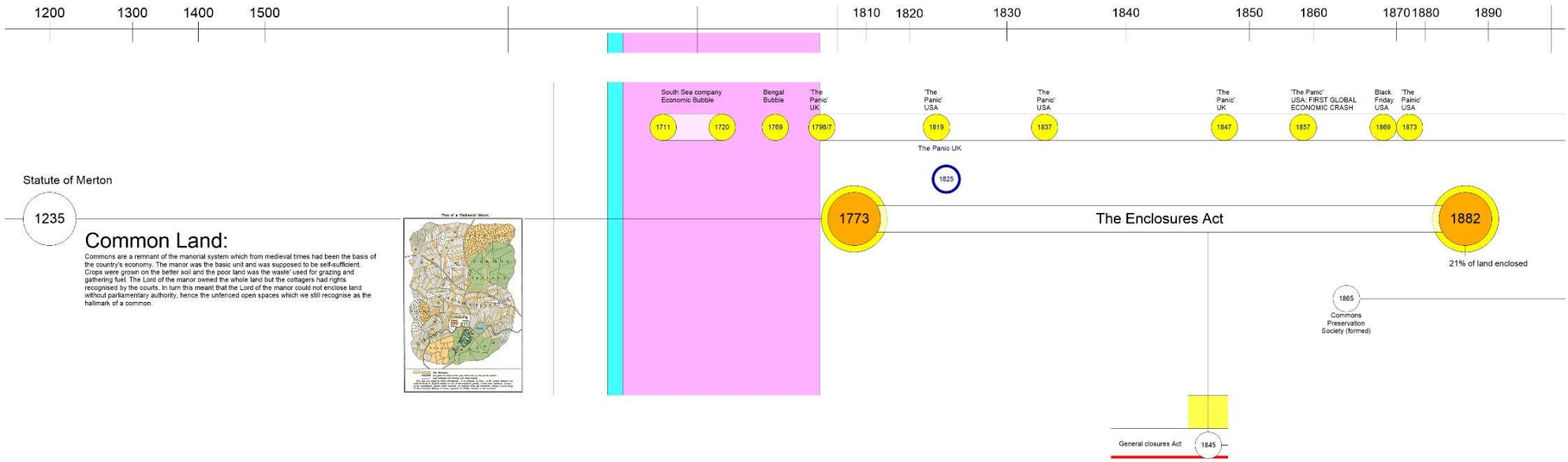
Most importantly, it doesn't recognise the notion of space that citizens or defined groups of individuals may have access and associated rights to but no ownership of. The commons embrace this notion (although deeply hierarchical), undermines the dichotomic notion of public and private space. Specific activities were allowed to take place on land that today we would consider as private. Although practices for sustenance were high on the agenda there were also designations for social and cultural practices to flourish (these include practices which have now been given protected status such as "village greens" and the act of "Morris Dancing").

Because those using participating in the use of these spaces would develop contrasting interests it was considered inherent that there would be conflicts of interest that mechanisms of dialogue developed to resolve. Thus the commons were a contested space, no less so than when the "enclosure of the commons" beginning in earnest (1773).

This practice of enclosing private land for monitory gain, saw the eventual eradication of practices included activities such as fishing (piscary), the collection and gathering of resources, a right to graze livestock and a place to pursue common rituals (gatherings including, festivals and ritualistic practices). These conditions were born out of a tension between different interests, long before the urbanisation of society, this privatisation eradicated a certain multiplicity of space. So where we now see tension and dissent around the purpose of space, we can understand this as an intrinsic mechanism of public(ly accessible) space, and not to be seen as an oddity of those holding extreme opinions - as this also occurred in rural environments, where access to land was negotiated by interested parties.

These historic common rights were by no means egalitarian, but the principle was one that was well established. The enclosures act that begins in earnest towards the end of the industrial revolution sees a drastic depletion of common land that coincides with the theoretical debate between Rousseau and Locke on the meaning of democracy which can be expressed as a divergent understanding of land rights[16].

16 A more detailed comparison between their theory of rights can be found in the chapter "City and Power" in the sub-section "Rights & Resistance"



14: Common land & Enclosures

Mapping Protest Contingencies Extract: (Author)

Moving forward to a more contemporary moment that defined the commons, 1968. In this year, just before the rise of neo-liberal globalisation (generally seen as a development of the late 70s – and in the UK aligned with the tenure of Margaret Thatcher 1979-1999); some commoning rights are maintained through acts such as 'the right to roam[iv17]. However, ultimately the demise of this social structure is encapsulated by titles published at the time such as 'the tragedy of the commons' (Hardin 1968), whose narrative undermined the notion of the commons as a productive and sustainable form of economic production instead portrays it as an outdated mode of production. In the same year we see the development of several acts which make the creation of new common land (practically) impossible and the reclaiming of existing common land a difficult and expensive endeavour for little spatial or operational gain. This is one of the socio-political changes that marks the beginning of the neo-liberal Britain; the death of commoning and the redefining of space and its purpose.

> *...the first essential tension of modern democracy is that between political rights and social entitlements... the second is between those who deeply value 'universality' and those who believe that a strong account of universality reinforces a status quo which serves to exacerbate the marginalization of those who do not enjoy a reasonable share of the benefits of their society.*
>
> *(Harvey, Spaces of Global Capitalism 2006, 38)*

When reflecting on the history or trajectory of public space in the UK, it is possible to highlight a number of key moments in the development of the UK's relationship to freedom of expression (in our case, the act of protest). The history cannot be told without inclusion of the role of the commons and the later development of town & village greens and the 'right to roam'. In contemporary society, these speak of a relationship between citizens and their representatives, where government is obliged to provide spaces where people can engage in (largely) social activity which occurs in publicly accessible spaces which are not overly politicised.

In conjunction, there are spaces where the rights and associations which are held by the public are as a result of specific politicised actions and events

17 The right to roam is the obligation of the ramblers' association (formed in 1931 under the name the National Council of Ramblers' Federations). Through generations of actions attempting to expand the right to roam has led to the implementation of the Countryside and Rights of Way Act (2000).

and as such develop public practices (protest) which are specific to those locations. The definitive examples in London are Speaker's Corner, Trafalgar, Parliament and Paternoster square (more information on which can be found in the chapter "City and Power" – "Iconic Spatial Identifiers"). These spaces of protest are key in understanding the nuances in the ever changing relationship between ***citizen identity and accessible space***. The reasons as to why and how particular spaces compel individuals to gather there at a particular times emerges. There is a pattern which has at its core ingredients which are a mixture of ***access, proximity to power and disillusionment***.

As such, the understanding of a series of interconnected accessible spaces develops. I see ***contested[18] public(ly accessible) spaces*** as a synthesis of a number of different approaches to exploring the nature of these spaces by writers, theorists, architects and artists. Rosalyn Deutsche is one such theorist, and her notion of "antagonism" and the requirement for "political (public) spaces" is one such guiding theory. Here, a negotiation between "friendly" enemies is necessary for space to remain public, ***where different stakeholders accept the role of those with opposition views to be part of the debate over the designation of such spaces.*** This is essentially the role which protest attempts to adopt – to be recognised as an oppositional citizen forum.

Public*(ly accessible)* ***Space***

In the early stages of this research it was necessary to develop a series of mechanisms by which to interpret the terrain of action that would be the most suitable location in which to operate. As such, identifying and defining the territory commonly referred to as 'public space' was of primary concern. It was necessary for me to compile a definition for this environment to create a comprehensive theoretical picture from which to start from. However, the term is used differently in a variety of different disciplines.

15: Photo: Mobile Protest Unit

- outside of the Royal Court of Justice, London October, 2011 (Author)

Its current legal definition in the UK is often determines by mandates attributed to local councils, of maintenance and a raft of health and safety legislation so it follows that this definition inherently differs wildly from the way that it is traditionally used by urban designers or architects who are involved in the material production of these spaces rather than the legislation which may define and facilitate its use. Planners (or more specifically the planning process) define such territories more simply. Ownership is key and appropriation over time of less import. In contradiction, (human) Geographers and Sociologists explore the way in which these spaces are appropriated by human activity and reserve less of their time with how these spaces come into being as Historians and Anthropologists would; who when doing so can articulate changes and trends in how humanity defines such territories and who is permitted to participate, both in their creation and appropriation. Where politicians may speak of rights to space which are embodied in the notion of the public; such as those to perform certain rituals or productive practices, Ecologists would define these rights differently, looking more to rights to a particular quality of space, such as air, sound and the sustainability of these for future generations. Thus, notion of public

18 More information on *contestation* and how it informs our use of space can be found in the chapter "City and Power" in the subsection "Conflict".

space, who and what it is for are defined in contradictory terms by different professions and non-professionals alike.

What is of key import for this thesis is that public space is not a ***material production*** alone and is defined with equal force by the ***social production*** of space (what may be referred to as appropriation if space is looked upon as a location with a degree of scientific truism). Thus, the endeavour of this research project begins by analysing an existing definition of public space, and breaking it into a series of different categories which this thesis will explore through its case studies.

> *By "public space" we mean the range of social locations offered by the street, the park, the media, the Internet, the shopping mall, the United Nations, national governments and local neighbourhoods. "Public space" envelops the palpable tension between place, experienced at all scales in daily life, and the seeming spacelessness of the internet, popular opinion and global institutions and economy.*
>
> *(S. L. Smith 2006)*

This definition merges what I would consider three distinct notions of place and combines them into this familiar but non distinct singularity. However, by focusing on each subcategory it can allow an understanding in regards to social human interaction and how these spaces are utilised by different individuals within society.

FIRSTLY, there is the notion of public space as a series of ***accessible physical locations***. They are not consecutive or continuous, in fact to traverse a number of these space typologies requires entering into others which will fall under different definition. As such, these places form part of the matrix of the urban environment. One could equally define them as spaces which can be walked through or transgressed by pedestrians, and that under their standard daily operative state; ***do not require any form of identification based checkpoint system as a prerequisite to enter or move through said spaces***. However, as with all environments, you will find that each location is subject to a code of conduct which if contradicted and this contradiction acted upon by the management body, inevitably triggers a different state of operation.

With public spaces these restrictions are often inscribed in law. The general public will start to associate these spaces with a series of restrictions validated by specific language. The interrogation of individuals and their activities within these spaces resonate with terminology utilised by law enforcement officials such as 'reasonable grounds', as they intervene when they believe that someone is 'pursuing a course of conduct' or engaging in 'anti-social behaviour'. These preventative strategies pave the way for the 'Criminal Justice and Public order' acts and more controversially the 'terrorism' act to forcibly interrogate citizens and their behaviour in said spaces. Essentially these acts culminate to create an altered state of public(ly accessible) space, with a recent trend towards restrictive practices.

"Streets, and parks" are the spatial examples given by Smith and Low but this definition could easily be extended to squares, thoroughfares and land designated as a public 'right of way' (Harvey, The Politics of Public Space 2006)[19]'. Their first definition also links the idea of "public space" to notions around public rights of use – and access to land which is not owned by the individuals who use it, essentially a link to the notion of commoning. These actions, though manifest for contemporary settings, cannot be disconnected from the notion of common land and the activities facilitated by such a conceptual understanding around the designation of space. This is a theme which I will return to later, particularly in relation to the performative act of public protest.

THE SECOND definition embraces the notion of a series of non-physical systems which operate primarily as information based resources which stimulate or provide a platform for communication between individuals who are separated by geography. These areas which are made available to the populous through conduits which may vary wildly but which do not necessitate a particular spatial singularity to facilitate them. In both the examples given by Low and Smith, "the media and the internet" these are industries whose services or products are owned and distributed by large private corporations (Google, Reddit, Amazon, Microsoft, Facebook and Twitter to name a few). Whether this distribution is through interpersonal communication or news articles, they are simply a mechanism by which this subjective information reaches its intended target or market audience.

19 *Right of way* extends beyond the theoretical idea of public access, as exercised in the UK is a result of the *Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000*. A United Kingdom Act of Parliament affecting England and Wales which came into force on 30 November 2000. It identifies public access to land, usually mountains, heaths and downs or registered common lands, which has fewer urban implementations.

However, what they facilitate is an often free ***platform*** for social communication and discourse which is broadly speaking publicly accessible (although social barriers persist when considering factors such as poverty, gender and language).

THIRDLY there are the set of locations which house operations which are identified as representative to the citizens within a predefined terrain (district, borough, city or nation). The examples of the "United Nations, national governments" is given above and again can be extended to both democratic and non-democratic/ elective institutions. The houses of parliament and The London Stock Exchange are both designations which could be included to this categorisation. What binds these locations as a definable group is their ***remit of operation***. These operations invariably take place on private land and in stark contrast to the first definition of public space - do require (often elaborate) forms of identification and checkpoint systems for individuals to gain access. Here, the decisions made in these terrains has wide reaching ramifications for the general public (regardless of the processes utilised to reach them). Their effective remit is the public (this can include the creation of policy, deliberating and acting on the efficacy of legal definitions, manipulating the levels of disposable income – by utilising mechanisms such as setting the inflation rate; and a plethora of other life defining mechanisms).

Different actors focus on these definitions of public space. For example, the "right to roam" movement looks to the first definition, campaigning to create as much space a s possible accessible to the widest number of people. Online activists (Hacktivists) would fall under the second categorisation where infiltrating the daily activities of large corporations whose practices contradict with those of the activists' political stance on the use of resources and labour. Here, this nuanced global platform allows activists to pool resources in a way that is inconceivable to those operating within a single physical locality. Historically, many targeted protest actions have congregated around representative decision making bodies. Citizens feel that they have a degree of reprisal and ownership over the spaces and individuals whose practices reside there. They are part of the ***"public sphere"*** as much as they are public spaces. What defines them as public is that their terrain of action is singularly spatially identifiable – architectural. One can identify the exact forum in which particular decisions are made. A trading floor or house of chambers resides in a physical locality. The public sphere has a less physically definable set of rules but instead has operational remit.

> *The idea of the "public sphere" as an arena of political deliberation and participation, and therefore as fundamental to democratic governance, has a long and distinguished history. The imagery of the Athenian agora as the physical space wherein that democratic ideal might be attained has also had a powerful hold on the political imagination [...] some kind of association or even identity has been forged between the proper shaping of urban public space and the proper functioning of democratic governance.*
>
> *(Harvey, The Politics of Public Space 2006)*

Here, David Harvey (2006) clearly associates the notion of a public sphere with a distinct and identifiable physicality. Where his definition extends the understanding of public space (outlined by Smith & Low) is by creating a focus on the notion of (citizen) participation as an intrinsic element in the notion of what is democratic and by inference representative.

That there is a forum or vehicle by which citizens can participate in and inform the deliberative political process and that access to this process occurs on a physical or spatial plane is of note. This doesn't dismiss the role that virtual or digital spaces have to play, but that representation on a spatial level performs an important and significantly different role and that it should be recognised as such.

In combining these notions of space and physicality - my interests lie in the notion of public space as a series of accessible physical locations (in line with the first definition of public space). My conjecture is that they are often facilitated or hindered by constructs prevalent in the second definition – those virtual platforms of communication. However, my research will begin by investigating the spatial and physical juxtaposition that occurs when public spaces of representation, those in the public sphere (the third definition) are activated in their role relevant to the public stock (and are effectively politicised) through citizen actions. There are methods to activate these spaces - and my thesis will explore those which emanate from acts of protest.

Key to theoretically expanding on this definition of publicly accessible space; is looking at examples of protests which engage with this notion, and where they take place. Protests at locations such as Trafalgar or Parliament square, occur due to their proximity to the powerful infrastructure that is

the houses of parliament. Similarly, protests outside of the London Stock Exchange activate that space as an operative within the public sphere (due to their significance in economic decision making).

As such, defining public space as ***Public(ly accessible) Space***, starts to move us away from the limiting (and ultimately false) dichotomic notion of public VS private, the notion that users can be situated in one or the other permanent physical state. This also will intrinsically tie these spaces to acts of protest which utilise this accessibility as a fundamental tool to their operations and aims. The experience is that we continually transgress a series of spatial realities with tacit rules of use and engagement. These, when transgressed inform our response to the urban environment, these responses are not static or clearly identifiable. Realistically these exist along a trajectory where the level of access and for whom that access is possible is contingent on a wide variety of factors. Some of these factors are clearly physically articulated i.e. through signage, posted guards or tactically located gates.

Others are almost indistinguishable as significantly, space is not defined by its physicality alone, but by a series of relationships which are produced across an urban landscape. Social and cultural factors are often psychological barriers which stop people from using or feeling comfortable accessing an otherwise public(ly accessible) space. The legal designation of space (notated by planning process through a series of blue and red lines designated areas of ownership and access) limit the scope of the experiential nature of that space. Space, as Lefebvre states is 'produced' both on psychological and physical planes. That the use and interpretation of space is not fixed by its physical constraints alone, but that there is a reciprocal process where the space is produced as a combination of mechanisms. In essence we socially produce space in the same way that we physically produce space...

> *"To speak of 'producing space' sounds bizarre, so great is the sway still held by the idea that empty space is prior to whatever ends up filling it."*
>
> *(Lefebvre, The Production of Space 1974, 15)*

For Lefebvre the physicality is not the defining platform that our narrative and thus understanding of space should be built around. Understanding physical and psychological space as coexisting in the creation our sense of place, allows the possibility of exploring the narratives which question both the nature and purpose of space, outside of the hegemonic pre-existence of purpose defined and designed site. This in turn is an important step in understanding the hegemony[20] around the production of not only space but knowledge. That we find it difficult to think of space being produced, but do not struggle with the concept of a physical space being produced as an intrinsic part of the urban environment; is an example of how partial knowledge[21] becomes accepted wisdom. In contrast, our understanding and acceptance of the necessity of elements such as buildings being produced, is evidence of the way in which narratives of spatial experience are narrowed by hegemonic narratives. If as a society we understood with equal force that social spaces are as fervent a production line, then society would operate very differently.

So if space is ***produced***, (and publicly accessible space is no exception, but another product of that process) then what can be learnt by understanding space as a physical and psychological construct working in tandem; is that ***right of access*** and ownership of the facets that control the trajectory of that space are intertwined and that to dismiss that psychological association and possibilities for adaptation is to overlook the implicit potential of said spaces. In essence, space can be transformed with as much significance with physicality as it can by user activity and temporary appropriation.

Protest

Acts of protest are perhaps the most symbolic embodiment of this social production of public(ly accessible) space. Protest disrupts the physical continuity of space and imposes a series of social (and sometimes physical) relations which realign the tacit rules of engagement, which are (temporarily) changed. What both Harvey and Lefebvre speak about in relation to these spaces is our right as citizens to access these spaces and the potential for transformation which is embodied within this appropriation.

20 *Hegemony* as a collective term for the predominant social, political and economic structures that produce knowledge in society; and thus creates dominance over groups who are subjected to this dominant version of cultural understanding without realising its subjectivity. Used in this thesis in line with Antonio Gramsci's definition of *cultural hegemony* but with a less totalitarian reading, building on a depiction more akin to that used by cultural studies in the later part of the 20th century.

21 More information on *knowledge* as a socially and politically constructed phenomenon can be found in the chapter "City & Power" in the subsection "Power & Knowledge".

There is no concrete definition of protest, each action, place that it occurs as well as cultural and historical context defines each direct action differently. However, the definition which this thesis will explore is grounded in the basis of protest as the enactment of a spatial right. This outlook is explored in a contemporary theoretical, neo-liberal context through Lefebvre, particularly in his works from the mid-1970s which feature predominantly in the collated book 'Writings on Cities'. Although Lefebvre does not restrict his understanding to (by their very nature) "disruptive" acts of protest. Instead, 'the right to the city' is an approach to daily life which transgresses different fields of action (work, leisure and love) as experienced through the city. Two decades later Harvey offers us a new reading of this concept. One of the key perspectives which lie at the heart of their theories is the idea that citizens have rights to spaces and mechanisms to change society without engaging in the role fulfilled by elected representatives and existing social hierarchies. Their texts are about a right to access spaces and to act in a non-prescriptive manner. It can be argued that whilst Lefebvre expands his writings to explore the experience of space, Harvey is interested in the economic mechanisms in society and how they make manifest the production of space. In 'the right to the city' Lefebvre outlines a historical timeline of spatial production and later Harvey explores the mechanism by which citizens can access these systems. Lefebvre speaks of a transition from the early dwelling to the fully industrialized city of his time (1970s) taking us up to the initiation of global neo-liberal capitalism. For Lefebvre, the key phases that define the 'mode' of production and by implementation the pace and scale are clarified (as Agricultural, Industrial, Urban and Global). By focusing on the variety of modes, Lefebvre severs the assumed link between the notions of urbanization as a natural process or one of progressive inevitability. It is instead the product of certain mechanisms, and these can be altered or we as a society can choose to engage with different modes. Lefebvre identifies the strong connection throughout history between different forms of 'control' over the modes of production strongly suggests a hierarchical system of rule which is maintained through different bodies at various moments in history. In this chapter he askes serious questions on the 'finality' (or indeed the embedded ideology) of industrialized systems of production;

> *Finality is an object of decision. It is a strategy, more or less justified by an ideology. Rationalism which purports to extract from its own analyses the aim pursued by these analyses is itself an ideology.*
>
> *(Lefebvre, The Production of Space 1974, 15)*

Seeing trajectories not as inevitable but as a mechanism of ideology allows us to assess our daily practices and assumptions with a more nuanced awareness. In many ways the acceleration of the speed of processes that we are experiencing in contemporary society, is a mere continuation of the lineage outlined by Lefebvre when society experienced the trajectory through from the medieval guild to the industrialized city centre. The nature of both lines of change are related to pace and a shift in focus on leisure and ultimately consumption. What remains consistent is the deeply ingrained myopic control present in the late 1970s to the present day. Society has, in many ways gone through an acceleration of implementation of the process which Lefebvre outlines on the pace of implementation

> *Analytic reason pushed to its extreme consequences… who formulates it and stipulates it? How and why? This is the gap and failure of operational capitalism.*
>
> *(Lefebvre, The Production of Space 1974)*

We have moved into a phase of operation where the form of 'ism' that we pursue as a society isn't questioned, instead, political decisions occur on the extremities of this, considering only the pace at which established economic tropes are put into place. The larger discussion over the perceived 'inevitability' over our present form of capitalism is thus never discussed at a serious political level. However, it is clear that there are different citizen bodies who question this lineage. Some on a political level such as anarchists, Marxists (since 1867), Suffragettes (1897-1828), Chartists (1838-1853) (to name a few). Howevr, there are also those who operate on a more targeted infrastructural level such as 'The Tolpuddle Martyrs' (1838) and those taking part in 'Kett's Rebellion (1549). Whatever the approach, what the practice of protest culminates in doing; is to provide people with an outlet by which to oppose the hegemonic mode of economic production. As such, protest is a mechanism of opposition and facilitates multiple societal functions.

16: Photo: The Battle of Orgreave (1983/4)

17: Photo: The Brixton Riots (1985)

18: Photo: Poll Tax riots (1990)

19: Photo: August Riots (2011)

The photographs above takes iconic and well circulated images from significant protest in neo-liberal England. Even within this relatively short time period, the shift in spatial focus is clear, as photographers (and the press) focus less on the clash between people and police, and instead documents the relationship between people and the city, a narrative takes a symbolic shift away from the notion of ideological clashes over law and order and self-expression.

A Dual Purpose: Right & Tradition

This thesis will develop case studies based in London, and as a guide to events which have shaped our contemporary understanding of protest; the anthology of British protest by Christopher Hamilton, "A radical reader" was an important reference point, as it narrates a history of England via acts of protest and the view of significant contributors to those movements, thus giving a snapshot of how they have helped define and redefine British society. Reaching back to the Middle Ages and finishing at the First World War, what really stands out in this work is the notion of protest as tradition, one which alters, develops and re-orientates itself with the socio-political will as defined by the time period, but one which can be associated with the notion of popular sovereignty.

Protest is in essence a spatially disruptive response to an event action or inaction perpetrated by those who the participants believe to have power of influence over them (this, is a practice older than England itself). There are records dating back to the introduction of feudalism in England of such organised resistance and its consequences, Magna Carta itself (although relatively powerless at its inauguration in 1215) is a key example of resistance to the effects of newly imposed power structures. It is unsurprising that the Norman Conquests gave rise to several radical bills which were attempting to mitigate that power struggle, from the "Charter of liberties (1100)", the "Charter of the Forest (1200 & 1215)", the Magna Carta (1217) and the "Great Charter – combining the two (1225)", re-issued in 1297 showing confirmation of its' restrictive clauses by successive monarchs. Once the war for absolute power was over, these charters were created in an attempt to create better conditions for Barons (Magna Carta) and peasants (Charter of the Forest) alike. The charters were negotiated (under great duress) in an attempt to subdue unrest at the shift of social political and economic hierarchies that occurred after the Norman conquests in 1066.

Moving from the organised opposition enshrined in law to actions by citizens (then considered peasants); the first real large scale unity movement is the Peasant's revolt of 1381. This revolt saw marches 20,000 strong (in a population in England estimated to be around 500,000) mainly in opposition to the introduction of a Poll Tax (a flat rate of tax) made regardless of an individual's ability to pay said tax. The revolt led to a revision of the laws but death for its prominent leaders (on London Bridge[22]).

As such, protest which takes place in England (and specifically London) have a long tenure. ***It can be said that there was a clear, identifiable and powerful socialist ideology in England***, through the theories outlined by

22 For more information, see the *Land Rights Timeline Map* (attached) for more information on the events which defined this early act of socio-political dissent.

Thomas Paine's "Agrarian Justice[23] (influencing the French revolution 1789-99), until the implementation of 'Market Fundamentalism (1979)' introduced under the Conservative tenure of Margaret Thatcher. Throughout this period there was a clear and identifiable and powerful socialist ideology in England (and through influence the UK) with varying degrees of political power along that event timeline. Thomas Paine (a participant in both the French Revolution and inspiration for the American war of independence) being the most famous and vociferous English writer advocating socialist ideals.

Although these notions of greater equality and representation had been made manifest by political movements in England before the French Revolution (such as 'The Levellers[v24]' (1648-50), 'The Diggers[vi25]' (1649) and 'The Ranters[26] (1640s-50s); the influence of Paine and by extension ideals of Socialism gave rise to movements in the UK 'The Chartists (1838-1858)[27]', 'The Reform League[vii28] (1865)' (and arguably The popularity of the suffrage movements in the early part of the 20th century). Each of these movements and their associated actions incentivised citizens to gather in public(ly accessible) spaces as a show of their disaffection with the status quo created by their representatives in direct relation to the specific role of these spaces. The Chartists[viii], were banned from utilising the then newly built Trafalgar Square after gathering tens of thousands of people in support of changes to the system of representation; primarily voting rights and the specific terms of parliamentary representation. The Suffragettes infamously infiltrated Parliament proceedings, interrupting with physical and verbal behaviour considered 'unladylike' (for which they were severely punished[29]). These actors with different agendas and aims represented a mercurial ideology; that radical acts of public protest as a practice were necessary to utilise if individuals wanted to transform society from where it was to where they felt it should be.

In more recent centuries with the rise of globalisation, those who have influence over citizens have a less physical connection to democratic processes, leaving protest actions to develop and define mechanisms to gain some sort of proximity to these new adversaries to their equality and representation. Thus even today the pattern of this tradition is the same as it has always been, ***resistance occurs historically at the junction between citizen expectations and state / political action*** (or inaction when called for).

Neo-liberal Britain

To understand the contemporary context in which this thesis operates, the tenure of Margaret Thatcher is pivotal in its transformation of British society, being the forbearer of the form of neo-liberalism that we have today. What changed with the introduction of 'Free Market economics' was not just the privatisation of the state owned profit making sectors, and the rapid demise of domestic industries (most controversially in manufacturing and mining). It also marking of an end to the era where the political power of unionisation and the associated socialist ideologies begin to disappear, not only from the ***political*** but ***cultural*** sphere. At the same time, public(ly accessible) space became a different construct – for one thing, there was less of it – as large areas of the country were sold off and subsequently fenced off for singular private purposes (Canary Wharf and the Docklands area being prime examples).

23 Here, Paine outlines a defence of property rights as a libertarian concern with private ownership that works against an egalitarian commitment:

"In advocating the case of the persons thus dispossessed, it is a right, and not a charity … [Government must] create a national fund, out of which there shall be paid to every person, when arrived at the age of twenty-one years, the sum of fifteen pounds sterling, as a compensation in part, for the loss of his or her natural inheritance, by the introduction of the system of landed property. And also, the sum of ten pounds per annum, during life, to every person now living, of the age of fifty years, and to all others as they shall arrive at that age…

24 The Levellers were a political movement during the English Civil War (1642-1651) that emphasised popular sovereignty, extended suffrage, and equality before the law, and religious tolerance, all of which were expressed in the manifesto; "The Agreement of the People".

A full copy of this manifesto can be found in the end notes

25 The Diggers grew out of the Levellers movement, employing the practice of farming on *common land.* Their beliefs are outlined in the pamphlet "The Law of Freedom in a Platform" – extracts of which can be found in the end notes

26 The term *Ranters* is used to define a series of actions by various participants that came to prominence after the fall of Levellers movement. They all shared a sense of disillusionment at the betrayal of the Levellers' reforming aims of previous years. They were considered "Freethinkers", those who might reject the religious, and or social values of their community – discussing their dissention openly.

27 The Chartists were a national protest movement who produced a charter of the legal changes which they believed should be made to British society to make it more equal. A full list of the reforms can be found in the end notes.

28 The Reform League campaigned for manhood suffrage and the ballot in Great Britain. They gave strong support to the abortive Reform Bill 1866 and the successful Reform Act 1867. Key parts of this bill can be found in the end notes.

29 The imprisonment of women taking part in the suffragettes' movement led to hunger strikes by those most devoted to the cause. As a result, many were force-fed by decree of the 1913 Cat and Mouse Act in complete opposition to our contemporary understanding on human rights (as outlined in the Human Rights act 1998).

More directly, the language used to describe (and largely denigrate) acts of protest had begun to convince the public that these were dangerous and volatile actions to be consigned to history.

> *"[The]. Enemy within – Miners' leaders … Liverpool and some local authorities – just as dangerous … in a way more difficult to fight … just as dangerous to liberty."*
>
> (Thatcher, Conservative backbench 1922 committee 1984)

Thatcher's infamous "enemies within" speech is given at the height of the mining crisis whilst sat amongst her political allies. But these messages were not confined to incumbent politicians, as by the end of the century the popular press had shifted their position in alignment. The Nation's most popular newspaper (The Sun), formed in 1912 started life as a daily strike bulletin (Under the name of 'The Herald'), gains its popularity with the protest movement of the time (Syndicalism), and who's stance was typified by actions such as its campaign against WWI. But its trajectory begins to change in the 1960s. The now daily newspaper changes its name, editorial position and ownership. By the time of Thatcher's tenure, The Sun was still unclear as to which form of 'ism' to support (Unionism, Capitalism or Socialism). A dilemma of journalistic position made clear in print by The Sun's biased but wildly inconsistent reporting of the trade disputes of the 1970s. As the newspaper carries its popularity built over previous decades, the decision on which position to eventually take and who to support would be pivotal in the future direction of British politics (some consequences of which are explored in the chapter "City and Power").

The popular daily is not the only indicator of the seismic changes which take place in Britain during the 1970s. Protesters and Public servants had reached an impassable juncture at the proposed closure of a steel coking plant in South Yorkshire. The activities which followed were significant, as they typified the fault line in the afore mentioned clash of ideologies. Orgreave became a spatial manifestation of this emerging rift.

The events which occurred have become known as "The battle of Orgreave." The actions which took place in June 1984 are still disputed today by those who were there and fighting on opposing sides. However, what is not disputed were the political ambitions of politicians, and their desire to remove acts of public protest from the political sphere. This was no longer considered to be a cultural or social act tolerated amongst adversaries, but denigrated as impulsive and fundamentally floored in its intentions and understanding of global forces and human interaction.

> *"They are casting their problems at society. And, you know, **there's no such thing as society**. There are individual men and women and there are families. And no government can do anything except through people, and people must look after themselves first. It is our duty to look after ourselves and then, also, to look after our neighbours."*
>
> ***Author highlights** (Thatcher, "no such thing as society" 1987)*

The message, was clear, these protesters represented an outdated method of negotiation, social organisation and ideology. Protesters were no longer adversaries as they were up until the tenure of her predecessor (Callaghan). They no longer represented another body of associative power, but simply a threat to civilised society which must be averted.

To understand the long lasting legacy of this ideological shift we only need look to the series of legislative changes implemented in Britain between 1982 and 1987. Their effect has been to systematically move the 'practice' of protest away from the powerful union (arguably into the hands of the powerful corporate lobby).

With this in mind it seems somewhat ironic that the events which categorised the downfall of Thatcher's goverment are contextualised by another protest action under her tenure. Although it must be remembered that Thatcher is not the embodiment of her ideas, as with 'The Chicago School' (of economic theory); their influence continues to flourish after their passing, hence their significance.

However, Thatcher's decision to introduce a tax, of which the amount is unrelated to individual's ability to pay that tax, mimicked that which had been introduced previously in England… in the year 1381. It is significant as it instigated a national revolt – which although proved unsuccessful in overthrowing the king was successful in repealing the Poll Tax itself. It is also the first incident of a citizen (or peasant) uprising having direct and identifiable effect on the policies of those they were governed by.

In the context of this history, the 1989 Poll Tax (with the same name and broad taxation structure), resulted in the 'Poll Tax riots', the significant battles taking place in Trafalgar Square. These actions were testament to

both the widespread derision for this new bill and the efficacy of protest in public(ly accessible) spaces in their ability to gather public opinion and repeal a deeply unpopular directive (the abolition being announced by Thatcher's successor John Major).

However, once the riots were over, a series of changes were also made to legislation around the policing of the public(ly accessible) spaces (the precursors to Kettling[30]). Most definitively, action is limited by the isolation of areas deemed vulnerable to the congregation of large crowds. It is worth noting that a similar pattern of short-sighted, stringent legislation being passed; repeats twenty years later; after the August Riots (2011). Here, police and law enforcement officials mobilise in pursuing a change to the legal status and conditions by which they can treat participants in the disturbances, and thus the measures that could be used against them (which will be explored in detail in the case study chapter "August Riots").

The 80s was a decade which saw a series of organised and (relatively) effective public protest actions. The 'Stop the City' demonstrations the 'Brixton Riots' and 'The Wapping Dispute' being a few of the moments were the tensions between citizens and their representatives once again become tangible. Politicians were changing society on a monumental scale which was met by varying degrees of resistance.

The 90s would see less of these public protest events and the 21st century fewer still (thus far). There are multiple reasons for this, some citizen concerns are alleviated by cultural, political and economic changes to their living conditions, and some are quelled by legislation and the abandonment of alternative 'ims' for citizens to pursue. However, the number of iconic protests is not significant, but the association with protest in public(ly accessible) space as an act and place of socio-political representation is key. The fact that protest is less prevalent is significant to the psychology of daily public life and the manner in which individuals relate to each other. ***The public has a function beyond that of mere transit – it allows people from different cultural, social and political backgrounds to share, willingly or otherwise (and negotiate) space***. No other forum provides such an opportunity, thus the interest of the practices which populate these spaces, and in turn which structure this thesis.

Political Consensus has characterised the subsequent change in political leadership, we see the continuity between the economic pursuits of Parties which historically pursued opposing ideologies ("New Labour" and The Conservatives). They are the political representation of the notional encampments of the 'left' and the 'right' of the political spectrum. Thus their new allegiance represents a significant change in political representation and efficacy. Tony Blair continued Thatcher's Free Market Capitalism in earnest, and a line of political and financial reform which his successor David Cameron has not shown any signs of deviating from. The coalition which he leads between the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Party truly typifies the alignment of political ideology across British politics, with his newly established powerful conservative majority set to do the same.

To pause for a moment and look at the intervention of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, who in 1997[ix] represented a new party who amongst other things identify a series of perceived 'new' social, economic and political threats to be mitigated. What we see in the response to these threats; is the ***full political abandonment with previous notions of the practices which define public space*** (which of course includes protest). The threat of terrorism is met by The Terrorism Act[x] (2000) introduced a year before 9/11. This greatly limits everyone's freedom to operate within public(ly accessible) spaces. On numerous well documented occasions, protesters, photographers and public speakers have been conveniently classified as terrorists to allow a swift and effective nullification of the public to be instigated. The ASBO is created to mitigate the perceived threat of antisocial behaviour - essentially creating thousands of new offenses by which to imprison (particularly young) people. The ASBO's territory of action is almost exclusively public(ly accessible) spaces. In London, both Parliament Square[xi] and Milbank have, in practice, become private spaces devoid of the protest actions which had come to define them. Brian Haw

30 *Kettling* is a police tactic for controlling large crowds during demonstrations or protests. It involves the formation of large cordons of police officers who then move to contain a crowd within a limited area. Protesters are left only one choice of exit, determined by the police, or are completely prevented from leaving. The act of Kettling detains individuals who have committed no crime (as it takes place in publicly accessible spaces surrounding all who happen to be present there). Furthermore, it contains and corrals them into an area without access to legal representation or amenities (such as toilet facilities) for an indefinite period of time.

has essentially become the last individual legally able to protest there without application. His death in 2011 essentially marks a watershed in the history of public(ly accessible) space as a facilitator of the practice of protest.

It should not be forgotten that these monumental changes to our daily lives are introduced in a period of economic stability and economic growth, leading (to the then Chancellor) Gordon Brown to make his premature pronouncement that "we have ended boom and bust". One may consider that for those who are not idealistically opposed to the dominant form of capitalism, that there was perhaps little to protest about in the eyes of those who looked at popular indicators for discontent – such as the statistics around rising living, work and consumption standards.

However, with the benefit of hindsight we can see that the global economic crash changed this conjecture. Even for those who were in full agreement with the hegemony and in 2006 felt that there was nothing limited with the trajectory of neo-liberal society, politics or economics - there was a sudden avalanche of events which would change that perception.

Research Question

Consensus which typified the alignment of political and social hegemony in 2006 changes with the events of 2008[31] and 2011[32]. As a result, the time period directly afterwards - 2009/10 to 2013/14 (charts the implementation of reactive political policies). This results in a series of ***systemic adjustments to everyday living and work conditions*** as the coalition government formed in 2010; introduce new laws and practices, a change in political ideology and thus the response from citizens is the ***protest activity bubble***[33]. As such this research, field of enquiry and associated case studies, all analyse this period with the research question setting the framework for analysing this relationship:

How has the performative act of protest acted as a mechanism by which to define public(ly accessible) spaces in regards to their social and political standing in neo-liberal London?

Although protest is a response by citizens to action (or inaction) from their representatives and powerful stake holders; the act of protest itself has an effect on policy makers. Occasionally this effect is to adopt their complaints and ideas into their daily practices of debate, policy and law making – but more often ***the efficacy of a particular protest action is used as an opportunity to develop strategies to thwart future dissent and congregation in a similar manner***. The research question is thus the touchstone from which all of the case study protests will be tested against. Each case study will have to fulfil the parameter of creating greater insight into the relationship between citizens and our representatives through their actions within public(ly accessible) spaces.

31 This is in reference to *The Global economic crash of 2008* – more information on these events and how they informed the case study period can be found in the chapter "Protest"

32 This is in reference to *The European Sovereignty debt crisis 2011* – more information on these events and how they informed the case study period can be found in the chapter "Protest"

33 I have defined the *protest activity bubble* as occurring between 2010 and 2013, A more detailed definition of the bubble can be found in the "Protest" chapter.

Page intentionally left blank

Section 2: Methodology

I entered into this theoretical study with a desire to create a greater understanding of the role of protest within contemporary society. To do this, I would first need to establish my initial contextual framework for study and my methodology, I would then be able to address the notion of exactly which social, spatial and virtual locations to investigate, and the time periods that it would be pertinent to focus my studies towards. This would in-tern allow both my ***methodology*** and ***methods*** to developed in tangent, informing each other as my knowledge on the specifics within this broader subject matter would begin to emerge.

Amongst my primary aims was to understand the conditions on which the act of protest is contingent and the practices which occur therein. I entered into the study with the understanding that ***the act of protest exists as a long established spatial manifestation of social discontent. A tangible mobilisation of opinions strongly held by individuals prepared to act upon these desires in a manner which causes socio-political disruption.*** I was initially interested in protest as a series of expressive, representative civil actions which embrace the notion of disruptive, performative action operating within spaces which are publicly accessible, as virtual spaces of protest offer a completely different nexus of engagement which are not accessible through similar mechanisms to those which are spatial.

This chapter will address how my ideas develop from these initial intuitive assertions, to a theory on the practice of protest. I will then develop a series of methods in tangent to a responsive methodological framework, culminating in the identification of practices (and case studies) which contextualise and interpret the ***cultural significance*** of contemporary protest.

This chapter will outline how I establish initial research aims, and how they are informed and transformed by a succession of case study events, and how both combine to provide the foundations for the development of my research practice with particular importance given to defining the relevant cohort of participants and the ethical development of my own activist[34] architectural research practice.

Multiple Readings & Realities

Prior to the outset of my PhD I had made the anecdotal observation that there are great inconsistencies in the way in which protest events are reported by national mainstream media organisations. The development of a narrative by which I could better understand these events was a motivation for engaging in this investigation and the writing of this thesis.

Stark contrasts existed between the ***truths*** as portrayed by groups with different interests. (1) the print and broadcast media, (2) participating protesters, (3) law enforcement officials, (4) politicians and (protest) (5) site owners. These differences of reporting would extend to issues as fundamental as the number of attendees at a particular protest event. In the first instance it was clear that I needed a framework by which to understand why and how these partial realities were being constructed and which narratives[35] would be relevant to develop my own knowledge (which could also only be partial).

I would not be attempting to create a comprehensive representation of knowledge, a singular truth around the practice of protest, as such a position does not and cannot exist. Much of the early conceptual literature which I read was already moving me away from the perception of a universal understanding of societal interaction (Such as "Tools for conviviality" Ivan Illich, 1973 and "Third Space" Soja, 1996). Indeed, to take such holistic views on the narrative and trajectory of society ignores the significance of non-hegemonic structures and practices. As such, they ignore the value and complexity of the act of protest which falls comprehensively into this category of the non-hegemonic. Similarly, to understand the motivations of popular or influential organisations who wish to popularise their own theoretical reading of the role and purpose of different structures in contemporary society. Thus they create a binary or dichotomised

34 *Activist research* as defined by the methods of Louis Pasteur as *situated use orientated research*. Where research is both theoretically driven and intended to be put to use. With the intention of better understanding root causes of inequality and to be carried out in direct cooperation with an organised collective of people (where possible). The research also has the intention to formulate strategies for transforming these conditions and to achieve the power to make these strategies effective.

35 The Occupy LSX chapter of this thesis explores importance of narratives and how they inform the efficacy of protest actions, in this case giving validity to the 115-day camp who disseminated a narrative of positive, peaceful and responsive collective action.

understanding of protest activity. It can be said that each of the five stakeholders who hold an interest in the act of protest (above) would wish to perpetrate their viewpoint as the ***truth***. My aim would not be to supplant their role but understand their knowledge as partial[36], and to build my own within that context.

To be able to structure my own narrative of analytical relevance; there is a necessity to develop an understanding of the information and data gathering practices that would be most useful to augment my own researched observations[37]. Thus an ethnographic approach seemed the most applicable to achieving these aims, as it would allow me to develop an experiential approach which could respond to the emerging flurry of protest activity which was occurring at the beginning of my research period.

Protest is a cultural phenomenon with enough variation and repetition to be examined within a framework of critical research analysis. My desire is to create a subjective epistemology which is informed by philosophical approaches which address the notion of modern and post-modernist ontologies. This approach would lend itself to a series of data collection methods which are ethnographic and auto-ethnographic. I would see my academic research as predicated on a ***public practice*** and would thus create a field of potential case studies.

.

Selecting the most relevant case studies and events to attend in an attempt to answer and address the issues raised by my PhD question[38]. In turn, those events would allow that question to become more specific as I identified the precise nature of my study and the specific forms of protest that I would investigate.

If the initial aim of my PhD is articulated within this question, then I could begin to dismiss the idea of pursuing a series of research methods which could broadly be considered quantitate. I came to the decision that they would not adequately address these core aims. Many of the nuances within the practice of protest, most significantly - understanding the social life of a cohort of practitioners that I would aim to observe and research; could only be understood by qualitative methods of study.

Quantitative methods such as the digital tracking of movements made by participants, and analysis of their numbers, considering variations such as the time of arrival and departure, arrest logs coupled with written surveys on opinions and movements all lead towards a retrospective understanding. I wanted my research to be intimately associated with the development of a practice as it develops. This is of particular importance with protest because of its unpredictable and transient nature. As interesting as a study of a more quantitative nature would be, I would argue that these methods would fundamentally comprehend the practice of protest in a less ***experiential*** and ***interactive*** manner and would lead me to conclude my research very differently. They would also lend themselves to a knowledgebase which is not quick to recognise its own inherent and ***partial*** nature. This bias is a key conceptual component in attempting to create an alternative narrative reading of protest events. To engage in a mode of production which did not intrinsically recognise this could be contradictory to my aims.

Mapping

The act of mapping is my main method to induct quantitate information into a system of visual representation. The choice to extensively use mapping throughout this thesis was in the aim to provide greater methodological depth to the conceptual ideas being explored. By developing my mapping and analytical reading and writing techniques side by side; I aimed to enrich the theoretical content of the thesis by utilising a wider variety of tools.

I worked with four visual methods of mapping to pursue these aims. **THE FIRST** was a series of Chart based ***diagrams***, primarily the ***timeline***. Imbedded within the timeline would be elements of flow and tree charts to create organisational hierarchy within the overarching timeline structure. **THE SECOND** method was the use of technical ***illustrations***. These were typically used in three ways (a) photographs that I had taken during protest

36 *Partial knowledge* as developed in the theoretical work of Donna Harraway, Situated Knowledges (1988) – some analysis of which can be found in the chapter "City and Power".

37 These observations came from referencing a diverse range of material, including The Scarman Report (commissioned after the Brixton Riots), The Poll tax riots documentaries (Battle of Trafalgar – Spectacle films) and Taking liberties, a film on the erosion of civil liberties in the UK under the Tony Blair administration.

38 How has the performative act of protest acted as a mechanism by which to define public(ly accessible) spaces in regards to their social and political standing in neo-liberal London?

events. These were overlaid with analytical information to give clarity of narrative and efficacy to my attendance at these events. (b) Photographs taken by others which develop a contradictory narrative (often hegemonic) are analysed and compared to an alternative conceptual reading of the same events. (c) Sketches and diagrams made with interviewees during my correspondences with them - which often (being devoid of consistent scale and orientation) engage with the act of ***depiction*** which implicitly creates a more personalised narrative for analysis. **THE THIRD** method was to create a series of diagrams, developed to focus and expand my understanding of a particular issue. These were a series of working drawings which were the precursor to writing about a particular subject. Decisions such as engaging in an auto-ethnographic form of research (proceeded by mapping the emergence and purpose of different fields of quantitative research). Similarly, exploring the nature of economic cycles and their inherent collapses; was preceding by a mapping of the relationship between debt, deficit, taxation and government spending. These maps are structurally different from the others, utilising a style which is more akin to a mind map, but iteratively and assimilated into a digital format. **THE FOURTH** approach was to create a series of thematic cartographic[39] images. These would be highlighted to show the spatial appropriation taking place, these maps are intrinsically ***biased*** and as such their ***deconstruction*** forms the basis of the connection between mapping and writing as two different but related forms of research within this thesis.

As such, mapping will be a critical technique in establishing and developing several theories around the trajectory of protest action. Although the use of timeline maps will be instrumental and will initially rely on qualitative information, times, dates and events of a definable nature; the maps themselves will became a visual method by which to theorise on the effects of these events on each other to give me a greater understanding of the practice of protest.

However unbiased some of the core data, the act of mapping itself isn't, and I wanted to utilise that to create alternative narratives around familiar events. What separates a map from a photograph is the editing of information to facilitate a clearer narrative or focus. By necessity this process requires the elimination of some information and the highlighting or extraction of others. This process of giving visual structure to a dataset or emphasis to an existing image. Thus, as a theoretical tool the deconstruction of this bias can give greater clarity to the theoretical approach being developed. To look more specifically at philosophy as opposed to technique, leads us onto ***critical cartography***. This approach identifies maps as sources of power and knowledge, and that within them there are a series of accumulative assumptions made about the terrain that they are attempting to represent. Within the context in which I will be critiquing these cartographic assumptions, I will be attempting to create greater opportunities to understand the landscapes which we encounter on a daily basis (public(ly accessible) space). When looking at protests which challenge the nature of the public and the designation of space, this approach will be taken through into the mapping process, illuminating where the protesters re-appropriate their chosen site of operation, its boundaries and the activities which take place there. This brings us onto ***counter-mapping*** a practice which looks specifically at mapping as a method to contradict established, hegemonic traits within accepted or established maps. This technique will be used to challenge the designation of site - where it lies in direct opposition to hegemonic or neo-liberal structures.

Conceptual Framework

The aim is to develop a conceptual framework by which to define the act of protest with greater clarity. This framework would have to take into account a series of relevant theories as a starting point to define this practice.

My aim is to structure an argument which explains how the practice of protest adopts ideas from different theoretical ideologies and puts them into practice. I began by attempting to define protest through theories which all validate a form of ***alternative practice***. I will allow my theories to be shaped by fields as diverse as cultural studies, art practice, feminist studies, and philosophy; working with concepts first outlined in Marxist theory[40]. Although my background is in architecture, and my aim is to explore the spaces produced within the practice of protest, it seemed prudent to utilise the concepts which exist across different professional disciplines, including

39 *Thematic cartography* intrinsically creates hierarchy, because it illuminates information for clarity of message it also diminishes the importance of other information, thereby creating a bias. The introduction of abstract traits allows each map to pursue a theme or narrative, thereby consciously engaging with said bias, such as representing non-physical boundaries and instead depicting those which are of social, political or cultural importance.

40 In particular, that of the "bourgeoisie/ proletariat" dialectic, realising that the power of the formative figure is dependent on a submissive role of the latter and that if these power mechanisms are realised and acted against then these hierarchical structures imbedded within society can be effectively challenged and overturned.

geography, architecture, art and philosophy. I have found little evidence to suggest that, protest is theorised upon academically as an ***alternative spatial practice***. When reading the work of eminent writers who considering the impact of protest, or dissent (theorists such as Henry Lefebvre, Guy Debord and Peter Marcuse) individually their theories do not engage with the notion of protest as an ***iterative spatial practice*** of continual socio-political development. Neither do they explore its use as a mechanism of organised opposition, let alone the trajectory of theoretical ideas becoming utilised pragmatically and implemented. However, taking elements from each of their discourses it is possible to develop a narrative which explores these inherent theoretical possibilities.

Protesters often make decisions quickly in response to events developing on the ground and participants defer to thought processes and reference points which they are already familiar with. As such, this practice which is often seen in isolation can be conceptually linked to other more established and frequently occuring activities. Hence the starting point for my in depth study, would work with, and build upon these established theoretical starting points of alternative or minority practice. Beginning with an investigation into the ***production of knowledge*** within society and the establishment of power. After developing this understanding - this could be applied specifically in relation to the practice of protest. The positions taken by prominent theorists in the fields outlined above were used to found my own conceptual starting point. I have thus contextualised the performative act of protest as a critical spatial practice.

CRITICAL

"...an evaluative attitude towards reality, a questioning rather than an acceptance of the world as it is, a taking apart and examining..."

(Marcuse 2009)

SPATIAL

"...the social. In other words we are concerned with the logico-epistemological space, the space of social practice, the space occupied by sensory phenomena, including products of the imagination such as projects and projections, symbols and utopias...The practico-sensory realm of social space."

(Lefebvre, The Production of Space 1974)

PRACTICE

"...transverse tactics do not obey the law of the place, for they are not defined or identified by it... one can distinguish "ways of operating" - ways of walking, reading, producing, speaking etc."

(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984)

As such, I see protest as non-hegemonic structure (in the Foucauldian[41] sense) which aims to establish alternative truths about the shared spaces which we inhabit through the use of direct actions.

Territory of Action

I would have to identify a series of locations where there would be a theoretical common ground by which to explore these alternative practices, it would be necessary to understand the cultural nuances by which acts of protest are accepted or ostracised (within these terrains). The understanding of ***performative appropriation*** is defined differently across different cultural boundaries[42]. Similarly, the legal framework around which protest practitioners circumnavigate, creates vastly different rules of engagement in different urban environments.

The potential breadth of the subject matter necessitated that my study would focus on a particular location and timeframe to begin to address these issues as the variety of global lived experience of protest would be far too broad to do justice to within this study. As such, the aim of my study was to focus on a particular manifestation of protest within a definable territory or series of related ones. I wanted to create a more in-depth if partial and specific understanding of the current spatial conditions which inform the act of protest. In this analysis, the development of a comprehensive reading of this mercurial practice would begin to emerge. London was my territory of action for my research practice (the reasons for which are expanded upon in the following section).

Academic Researcher

In parallel to the decisions which had to be made regarding location, were those around my level on integration as an academic researcher with the protest practitioners who would become participants in my research. When considering the range of options - from passively operating as an observer to actively performing as a member of an organisation engaged in direct

41 in reference to spaces of Heterotopia; physical and psychological spaces latent with meaning or socio-political significance or contradictions which are not usually assumed or engaged with. Foucault talks of heterotopias of "crisis" (i.e. the prison or the cemetery). Heterotopias are illusionary spaces but by engaging with them we can expose something intrinsic and often overlooked that exists in the nature of "real space"

42 The rights of *performance* attributed to Morris Dancers have been utilised to facilitate flashmobs in the UK. Similarly, in countries where religious tolerance is practiced in regards to Buddhism; in the past decade monks have utilised their protected status and engaged in obstructive protests which would see violent reprisals from law enforcement officials if carried out by other groups (most noticeably in Myanmar and South Korea).

action, began to raise questions not only around identifying locations which would allow me to test a variety of research methods and how that would affect the type or quality of information which I would be collating – as well as the ethical issues that operating in this manner would raise.

Clearly the act of protest within public spaces is not free from controversy. As stated earlier, the aim of protest is to spatially disrupt. The efficacy of that disruption can be disputed, but the primary aim is enshrined through exemplum. As such the level (time, breadth and consequences) of disruption is unpredictable, as these factors are engrained in the hostilities between those creating the disruption and those attempting to re-establish the status quo. As a result, there are a plethora of tactics and counter tactics associated with protest in public(ly accessible) spaces which it is my interest to explore. They range from those where protesters create formal applications to law enforcement officials to authorise their demonstrations (as they now have to do in Whitehall), through to those who actively engage in targeted civil disobedience through to protester who resort to the use of actions which will earn them criminal offences.

In this context of my chosen field of interest I took the decisions to place myself in a research position to keep my actions as an activist researcher separate from the internal association within protest actions and movements. I would instead identify groups and their practices but would not operate as one of them – a member of their community. When working with them on recording or creating documentation; it would always be in my role as researcher. There are three overarching reasons for this.

FIRSTLY, to remain independent from their stated or expressed cause would primarily have the benefit of allowing my own practice as a researcher to remain within both an ethical and legal framework which I could define and set markers to ensure that I remained dedicated to.

SECONDLY, this decision would also allow me to look at a wider variety of protests with different approached to spatial dissent; without being in danger of compromising my ethics. By avoiding socio-political allegiance with dangerous groups, but still researching their spatial practice; it would still be possible to research a variety of protests whilst maintaining a degree of detachment. One possible downside which I would have to mitigate would be the potential limitations to acquiring primary research; which is more difficult to gather from a position of relative distance. The interpersonal relationships which can be formed when fully integrating with a participant body produces knowledge which may allow for a more in-depth understanding of a particular movement, group or action. However, having made the decision to operate independently and with a degree of separation from the context of a specific cohort facilitated the decision to focus emphatically on the ***public aspects*** of these protests. This strategy was a possible solution to increase the level of accessible data which could be gathered, and as a consequence; create a wider understanding of a variety of protest practices.

THIRDLY, the efficacy of terrain could be established by taking the decision to focus on a selection of public protests which take place in London, as an approach that would further increase my potential field of data to be collected. As a UK resident, my access to these terrains would be greater if compared to any other location where I would also have to rapidly assimilate a vast amount of information to become affiliated with customs and norms particular to that manifestation of protest. My familiarity with general approaches to regulations and commonly held opinions around the practice of protest would make it easier to decide which protests to attend to develop as case studies. On a similar level of pragmatism - within the UK itself, London as the capital and city with the highest population, hosts many spaces of power and knowledge which I could reasonably expect to be the focus of with protest activity within my data collection period.

Research Approach

I decided that I wanted to work with spatial locations and forms of protest which would allow me to develop my role as researcher in tangent to observing the development of the practices which would emerge. This would mean that my research would take place in an almost wholly public context and with groups that are aiming to define and refine their own practices through emersion with these public(ly accessible) spaces. This meant that I would have to construct my relationship with practitioners accordingly. As such, the study is both a ***descriptive overview*** of a series of related protest practices as well as an ***analytical exploration of my personal experiences*** with them. So firstly, the study is ethnographic because at certain points I will be studying the performances and practices of protesters in situ. Observing their process of engagement, and where there are successive phases of action, and development of the tools which they use to pursue their direct actions. Secondly the research will also be auto-ethnographic as through the observation of these practices I will be required

to culturally immerse myself (to differing degrees, mainly doing so where activities are non-violent). I also aim to utilise this work to help me to develop my own alternative practice (which takes a broader look towards bottom-up[43] collective creative practices which take place in urban spaces and how they achieve social and cultural efficacy). In particular, this research will allow me to develop an understanding of the spatial responses that can be rapidly adapted to other conditions experienced by alternative practitioners, and thus extrapolate from these examples to refine my own mapping tools as a mechanism for ***collaborative socio-political exchange.***

The research will attempt to subvert dominant discourses, utilising First person accounts gathered through personal experiences, thus allowing me to make claims regarding truth, knowledge and values, typically framed in terms of pre-existing hegemonic narratives. The act of protest is often examined in direct moral comparison to other practices, dependent on the "success" or "failure" of an action to change the decisions of powerful individuals or organisations to determine its efficacy. In this way outcome is used to judge ***value***. Instead, I will look at the practices which exist ***within*** the protests themselves, and their validity stemming from the practical, social political expression that they facilitate between participants.

Data Collection

For the preparation of the outline of this relationship to be understood, it was necessary to identify my cohort groups. There would be protesters operating within public(ly accessible) spaces. Through my data collection I would attempt to identify the different roles that individuals plan in defining this territory of action. From the different roles of organisation to instigation of the variety of actions which develop through the protest. Identifying those individuals who clearly enshrine the dual relationship between planed and impromptu actions. The cohort will include those who wish to engage with my research directly and those with do not, all who are performing within public terrains. Although the cohort is broad and will be different for each case study; a review of the protagonists will allow me to construct an understanding of hierarchies within the protest operation; within what is often misunderstood as a flat or non-hierarchical set of acts or decision making process. However, for each case study, my information will not be gathered from protest events alone.

I have decided that the data which I would gather could be clustered into three main categories as (1) public protest events, (2) protest analysis events and (3) protest response / reaction events. Here I will go into more detail of what each involves.

Public Protest Events

Each year, regardless of socio-political and economic condition – there are a series of protests which take place in London. A significant number occur around May Day (May 1st) due to the affiliated traditions[44], but there are inevitably additional occasions - typically when government or other powerful institutions based in the capital (such as The Bank of England or The London Stock Exchange) implement new initiatives which are unpopular, which activates a sector of society. As discussed earlier, this oppositional direct action is an established practice[45]. Therefore, identifying the relevant protests to attend would be one of my first challenges. I would identify the public protest events primarily by locality and secondly through the protester's approach to scheduling. As such, all of my case study events would be protests which are scheduled to take place in locations which are publicly accessible. I use the word scheduled because my case studies will be chosen from those disruptions which are planned and advertised, as such, both authorised and non-authorised events will be included in this study. A prevalent example would be the protest actions whose proposed commencement point and starting time is posted on an open digital social network or forum. This would include platforms such as Facebook, Twitter Wordpress and other micro-blog and social media sites.

There is an operational distinction that I wish to establish. It is exemplified by the act of registering or logging in as a user to one of these platforms and accessing information without being a member of a particular group,

43 *Bottom up* is used in reference to the political philosophy of de-centralised democratic planning which embraces the idea that small groups can facilitate changes to the organization of the existing hegemonic system, operating independently to the state, trade unions or political parties. Drawing attention to activities that communities can affect in their everyday lives to improve aspects of their life conditions.

44 There are a number of protest actions which reoccur at different intervals throughout the year, almost regardless of the social or political conditions that they operate under. These are not permanently entrenched in British society, however, they are a recurring feature within a certain time period. These include May Day celebrations and Trade Unions displays of discontent. more information can be found in the "Off Duty Police Officer March" chapter, in the subsection "The March".

45 For more information on this historical lineage, how it has developed and established itself in contemporary society see the "Introduction" chapter and the sub section "Protest".

but utilising the same virtual space which they use to disseminate information. This method is important to the establishment of my practice; as it allows me to gain prior knowledge of planned public actions, whilst maintaining my independent role as researcher.

This again allows me to focus on my protest cohort, by researching protest activity that takes place in public; which extends to the virtual networks which facilitate them. However, this form of protest, or protest preparation is fundamentally different from the actions of those who operate in a more clandestine manner. To take a wide range of protest examples, such as the EDL (English Defence League) or the now defunct ELF (Earth Liberation Front) or the less controversial 'Fathers for Justice' - to gain an understanding of their proposed actions; one must be a member of the group or in some way directly affiliated to the participants. For this reason, this type of protest actions will not be observed and developed as case studies. The public is what marks my cohort as those who utilise public forums whether virtual and physical. I will not participate in the operation and organisational structures of my chosen cohort group. This is a line of separation which I wish to maintain throughout my research. I wanted to operate within the public(ly accessible) space created by these protesters (primarily as an observer) but not be a participant in the formation of its parameters.

Removing myself from the creation of these spaces allows me to build an ethnographic study of how these temporary enclaves of oppositional territories are formed – and thus gain an insight into the practice of protest as a tool which manipulates the designation of these public(ly accessible) spaces.

This would allow me to operate as a researcher within terrains which I could identify and plan for (due to the advertised scheduling), I could make decisions on whether they would be of practical use to the development of my theories without blurring my ethical motives by being too closely affiliated with the active participants.

Returning to the issue of authorisation – I would be gathering my data at events which are publicly advertised but with a variety of practices in operational which span the legal spectrum; including civil disobedience to criminal offences. Whether protesters have received permission to occupy that space for that period of time or not, will not be a prohibiting factor in to me including these as case studies - in fact, this will act as additional comparative information to be contextualised regarding the nature of the protest activity.

Similarly, if an authorised event deviates from its agreed route, departure time, or attracts additional participants who were not part of the original decision making process when choosing to occupy (thus changing the designation and destination of events) - then as long as these deviations occur within a public protest event; then my attendance in the territories of action will be necessary to analyse the reality of direct action against certain predisposed expectations.

To further specify the nature of protest which I am researching; I will divide these protests into ***three overall spatial categories; (1) march, (2) occupation and (3) riot***. In each category I will attempt to identify public protests which are a prevalent and useful potential case study example of each. This will be determined by a combination of factors, including the ***expected number of attendees, location and proximity to powerful institutions***. In addition, the time of event and the likely spatial tactics which will be employed will inform my decision on whether to attend or not.

One limitation in the research of protest action is its unpredictability, the way in which these events will develop is difficult to predict before they occur. Furthermore, when I began researching the way in which these events are reported, I found little post analytical consensus on what had occurred in the narratives put forward by associated parties (law enforcement officials, mainstream broadcast and print media). A recurring theme which operates as an example of this is that even after prominent large-scale protest events have taken place, there is seldom agreed conformation of the number of participants[46]. Similarly, the narrative used in describing protest activity by the mainstream media, politicians and law enforcement officials, often sits in stark contrast to accounts of those who were present[47] and self-identify as protesters.

46 The Metropolitan Police issue estimates of attendees to specific protests and these rarely correlate with the estimates from the event organisers, with the police forces figures always being lower than the participants.

47 Those who are participants in these direct actions rarely share the perspective on the events as those reporting on it – thus their opinions are valued in this thesis a part of a non-hegemonic reading of events.

So, the type of protest which I will attend are quite specific in their remit. Once I am in that setting, there will be a series of methods that I will use to gather data.

Observation & On-site Documentation

I will engage in different modes of data collection depending on the conditions set by the protest – which I will only be able to evaluate on arrival at the proposed protest site. Initially, observation will be my most consistently utilised method of gathering information. My access to the protest sites will be by foot, but prior to entering I will walk or cycle the perimeter of each protest (as much as is possible) to gather an understanding of the space which is defined as inside and outside of this perimeter. Written notes will be taken and diagrams drawn at development phases of each protest as I evaluate the events which are developing. In addition to these analogue methods of documentation I will also use digital photography and audio recording devices to identify changes within crowd activity during protests. When using these methods of data collection; I will be gathering information which gives a sense of the overview of the protest The aim is to collect information on the sound and spatial formation of a group of individuals operating within a public terrain.

Individual narratives (voices) or recognisable (physical) features will not be left in an incriminating format where others will be able to identify individuals and their actions by using the information in the data collected and presented here. In addition, this digital documentation will be recorded in a non-clandestine manner. I will use a digital SLR camera which will be visible at all times. Similarly, when recording audio, I will use a handheld Dictaphone to make my actions visible to other members of the public.

When I arrive on site I will make the decision on which data collection method is most appropriate. Where individuals are engaging in activity which they would not wish to be recorded, or if their activities are illegal – I will utilise my analogue data collection methods. Similarly, if I feel endangered by any of the activities which are taking place; I will first cease collecting data digitally and return my equipment to my bag before re-evaluating whether my analogue methods of recording are safe to continue utilising in consideration of the events which are unfolding.

My intention with all protest events will be to enter into the protest site when I have evaluated the area to be safe. In many ways, the data collection methods outlined in the preceding paragraphs also operate as this method of evaluation. If I then decide to enter into the protest space itself (as defined by my diagrams and observations) I will have three aims. **FIRSTLY**, to document the development of spatial relationships as formulated within the protest site. This will vary depending on the type of protest, however, my primary aim will be to document these via my analogue observational methods to be interpreted at the end of each day of protest attendance. My **SECOND** aim is to identify individuals with who I can hold formal interviews with at a later date. Ideally those who would be interested in engaging in a collaborative mapping process to allow me (and potentially others) to further understand the alternative use of space which develops during these events (more information on this process can be found in the mapping section below). To identify these individuals, it will be necessary to engage in casual conversation with those operating within the protest site.

The way in which I approach individuals or groups of people will vary depending on the type of protest, the space, atmosphere etc. However, what will be consistent be the following; I will always inform those who I address that my purpose for attending this event is in a research capacity as a PhD student. I will also make it clear to them that the conversations which I have on site with them are not interviews and no information from those conversations will appear in my written PhD, but there will be the opportunity to organise a formal meeting with them at a future day (for which I will have all the requisite ethical approvals in place). This second stage is necessary due to the fact that it will be extremely difficult to identify the appropriate individuals to address prior to the protest and authorise the appropriate ethics authorisation. This is exacerbated by the fact that those who are important to converse with whilst the protest is ongoing may not wish to participate with a formal interview process and potentially may have not even planned to attend the event at which their actions are relevant to my investigations.

My **THIRD** aim will be to use these informal discussion as a way to understand the relationship between these individuals and the spaces which they choose to utilise – of particular importance is the ongoing relationship that particular individuals may have to repeatedly attend protest events or those events with a degree of longevity. In essence, the development of a movement or practice. Understanding this continued relationships may be something which individuals although operating in a public(ly accessible)

space may not want to be officially interviewed about but the information may be useful in informing me on how to contextualise future or past protest events.

Mapping & Interviews

The analogue notes which I will make at each protest include diagrams which serve two purposes, (1) understanding the protest during the time that I am there and (2) potentially being developed into a tool for knowledge transfer or vehicles for discussion with others.

Not all diagrams made on site will be re-interpreted, but where appropriate they will be translated into digital drawing either to feature as the basis of a written theoretical enquiry or as a tool for discussion. The interviews will operate as an extension of the dialogues that take place on site, with the aim to co-produce diagrams with participants. The aim is to have a series of maps, some of which are created by myself and others in collaboration with participating protesters (such as Land Rights Timeline Map attached to this thesis).

This is an extension to my reasoning for developing my second form of data collection. It is an attempt to create an understanding of protest which is not just related to the self-referential value of protests as understood by activists and alternative practitioners; but to have reference to a wider understanding of the series of strategies employed to reduce the impact of protest (authorised or otherwise). ***Within every protest there are several agents participating in the manipulation of public(ly accessible) spaces after their own ends***. Between protesters and their politically identified targets are the law enforcement officials.

Protest Response / Reaction Events

This study will also evaluate the behaviour of law enforcement officials whose practices are directly relevant to this study, include the London Metropolitan Police but also specific district law enforcement bodies (such as the British Transport Police and the City of London Police Force). Similarly, other private, high profile organisations such as those owning Canary Wharf and Paternoster Square will employ security personnel who operate within their framework as a private body but still have to adhere to the laws of the land. They all operate in both a pre-emptive and reactionary capacity in relation to the perceived threats affiliated with public protest. The implementation of these strategies are as important to understanding the practice of performative protest as that of the protesters themselves.

Law enforcement officials are a difficult cohort to engage with, in contrast to protesters, their activities and practices are seldom accessible even when operating within public(ly accessible) space. There are restrictions to the photographing of police officers[48] and it is not possible to interview them in an official capacity. However, their actions are as important to understand as those of the protesters. The act of Kettling has become increasingly prevent in the UK since 2004, and as such these actions will be documented using the same analogue notation methods used to understand the spatial consequences of protesters. However, there is a much clearer formulation of directive in the operation of law enforcement officials. For this reason, I wanted to engage in the preparations that are made by this cohort prior to a protest event. The guidance on the training that law enforcement officers receive will be analysed to gain greater understanding of the approaches that officers are expected to adopt whilst operating on the ground. Every year there are training events which officers undergo which are accessible to interested members of the public. It is unlikely that I would be privy to interviews as in-depth as those that I can expect to have with protesters, but authorisation to observe training formations and approaches will be something that I endeavour to utilise as an additional knowledge base to understanding protest. I will endeavour to observe these training sessions and any similar training that law enforcement bodies endure (although they are likely to be of an entirely private nature).

The categories in the previous paragraphs deal with a certain level of what happens ***before*** and ***within*** a protest event – the **THIRD** and final category of data collection deals with what happens around and ***after*** said event. It enters into the notion of hegemony and how that can be challenged.

The reporting of news events has radically transformed since the 1960s when the first 24-hour news channel was established, since then the increased affordability of affiliated broadcasting technologies for the

48 These restrictions are known as section 58A of the Terrorism Act and in the current digital, information age it is utilised less frequently than expected at their implementation.

documentation of these activities - aided further by the establishment of the internet as a platform for the exchange of information; means that there are a plethora of media sources reporting on developing public events. Thus, developing methods to scan and interpret the information will be at the forefront of my data collection techniques. However, the narrative created by established sources (mainstream media, politicians, law enforcement officials) often dominate not only the breaking news or information agenda but the general understanding of events and therefore our perception of reality.

For this reason, when creating my own knowledge base through my research it will be necessary to be aware of their pervasive influence. ***Often there is an overemphasis on the violent, disruptive or illegal elements affiliated to a protest when reported on by popular or mainstream media who have a tendency to sensationalise***. However, in tandem, those persistently practicing preparative protesting have become aware of the impact that the reporting of their actions has on the public perception of them and the act of protest. For this reason; I will document how I perceive the narrative position of documentation of events as I experience them on the ground as compared to the way this is reported (by all interested bodies) and how they will no doubt differ from the second hand information disseminated by dominant organisations. This will be the starting point which will inform the auto-ethnographic element of my research. I will continue to collect news bulletins on the development of protest events from a variety of sources from print media to social networking sites, in a more categorical manner as a way to interpret the incongruous nature of representative realities created by these hegemonic narratives.

Their output is key, as it is operating as a precursor to the events which are specifically created to address particular areas of concern in relation to recent protest events. These are gatherings, discussions and meetings which occur after protest events which are deemed significant. There is a political, social and communal reaction which is produced in other, physical non-protest spaces, which are subsequently temporarily transformed. The location, time and duration of these events is informed by not just the experience that people have of protest events but by the reporting of them by these dominant forces (as outlined above).

I will endeavour to attend events of that type which are public in their remit. These events cover an extensive range, from the formal, government funded enquiry, to meetings held in a local estates or community centres. Needless to say, not all protest events are followed by gatherings of this type – but their occurrence continues to contextualise the particular case study protest.

So in reflection, by locating myself in (a) ***public spaces of protest*** where I can observe public (b) ***practices*** which prepare and instigate spatial methods for the mitigation of protest activity. Then attend (c) ***public events*** which are organised to establish a cohesive narrative at the aftermath of protest events – I aim to create an understanding of the contemporary contingencies and efficacy of this varied alternative practice.

Auto-ethnography & Ethnography

I will predominantly utilise Ethnography and Auto-ethnography as my research methods. My reflection on events as they occur is the key ingredient in directing the narrative of the study and is important in identifying the next event which it will be necessary to attend. After I collect the necessary data on one event (as outlined earlier), I will have to define, then re-examine a new protest or protest related event in relation to the case study which I have already attended and documented. As such, each case study will have to add a different dimension of understanding to the others, regarding the role of public protest in England. In addition to the maps mentioned in the data collection section above, this will allow me to develop a timeline which will identify a series of political and cultural structures which will inform my emerging understanding of the cultural practice of protest within England and more specifically London. This timeline (the Protest Contingencies Timeline attached to this thesis) will develop as both my research and site experience grow in tandem. So visual (digital) ***mapping will aid the development of the theoretical argument and categorisation of protest typologies and tactics – operating as the bridge between theory and data collection.***

In Summary, the aim of this methodological structural plan is to allow me to select the relevant case study event as they occur with an understanding of how they sit within the wider understanding of public(ly accessible) space, as I build and develop that theoretical concept. Cognitively, I will build an understanding of how these events can be tested by a visual method of comparative analysis which I will utilise to interrogate the contingent

socio-political structures which dominate the way in which the practice of protest is made manifest.

This structure will potentially allow me to establish a propositional framework for an ***alternative spatial practice*** which utilises protest as a template. This practice would essentially be predicated on a bottom up approach to shaping experimental goals into practical aims. By galvanising the strategies developed within a particular knowledge base, then conceptual approaches can be developed which are independent of the observed practices and develop as independent theories, tools and methods to instigate activist alternative practice.

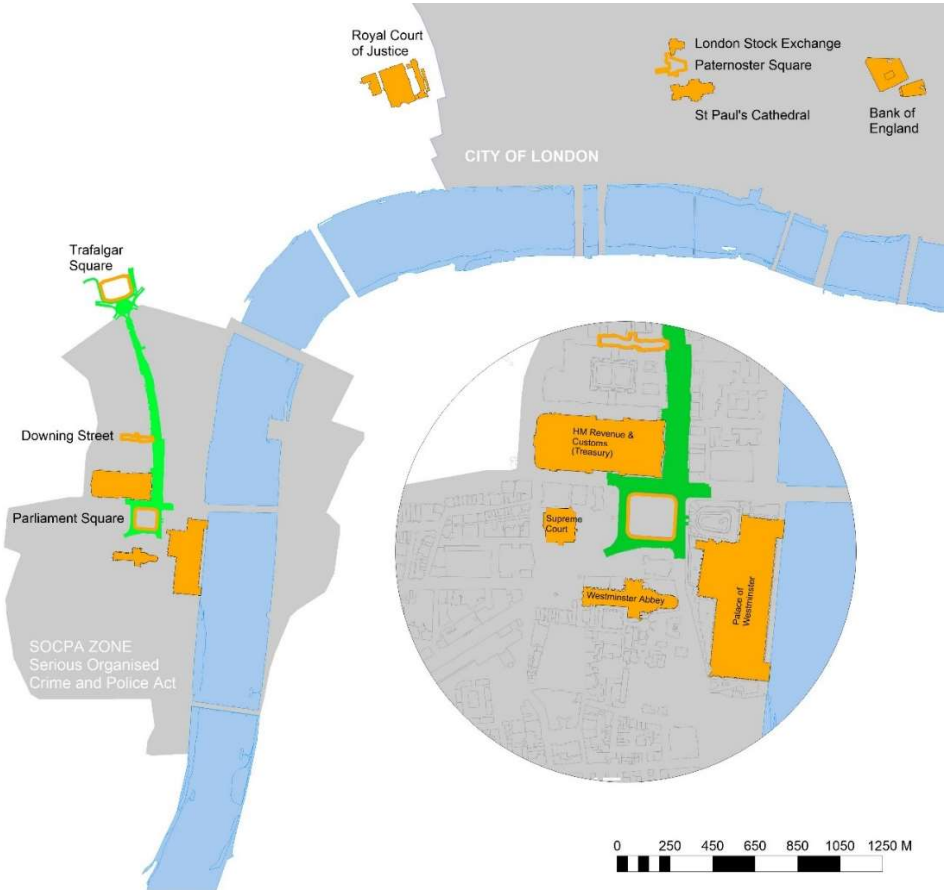
Section 3: City & Power

To analyse the role of protest which occurs in public(ly accessible) spaces it is necessary to see them as part of the nexus of activity which typifies the contemporary urban city. As such, the urban environment is a landscape which entrenches oppositional opinions, practices and purposes within inevitably contested spaces.

> *The industrialised city is such a departure from what proceeded – to not understand the consequences of this are deeply problematic. It is not just a rationalising of these constructs; but in that action a new form of construct emerges. In Addition; there are invented social constructs / mediators which intrinsically change our relationship with each other and the spaces around us.*
>
> *(Lefebvre, Writings on Cities 1988)*

The 'industrialised' or urban environment is in effect the contested landscape (especially as when compared with the agricultural or suburban model of living). In this realm of operation, the way in which decisions are made on the use of shared space is defined through a series of familiar hierarchical mechanisms (such as the well-established planning and parliamentary processes providing legislative legitimacy). Public(ly accessible) space is again the forum where the ever changing rules of the inevitable spatial conflicts can be witnessed. The consistent redevelopment of urban space is one mechanism by which powerful individuals and organisations within society can generate long term commercial and or political influence.

Recently the large-scale redevelopment projects such as the Olympic Park (2012), plans for HS2 – High Speed Railway (proposed for 2026 but construction work implemented in 2014), and other strategies for development; imbedded the political hierarchy. We see this in the scheduling of redevelopment documents released periodically by institutions such as The Office of London Mayor (i.e. the 2020 vision) and the Local Development Framework – the replacement to the UDP[49](of which each borough or district produces a strategy). The scale of these developments requires the implementation of national master planning



20: Mapping London's Institutional Powerbase

Arch of Power (Author)

strategies, a process which is hierarchical, opaque in its operations and is inaccessible to the general public. This opaque mechanism of wide scale urban change is not a new phenomenon[50], nor are the problems that it brings.

Development in this way often leads to a scenario where plans for development dwarf local concerns (such as conservation issues, quality of living conditions and population diversity - in terms of income, background and age). In addition to these ingrained problems, the policy

49 The UDP, *Unitary Development Plan* was introduced across the United Kingdom in the last century and has gradually being phased out and replaced with Local Development Frameworks now implemented across the country. These systems provide (relatively) transparent and integrated strategic approaches to national urban and rural development.

50 In the 1960s the "London Ringways" redevelopment plan was pursued in the aim of creating a series of roads which encircled London, but was only partly implemented and was met with much opposition at the time. Its reimplementation in the 1980s, essentially a collection of link roads throughout London was met with similar resistance from protest groups. This culminated in resistance action such as the prominent "M11 link road protests".

of increasing the number of private developments which have started to typify London's landscape changes the intrinsic makeup of the city in a way in which existing residence have no mechanism to inform.

> *...the growing private ownership and management of the public realm... a quiet revolution in landownership, replicating Victorian patterns, is just beginning [...] Over the last three years this pattern has accelerated dramatically, with astronomically high property prices in the hot areas, all too often just a mile or so away from cold areas of exclusion. Accompanying this new patchwork is the growing privatisation of the public realm which is gradually changing the nature of our towns and cities [...] Just as development in the 1950s and '60s followed clearly defined trends – driven then by centralised planning and the system building of tower blocks – this latest wave of urban change is also characterised by certain key trends, relating this time to the private ownership and management of the public realm...*
>
> *(Minton, What kind of world are we building? 2006, 4)*

Minton identifies a cycle of urban development which typify an era and subsequently citizen's association with space, place and notions of identity. As a result we are witnessing an erosion of public(ly accessible) space as we recognise it. Where access to and categories of use are systematically re-constituted by an altered ownership structure.

> *Underpinning the changing urban picture are significant changes in landownership which are seeing the rise of individual landlords owning and managing entire city centre schemes, in place of the dense network of local shops and businesses which provide automatic diversity and enhance local culture and local identity.*
>
> *(Minton, What kind of world are we building? 2006, 4)*

These are hierarchical structures of development which are problematic both historically, presently and looking forward to the types of cities that are reflective of the diversity of urban life. What we in effect see is a several pronged attack on the notion of public space[51]. That there is a reduction in the stock of public space and the remaining stock is privately managed essentially privatising the way in which these spaces operate on a daily basis. So as the stock diminishes the space in which oppositional politics can occur is systematically being phased out. This is an intrinsic problem for the notion of representative democracy and representative space.

Although the guise under which cities are changed is in a nuanced form of development – systematic hierarchical change is not a recent phenomenon.

The way in which cities are produced is a by-product of its power structures. There is a theoretical lineage which explores the dialectal relationship between the powerful members of a society who decide on the nature of developments and those who are oppressed (or marginalised by these developments). This is the idea of ***intrinsically opposed interests*** that can be traced back to Hegel (1770-1831), who outlines the conflicted interests between "political" and "civil society", through Marx (1818-1883), who's "historical materialism" outlines the "social relations" which citizens must engage in as part of the material requirements of life. Broadly speaking, each of these theoreticians identifies ***knowledge as a socially and politically constructed phenomenon which is intrinsically linked to the practice of power***. Hegel develops this in his notion of a master/ slave dialectic and Marx as the bourgeoisie/ proletariat dialectic, both realise that the power of the formative figure is dependent on a submissive role of the latter and that if these power mechanisms are realised and acted upon; that the submissive can become more knowledgeable and in effect powerful and overturn the hierarchies which have become imbedded within society. Whilst the polarisation of identity and roles within society which existed with such clarity in the 18th and 19th Centuries have been largely eroded in contemporary Western society; there are remaining remnants of partial knowledge production which are dependent on hierarchical structures which still dominate today.

In a neo-liberal context (post 1970s in the UK) the ability to clearly identify these oppositional power relationships are not as easily achieved. Public perceptions around class, colour, gender, sexual orientation, disability, criminality, education, employment and marital status all play a role in categorising our societal identities, but they are not determined solely by a minority ideology. Who informs cultural and social ideals are not the same as those who inform economic or political ideals. This is borne out of a conflict between different powerful influences, such as the influence of a newspaper such as 'The Sun' which has (a daily readership of over 7million), or a politician (with political jurisdiction over 8 million people, such as the Mayor of London). Both are politically motivated actors with a wide sphere of influence.

These factors will be taken into account when analysing the case study protests. As they will operate in an environment where these opinions are

51 1. A militarisation of public(ly accessible) space (with the implementation of tactics such as Kettling
2. Expanding this brief to include activities such as "domestic disorder"
3. Legislation to reduce the scope of allowed behaviour (specific behaviour exclusions)
4. Re-appraisal of planning guidelines for the construction industry

paramount to their efficacy, longevity and ability to operate as a catalyst to their spatial forms of dissent. As the act of protest is a mechanism by which its users are attempting to redress a power imbalance, its use is key to understanding social relations within the city nexus.

Power

> *Where there is power, there is resistance,,, a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network. Hence there is no single locus of great refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is the plurality of resistances, each of them a special case...*
>
> *(M. Foucault 1978)*

The designation of the contemporary city (those terrains which have come into existence since the aftermath of the second world war in Western-European societies), is controlled by a series of operative power relationships. Foucault explains the nature of their control in his reading of 'power'. He considers the larger, systematic process of managing people and thus defines their activities. Foucault goes on to identify the mechanisms that allows authorities to have power and thus subjugation over people (bodies), with a systematic approach to achieving these aims. Broadly, these are the familiar constructs of institutionalisation (although the system does permeate down into the personal spaces of everyday life). He is particularly critical of the "disciplinary institutions" such as prisons, schools and hospitals as they come to characterise specific negative behaviour patterns. As society sees itself more holistically, justification for power comes as both a rational and political necessity against threats that stand against humanity. These notions of identity allow for the emergence of the modern national state and in essence our dominant model of capitalism and its hierarchical system of decision makers. Foucault's reading of power can be aligned to Lefebvre's reading on the historical trajectory of which has created our form of capitalism.

Lefebvre takes us on a longer journey; exploring how, throughout time; the way in which societies produce spaces fundamentally changes. He continues Marx's trajectory; categorising historical modes of production as "oriental, antique or medieval", essentially outlining the power mechanisms which govern the operation of the built environment; tracing developments such as 'craft', 'commerce', and 'mobile wealth'. He argues that ***the process of urbanisation entrenches a conflict between differential interest groups with a proximity which did not exist in previous manifestations of power relationships.*** He goes on to outline other significant developments, those of 'virtual capital', the 'enfranchisement of peasant communities' and the shift in control over mechanisms of power; as 'wealth moves from landed property and becomes mobile'. These changes all signify a re-appropriation of the environment in which people exist and subsequently interact. Emerging industries begin to locate themselves within the city; eventually resulting in networks of cities with specific divisions of labour, segmenting life technically, socially and politically; this is the realignment of human interaction which occurs at the emergence of neo-liberalism as the dominant mechanism of power relations.

> *"This centre, gathering together training and information, capacities of organisation and industrial decision-making, appears as a project in the making of a new centrality, that of power."*
>
> *(Lefebvre, Writings on Cities 1988)*

Thus, those who 'possess capital' (the means of its production) manage not only the economic use of capital and productive investments, but in fact the whole of society, using part of the wealth production in 'culture', art, knowledge and most importantly; ideology. This breakdown of what might more readily be called hegemonic structures today – dictate a method of interpreting the city to its users. It is not just control over the means of production but the way in which ***what is produced*** is understood by citizens. By understanding culture as a key instrument of political and social control those in power use not only brute force (police, prisons, repression, and the military) to maintain control, but also penetrate the everyday culture of citizens. Thus, the key rubric is that of cultural hegemony.

> *This transformation in how the city is experienced, how it is used and who determines these signifiers is not part of a democratic process of representation but entrenched power mechanisms within the city.*
>
> *(Lefebvre, Writings on Cities 1988)*

These structures implemented in our recent past, continue to flourish today. David Harvey identifies the power relationships within the city. He explores "the trajectory of power within contemporary environments." However, Harvey's focus is more towards the latent economic mechanisms than the cultural manifestations. Where Lefebvre looks to cultural 'desire' and the concept of the 'experiential' to shape our cities, Harvey looks at urbanisation and its power mechanisms. He takes the landmark case of

Paris, adjudging its material history. Driven as it was, by the idealism of Napoleon III whose ambition to transform Paris from a medieval to an industrialised city – creating 'free trade', 'cheap credit' and infrastructure development on a scale previously unseen. By observing the modernisation of London during the 1840s and in an attempt to appropriate these systems of modernisation for Paris, he employs Haussmann[52] in the role of city planner;

> *"Haussmann clearly understood that his mission was to help solve the surplus capital and unemployment problem by way of urbanisation. The rebuilding of Paris absorbed huge quantities of labour and of capital by the standards of the time and, coupled with authoritarian suppression of the aspirations of the Parisian labour force, was a primary vehicle for social stabilisation."*
>
> *(Harvey, The Right to the City 2003)*

Thus, the development of the contemporary city intrinsically changes our understanding of public space and subsequently our (and the Parisians) relationship to it. Haussmann begins the practice of radical spatial redevelopment, changing our understanding of what it is to experience a city.

> *"Paris became "the city of light" the great centre of consumption, tourism and pleasure – the café's, the department stores, the fashion industry the grand disposition all changed the urban way of life in ways that could absorb vast surpluses through crass frivolous consumerism."*
>
> *(Harvey, The Right to the City 2003)*

The constructs which Harvey interprets in their infancy, define many of the signifiers of what can broadly be identified as liberal[53] economics – an ideology which has ***fundamentally changed the way in which individuals gain access to the city and under what conditions this occurs.*** As Harvey outlines mechanisms by which individuals can reassert their right to (and indeed over) the city by identifying and adopting certain power mechanisms, Lefebvre sees right as "demand...[for] a transformed and renewed access to urban life" an altogether more radical, antagonistic reading of the city – where ***territories of conflict are implicit.***

52 Georges-Eugène Haussmann is best known for his renovation of Paris which still dominates Central Paris today over 150 years after the implementation of his grandiose public works project.

Through their writing Lefebvre, Harvey (and to a lesser degree Park) there is recognition that public(ly accessible) space is a critical component in understanding ***how*** the city produces power. With the ***types*** of public space that are creating being an indicator of where power resides in a society.

If the development of power mechanisms within the city enfranchise power, in ways which Lefebvre observes and Harvey proposes alternatives to, Sennett proposes the ingredients for an ***active, participatory public space***

> *"Social relations, social conflict, and the opportunities for face to face encounters that are generated, encourage citizens to experience the friction of differences, make them aware of, and give them the ability to recognise, conflicts (as opposed to purifying them away) in order to survive."*
>
> *(Sennett 2006)*

Thus if we follow the imbedded constructs in the arguments laid out by these theoreticians, it would suggest that there is ***an intrinsic role for protest within public(ly accessible) spaces***, as the practice is either the embodiment or the catalyst to manifest the qualities of space or place which is diverse and desirable. In a more direct analysis of the potential of engaging with this spatiality.

> *"Cities are transformed [...] where individuals are at once "socialized," integrated, submitted to artificial pressures and constraints [...] and separated, isolated, disintegrated. A contradiction which is translated into anguish, frustration and revolt."*
>
> *(Lefebvre, The Production of Space 1974)*

Lefebvre also speaks of "counter-spaces" where the rights to the city can be articulated. This is my starting point for defining neo-liberal London in terms of these imbedded power struggles. What Lefebvre offers us is a description of public(ly accessible) space which explains its unequal nature. As such, protest can be identified as one such mechanism to break the generality of a disciplined society. Although I continually refer to the public(ly accessible) space as such – it is in reality more accurately

53 Dubbed the "liberal empire" due the employment of strategies including, free trade, cheap credit and the planned use of budget deficits with the aim of subsequently gaining high profits. In future years these strategies and other similarly (liberal for the time) strategies, would become linked to a series of economic strategies which would be categorised and popularised by John Maynard Keyes (Keynesian economics).

described as ***a series of private appropriations***. From the ancient (and almost defunct) system of communing[54] through the actions of legal obligation which the state enacts to define these locations[xii55] to the rampant contemporary tradition of relentlessly privatising these locations[56]. Anna Minton puts it clearly when in her book 'ground control' she explains the trajectory thus

> *"Broadgate and Canary Wharf were controversial, perceived as high-security enclaves of wealth surrounded by some of the poorest communities in Britain. They were also exceptional places – areas where business modelled the area in its own image in what are, after all, finance districts. Now, a generation later, what began specifically to serve the needs of business, has become the standard model for the creation of every new place in towns and cities across the country. Previously, the government and local councils 'owned' the city on behalf of us, the people. Now more and more of the city is owned by investors, and its central purpose is profit."*
>
> *(Minton, Ground Control: Fear and happiness in the twenty-first-century city 2012)*

So as the quantity and quality of the public decreases and the political ideology converges around the idea of private space for specific interests – the public(ly accessible) space for protest becomes marginalised. With it goes the imbedded democratic structures of public representation. ***If the city / city state is born out a direct relationship between citizens and their representatives***, then the city as we conceive it (and all it contains) has radically shifted to represent a different set of relationships. No longer is the relationship internal to sovereignty – but subject to decisions made based on external, non-democratic forces. Power over space has moved away from citizens and protest is the mechanism by which that neo-liberal power shift can be analysed.

Power & Knowledge

The theories explored in "Cultural Studies[57]" in the mid-80s offer an understanding of the changing powerbase within the city from a British perspective. Building on the dichotomy of the "producer/ product", which bears relevance to the historical master/ slave and bourgeoisie/ proletariat dialectic of Hegel and Marx (respectively). Emerging from this theoretical reference point is De Certeau seminal work on The Practice of Everyday Life (1984). Exploring the same theoretical terrain (that of emancipation) but instead understanding the progression from slave/ proletariat/ producer to that of "user" and the potential for self-expression within this definition.

In this context De Certeau's work is significant as it theoretically explores the consumer (or end user), their rituals and techniques of habitation and individualism which allows them to create their own agency. Thus De Certeau's writings on "walking" or "wandering" in the urban environment are increasingly poignant against the backdrop of globalization and dominant theories exploring the influence ***on*** people at a ***global*** scale as opposed to ***from*** people at an ***individual*** one.

In his chapter on "Walking in the City", De Certeau makes reference to the Panopticon (as theorised by Foucault in his work "Discipline and Punishment" *1975*), taking fragments from this theory as a guide for constraints that exists in the relations between people and the state. The ubiquity of CCTV cameras had not yet begun to characterise the ***experience*** of being in public(ly accessible) spaces (for those living in Westernised nations). As such De Certeau doesn't focus on 'contemporary' surveillance methods but instead contextualises these power struggles; focusing on the "undefinable" space of the public – which is accessed through the act of ***wandering***, with the idea of (self) discipline as an apparatus of power.

De Certeau presents the domain of ***the public as a conglomerate of conflicting desires*** where the positions are personified by the tools used for understanding or defining the urbanised terrains. Thus, there is a disconnect between the way in which space is ***represented*** and how it is ***experienced*** and explored…

> *"Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together. In*

54 "Common" here refers to any land subject to some form of common control. Thus common includes open field arable and meadow that were common for only part of the year, stinted pastures, and "waste."2 "Waste" was the only type of land that was common in the modern sense of having free access, and which thus the landless could utilize. 3 The other "common" in England was still private property in the sense that access to these common lands was strictly limited to those who owned the rights.

Clark, Gregory & Clark, Anthony: Common Rights in Land in England, 1475-1839

55 As defined by a series of acts: Local authority under the Local Government Act 1972, the Highways Act 1980, Town and Country Planning Act 1990, Local Government Act 2000.Thus creating a narrow designation of public realm based on maintenance. Expanded extracts in endnotes.

56 The ideology which underlines the *privatisation of public space* within neo-liberal states is outlined by authors such as Richard Sennett, Margaret Kohn and Anna Minton. Each charts the increase in a holistic approach to urban redevelopment which is built on the systematic privatisation of public space.

57 *Cultural studies* is an interdisciplinary field of research and teaching that investigates the ways in which "culture" creates and transforms individual experiences, everyday life, social relations and power. Initially developed by British academics in the late 1950s, 60s and 70s.

that respect, pedestrian movements form one of these "real systems whose existence in fact makes up the city." They are not localised; it is rather that they spatialize."

(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984, 97)

This is put up in stark contrast to the way in which in the same ***spaces*** are represented, drawn or personified in print (cartography) and how these tools inevitably create a cultural "blindspot" in our understanding of "space"

"The desire to see the city precede the means of satisfying it, Medieval or renaissance painters represented the city as seen in a perspective that no eye had yet enjoyed… The totalising eye imagined by the painters of earlier times lives on in our achievements. The same scopic drive haunts users of architectural productions…"

(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984, 92)

Here the suggestion that there is an intention to deviate, to create a static and idealised notion completely separate from experience is clear. This sets up a dichotomy between the "metaphorical" and the "planned" city. Where what is represented is not true or representative of reality. ***Thus the practitioner who uses walking as their tool and the cartographer, tell conflicting stories of human occupation and relations.*** He goes on to question the nature and integrity of that ***representative*** reality…

"Is the immense texturology spread out before one's eyes anything more than a representation, an optical artefact? It is the analogue of the facsimile produced (…) by the space planner urbanist, city planner or cartographer."

(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984, 92-93)

De Certeau effectively reduces the act of drawing to that of mere representation, the limitations of which have to be understood. That these representations are produced by, and are therefore part of, the hegemony; it follows that to understand the "singularities" which make up the city, individuals must engage with a different frame of reference to freely "spatialise" the city. Thus, De Certeau suggests the act of wandering as a tool to create a space of spatial and social emancipation.

"If it is true that forests of gestures are manifest in the streets, their movement cannot be captured in a picture, nor can the meaning of their movements be circumscribed in a text. Their rhetorical transplantation carries away and displaces the analytical, coherent proper meanings of urbanism; it constitutes a "wandering of the semantic". Produced by masses that make some parts of the city disappear and exaggerate others, distorting it, fragmenting it, and diverting it from its immobile order."

(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984, 102)

There is the suggestion here that wandering not only gives an under represented ***reality*** to the experience of individuals, but also provides the framework for a method to reconstruct the city on terms not set out by those who design it...

"…they are the walkers Wandersmänner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of urban "text" they write without being able to read it. These practitioners make use of spaces that cannot be seen…"

(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984, 93)

De Certeau elevates the walker or wanderer to the position of ***practitioner***; they are "phatic", they possess the tools to reconstruct the city. Part of this is in the process of creating narratives which readdress spatiality. One such example can be personified by the relationship between ***naming*** as an identifier of specific location – and the reclassification of the identified local through the act of wandering - which essentially becomes a tool for readdressing lines of ownership,

"A friend who lives in the city of Sevres drifts, when he is in Paris (…) another friend unconsciously represses the streets which have names and, by this fact, transmit her – orders or identities in the same way as summonses and classifications; she goes instead along paths which have no name or signature (…) these words (Borrego, Botzaris, Bougainville…) slowly lose, like worn coins, the values engraved on them."

(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984, 93)

But even in the ***keeping of their (given) name*** there is the ability to reclassify through the act of wandering…

"Saints- Peres, Corentin Celton, Red Square… these names make themselves available to the diverse meanings given them by passers-by; they detach themselves from the places they were supposed to ***define and serve as imaginary meeting-points on itinerates which, as metaphors, they determine for reasons that are foreign to their original value…"***

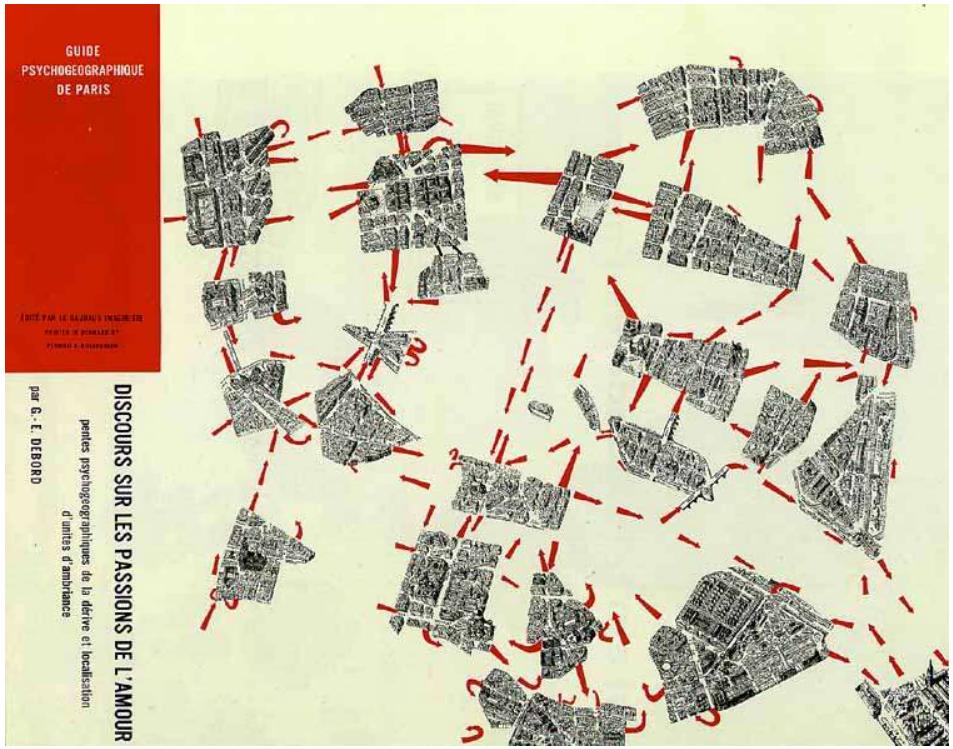
My highlights *(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984, 93)*

This reappraisal, created by deviating from the named dominion of location creates possibilities for associations relevant to users, or those who experience a locality. These possibilities are free from those created by hegemonic narratives. Thus, walking or wandering becomes the mechanism to unlock the potential of self-defined spaces within the city.

However, De Certeau stretches the analogy further - walking is "discovery" – walking as story making – walking as poetry. The spectrum of possibilities which can be associated with this one act again escalates, validating its ***receivership as a form of practice and not an idle pastime***. In the end walking becomes as intricate and varied a definition as that of ***memory***. The way in which our mind creates association with place through experience - the transcendental possibilities that are imbedded once we engage with this tool of spatial navigation. And surely this is at the heart of what De Certeau wishes to communicate – that the way in which we engage with public(ly accessible) space, the way in which we ***live*** creates possibilities for spatial, human relations, possibilities which can give agency. Social, personal and spatial opportunities which are there to be discovered if we create mechanisms to disassociate ourselves from the hegemonic constructs which may otherwise manifest De Certeau tells us that walking is a spatial practice…

> *"Memories tie us to that place…Places are fragmentary and inward-turning histories… the well-being under expressed in the language it appears in like a fleeting glimmer is a spatial practice..."*
>
> *(Certeau, The practice of everyday life 1984, 108)*

De Certeau creates enough of a theoretical framework for a strong association to be made between the act of protest (or, the practice of spatial occupation) and the act of walking (or wandering). The ***association*** which individuals or self-referential small groups of people make ***with*** a location is given implicit value. De Certeau suggests that wandering can be understood for purposes of disruption or self-exploration. Occupation which acts as a deviation from the formulated constructs, and is thus undervalued is what the act of protest and wandering share in common.



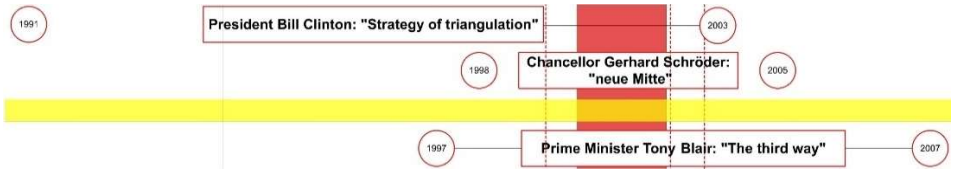
21: Psychogeographic Guide of Paris

(Guy Debord 1957)

There is a more direct correlation – when a wander is structured into a dérive (as explored by the Situationists 1950/60s France). However, even if we keep to the constructs outlined by de Certeau, and remove the political dimension from protest (for reasons of comparative analysis) – then they can both be seen as ***similarly emancipatory constructs.*** Walking is a tool, walking is a "spatial practice", those who partake are "practitioners" who's role is "phatic". These all point to a purpose and a practice which although engages with the phenomenological also creates the potential for more practical occupation - a form of agency which by its very existence challenges hegemonic structures.

De Certeau outlines methods of spatial occupation, where physically engaging with public(ly accessible) spaces can be a prelude to users creating both personal agency and potentially, also gaining control over the mechanisms that designate the use of such spaces. If we take the actions of those who have socio-political motivations; these spaces operate as a vehicle by which to test the efficacy of their spatial practice. As democracy is itself both an ***ideology*** and a ***practice*** – aligned with a theory of spatial conflict; the potential role that these actions have within contemporary society can be assessed.

The theories that Chantal Mouffe develops in the volume 'The democratic paradox', investigates the limitations of contemporary Western democracies with particular focus on their hegemonic forms (deliberative and aggregative). Mouffe constructs a theory in which she emphasises how prevalent ideologies within a political environment can conspire to undermine democratic principles, where antagonism between opposing ideologies is necessary and can be undermined by the desire for consensus. The volume was first published in 2000 and thus reflects the political environment of the time where the paradox of antagonistic forms of representation are no longer prevalent.



22: Political Consensus

Mapping Protest Contingencies: Extract: (Author)

During the 1990s several political parties affiliated with the traditional ***left*** of politics were elected into power. However, the policies which defined their reigns were not that of the traditional left. There was a significant convergence on their approach to economics, integration of markets, trading systems and debt management. There was a consensus with those policies which had been established by parties identifying themselves as ***right* or *right of centre***. Mouffe identifies the rhetoric which accompanied this ***new*** politics of the left at that time, President Clinton's "strategy of triangulation", Prime Minister Blair's "third way" and Chancellor Schröder's "neue Mitte". The significance of this political repositioning is part of the process which has redefined Western democracies. ***Historically the political left coalesced around issues of equality and 'popular sovereignty', with the political right being representative of individual liberty and 'the rule of law'.*** Democracy had thus established itself as a battle between the two ideologies with hegemonic dominance oscillating between the two at different points throughout history. Once one side evacuates their position; the dichotomy ceases to function creating questions over the validity of the resulting version of democracy.

> *"The dominant tendency today consists in envisaging democracy in such a way that is almost exclusively identified with the Rechtsstaat and the defence of human rights, leaving aside the elements of popular sovereignty (...) This has created a 'democratic deficit' which given the central role played by the idea of popular sovereignty in the democratic imaginary, can have very dangerous effects on the allegiance to democratic institutions."*
>
> *(Mouffe 2003, 3-4)*

If the repositioned political left signified a growing disconnect between citizens and their representatives, as the role of popular sovereignty moves down the list of political priorities; then the trajectories which have followed subsequently, show how these positions have become entrenched as a growing political consensus are cemented at the advent of economic and political crisis. The Global Economic Crash (2007/8) and European Sovereignty Debt crises (2010) are two such events that bear evidence of that move from the previously established dichotomies which existed within Western democracies. What this recent history serves to outline is the move towards a political consensus which creates 'The democratic paradox'; which continues in earnest to this day despite a series of seismic socio-political events highlighting the relevance of Mouffe's central theory. The argument against the 'consensus' is that it entrenches a neo-liberal democratic paradox, where popular sovereignty is limited in the pursuit of creating greater 'liberty'. By restricting one version of democracy to promote another, a paradox ensues as democracy begins to negate itself by ***pre-emptively defining its outcomes.***

> *"What cannot be contestable in a liberal democracy is the idea that it is legitimate to establish limits of popular sovereignty in the name of liberty. Hence its paradoxical nature. A central argument in this book is that it is vital for democratic politics to understand that liberal democracy results from the articulation of two logics which are incompatible in the last instance and that there is no way in which they could be perfectly reconciled."*
>
> *(Mouffe 2003, 4-5)*

By converging towards pre-defined outcomes; democratic processes serve to work against democratic ideals and ***principles of deliberation***. Democratic practice thus begins to promote hegemonic concepts of progress. Mouffe argues that developments which systematically work towards consensus undermine the true nature of democracy, as a functioning democracy must entrench antagonism in its process of deliberation and in its ***aspiration to be representative***. Mouffe analyses the concepts put forward by significant social theorists Habermas and Rawls. They outline systems and constructs in the aim to avoid practices which create consensus and exclusion. A line of Habermasian exploration develops concepts such as "reasonable plurism" and "deliberative democracy." Similarly, in the Rawlsian camp, concepts around "public and private practices" and "an assemblage of practices" employed to maintain these distinctions begin to emerge.

Mouffe is however critical of both these standpoints; at the heart of her criticism of these systems of communicative rationality is the belief that they create false distinctions where the practices which they outline do not create the desired freedom from the politicisation that accompanies hegemony.

> *I think that they are both right in their respective criticisms (of each other) Indeed, Rawls's conception is not as independent of comprehensive views as he believes, and Habermas cannot be as purely proceduralist as he claims (...) What this reveals is the impossibility of achieving what each of them, albeit in different ways, is really aiming at, that is circumscribing a domain that would be subject to the pluralism of values and where a consensus without exclusion could be established.*
>
> *(Mouffe 2003, 91)*

By highlighting these conceptual restrictions, Mouffe is paving the way for the explanation of a system which does address the significant pitfalls of democratic practice and does embrace pluralism. The antagonistic model emerges as an embodiment of the values which Mouffe sees as necessary to the practice of democracy. A framework which would see the absence of exclusions and pre-determined consensus, whilst promoting public deliberation. There are no predetermined dichotomies (morality, ethics, public, private, objectivity, power etc). What lies at the heart of the proposal for antagonism is the creation of a "non-exclusive public sphere of deliberation". The reason that antagonism is pivotal is that it prioritises the ***practice of discourse*** and not the solution or solutions that may or may not be reached (through that or any other process). ***Dialogue is the fulcrum for the system, and where the opinions of those who would otherwise be considered as enemies can exist within the same sphere, the remit of democratic practice is broadened.***

Mouffe's use of the term "Friendly enemies" begins to break with the traditional distinctions of opinions, and creates a mechanism by which to avoid the trappings of partisan politics. Typically, discourse begins to fail when an idea, ideology or concept can be placed into a category which is considered along the lines of clearly defined ownership. Mouffe uses the example of the "them or us" dialectic, where "friendly enemies" is a mechanism to attempt to dissolve these enclaves.

> *"Modern democracy's specificity lies in the recognition and legitimation of conflict and the refusal to supress it by imposing an authoritarian order (...) the 'disenchantment' of the world by Max Weber and the unavoidable conflict that entails."*
>
> *(Mouffe 2003, 103)*

Mouffe argues that this creation of a legitimate space for conflict is a return to true deliberative democracy, a return to the practices which defined the Athenian model which contemporary frameworks have deviated from.

> *"...the main idea – that in a democratic polity political decisions should be reached through a process of deliberation among free and equal citizens – has accompanied democracy since its birth in fifth-century Athens. The ways of envisaging deliberation and the constituency of those entitled to deliberate have varied greatly, but the deliberation has long played a role in democratic thought. What we see today is therefore the revival of an old theme, not the sudden emergence of a new one."*
>
> *(Mouffe 2003, 80)*

By stressing the importance of true deliberative democracy being adversarial, containing moments of conflict and thus the explanative foundation for an antagonistic model is formulated.

The relevance of Chantal Mouffe's volume on 'the democratic paradox' to my thesis is that it creates a platform for a democracy which operates on a wider framework than the one which is currently in place in Western democracies. The volume is theoretical and does not look at the specific mechanisms of any particular parliamentary system. There is great potential to associate this framework and the reasoning which creates it with that of

other democratic practices outside those of established systems of representation. Furthermore, Mouffe's reference to the Athenian system of democracy, in both its deliberative and spatially public practice, allows further connections to be made between the act of ***protest within public(ly accessible) spaces*** and the actions which embody ***public democracy***. Mouffe allows a refocusing of the requirements of democracy from outcomes to processes by requiring democratic practice to engage with antagonistic process and moments of conflict. As a result, I belief that protest, under the right conditions creates an environment which is applicable to Mouffe's requirements for an antagonistic democracy.

> *"...the prime task of democratic politics is not to eliminate passions from the sphere of the public realm, in order to render a rational consensus possible, but to mobilize those passions towards democratic designs."*
>
> *(Mouffe 2003, 103)*

Those who perform acts of protest within the public realm are engaged in a process of designing or designating that space which they occupy. Public realm protests have their own trajectory, each with their own causes, aims, strategies and outcomes. I propose to assess the act of protest in relation to its practice, the actions which occur within the public realm as opposed to outcomes (in the form of effectiveness or otherwise) of subsequent or resulting decisions. Instead of assessing if the protest action has affected the law or practice which it is opposed to, my focus instead assesses the ***nature*** of the consistent elements within protest; those of antagonism and conflict. Typically, when acts of protest take to the public realm the time, location and spatial organisation is orchestrated to ***disrupt*** particular rituals or activities. If the aim is to disrupt, then the likelihood of conflict (on one form or another) from the agents of disrupted activities; is to be expected. Thus, the overarching framework under which neo-liberal protest operates outlines the relevance of protest action to democratic practice.

However, it is clear that protest action is not always in itself democratic. In the same way that democratic practices are not always representative, inclusive and free from acts of political partisan association. Protest action occurs across a spectrum. If we refer to protests occurring in neo-liberal urban environments, we can choose to focus on those actions which are democratic, protests which imbed not only antagonism and conflict but ***deliberation***, either directly or implicitly. Recent protests taking place in public(ly accessible) spaces such as the Occupy LSX (2011-12) create antagonistic spaces of deliberation (both directly and implicitly). Among the spaces could be found an alternative voting system, informative lectures and workshops; providing information and skills. Similarly, the spatial location of the camp and the wider deliberation that it created around the designation of the public as a space of activity; is created implicitly as a direct result of the camps physical presence. The way in which the practice of protest was explored, allowed the protesters to operate as adversaries to the regulating authorities and landowners and not as enemies.

> *"I propose a distinction between two forms of antagonism, antagonism proper – which takes place between enemies but between 'adversaries', adversaries being defined in a paradoxical way as 'friendly enemies', that is, persons who are friends because they share a common symbolic space but also enemies because they want to organize this common symbolic space in a different way."*
>
> *(Mouffe 2003, 13)*

Thus, this and other public protests do in part; is host the desire to organise 'common symbolic space' in a manner differently to others with who (in assessing the designation of the space and related decision making) they are adversaries to. The facilitation of certain acts of protest, recognises the inherent incompatibility of ideas and practices created by the urban environment ***this pluralism is a sphere of deliberation***. By assessing protest actions against the antagonistic model of democracy which Mouffe outlines, and the paradox of implicit conflict, specific neo-liberal public protests are applicable to this model for agonistic democracy. Thus the democratic paradox clearly outlines a core requirement; that the remit of democratic practice requires a broadening to include practices of a more pluralistic nature and without prescribed foreseeable outcomes.

Iconic Spatial Identifiers

The idea of alternative practices being a significant element in the balance of democratic representation, is embodied in the historical lineage of some of the most iconic spaces in London. This segment explores our understanding of these spaces through the spectacle of protest and how that sits in relation to our current use and access to these spaces. Spaces of protest can rarely be designed as such, the role develops as a result of a series of factors. These factors vary in each situation, but what connects them is the proximity that these spaces have to key institutions of powerful decision making. These locations are thus part of the public stock.

Trafalgar, Paternoster & Parliament Square

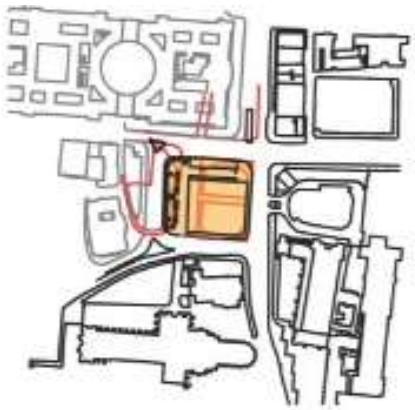
The role of these three iconic spaces can be compared as they shape our understanding of the socio-political condition that British protest operates under.

23: Trafalgar Square

(Author) fountains highlighted

Trafalgar square begins life as a memorial to the wife of King Edward I of England in 1290. It is known as Eleanor's Cross (a cross being laid at each place that her funeral cortege stopped overnight on its journey from Lincoln to Charing). In the 13th Century the site was developed as a Kings mews (stables). The site later falls into disrepair creating the opportunity for it to operate as a much more political space. Its proximity to Buckingham Palace as it became the seat of power is intrinsic in this. In the 14th Century, to approach Whitehall Palace (as it was then known) by any means other than boat had to be via Charing Cross.

This included armies returning from battle, dissident's intent on overthrowing the crown, or large corteges of noblemen on horseback. As such, it was the site of many executions, including the last site of Watt Tyler's Peasant's revolt (1554). The decision to hold executions here was later reversed (1660) as it was considered too close to the centre of power as those being executed aroused substantial sympathy from anti-government crowds (so executions were moved to Tynburn). Shortly after this period of time it became the site of many taverns and coffee houses where much plotting against the crown occurred. The decision to site the new Square here was an act of political reclaiming of space, in an attempt to represent the might and power of the British empire; through the development of a space which celebrated the seafaring military victory of the Battle of Trafalgar (1805). As with all large scale infrastructural projects; there was the desire to gentrify the area. In the late 1700s, the site was a bustling open market place which disappeared at the implementation of the Trafalgar Square project. The final design is one which is beholden to of much political positioning. The space that we have today is largely as a result of an amalgamation of several designs developed by John Nash, William Wilkins, the Nelson's memorial committee, as well as elements of designs by William Railton and Charles Barry. A process which was started in earnest in 1812, opening in 1844, and being completed in 1865. Significantly, Trafalgar Square opens without the now iconic water fountains which were implemented for both aesthetic and crowd calming reasons in 1845 when the site was starting to be used by popular protest movements; most significantly the Chartists who gathered crowds of up to 100,000 on the site before the installation of the fountains. Even today the role of Trafalgar Square as one of political importance just outside of the strategic buildings of power (now on Whitehall), but close enough (in the eyes of activists) to influence them. As such Parliament Square is a significant psychological space of dissent and features regularly in the case study protests.



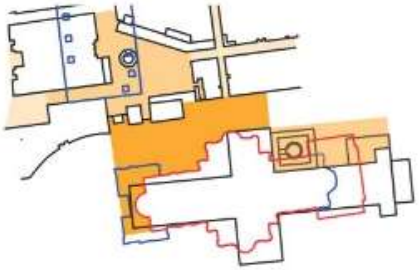
24: Parliament Square

(Author) Previous layout annotated [red]

Parliament square has a much less illustrious history as it is developed as a traffic calming measure in 1834. At its implementation the square contained a water fountain and the layout didn't facilitate much room for gatherings (until 1940). In 1950 it was completely redesigned and moved out of parliamentary control and into Greater London Authority control - leading to the legal structure that we have today in which a plethora of by-laws are utilised to control behaviour and restrict access to the site.

In addition to this shift of ownership came a new layout which encapsulated an 'open space' policy with the familiar large rectangular grassed area that we see today. This facilitates the square being used as gatherings and meeting point for protests over a 50-year period. However, the identity and associations that the public have with Parliament Square

come under scrutiny in 2001. The activist Brian Haw locates an indefinite camp on the site in opposition to the arms policy of the then government. Laws were drafted to remove him, although these retrospective laws were unsuccessful in forcing Brian from the site, the extensive use of bylaws including terror laws lead to the drastic reduction in the size of his protest camp. He eventually died on site in 2011, at which point the full extent of the new laws could be put into practice with subsequent protest actions (whether they be camp, March or rally) have been dismantled, evicted, or relocated with rapidity. In practice, the authorities see parliament square is a protest free site. So although it remains as a site of protest in the mind of activists; the current legislation utilised to govern the site prevents any such activity. As such, the space features repeatedly in the case studies during the recent British protest bubble.



25: Paternoster Square

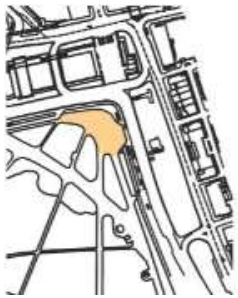
(Author) Historical layouts in blue then red – sites of protest and contention [orange]

This brings us onto Paternoster Square. Today it exists as a privately owned and managed site with a strangely public appearance. The current layout was almost as convoluted as the process that saw Trafalgar square come into existence. In 1986 a general competition was launched as many of the buildings on the site had fallen into disuse or disrepair (between the 1970s and 80s). The scheme attempted to (at different stages) to implement partial schemes from Rogers, Arup, Hopkins, and MJP, meaning that the project was not completed until 2003.

The design committee struggled to find an architectural style which they felt was aligned to the significant standing that the site has within British society, exacerbated by its close proximity to St Paul's Cathedral and its historic legacy. Although neither is a place of democratic power, over the course of history, the importance of the site in quelling or administering acts of deep political contention have been frequent, with St Paul's operating as a refuge for those fleeing religious persecution, and the open air pulpit (in a previous incarnation of the church) hosting sermons which were the instigation for many riots particularly during The English Reformation.

This is a site within the public stock as the decisions made their have a significant effect on the lives of everyone. Therefore, although the site is private, the power that they have and the nature of their work will, by its very nature create contention, both at the design phase and subsequently at the operational phase particularly when protesters wish to locate themselves there. The desire to be in close proximity to this space comes into sharp focus in the case study; Occupy LSX.

Speaker's Corner & St Paul's Cathedral



26: Speakers' Corner

(Author)

27: Photo: Anti-Iraq War Protest

(Daily Mail, February 15th 2003)

Speaker's corner has lost its place as a significant location for emerging social movements in British society. There are many reasons for its rise and subsequent decline in the public psyche as a place of political dissent. Although it still has cultural significance; issues are still discussed with vigour every Sunday - soapbox style, as they have been for centuries, but larges political gatherings, camps, marches and riots utilise this space with dwindling frequency. There are however fleeting moments in recent years where the space features as a tool for mass objection to a contemporary political decision, operating as a stopping station for protesters as they move through London. Prominent examples would include the Countryside Alliance protests (1998 & 2002) where around 200,000 and 400,000 people took part (respectively), and the Anti-Iraq War protests (2003) where a reported 1 million[58] people took part as the procession weaved its way to Hyde Park.

58 Metropolitan police reported 750,000 people with BBC News reporting 1 million and organisers (Stop the War Coalition) claimed that 3 million were in attendance. Whichever figure is correct; this was the biggest protest gathering in English History.

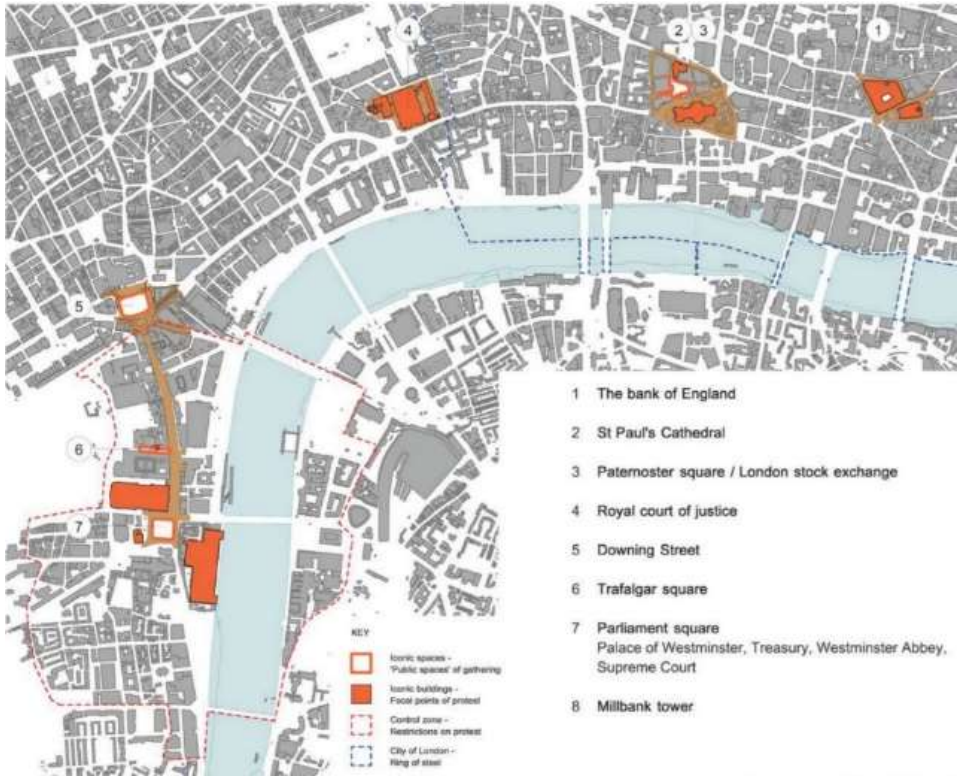
It is worth noting that there were significant attempts to stop the anti-war gathering in 2003 by incumbent politicians. Hyde park is a royal park, and as such is managed by the DCMS. The Department for Culture Media and Sport ministerial team accounts for The Royal parks business in parliament[59] and in 2003 the head of that organisation was Tessa Blackstone (later Baroness Blackstone). She was a strong supporter of the Iraq war as evidenced by her verbal contributions in parliament. Blackstone was also later appointed a non-executive director of the Mott MacDonald Group in 2005. The engineering consultancy was given a £1.2m contract from DfID[60] for infrastructure work in Iraq[61].

This sequence of events is not to highlight the actions of an individual politician; but instead to draw attention to the relationship that is symptomatic of the close relationship that politicians and global corporations have developed with each other in the neo-liberal age.

Ultimately Blackstone was in a position to override or instigate any decision to obstruct or permit access to Hyde Park. There was a plan in place to a block to such access; but was unsuccessful due to the sheer weight of people who joined the procession.

The other strong reason for the diminished importance of Speakers' Corner is that with the emergence of a neo-liberal society, the use of physical spatial location for protest becomes increasingly nuanced. For Speaker' Corner its historically important location isn't maintained in today's society. The corner is located a few hundred meters East of Tyburn; where public executions took place as prisoners were taken en-route from Newgate Prison (now the site of The Central Criminal Court). So where Tyburn was historically critical in creating a public focus on the act of punishment for dissention from state decrees and mandates, today more focus circulates around the spaces of decision making (such as The Houses of Parliament, The London Stock Exchange or The bank of England).

Hyde Park had its most politically relevant time in the mid-1800s when popular sovereignty movements would often utilise the cross country march as a form of protest, stopping at different spaces of significance, with crowds gathering to hear their political message. On these routes they would utilise public(ly accessible) spaces to gather crowds of tens to hundreds of thousands of people, these including hosting some of the most significant free speech and suffrage movements of the time; such as The Chartists (1840s & 50s), The Sunday trading riots (1855) and the Reform League (1866/7). Because of Hyde Parks location (West of the River Thames) it is outside of the arc of power.



28: Arch of Power

Established powerful institutions within one central proximity (Author)

As protest practices become more varied, the traditional cross country march from a meeting space to a target space are less frequent. Long marches are often replaced with shorter ones with less defined routes which do not transgress as many locations as they did in previous decades.

59 The Royal Parks Management is agreed and triennially revised by the Department For Culture Media & Sport.

60 The DfID is the Department for International Development for the UK parliament

61 *Source: The Independent, "Top 10 firms profiting from Iraq", Monday 13 March 2006*

Similarly, the proliferation of more varied strategies (by both protesters and law enforcement officials) such as occupation, blockade, containment and corral tactics; makes Speakers' Corner a less versatile location to use than others.

It was only after the popularity of the Reform leagues male suffrage policies instigated changes to the constitution[62] that parks were managed in a more political manner; essentially allowing their management to decide at their own discretion whether public meetings were to be permitted, essentially devolving the decision making from the police constable to the Park Constable.[63] In essence Hyde Park, along with other Parks where popular congregations took place still have the right to block such actions, however, in the case of (what we now know as Speakers' Corner) was and is still 'tolerated' by the park authorities due to its perception with the general public and the cultural identity that it adds to the image of the Park. However, there is no specific mandate to allow the practice and occurs only at the discretion of the management authorities.

In the same way that hosting public executions helped to identify Tyburn as a significant location in the public imagination (and subsequently Hyde Park/ Speakers' Corner) as a politically significant location. The decision to stop using the site as the place to host public executions (1868) is informed by the fervent action of these political movements. In the mid-1800s, the link between protest against literal execution of state policy and the spatial embodiment of those policies was integral.

29: Photo: Women's Sunday, Hyde Park

21 June 1908 (John Johnson)

Distinctly political congregation continued after this time period but more sporadically, probably of most political significance was the protest which came to be known as Women's Sunday (taking place in 1908) where crowds of over 300,000 were reported. Here special trains were chartered to facilitate travel from all over the country to London.

> *This 'monster meeting' was organised by the Women's Social and Political Union with military precision. Trains were specially chartered to bring in thousands of suffragettes from all over Britain. Frederick Pethick-Lawerence, the paper's co-editor, persuaded the authorities to remove a quarter of a mile of park railings to accommodate the seven processions - accompanied by 30 bands - that gathered in Hyde Park from seven different directions around London. Crowds gathered to watch different groups of suffragettes' parade 700 handmade banners and to hear 80 women give speeches from temporary platforms around the park.*
>
> *(J. Johnson 1908)*

So with these historical significant starting points; acts of dissent in London's public(ly accessible) spaces has a long legacy of facilitating movements of popular sovereignty. As this provides a backdrop to their current state of operation, we can see how they become both the platform and vehicle by which we can assess the efficacy of direct action and how these mechanisms have been transformed in contemporary London.

62 The Reform League campaigned for male suffrage, their campaigns resulted in the Reform Act of 1887 (two years after their formation) and a doubling of the voting franchise.

63 *As outlined in the Parks Regulation Act 1872, 1872 c. 15 (Regnal. 35_and_36_Vict) (Hansard)*

.

Page intentionally left blank

Section 4: Protest

Over the past few years the world has witnessed a crescendo of protest action orchestrated within spaces which citizens have obtained temporary access to. This has subsequently allowed participants to organise actions which are a tangible representation of their discontent. For an active body, the cycle of economic growth and sudden collapse has acted as a catalyst to a series of citizen actions. For others the failure in the established economic and political systems represents a practical and theoretical ideological limitation to the dominant model of growth politics. As a result, many protesters found recent global events created a cultural atmosphere which was more accepting of their alternative ideologies and spatial practices.

At one end of the spectrum there are actions which have been directly choreographed for specific effect. The spatial terrains selected by those active in the Occupy Movement (2011/12) are amongst the most well documented. At the other end there are those actions which are a spontaneous outburst, an emotive and guttural expression of discontent. These can be encapsulated by events such as the August Riots (England and Wales 2011) where thousands took to the streets in an unpredicted period of destruction, looting and arson which has received harsh condemnation by politicians, police and the popular press, with little consideration as to ***why*** these actions were taking place at ***that*** moment in ***those*** places.

This thesis explores some of the latent causes and immediate effects of these and similar actions which took place within this time frame, and attempts to understand how they inform us about our relationship to the notions of ***democracy***, ***public(ly accessible) space*** and ***protest*** in this neo-liberal age. I will begin to expand upon the meaning of these three terms in this chapter and will conclude in later chapters.

There is an identifiable social and cultural ***moment of causality*** which is triggered by the global economic crash of 2007/8, extends through the European sovereignty debt crisis of 2010 and culminates in the public protests of 2010/11 – 2012/13. Modes of social and political operation in 2006 are substantially different to those which become dominant in 2010-13. The citizen actions which take place within the intervening years are the focus of this body of work.

Rights[xiii] *& Resistance*

There is a historical relevance to the "resistance theory" utilised by the austerity protests (which form the basis for the case studies in this thesis). They are practices which operate as an extension of the "social contract" theory developed by Rousseau (in the mid-18th Century) and modernised by Rawls (in the late 20th Century). Previous resistance theory – such as those pursued by the Huguenot (resistance in France) explored the notion of (citizen) rights, however these explorations are between the king and the/ his people – as a mass or indivisible body. Rousseau starts to set out the necessity for individual rights in tandem to ideas of popular sovereignty. This theory grows out of a tradition of espousing the importance of "natural (and alienable) rights" explored by Grotius (in the late 16th and early 17th Century). This metaphorical notion isn't deeply rooted in empirical evidence, and rather serves as a starting point for philosophical exploration. Rousseau's contemporaries Hobbes and Locke (although defining natural rights in oppositional terms,) believed that these ***original*** rights could be given away or replaced with other more contemporary rights. On the contrary Rousseau felt that natural rights define humanity and citizenship and therefore cannot be given away and are a key reference point to understanding our own individual citizenship. What all these philosophers had in common was the desire to describe the ***correct relationship*** (to create a stable society) - between individual citizens and their representatives - particularly on the issue of consent (to act on behalf of citizens). Grotius wrote that

> *"...Even if we were to concede what we cannot concede without he upmost wickedness, that there is no god that these laws would still hold..."*
>
> *(Grotius 1625)*

In an attempt to establish a basis for moral consensus in in the face of religious diversity and the rise of natural sciences – Grotius was attempting to find a ***minimal basis for the beginning of society that potentially everyone would accept and see as a foundation principle*** for (amongst other purposes) negotiating with others in society. Although his suggestions were met with much hostility at the time; they created the groundwork for the philosophers who would follow. This metaphorical notion of natural rights for Grotius are a kind or reset button, a default setting that can be called upon, so that power can return to individuals if the political society which has been created forfeits the purpose for which it is established (to serve the people). For Grotius individuals are "Sui-juris" – meaning that

the people have the original jurisdiction and that society could potentially return this jurisdiction to them (us). They have rights as human beings (there are delineations of these rights – as the desire of the individual cannot negatively impact the well-being of others) and Grotius maps out some of the morally acceptable ways of which we can co-exist with others.

In a development of the importance of natural rights as an emancipatory starting point; one can see the three significant natural rights philosophers that follow as exploring different understandings of the state of the natural order. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau use this term for their own means; as 'anarchic', 'idealised' and 'solitary' (respectively). Hobbes and Locke see power (in society) in abstract terms (and is almost the only analytical position that they hold in common). They see power not as something that people naturally have as members of elite families or dynasties but power as a function of society. Looking back to a state of nature that predates this power as a way to validate (or otherwise) its contemporary role and authenticity.

For Hobbes; in his work Leviathan (1651); society emerges and improves from an anarchic state of nature and as such; we have an unqualified reason to obey the law in all circumstances. For Hobbes, in the state of nature there is no law and no political organisation. In that condition the only ***right*** that individuals have is a right to self-preservation. People acting upon these immediate passions will create a state of war and as a result, "...life will be poor, solitary, nasty brutish and short". The defining feature of this existence is "fear". Here Hobbes believes that under these conditions the people come together to make a contract with each other, a mutual agreement. One of the things that they agree to is that their united body will be represented by a sovereign – essentially handing over to the sovereign all of their (natural) power. Once people are exposed to the daily reality of fear they realise the necessity of this ***political contract***. Hobbes was writing at the time of the English Civil War a time of great upheaval and for him expulsion – so for Hobbes a government that protects you is a legitimate one no matter the source of their power. Here, consent is given (to act on behalf of the citizens) even if tacit, for Hobbes this justifies Absolutism (as long as the sovereign/ or parliament can protect you) and as such these powers are nearly limitless.

For Locke the notional starting point is in stark opposition. In his book the second treatises of government (1689); he describes natural rights as synonymous with freedom and equality, a time in which individuals use their rational capacities and as such individuals can – in this state "reason" with each other. They obey a natural law which means that they preserve themselves, their communities and respect each other's (natural) properties. It is not a truly historical moment but allows us to ***reconceive the political order*** (as outlined by Hobbes). In this version of right; as the state of nature starts to degenerate with political acts such as the seizure of property - we enter into a political society. With political contract as our only mechanism to re-assert these natural freedoms these rights are delegated to a government who will act on our behalf.

If the scenario occurs that this does not happen; the people will struggle to decide if it is time to remove this government and start again with another. There can be no absolute authority as this is ultimately illegitimate. For Locke ***consent*** is key and not tacit, and thus this consent can be withdrawn

> *"...man is born free and everywhere he is in chains one thinks himself a master of others and still remains a greater slave than they."*
>
> *(John Locke 1979)*

Locke's main contribution to the development of social contract theory is ***why do individuals give up natural freedoms*** and bind themselves to rules of the prince and of a government. What his philosophy emphatically engages with is the concept of ***the right to resist.***

Once we reach Rousseau author of "the social contract" (1762) the focus is on the inherent conflict between the obedience that you owe to the law in society and your individual freedoms. He looks at societies which purport to be full of free people and instead sees "slaves". He believed that our natural freedom could be encompassed by the statement "to be guided by our own will" as in society, when our interests come into conflict, we are bound to lose freedom. So to alleviate this scenario; Rousseau's aims to establish a series of agreements which allow us to get as close to natural freedoms as possible in a civil society, what he refers to as "civil freedom". Here, if everyone is involved in ***creating the law*** then in effect through this process they legislate (and obeying the law) they obey themselves – thus creating "the general will". We ourselves have to be part of the legislative body and not delegate these responsibilities to a sovereign.

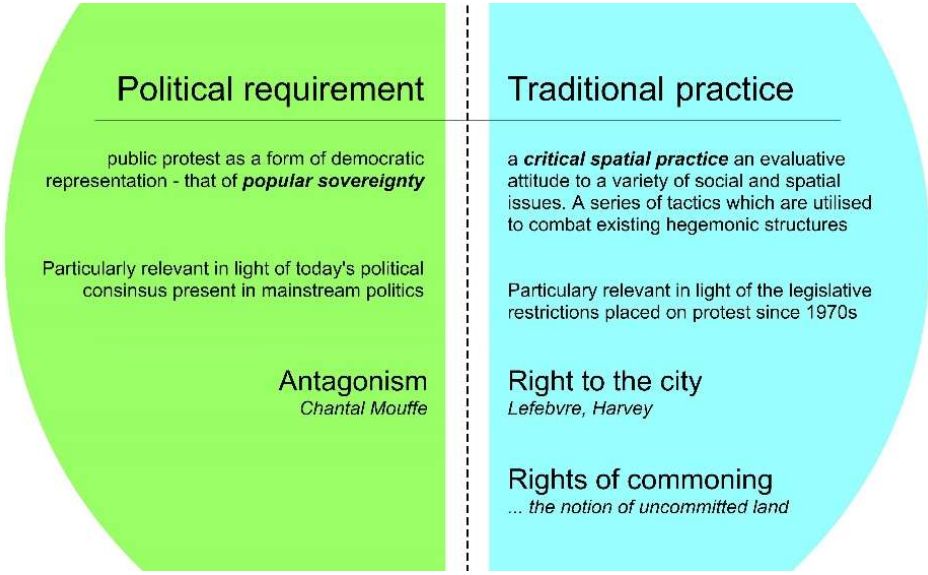
As in most societies, citizens lose their (notional) natural freedoms. Rousseau saw his contemporary society as a perversion of the natural. The development of people with unequal possessions (property) – as outlined in his previous work ("Discourse on Inequality" 1755) was a key example of this perversion. However, he believed that we might be able to regain that inner freedom by entering into a social contract, if we entered into a society with a social contract where we all become citizens dedicated to a common cause acting collectively towards a general good.

In his notion society everyone has to work to achieve these goals, and the transformation is such that the proposal cannot be merely imposed on existing societies (as arguably happened when inspiring the French revolution). Instead, it requires a completely different sense of identity and thus activism. Ultimately finding a way to maintain a balance of power between individual and the general will create a political society. ***Thus the social contract is a process[64] of human relationships*** which must be maintained and consistently explored to find a suitable balance of these disparate interests.

Rousseau's concept of social justice and a political society fall out of favour as philosophers such as Hume and Bentham question his arguments and move the focus of philosophical thought to other matters[65]. However, when John Rawls; revisits this concept 150 year later - exploring a contract not as an implicit promise – but formulated on the idea of a hypothetical contract - a set of arrangements which if we thought about rationally you would agree to and which can be used as the basis of consent and arrangement of justice and division of resources. 'Contractarianism' in this diluted form has the potential to create practical possibilities for burgeoning global cities. These concepts are fundamental in the understanding of protest – as these are citizen actions which rely on the philosophical tradition and thus take the position that ***mutual obligation between citizens and their representatives must exist for a representative society.*** It is the basic justification for their actions; that tacit consent and (relative) economic stability are enough to justify sovereign powers in society.

A Right & A Practice

In contemporary society the negotiation of these powers between citizens and our representatives are very different, but bear the same responsibility of balancing civilian desire with a practical representative body. When this process begins to lack efficacy is the point at which you see the rise and validity of direct action to circumnavigate the existing practices. The regular return of protest as a tool of representation can thus be understood as a political requirement and a traditional practice.



30: The two roles of the practice of protest

Conceptual Diagram (Author)

There are a series of socioeconomic forces which increase the likelihood and frequency of protest within neo-liberal societies. It is important to make

64 Problematically, in Rousseau's world vision there is no role for political dissent. The great irony is the Rousseau didn't think that a social contract could be possible in France and felt that his model was most suited to Corsica. There is a tacit expectation about to who these freedoms are applicable which is steeped in the time that it is written – as such, there is a silent omission of women and minorities. Margaret Cavendish along with the Levellers being Rousseau's greatest theoretical descendants – who sought more democratic and equal societies without subordinate roles in society. However, Rousseau's model of the republic also has no mechanism to deal with conflict – to manage different views and diversity of interest leaving the pragmatism of this theory somewhat open to interpretation.

65 The philosophical and practical ideas around the social contract are replaced with the philosophical field of utilitarianism. David Hume; did not accept the abstract construct of natural rights, for him the ends justify the means. Thus consent is not the only process for legitimisation, justice, stability, and commercial prosperity are his legitimacy for government. The validity of promise is a social construct whose efficacy can itself be challenged as authentic. Similarly, for Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism commenting on the Hume line of natural rights considered this notion as "nonsense upon stilts", believing that we cannot begin to give a basis for natural rights. For Emmanuel Kant; the idea of a natural law is not sufficient, there has to be a law which we (as citizens) give ourselves – this requires a philosophical justification not a predetermined right. These powerful figures take philosophical thought away from this notion of natural rights and social contract.

a distinction between the two most prevalent forms of protest as they are a response to differing manifestations of these forces. There are the ***reactionary protests*** which are singular in their focus on a particular interest. Key neo-liberal examples of these in the UK would be The Poll Tax Riots (1990) and the August Riots 2011), or to give examples which orientate around practices in domestic life; the link road protests (1990s) or the E9 (mums 2014) protest. In turn, these activists were ***reacting to fundamental changes to society***; in the first two instances - an indiscriminate flat tax introduced with disregard for the individual's ability to pay, and the death of a young black man at the hands of the police in a geographic area where relations between the community and the police are poor. Similarly, the link road protests occur around the country because of the reintroduction and application of a motorway expansion scheme which would see permanent reductions to the stock of accessible British landscape, and the scheduled demolition and enforced eviction of residents living in estates across the country. The key here is that those who take part are not overtly politically motivated (although in the course of their actions they might attract those who are), but come about as a focused reaction to the specific implementation of policies or actions and how they affect their daily lives.

Then there is the second form of protest – ***movements which operate continuously in their activity or advocacy***. These are acts of protest that exist to confront everyday hegemonic trajectories. Historically these are easier to define because there are examples which have come to symbolise rights and conditions which we now accept as the norm. These include movements such as The Chartists, The Reform League and The Suffragettes. However, in contemporary society where battles still persist groups are not so readily seen as movements, but can still be found, such as Earth First! (1990s), Reclaim the Streets (1990s) and Climate Camp (2000s). With more established contemporary examples including Green peace and Liberty.

Now that we have established these two divergent forms of protest, it is also necessary to consider how some of these are consumed into everyday acceptance without becoming institutionalised. We sometimes see these groups as NGOs and charities. Their existence is accepted as a necessity but they are not operated by government (although they can receive varying amounts of government aid at different moments in time). These would include organisations such as The RSPCA (quite unique in being a charity which also maintains power of removal and seizure). Comparatively, Oxfam and Amnesty are additional examples of protest ***organisations which championed causes which were not aptly dealt with by government and have developed into accepted extensions to non-institutionalised civic organisations.***

These organisations and actives all exist on a continuum that informs or contests the current hegemonic structures of social, cultural and economic management in society. They do so to differing degrees and with different methods, however, they are all attempting to raise the level of awareness of the issue that they hold dear. They exist because there isn't government legislation or funding to address the issue for which their group or organisation exists.

.

Margit Mayer in her book "Social Movements in the (post-) neoliberal city", speaks of the role in contemporary society of the first two categories of protest groups that I have outlined (reactionary practices and established organisations). The socio-political terrain in which they have to operate is perhaps most emphatically identified by the title of the book itself, as it outlines that the struggle to discuss alternative strategies for identity expands to every aspect of life, including the use language within contemporary hegemony. The inability to construct relevant and commonly identifiable terminology beyond the rhetoric of the established neo-liberalism construct; speaks of a lack of recognised socio-political alternatives even amongst 'alternative thinkers' of this age. Today the established narrative of a trajectory from liberal, to neo-liberal, to post-neoliberal (which speaks of developments in economics as much as culture), suggests that we see the development of our society as a series of additional building blocks, tacked on to constructs established at the hiatus of capitalist thinking - as opposed to truly forging new and radical trajectories of emancipation. As such; in this neo-liberal context - economic policies of the ***traditional right*** start to influence those of the ***traditional left*** (as illustrated above) this hegemony informs all aspects of daily life. As a result, there is not the language to facilitate definitions of a move towards a realistic alternative. The now well established tradition of adding prefixes to an existing construct speaks of a quagmire of emancipatory consciousness; and therefore ability to effectively galvanise against existing hegemonic constructs with the required political unity. We live in societies without conceptual alternatives – the philosophical and political development of ***isms*** is a 20th Century construct - where the rise and fall of

Capitalism, Marxism, Communism, Fascism and Socialism can be witnessed… where only Capitalism remains.

So the remaining constructs for the 21st Century (reactionary practices and established advocates) are outlined by Mayer as forms of opposition to global capitalism. Mayer highlighting the relationship between the cycles of capitalism (periods of unabridged growth followed by periods of stagnation or reduction in the size of an economy) and the reaction by the populous to this (relative) deceleration in growth and associated prosperity. This moment of awareness, frustration or simply divisive expectations between the populous, governments and powerful corporations is an opportunity to galvanise forces opposed to the relationship between these existing constructs.

> *[those who] may not be materially deprived but are culturally alienated or disconnected… the recession had thus highlighted breaking points around which urban social movements have been rallying in the past, this validating their claims and arguments about the destructiveness and the lack of sustainability of the neo-liberal growth model.*
>
> *(Mayer, Social Movements in the (Post-) Neoliberal City 2010, 29)*

Mayer defines the reactionary nature of protest, how allegiances are formed between groups opposed to ***growth politics, neo-liberal labour markets and globalisation.*** However, the inability for these social movements to form comprehensive alternatives to global capitalism speaks of the divisive nature of hegemony (for its detractors).

To fully understand this control over narrative – it is necessary to look back to definition and the crisis of neo-Fordism which Mayer refers to. At the end of Fordism there was a transition to neo (or what may more sceptically be called) post Fordism (with the suffix neo usually utilised to project a change with greater positivity and departure from the established); however, the constructs are so deeply ingrained and operate as a psychological, spatial and historical ***offspring*** to Fordism that to speak of its death miscomprehends the ingrained nature of this form of capitalism. Here in lies the problem of continuing to refer to liberal movements in historically linear terms as it holds these constructs up in mirrored confrontation with the established forms of capitalism. To simply create 'post' or 'neo' as oppositions is to misunderstand the way in which these cycles of capitalism transforms themselves and ***absorb*** alternative forms of being. It is this absorption which is so key to undermining the trajectory of these alternatives. As they are absorbed they can also be marginalised, or assimilated into the dominant way of thinking. To take the act of protest as key example, the development of the territory for the Olympic Games in London 2012 was radical with affect to spatiality. It required the re-definition of a 5km site which assimilated land in four boroughs (Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Newham and Waltham Forest). This was contentions primarily in the acquisition and subsequent determination of land, not to mention the suspension of land and democratic rights to isolate and privatise a vast urban area for specific programmatic use.

31: Official Protesters of the Olympic Games (London 2012)

Space Hijackers website 2011

A redefinition of public(ly accessible) space of this scale will inevitably attract acts of resistance. One mechanisms to thwart that opposition is to appropriate those acts. As such the Olympic organising committee created designated areas for dissent, as well as choosing an organisation to operate as their "Official Protesters" as a way to mitigate the threat of these opposing voices. Thus, a strategy of dividing the protest body through absorption of some organisations, redefines the opposition along this new fault line. This is only one example, but speaks of the strategic disarmament of protest as an organised oppositional force.

Tools of engagement

Within each Nation, state, city or enclave - the tools of engagement between citizens and their representatives manifests themselves differently. In Northern Ireland it is not uncommon for protesters to be fired upon with non-lethal projectiles (often referred to as plastic bullets). In the USA tear gas is frequently used to disperse crowds and encampments intent on disruption. In Italy, water cannons are a popular physical deterrent to the movement of protesters and in England; Kettling (corral and curtailment) is a spatial strategy with growing popularity deployed by law enforcement officials to serve a similar purpose. Public protest is a performative act, the time at which these actions occur are a tangible indicator of the balance of power between individuals and their representatives. Thus, recent protest activities raise questions around the individual's ability and willingness to utilise these spaces for acts of antagonism. The spatial terrains in which citizens choose to locate themselves is a key component of what makes protest a critical spatial practice.

Global Influences

The UK protest bubble not only developed in the background to The Global Economic Crisis (2007/8), but the emergence of protests elsewhere in the world. They were just as significant in providing a global environment where protest actions became the accepted mode of opposition. There is a lineage of high profile citizen movements which happened before my study period, from 2010 which set the global scene of dissidence. Although the influence of the global economic crash cannot be underestimated, there were however other events less linked to the collapse of Western economic models of production but which equally affected the trajectory of protest actions in the subsequent years. Most noticeable are the series of actions that have become known in the Western world as the Arab Spring. Although actions began in late 2010 and early 2011, it took several more months before these actions caused changes to government personnel, constitutional change, civil war or revolution (which occurred in several countries).

32: Photo: Mohammed Bouzaziz

Self immolation sparking the Arab Spring (2011)

33: Publication: Person of the year

Shephard Fairey (TIME magazine 2011)

The loose ideology of reform and revolution that spread through parts of the Middle East from Tunisia[66], Algeria[67], Saudi Arabia[68], Egypt[69], Yemen[70], Syria[71], Sudan[72], The Palestinian territories[73], Jordan[74], Iran[75], Libya[76], Bahrain[77], Morocco[78] & Iraq[79] are evidence of a seismic cultural and ideological shift which was engulfing the planet.

In Europe, several countries were suffering from seismic economic fallout from the crash, and the subsequent European Sovereignty Debt Crisis. this included (the inauspiciously named PIGS) Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain and over time each of these countries had to operate under draconian measures of political control implemented by non-democratic economic management bodies (such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund), WTO (World Trade Organisation), The World Bank and Credit rating agencies). They were also subjected to mass unemployment and repossession of property which still causes systemic problems today. In the interim, several counter movements developed, in particular in Greece and Spain political parties "Syriza" meaning 'from the roots or radically' and "Podermos" meaning 'we can'. These parties have had significant popular and parliamentary success. Their ability to galvanise disparate voices of opposition into a cohesive alternative movement with differing ideologies to the economic European hegemony - in their infancy; would have an influence on my case study protests; what became the Occupy movement. Taking to the streets as a method to express your disaffection with existing hierarchies, was, in 2010/11 something of a global occurrence with several

66 **Tunisia**: Revolution ousting of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in January 2011, starter (December 18th 2010)
67 **Algeria**: Protests that began (December 28th 2010) leading to a pro-democracy March (May 1st 2011)
68 **Saudi Arabia**: Self-immolation protest in Samtah (January 21st 2011)
69 **Egypt**: Revolution ending Hosni Mubarak's 30-year reign started on (January 25th 2011)
70 **Yemen**: Occurring simultaneously with Egyptian revolution, demonstration in Sana (January 27th 2011)
71 **Syria**: Protests leading to Syrian Civil war in Spring of the same year (January 28th 2011)
72 **Sudan**: protests in Khartoum (January 30th 2011)

73 **Palestinian Territories**: Demonstrations and protests (February 3rd 2011)
74 **Jordan**: Against rising unemployment and high prices causing King Abdulla II to act (February 10th 2011)
75 **Iran**: Protesters gather in Tehran on (February 14th 2011)
76 **Libya**: 'Day or Rage' (February 17th 2011) against Muammar Gaddafi's regime
77 **Bahrain**: Pearl Square protests (February 17th 2011)
78 **Morocco**: Sporadic protests demanding full democracy (February 20th 2011)
79 **Iraq**: 'Day of rage' protests Friday (February 25th 2011)

catalysts. As a result, we can see that there is an environment of advocacy given to direct actions and alternative practices that the case study protests in London emerge within, and are thus part of a larger, global protest bubble.

The Performative Practice

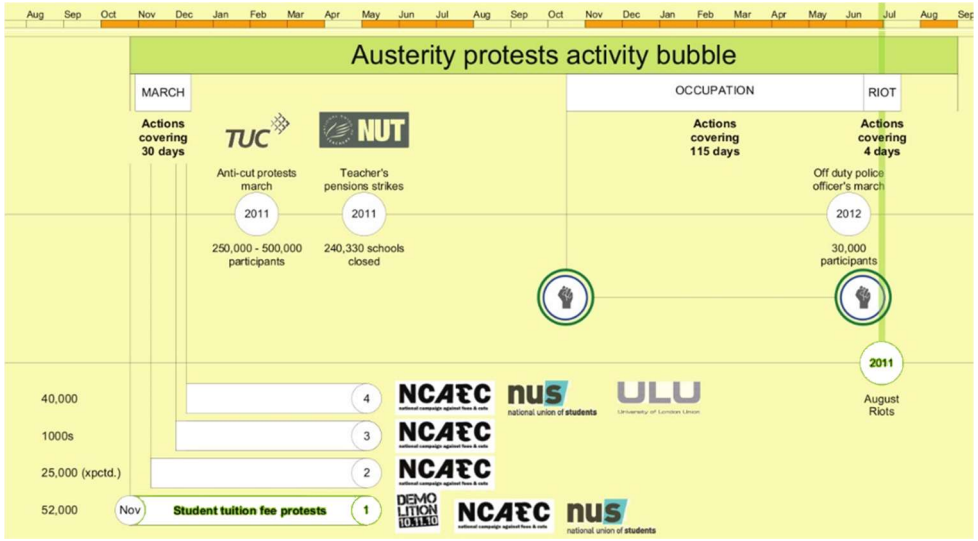
Each year, regardless of socio-political and economic condition – there are a series of protest which take place in public(ly accessible) spaces in London. Typically, the trigger point is when government or other powerful institutions based or operating in the capital implement new initiatives, laws or practices which are unpopular, and as a result activates a politically motivated sector of society. Some are ideologically opposed to the dominant system of social and economic decision making - others are responding the changes in their circumstances, over which they feel they have no control.

As discussed earlier (in the methodology chapter), these oppositional direct actions have become established practices[80]. Therefore, identifying the relevant protests to attend was of prevalent importance to my thesis. Although I would identify the public protest events primarily by ***locality*** (London), ***size*** (number of attendees measured in tens of thousands) and through the protesters approach to promotion (making events ***public***). There was also the consideration of which protest events would be most significant for my research aims; as representative of the ***diverse spatial approaches*** utilised in contemporary British society (march, occupation and riot).

The guiding principle would be to allow the development of protest activities to direct me to the relevant case studies. As such, the importance of following the natural development of these events throughout the data collection period, required me to employ a number of methods to finding out which protests were happening where and when. By its very nature, this strategy would lead me to engage with protests of a more public nature. By employing a strategy of checking bulletins and updates on several different (social) media outlets, allowed me to constructs an overview of emerging actions (more detailed information on this can be found in the methodology section under 'Multiple Readings & Realities'). As the research was to document ***emerging*** oppositional movements at a time period shortly after the global economic crash of 2007/8 and the austerity measures that had been brought in by the coalition government in 2010, these would be the defining qualities of the actions that were being planned. As the series of protest actions started to occur with increasing rapidity, I had to make decisions about the most relevant actions to ***observe, attend, document*** or simply theorise upon. In this decision making process, visual mapping was a key construct in making that decision regarding each protest.

Mapping Case Study Protest

The aim of the map above is to below me to enter into each case study event with a better understanding of where it sits within the wider protest bubble as it was emerging.



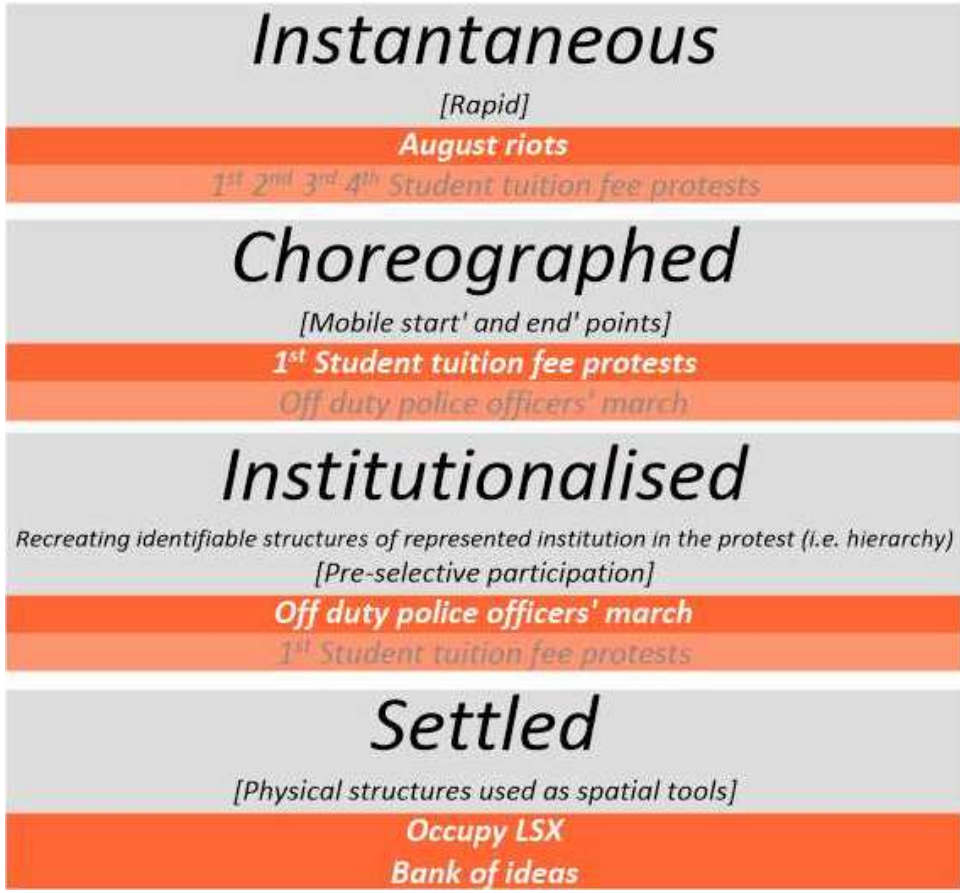
34: Mapping Austerity Protests

- Lineage of case study actions Author (2011)

Understanding these activities as a connected series or body of responses to political decision making; creates the potential for observing the embryonic stages of alternative spatial practices, as they aim to shape the environs which we frequent. Thus my aim would be to have an understanding of the

80 There are a number of protest actions which reoccur at different intervals, almost regardless of the political progress that the make (or do not make) with their direct action. These are not permanently entrenched in British society but they are a recurring feature within a certain time period. These include May Day and Trade union demonstrations.

diverse strategies developed within a particular knowledge base (group of activists or participants), so that conceptual approaches could be developed which are independent of said observed practices, with the aim of developing an independent theory on activist alternative practice. ***As a result, my four main case studies have emerged as district spatial practices, concerned with a variety of socio-political issues, adopting different approaches to the performative act of protest, and being thwarted or subdued by different hierarchical constructs.***



35: Different Spatial Typologies of Protest

- Explored during the case study period (Author)

The table shows my categorisation of the case study protest actions. Some of the protest themselves appear in more than one category as the multiplicity of their actions embraces more than other definition. However, the one which most aptly defines their conduct is highlighted [orange]. Each is a brief description of the category of protest that the activity falls into. These categories are developed from observations made during my research study period. Key to their description is their spatiality.

All categories are from the point of view of those who are not involved. As such, ***instantaneous*** is a description of how the (August) riots seem to appear sporadically for unpredictable periods of time with no real reason. However, as we will see from the case study analysis (in following chapters) – the decision of which spaces to target was as intrinsic element of participants saw and used public(ly accessible) spaces and as such contained elements of predictability, repetition and planning. So the word instantaneous also refers to the [rapid] nature of their attacks. Similarly, the student tuition fee protests employed a particular strategy of spatial disruption. Breaking police coral and containment lines at unexpected moments then circumnavigating to gain access to areas which had been evacuated in response. As such, the students – as they played this game of "cat and mouse" seem to appear instantaneously at locations unpredictable to the law enforcement officials. However, this activity did not typify the majority of activity of the 1st student tuition fee protest; and part of that case study is to examine the development of this practice through successive actions.

The ***choreographed*** activities usually dérivé from established and recognised structures of protest that are – generally accepted forms of opposition. Thus their planned route and targeted facility can be made public. This is also true of the 1st first student tuition fee protest – which, by virtue of courting the well-established ***march*** as its structure; attracted many participants. As their activities developed with successive protests, they courted more nuanced spatial strategies – which coincided with losing some of the diversity who had identified with their struggle through this spatial form.

Although the Off Duty Police Officers march was also choreographed – this was not it's most defining structure, as the lack of participation from those outside of the workforce meant that the event was ***institutionalised*** and thus this typified the behaviour and the participant base. This is reflected in the time that the protest was present on site as participants did not attempt any form of antagonistic appropriation after their designated time slot had expired.

Occupy LSX and the bank of ideas can be read as part of the same experiment in appropriating accessible space – but executed differently due to the nature of the terrain which they are operating within. As a result, the first is an ***internal*** exploration of a ***settled*** spatial appropriation and the second is an ***external*** exploration of the same concept. As ownership rights are significantly different for these types of spaces we see a divergent set of outcomes. The singular nature of property acquisition as opposed to the pluralistic nature of public(ly accessible) space is implicit in the outcomes of these two direct actions. Thus the matrix identifies the key guiding spatial construct of the case study protests.

Section 4: Case Studies

36: Photo: Student Tuition Fee Protests

Fernanda Nalin for the Guardian

(10th November 2010)

37: Photo: Occupy London Stock Exchange

Getty Images

(15th October 2011)

38: Photo: August Riots

Amy Weston

(August 8th 2011)

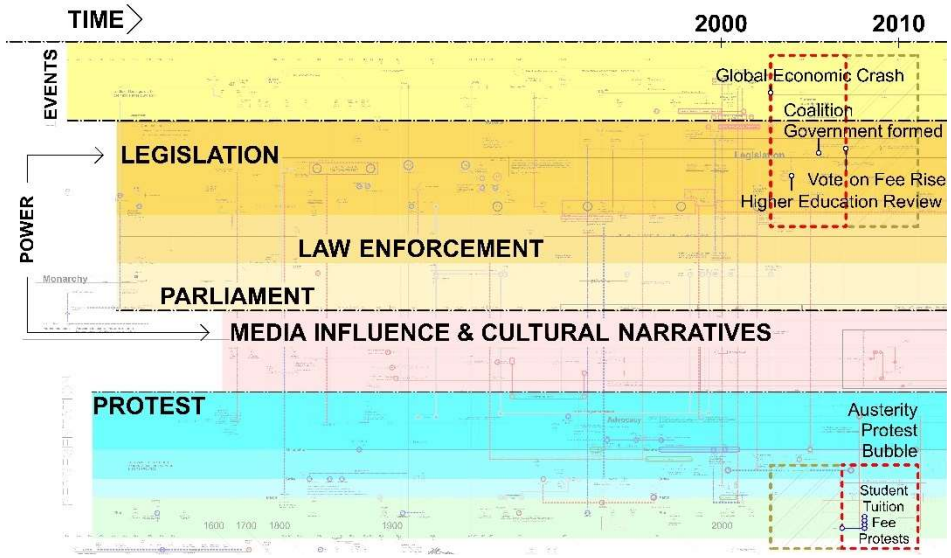
39: Photo: Off Duty Police Officer's March

Bimal Sharma

(10th May 2012)

Student Tuition Fee Protests

The Student Tuition Fee Protests are the start of the Austerity Protests Bubble (2010-12). There are four protests in total, with the first gaining much support from the general public (as it was organised in opposition to the newly formed coalition government's decision to vote on raising the tuition fee cap, thereby drastically raising the cost of going to university). However, this chapter is interested in exploring the spatial developments of a practice which successively builds on previous actions. ***The participating students explore tactics divergent from the traditional and established forms of spatial opposition*** – ultimately becoming an example of a rapid microcosm of the spread and development of political protest movements and their imbedded tactics of engagement.



40: Location Map: Student Tuition Fee Protests

Protest Contingencies Guide (Author)

The student tuition fee protests are a clear example of the practice of protest developing through the implementation, repetition and expansion of a typology of direct action (the dérivé). Each of the four direct actions that define the mico-movement allow us to see the emergence and subsequent development of a particular approach to protest which takes place in public(ly accessible) space. This series of four direct actions are characterised by decisions made by activist's whose actions are ***instantaneously*** disruptive to the structures of the existing spatial status quo which are prevalent in the areas in which they choose to operate.

This chapter looks at the emergence of a more radical approach to spatial practice which develops by initially appearing in tandem to a more traditional forms of spatial disruption (the march). From there the dérivé as a construct of spatial exploration, leads to the discovery of the limitations and oversights in the policing strategies utilised to suppress direct actions within the public realm. The observation of these restrictions by protesters; facilitates spatial appropriation within public(ly accessible) space followed by destructive ingress into private property considered to be operationally significant to their ideological position and socio-political interests.

This summary of the first student tuition fee protest shows how the final stages of the direct action - takes advantage of the ***perimeter space*** that develop around established protest actions and their structures. Then uses the method of instantaneously breaking through that perimeter (at seemingly) sporadic times and locations to maximise their spatial impact and efficacy. This pattern becomes the template for the subsequent actions (2nd, 3rd and 4th Student Tuition Fee Protests) which are a development of this form of *rapid* ***dérivé*** thrusting the activity into a more aggressive disruption of spatial and social norms to reconfigure locations of socio-political interest. Thus, these protests can be seen as a micro-movement in themselves where the trajectory and momentum of a developing practice of protest can be seen over a much shorter period of time than usually required to define a movement. Chronologically, these protests develop alongside other, more traditional forms of protest action which attempt to claim space in London and around the UK. These include the reappraisal of the historical role of the ***national*** trade union which many had started to see as outdated (expressed in their dwindling membership numbers) as it became increasingly powerless as a form of organised opposition against dominant neo-liberal constructs of economic growth, consumerism and the dominance of global corporations. However, in the aftermath of the Global Economic Crash, these national unions managed to organise mass protests which fully engaged with the march as a method of opposition which included a wider number of participants, because they protested in a more sanitised form (pre-prepared placards, chants and routes). This outlines the importance of the Student Tuition Fee Protests chronologically seated as they are, near the beginning of a protest bubble which highlights that it is one of many actions which occurred in response to economic events which

had such large ramifications that many in society had developed their own tools and methods of opposing (the aftermath of the global economic crash) where agency is formed differently depending on the demographics of the participants (taking into account their social, economic and cultural status in society). The significance of these protests within the case study period is that they hint towards the possibility of a change in the neo-liberal trajectory of the sanitisation and privatisation of public(ly accessible) space. Where acts of civil disobedience are fast disappearing from the nexus of viable and acceptable methods of expressing discontent in society. By being so emphatically pursued by a large numbers of students, the possibility of a new generation of politically minded activists seemed tenable and the protests explored and developed some of the tools necessary to make that desire a more permanent reality as an alternative structure of organised opposition.

Context

The Student Tuition Fee protests are born out of public frustration at the broken promises made by the coalition government (formed between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats in [May 2010] with disillusion particularly focus on the Liberal Democrat Party. The story actually begins with the previous Labour party administration who commissioned a review into university fees [November 2009]. The coalition government is subsequently formed between April and May of the following year.

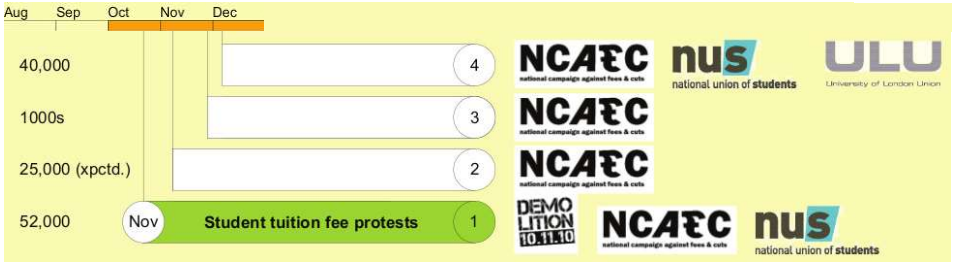
41: Causation: Student Tuition Fee Protests 1of1

Mapping Austerity Protests 2011 (Author)

[In February of 2010] Nick Clegg (the Liberal Democrat leader) was a signee to a public national campaign held by NUS (National Union of Students). The petition was opposing the conclusions of Labour's 2009 review, which made a case for significantly raising the then £3000 cap on tuition fees. At the NUS annual conference, Nick Clegg made his statement of intent:

> *"We will resist, vote against, campaign against, a rise in tuition fees."*
>
> *(Clegg 2010)*

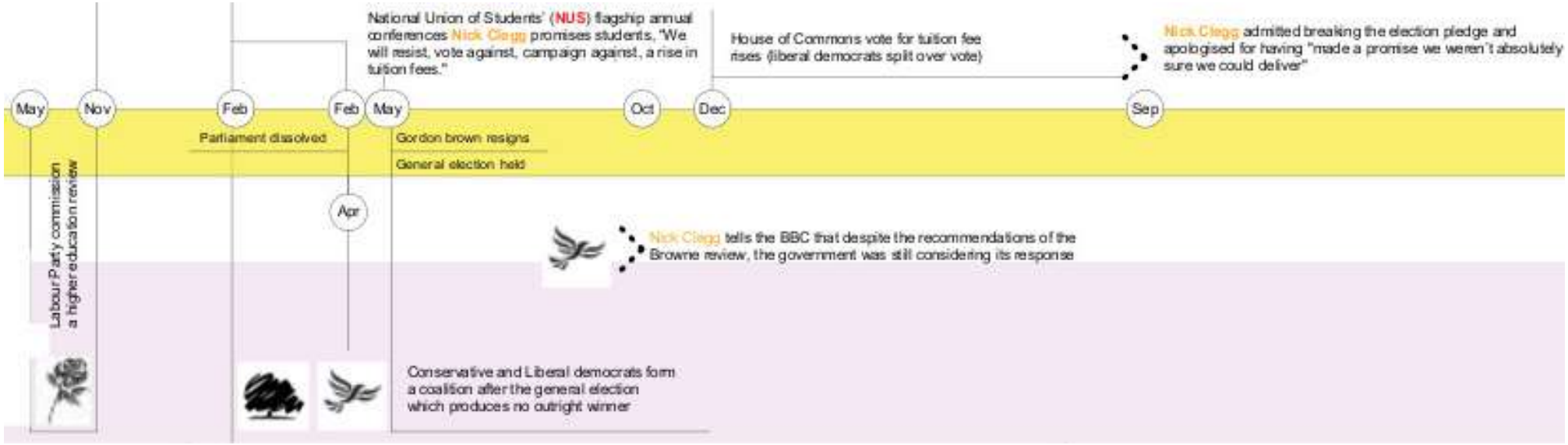
The popularity of the Liberal democrat party, particularly with young voters was in no small way related to this statement and their seemingly moral position on education (primarily that finance should not be an impediment or advantage to entering into higher education). However, by October it was clear that Nick Clegg and his party's position had changed, telling BBC TV that his party was "considering their response" (to Labour's 2009 report). The parliamentary vote on the bill was due to take place at 10:30am on Thursday 9th December. The protesters organised a series of events to show their objection to the proposed bill and put pressure on the incumbent politicians to vote against it. After each protest event there was a palpable growth in momentum, number of participants and of physical destruction to infrastructure. As such; these can be seen as a considerable variation of a spatial approach to direct action. This was in effect a series of protest events which developed as a practice over an intense month of activity.



42: Extract: Student Tuition Fee Protests

- Mapping time, attendance and organisational structure (Author)

I will start by focusing on the first protest event. Because of the long lead in time between the false promises of the Liberal Democrats and the parliamentary vote (February to October) – there was the opportunity to attract a large and varied participation base for the planned marches of the first Student Tuition Fee protest.

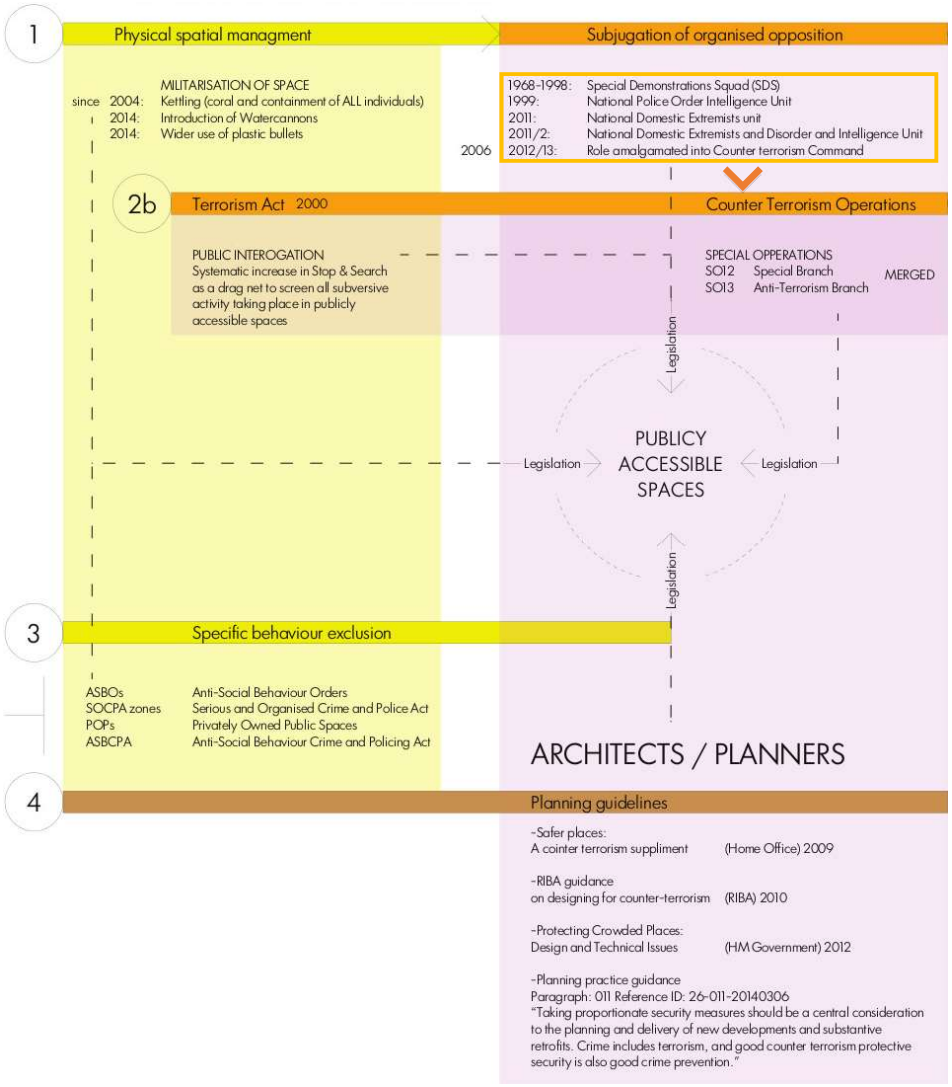


43: Causation: Student Tuition Fee Protests 2of2

Mapping: Austerity Protests 2011 (Author)

In conjunction, at the first event, expectations were not tainted by experiences of previous protests. It was in fact the first large scale protests against the newly formed coalition government [eventually attracting an estimated 52,000 participants], and the fact that there had not been a coalition government in the UK since the second world war; it felt like new territory of direction action for contemporary society was coupled with a new political framework which may be more responsive to the actions of the populous. As such, many people brought their own expectation of what protest action could entail to these proceedings.

However, the way in which citizens are able to engage in acts of civil disobedience would be tested by the difference between their expectations and new legal definitions of space (which had gradually been developing in earnest across the political house since the late 90s). The Tony Blair administration (1997-2007) saw transformative changes to the definitions of public space that can be understood as a 4-pronged approach to redefining these spaces. There is a 5th strategy which exemplifies the holistic nature of this approach; which is less relevant to this chapter, that of ***privately managing public space***, outlined by commentators such as Anna Minton (referenced in the "Power" chapter of this thesis).



44: Co-ordinated Attack on Public Space

Systematic changes to the rules governing Public(ly accessible) spaces (Author)

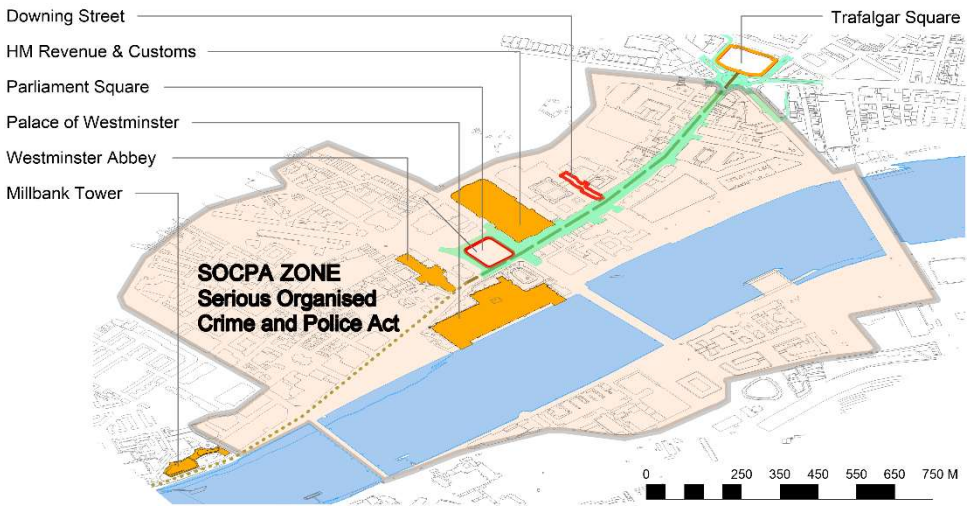
These 4 approaches [attack on public space image] changed the way in which physical space was managed [No.1], by facilitating a more military approach to the control of the public, with particular focus on the proliferation of techniques such as Kettling. Law enforcement officials developed strategies and legal frameworks to support them in restricting direct action before it could gather momentum on site. Similarly, the creation of a terrorism act [No.2b], and then expanding it's brief to include activities such as "domestic disorder"; the strategic lineage of which outlines the aim; which is to create a "subjugation of organised opposition". Subsequently the unit or organisation name is periodically changed to encompass the expanding frame of reference [highlighted – orange frame]. These systematic changes lead to the police gaining the ability to track the activities of any groups or established movements seen as a threat to hegemonic constructs[81] (which becomes an ever expanding definition). Thirdly, by creating a series of exclusion zones (some temporary and experimental) where behaviour can be managed in increasingly draconian ways [No.3]. These areas of operation require lower levels of offending to instigate the detainment, arrest and ultimately imprisonment of individuals. These powers being used extensively on young people who are largely committing civil offenses – criminalising a generation[82] but perhaps most worryingly changing their relationship to the public realm. By normalising the proliferation of these restricted environments the expectation that the public realm is not a place where perception can be informed through engagement and use. As such, spaces of multiplicity start to disappear from society. Most controversially, the permanent example of these control zones such as ASBOs SOCPA[xiv] zone (Whitehall) and most recently the ASBCPA [left] implemented by the coalition government. Lastly, by disseminating construction and planning guidelines for architects [4] politicians have expanding the strategy further to include control over the future development of the public space. These create a situation where new infrastructure is only validated within a framework which designs-out multiplicity. Guidelines which create a

81 A high profile example being the infiltration of Green Peace by the then named "special demonstrations squad", despite being a well-known large and peaceful protest organisation. The tactic of imbedding officers within the group for years, going as far as (in one particular case) allowing them to fathering children with unsuspecting activists and maintaining their immunity in court allowing them to give false testimony under their alias identity.

82 Civil liberties groups argue that ASBOs mark an unacceptable blurring of criminal and civil law because while they are issued on a civil burden of proof (the "balance of probabilities"), a breach can incur criminal penalties including up to five years' imprisonment. Children's rights campaigners argue that ASBOs are disproportionately used to target young people. They point out that although many forms of anti-social behaviour can be alarming or distressing, they are often not criminal. Even though the original action may not be criminal, for example playing loud music, breaching an ASBO can lead to a sentence of up to five years in prison. "Liberty" has consistently expressed concern about the use of ASBOs, in particular their use against children and vulnerable people who need help and support.

(The Guardian 2009)

proliferation of buffer zones and proximity markers to subdivide public(ly accessible) space. These build over time entrench a series of socio-economic barriers within society. As such one of the spaces most affected by this approach to the public realm is Whitehall. [1] Physical spatial management is used here on an almost daily basis, [2] The Terrorism Act is specifically prevalent in this area of power where fear is genuinely high but also misused to detain and interrogate anyone that the authorities choose to target (facilitated by the ubiquitous use of CCTV cameras). In addition, both the [3] SOCPA zone and some of the planning guideless are specifically developed to be applicable to this area (such as "protecting crowded places[83]"). Since the invention of the terror bill (2000) there have been successive restriction on the use of public space[84], these mechanisms have culminated in making spaces such as Whitehall [green] operate in the same way as private property. What these means in practice is that any change to the status quo requires permission before it can occur. Planned protest (whatever it's remit or aim) has to make an application to the Metropolitan Police, which can be rejected. On this occasion the application as successful and the organisers (NCA£C, UCL and NUS) began planning their route [below brown].



45: Student Tuition Fee Protest Route

Planned route and dérive (Author)

This protest highlights the contradictory factors in the management of publicly accessible spaces. It puts into context the act of Kettling (first used by UK police officers in in the 1990s) but has since become an increasingly prevalent tool of law enforcement officers. It is also a contentious practice, being dismissed as "unlawful" by a Judicial Review of the Metropolitan Police's handling of the Camp for Climate Action in 2009 (later overturned). However, it is particularly contentious in the context of the restrictions which are placed on protesters around Whitehall. The act of Kettling essentially detains individuals who have committed no crime (as it takes place in publicly accessible spaces surrounding all who happen to be present there). Furthermore, it contains and corrals them into an area without access to legal representation or amenities (such as toilet facilities) for an indefinite period of time. This is what happened as a splinter section of the protest on the 10th November 2011 when they decided to attacked and occupy [Millbank Tower]. You will notice in the map that Millbank Tower is located just outside of the [SOCPA zone] (to the South). This is a significant factor in transforming the site into a viable target (for those involved) for two primary reasons. The first is that the Metropolitan police underestimated the number of protesters who would attend the initial march, with reports suggesting they expected 20,000 with up to 52,000 being estimated. Secondly, because the march was scheduled, the police were expecting all activity to occur within the designated route which was well within the controlled zone. This turned Millbank Tower into a target (for approximately 200 individuals). Initially an unlikely focal point due to its loose association with the Coalition government (with the Conservative Party's campaign headquarters being located there), but made viable by the control inflicted on more natural targets, those in the public realm known as powerful representative focal points, such as Trafalgar and Parliament square, 10 downing Street and The Palace of Westminster.

On this occasion the protest march was sanctioned by the Metropolitan police and was due to start at Malet Street, passing through Trafalgar Square the Houses of Parliament and ending at the London Wall. The first restriction of note is that Parliament Square (and the surrounding buildings of institutionalised power) is designated as a protected area, an area of control within a protected zone. Known at the time as the [SOCPA (Serious Organised Crime and Police Act)] zone, a growing number of bylaws have

83 Guidance issued for RIBA; Royal Institute of British Architects on Counterterrorism and the Built Environment informs professionals working in the construction industry of government work on spatial strategies to "protect" crowed places *(published 14th November 2014)*

84 For a list of some of the key restrictions see "134 Authorisation of demonstrations in designated area" in the end notes.

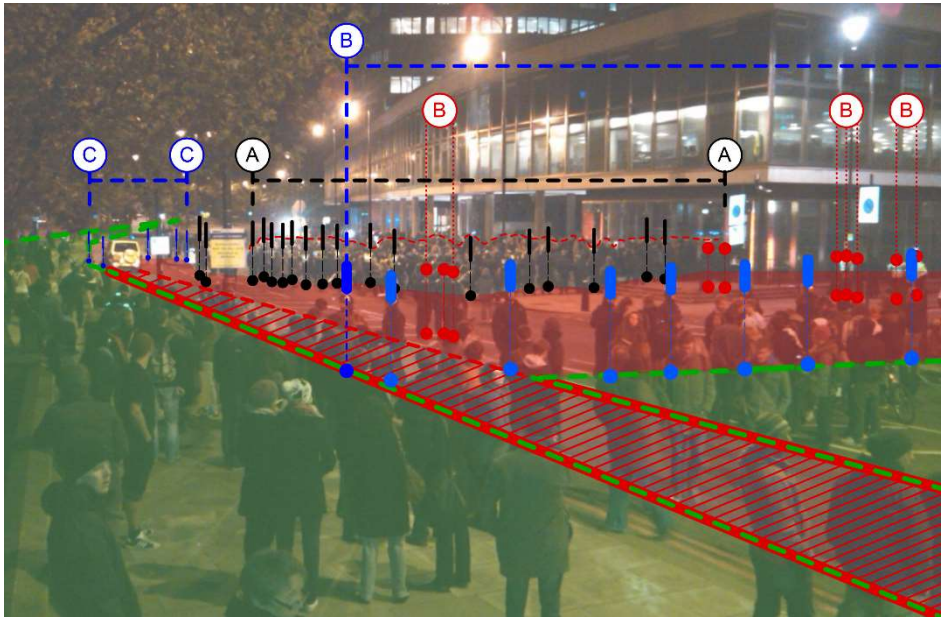
been applied to this area primarily in response to previous high profile protests located there. Most recently Brian Haw (2001-2011) and the Peace Camp (2009). The SOCPA zone shows the extent of the area in which protesters need to apply for permission before they are allowed to protest. What this zonal division of the publicly accessible realm achieves, is a two-tiered system, where space is defended and vigorously controlled and spaces on its boarder

By taking the route of the march in close proximity to the decision makers engages with the act of protest as a performative construct. Thus the preceding protests (the first tuition fee protests march) was planned to take place around the country but of intrinsic importance was the march at Whitehall. They were scheduled to occur before that vote on the bill and to persuade the members of parliament to vote against it. As we know in the end the mass public show of objection was unsuccessful in persuading MPs to vote against the proposals, with the bill being passed and the maximum fee level drastically raised to £9,000. In 1998 it was free to study at university level, a decade later this fact had been resigned to a footnote of history. Comparatively, on the ground there was also significant alteration to the previous status quo. The Student Tuition Fee Protests are an example of the extensive use of Kettling by law enforcement officers and the emergence of protest strategies to thwart this practice. The ***Kettle***[85] is a series of flanks or lines of officers, set up to subdivide the natural continuities which are inbuilt into public(ly accessible) spaces.

In the particular case of the first Student Tuition Fee Protests, the police arrived on the scene in mass after Millbank tower had been the target of destructive ingress. the Kettle had to deployed in a retrospective manner (designed as they are to operate predominantly as a predictive counter-active measure – as showcased in Occupy LSX). As such, the police established a series of restrictive zones based on the disruption which had already taken place. Because by the time of their arrival, most of the activity was taking place within Millbank Tower and not in the public(ly accessible) spaces surrounding. Their first course of action was to isolate the entrance [A] to the building (where the initial ingress had occurred). This meant closing off the street using lines of police bodies [A, B & C], with police operating in the zone between these lines [B].

85 The term derives from the German "kessel" or “Kesselschlacht” - literally a cauldron battle, used to describe an encircled army about to be annihilated by a superior force (i.e.: “Kessel von Stalingrad”) describing the experience of soldiers within the kettle, as the situation would soon become “unbearable hot”.

Kettling: an in situ response



46: Photo: Kettling lines

47: Photo: Kettling: Clearing the side-lines

48: Photo: Kettling: Side-street

Student Tuition Fee Protests (Author, 2010)

The difference between the lines, controlled by the officers [the outer line highlighted in blue and the inner line in black], shows the path of movement along Millbank – as the Kettle tightens, like an onion shedding layers. It initially blocks off any through traffic or movement along Millbank, then tightens. We see in the image the later phase; the Kettle allows for the movement of pedestrians [green zone] who are observing from a position

opposite the adjacent building. In touching distance to Millbank Tower, The Police have created a curved arc of officers [spanning A-A] – from Thorney Street on to Millbank, ending with a police vehicle situated at the far left corner of the site [Kettle Line C-C]. They have also maintained an element of their earlier blockade; as we see in the foreground [line B – blue markers highlighting officers' positons]. This line is now more porous than it was earlier and only one line of officers deep as the intensity of the crowd has calmed and is more dispersed than earlier. Although no pedestrian access is permitted, offers move freely between the flanks [as visible by the small cluster of officers within the red zone that they have created B], and some journalists are able to verbally negotiate access into this red zone.

As the line [A-A] is held (over a period of 3 hours) police vehicles are used to remove those protesters still inside the building. The [red hatched area] illustrates the route of the police vehicles through the Kettle lines, periodically appearing to remove protesters who have been separated from the main group inside, detained and taken into custody.

As the night wears on; the outer line of police is disbanded and replaced by police incident tape [bottom left image] but Thorney Street [bottom right image] remains blocked off until the building is completely evacuated (in the early hours of the morning.

As such, Kettling is a comprehensive strategy for isolating and then compressing the activity within a particular part of public(ly accessible) space. The strategy and application, although varied across different locations typically employs the tactics of ***spatial division and isolation*** utilised in this example. Here, the use is less contentious, as the number of people using the public space is small, focused and lacks diversity of alternative interest. It also comes after a hiatus of violent activity. However, even here we see how the Kettle creates a spectacle, a perimeter where spectators gather to witness the performance within – as passers-by congregate out of curiosity. More problematically, when this practice takes place in locations which are pluralistic in the personnel occupying and their subsequent actions – the sectioning off of public space can be strategically, and morally[86] problematic (as occurred in the successive Student Tuition Fee protests – outlined later in this chapter).

Development of Practices

These protests highlight the imbalance of power and knowledge that occurs around the nexus of protest action. During The Student Tuition Fee protests, a virtual strategy of ***counter mapping***[87] developed to aid the landed protests. This went some way to reduce this discrepancy of power and knowledge that exists between the two adversaries. The most prominent example is "Sukey[88]", which gave protesters greater agency to move more freely during a direct action.

49: Sukey Website Banner

A snapshot taken from the Sukey website when active (Author 2011)

Its use allowed protesters to have comparable information to that of the law enforcement officials operating in the same environs. Most importantly this reappraisal facilitated a more tactical response which among other things allow protesters to resist the pattern of activity which allows police to establish Kettles and other lines of containment. This early foray into the evasion of police tactics became something more fluid and rapid in later Student Tuition Fee Protests (which begin to utilise "cat and mouse" tactics). However, as the Student Tuition Fee Protests are not reported on as a whole, or as a series of interconnected

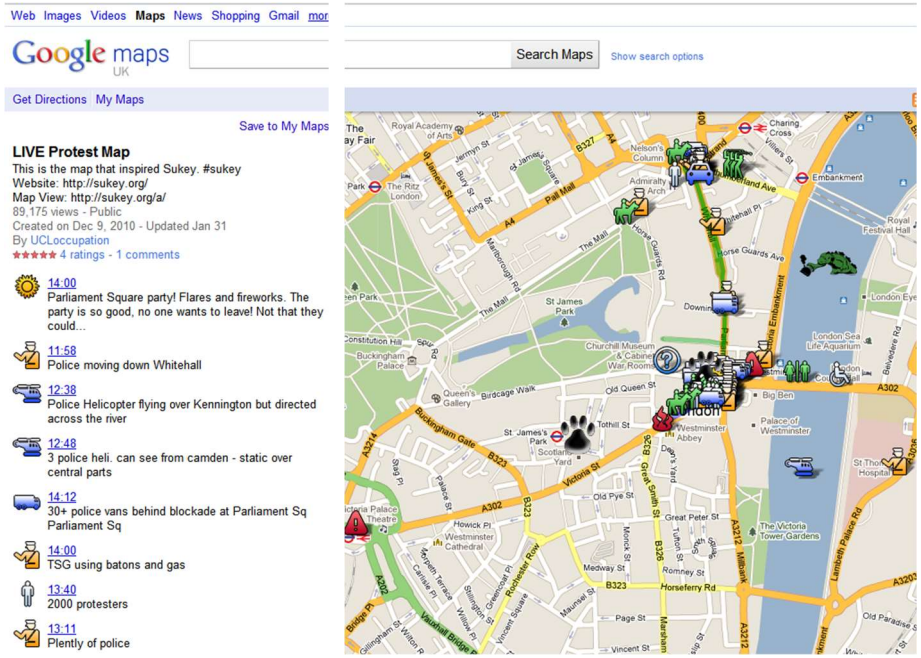
86 This police tactic for controlling large crowds during demonstrations or protests involves the formation of large cordons of police officers who then move to contain a crowd within a limited area. Protesters are left only one choice of exit, determined by the police, or are completely prevented from leaving. The act of Kettling detains individuals who have committed no crime (as it takes place in publicly accessible spaces surrounding all who happen to be present there). Furthermore, it contains and corrals effectively imprisoning them within an area without access to legal representation or amenities (such as toilet facilities) for an indefinite period of time.

87 *counter-mapping* is a practice which looks specifically at mapping as a method to contradict established, hegemonic traits within accepted or established maps. Here, this technique has been used to challenge the designation of site, where it lies in direct opposition to the strategies of the law enforcement officials.

88 "Sukey" provided live protest maps. Utilising the familiar Google maps format – providing additional detailed information as an integrated layer. Information includes the size, time and location of police Kettles. A similar level of information on mounted officers, police vans, dogs and helicopters. The idea was to share information between protesters and those using public(ly accessible) space – to counteract the monopoly on knowledge that the police have at the same time and in the same territory. Thereby reducing the advantage that law enforcement would have over those partaking in direct actions.

The name "Sukey" is predicated on the children's rhyme *"Polly put the Kettle on and Sukey takes it off again…"* with the developers utilising the double meaning of "kettle" in relation to their protest app.

strategic events (by mainstream media organisations), the tactical developments that emerge out of the usefulness of Sukey continue to inform the development of their practice after the app is taken off-line.



50: Sukey Protest Map

- Live tactical spatial information shared during a Student Tuition Fee Protest in London (2010)

The establishment of the hegemonic understanding of these actions, as opposed to an understanding of alternative narratives – becomes most visible when considering the longer lasting effect outside of the action itself, entrenching opinions on the validity of direct action long after the activity has ended. The image [right] was strongly associated with the first Student Tuition Fee protests, used as a representation of the carnage during the thick of the action. This narrative is a misrepresentation, as the actions of those occupying Millbank Tower was less than 1% of those involved in the protests on Whitehall on the day. In conjunction, the image is accompanied by media headlines such as "Student tuition fee protest: Infantile behaviour" (The Telegraph), "Self-indulgent student agitators shows the case for tuition fees" (The Daily Mail) and "Violent clashes at student fees protest" (The Metro). However, the image undermines that narrative which a brief analysis will show.

There are more camera wielding journalists [1,2,3,4,5 & 6] perfectly positioned to document than there are rioters [even if you include the three inside the main building [A, B & C] who are onlookers by the time that the photograph is taken.

51: Photo: Student Tuition Fee Protests

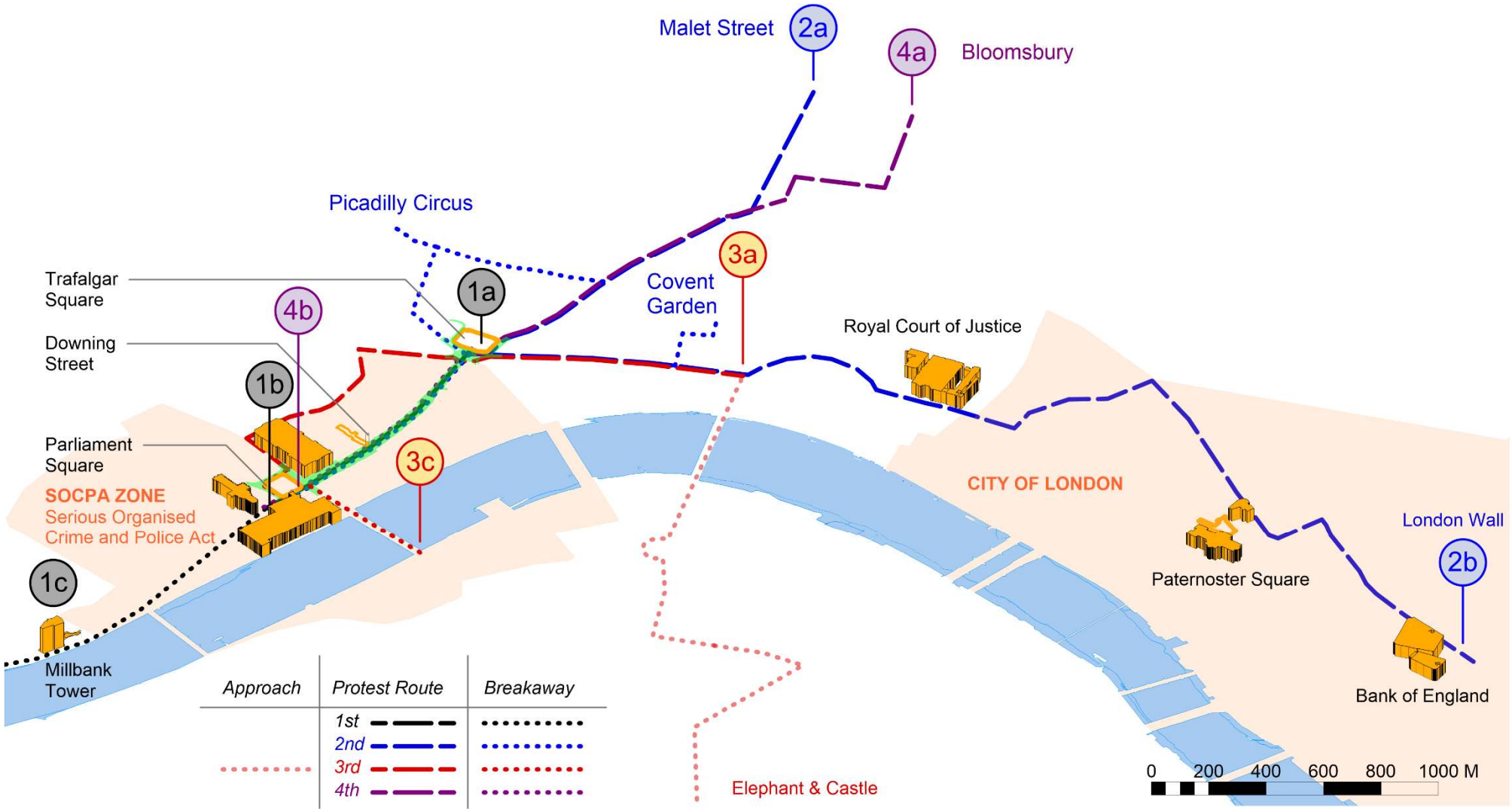
Photo: Dominic Lipinski/Press Association (2010)

Some time has passed since the original incursion (especially in light of the fact that the police were unaware of the initial attack on Millbank tower. Thus for the press to be so present is due to the fact that much time has passed since. This brings into doubt the ***value*** of the image as a representation of a key action or typifying moment.

It is clear that the arrival of those documenting the scene has come much after the initial ingress has occurred with one rioter [E] facing the assembled crowd. The scene seems to document someone smashing the glazed facade whilst a fire rages in the corner. This is however an already broken and breached façade [a fact exemplified by the protesters visible within]. The timber (presumably from dismantled placards) visible on the ground [used to create kindling as the base of the fire] are on top of the shards of glass, showing that the fire was started sometime afterwards. The glass itself show signs of several impact zones where (amongst others) the visible chairs now dis-guarded on the ground have been used as a tool to achieve this.

It is a media fuelled moment and narrative which becomes dominant despite its inaccuracy in representing a hiatus in activity or a significant moment. Those who entered the building did so much earlier, by the time the associated press have gathered they have no sensationalist images to document. The march itself has been calm, peaceful and attended by many, however, these images do not make the front cover of national newspapers as they do not have the evocative yet misleading power of the one taken by Dominic Lipinski (when considered only at a glance).

What these actions really highlight is that protesters are operating in limited environs, when accessing public(ly accessible) spaces, even those with ***direct relevance to democratic forms of representation*** (such as the Palace of Westminster). Protesters are operating in an ever reduced legal and spatial framework whilst law enforcement officials have been facilitated in expanding their own remit of operation. The immediate legacy of the first student tuition fee protests is the 2nd 3rd and 4th protests (which all occur within 30 days of each other). This created momentum for what seemed at the time to be the emerging stage of a protest movement which would have impact beyond its own field of reference. We can see that each protest took on a different manifestation of the spatial practice of protest. The 1st protest involved a small number of participants who acted ***instantaneously*** (most noticeably at Millbank Tower [1c] but there was also a small number who stayed at Parliament Square [1b] beyond their allotted time slot).



52: Student Tuition Fee Protest Routes

The actions of this 1st protest culminated to create a clear tactical strategy for direct action. As their actions were televised, was the subject of several live blogs and featured heavily in regular updates on social media; there was now a nation who saw how potentially easy it was to cause damage and disruption in central London with little response from law enforcement officials.

In terms of participation the 1st protest was characterised by the wide and diverse support that it received, which extended outside of the students who would be most directly affected by the proposed changes to their future studying conditions. The support extended beyond the seasoned campaigners, activists and dissenters with participants including representatives from the Labour, Green and Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales) all taking part and vocally supporting the march. However, with the focus and criticism of police tactics at Millbank after the 1st protest, additional security measures were taken in preparation for future protests. More officers and temporary mobile fencing was brought in to prevent entry to identified target points such as Parliament Square.

As such, the nature of the 2nd march was significantly different from the outset. Firstly, there was no permission granted by the Metropolitan Police to take the march route onto Whitehall itself (as in the first protest [route 1a-1b]). The number of participants was less than half of the first (somewhere between 10,000 and 25,000) protesters. The starting point was different, with most participants gathering on Malet Street [2a], the site of UCU (University of London Union) who's representatives had started to become the dominant force in the organisation on the protests (as opposed to NUS who were dominant in organising the 1st protest). From here they marched to Trafalgar Square, turning East to take the procession past several significant institutions. These are public[89] institutions which we identify with key roles in the deliverance of different aspects of democracy and power [The Royal Court of Justice] and the making economic decisions [The London Stock Exchange and The Bank of England] are all passed on their way to the London Wall [2b] (which is a historical remnant of the extent of London City).

53: Photo: Pop-up tents

Dan Kitwood/Getty Images, 24th November 2010

The kettle as a mechanism is developed in isolation but in the varied trajectories and spaces which define public(ly accessible) space, the task of treating space homogenously by attempting to isolate an area which is entrenched in the daily operations of the city is problematic. Initially, a significant groups breakaway from the predetermined route, making a detour onto [Trafalgar Square] where some (carrying 20-30 popup tents) erect them, but are then effectively contained and thwarted by the police, who remove them from the site within 60 minutes. The rest continue South from Trafalgar to Parliament Square. On their arrival they were met by police officers and temporary fencing that had been erected in expectation of their deviation onto Whitehall. As a tactic to break this line, some protesters broke from this sub-group, causing disruption (predominantly targeting shopfronts) at a number of different locations adjacent to the predetermined route (the trajectory of some of these dérives are highlighted [blue dots]).

54: 4 forms of spatial protest

(extract; Instantaneous; Author)

These trajectories drew the attention and resources of law enforcement officials, and as they manoeuvred to counteract this disruption; Parliament Square was less well policed and become vulnerable to a breach of the arbitrary perimeter which had been created around it. It was subsequently stormed as the number of officers creating a physical barrier reduced. ***These tactics were an extension of the practices which emerged out of the 1st protest, where operating in areas with relatively low police presence – facilitates uninhibited movement – and was subsequently developed as the dominant form of direct action in the successive protests.***

The "success" of this strategy (in facilitating proximity to otherwise restricted and powerful locations) had an adverse effect on subsequent freedoms that citizens would have in utilising public(ly accessible) spaces in the future. As this relative success is built on previous actions on this terrain (in particular camps in Parliament Square in 2001 and 2009), the development of space management strategies bolstered by legislative changes to counteract their efficacy come into place.

This meant that in the time period that was to immediately follow; Parliament Square started to accumulate a growing number of bylaws to restrict use and access - ***essentially removing it from the stock of public(ly accessible) spaces.*** and the growing political desire to remove this form of protest from Whitehall[90]. This has had a profound effect on the ***activities***

89 These spaces fall into two of the three definitions of public as outlined in the introduction chapter:
FIRSTLY, there is the notion of public space as a series of ***accessible physical locations***.
THIRDLY there are the set of locations which house operations which are identified as representative to the citizens within a predefined terrain

90 For a comprehensive list of the new laws affecting Parliament and Trafalgar Square see the end notes and the subsection "134 Authorisation of demonstrations in designated area".

which are now permanently restricted in these environs, as these bylaws developed in particular reference to "open spaces" become acts of parliament. In a more immediate analysis of these effects – we can see how the controls and restrictions impact on the practices explored during the 3rd and 4th student tuition fee march.

3rd

Each march takes us closer to the day on which members of parliament would vote on the proposed bill to increase tuition fees to (a maximum of) £9,000. As such, the desire to locate the protest around The House of Commons (the closest "open space" being Parliament Square) grows as this date approaches. The 3rd protest occurs in a newly created spatial reality where the breaching of perimeter spaces defined by police bodies and fences is considered a necessary method to facilitate this practice. As such, this protest is the first where Parliament Square is emphatically the destination for the Student Tuition Fee protesters. They gather in Trafalgar Square and march South. The police detain the protesters out of Whitehall for several hours before a breakaway group of several hundred break through the Kettle line taking an alternative route to Parliament Square [indicated by the red dashed line]. In their desire to reach significant spaces (which had become inaccessible); the protesters highlighted an operational problem for law enforcement officials.

55: Photo: Battle over Parliament Square

: Luke Macgregor/Reuters 30th November 2010

The kettle as a mechanism is developed in isolation but in the varied trajectories and spaces which define public(ly accessible) space, the task of treating space homogenously by attempting to isolate an area which is entrenched in the daily operations of the city is problematic. Attempting to obstruct all routes to any singular point requires an overtly militaristic approach to governing space and the implementation requires a much higher ratio of police officers on the ground than is currently viable (due to a lack of numbers). Thus, this 3rd protest was typified by a significant number of protesters engaging in cat and mouse tactics. There were other more nuanced inventions which develop as a result of the use of this practice, as the ownership of space – via occupation is temporarily challenged. This is probably best exemplified by the actions of protesters at Nelson's Column (Parliament Square). As with the 2nd protest (which aimed to instigate a temporary camp in front of Nelson's column), here protesters similarly intended to utilise the tiered landmark as a base. This time they located themselves on the highest plinth, sprayed graffiti, set off fireworks, flares and ignited placards. This instigated a spatial inversion as the protesters who were cordoned out of Whitehall claimed this alternative key space. The police, in their desire to reclaim that space momentarily found themselves within an inverted kettle as they surrounded Nelson's column with the intention of removing the protesters gathered there, they themselves were encircled by a ring of protesters which delayed their ability to initiate the removal of the protesters at Nelson's Column.

What this protest shows is that although the kettle or cordon is a tool used to contain and disarm gatherings, it is limited when utilised against those who rapidly utilise alternative methods of spatial claiming. In this instance it was ***cat and mouse*** and the ***inverted kettle***. These do not mark the emergence of new protest staples but are the result of a responsive participant base who can effectively outflank a homogenous spatial strategy.

4th

As the date of the House of Commons vote[91] (with the expectation that the bill would be passed) dawns nearer, a 4th and final protest is organised. By this point there is increased anger at the inability of these acts of direct action in public(ly accessible) spaces and universities to have an effect on those inside Whitehall.

As a result, the 4th protest occurs on the day of the vote. Meeting at the student's union in Bloomsbury (the University of London Union), activists marched to and through Trafalgar Square and onto Parliament Square.

91 Only 6 Conservative MPs voted against the motion with 2 abstaining. For the Liberal Democrats; Nick Clegg voted in favour of the bill with his party split but still voting in favour, with 28 voting for, 21 against and 8 abstaining or absent.

Their number reaches an estimated 40,000 as the NUS re-join the ranks of the protesters. Because the previous three protests had developed a pattern of behaviour (both from the protesters and the law enforcement officials) – this time the level of obstruction had been raised. The same barriers were present on Parliament Square, but in addition The Houses of Parliament received additional attention and was lined with police vans along its landed flank. Those determined to enter Parliament Square smashed their way through the police barriers and occupied the Square – they were subsequently Kettled within it where in which several violent clashes took place between occupiers and police. Due to the (at times) impenetrable nature of the Kettle; protesters who could not reach Parliament Square to join their fellow descenders targeted other locations within the city, most noticeably the Treasury, Trafalgar Square and The National Gallery. As in the 1st and 2nd protest, when institutions which were the initial target of the protagonists became inaccessible – others were identified and utilised through engaging with a variety of different spatial tactics.

56: Photo: Smashing Windows at The Treasury:

Matthew Lloyd/Getty Images, 9th December 2010

57: Photo: Violent Clashes

Dan Kitwood/Getty Images, 9th December 2010

58: Photo: Setting fire at Trafalgar Square:

AP Photo/Matt Dunham, 9th December 2010

59: Photo: Occupying Parliament Square:

Oli Scarff/Getty, Images 9th December 2010

The direct action at the Treasury was ***instantaneous*** and destructive as many windows were systematically smashed. They were ***instantaneous*** at Trafalgar Square also, as protesters attempted to set fire to the tree (annually donated by Oslo – Norway). The action at the Nation Gallery however was ***settled***, an occupation, a sit-in held by somewhere between 100 and 200 people. There were also other acts of destruction and arson on Whitehall and the adjoining streets.

Perimeter Space

The deferment of spatial intent (produced by actions of containment) is a problematic urban strategy - it is another method by which to marginalise the efficacy of protest in public(ly accessible) spaces. From the interaction between protesters and law enforcement officials at the student tuition fee protest; we can see that this spatial tactic doesn't serve to quell or subdue action – its effect is often to cause direct actions to occur in a more agitated manor or in new spaces previously not considered by activists – which ironically become targets because their primary targets become inaccessible. The kettle does not quell intent. It's an act that triggers ingenuity in those they operating against. The heterogeneous nature of the public means that the creation of arbitrary methods of segregation is not well suited as a tool of spatial management. For example, it is not nuanced enough to make a clear identification between instigators, protagonists, civil or criminal offenders and those in transit with any clarity – thereby increasing agitation discontent and feelings of maltreatment, ***which instigate the desire for further actions of dissent – creating a continuous cycle of tactical antagonism***. In the case of these protests, the use of Kettling does not have the desired effect. The pace at which disorder is percentage of the participant activity increases with every action and only ends because of other socio-political factors (the passing of the vote).

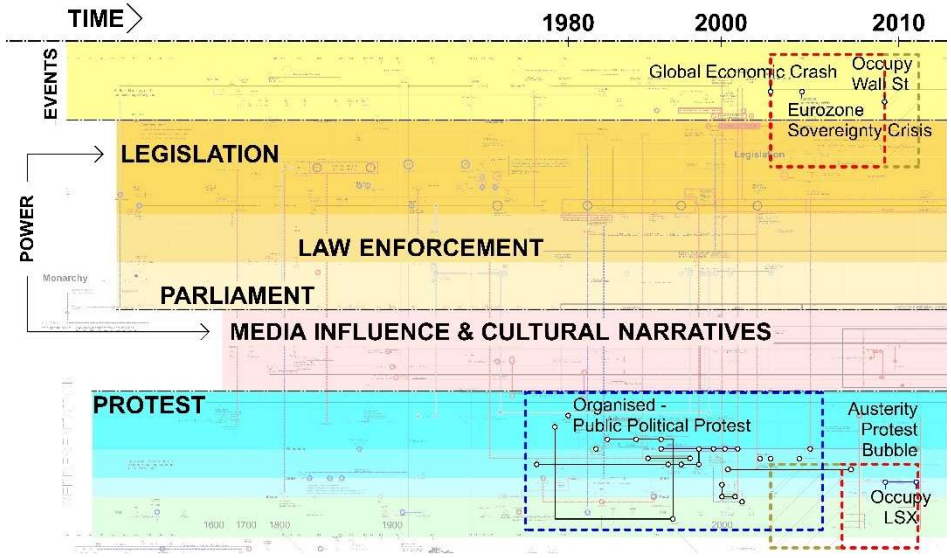
This case study looks at two types of ***perimeter space***. The first is not visible, it is a notional cartographic line of operation. However, the rules of operation either side of the line are different, this difference is utilised by the 1st protest. In the 2nd, 3rd and 4th, the perimeter space ***becomes the field of action*** as law enforcement officials systematically employ the tactic of implementing a continuous line of bodies which forms the boundary of a closed area or space. Here, activists operate on the perimeter of a boundary as a mechanism to undermine its integrity. By diverting focus away from the homogeneity of the boundary, access is gained to key spaces within the enclosed area.

The Student Tuition Fee Protests are often dismissed by hegemonic narratives as unsuccessful, as they didn't achieve the aim of maintaining the existing cap on university tuition fees and erupted in some now notorious acts of violence. In addition, the tally of arrests and injuries reported on the day being approximately 35/15, 25/25, 150/10 and 55/40 doesn't paint a positive (or full) picture of the actions which took place. However, if you choose to divert your analysis of protest from that of success or failure and instead into the emerging spatial practices and conditions- the story is different. As such, within these protests we see the emergence of a particular practice. As successive and established tactics are undermined (such as the organised linear march), we see the engagement of a variety of more fluid and rapid spatial tactics. In tandem the protesters actions highlight the changing face of Whitehall both in the way in which it is managed (essentially as a private enclave) and subsequently the different tactical ways of breaching the new restrictive spatial order. These interrelated protest actions highlight that active adaptation that alternative practices must pursue to remain relevant within a neo-liberal socio-political context.

Page intentionally left blank

Occupy LSX

Occupy LSX is the longest direct action within the Austerity Protest Bubble (2010-12). Their 9-month protest camp allowed participants to explore a ***myriad of different social practices*** which were expressed using a diverse range of engagement methods. This organisation is in no small part a descendant of the practice of organised public political protest which have developed in England since the early 1980s. Thus their response to the divisive political decisions made in the aftermath of the Global Economic Crash, the European Sovereignty Debt Crisis and the responsiveness of the Occupy Wall Street camp; all feed into the spatial tactics employed by Occupy LSX within this disputed terrain.



60: Location Map: Occupy LSX

Protest Contingencies Guide (Author)

To understand the spatial significance of the Occupy LSX (London Stock Exchange) protest; it is important to situate the ***Occupy movement*** within the distinct socio-political moment from which this and other similarly inspired direct actions emerged. Occupy LSX was not the first 'Occupy' group to organise with a landed protest in public(ly accessible) space. At that time (late 2011) many citizens around the globe organised protest camps in response to the changing economic circumstances which were being imposed on citizens by their governments after the collapse of the banking system. An unpopular series of restrictions, as the collapse was largely perpetrated by decisions made by a small elite. The resultant economic readjustments such as quantitate easing and cuts to public spending and thus services which detrimentally affected the lives of the many, were seen as inappropriate and disproportionate responses which did not address the source problem of the management of global markets and investments.

Within the plethora of landed responses to this new economic reality with its global consequences, this particular group is of significance because of the length of time that the camp manages to establish itself. As this is a ***settled*** protest camp, the nature of the activity which takes place here is defined by that longevity and thus its qualities as an emerging series of protest practices. What can easily be overlooked is that the longevity of Occupy LSX is predominantly due to two key factors: (1) ***location*** and the utilisation of (2) a ***variety of tools*** for engagement. As we will explore later, the camp is spread across land owned by different organisations with contradictory strategies to opposing the occupation. These disparate strategies of engagement gave the camp an efficacy which other protest actions struggle to create. It was the rare mixture of ***continuity of participant*** and ***diversity of ideologies*** which were explored under one umbrella organisation facilitating a series of actions. The longevity which is created means that as a case study, the camp allows us to explore the idea of two opposing philosophical notions of ***the public***; that of the pre-existing condition and that which is only created within and during the camp which is a more inclusive and expansive exploration of the role that public space has to play in society.

The real value of the camp is that it ***tests*** the idea of a way of living by ***becoming*** the embodiment of that idea or "way". This idea is tested both in ***external*** public(ly accessible) space and an ***internal*** space, a disused and abandoned building (which will be explored in the Bank of Ideas section). Each test triggers different responses by the site stakeholders, facilitating a nuanced understanding on the legalities around the designation of public space, and the practice of identifying and utilising said spaces for a more socially inclusive purposes – ultimately questioning the true nature of the public.

The group that forms Occupy London and the action which they plan (Occupy LSX) was initially inspired by Occupy Wall Street, which was an

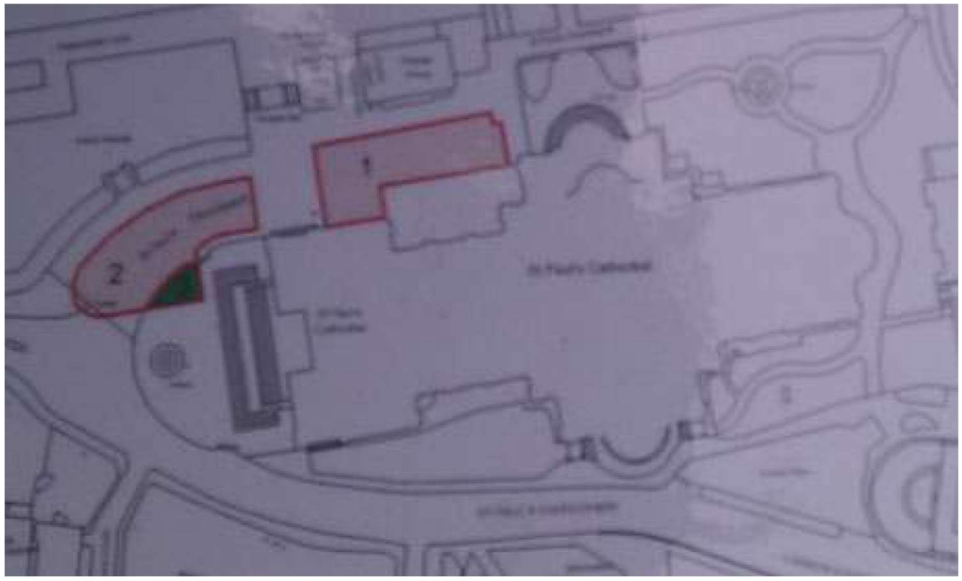
orchestrated response to the measures to instigate economic recovery that the American government pursued in response to the global economic crash. Geographically, a strong oppositional protest movement locates itself here because of the site's proximity to a relevant space of power. The crash originated from the investments made on unreliable loan strategies sanctioned by the American government, and thus flowing through Wall Street (home to the world's largest stock exchange). These strategies of short term profiteering had highlighted the recent growth of inequality (between the world's richest in relation to the average earning of the nations in which they accumulated their wealth). In turn Occupy LSX located itself in close proximity to the world's fourth largest stock exchange, and although inspired by Occupy Wall Street existed in a completely different spatially defined terrain (as will be explored in this chapter) and as such gave rise to a series of alternative practices.

Approach

My method for data gathering during this protest was auto-ethnographic. By understanding my personal experiences of these events which were designed to engage with the (notional) 99% (as outlined by Occupy London's publications), I would be able to systematically analyse the cultural phenomenon as it emerged. The public nature of the protests (explained in detail in the preceding methodology chapter) meant that I could gain access to these sites of direct action as a member of the general public, allowing me to follow the emerging narrative within the protest.

The ontological and epistemic approaches of more traditional research methods in the social sciences create a form of social inquiry which are well tailored to researching direct actions. This is because these actions ostensibly explore a counter hegemonic form of social justice. The appropriateness of building on the synergy between ***approach*** and ***subject matter*** left me well placed to begin considering the limitation of pre-determined or perceived facts and truths around the nature of protest in public(ly accessible) spaces. I looked to a theoretical vocabulary which develops lineages that explore (now) well established notions such as 'there are no universal truths' and to prove the validity of this approach by exposing the value of ***partial narratives*** (an approach outlined by philosophers such as De Certeau, 1984). In addition to this approach taken during the data collection period, I also conducted interviews with protesters from Occupy after the camp had ended, to gain a series of reflective insights from participants. These were a selection of people who had different roles within the camp, and as such form vastly different opinions about the purpose and trajectory of the action. As such their insights began to inform my understanding of the multiplicity of the camp itself from the inside as opposed the outside. In particular, insights into when and where different communities started to form on the site, such as; (1) the initiators/ ***overtly*** political activist, (2) residents and (3) community ideologists (***introverted*** political activists) (4) the influx of homeless residents (5) eviction and resistance participants. The arrival of each different user group changes the dynamic of the camp as well as facilitating a degree of plurality of participant. Mapping this development was key to understanding the dynamic of the camp. The camp had developed an understanding of their occupation existing with an exaggerated degree of isolation in regards to the existing site constraints, particularly those in relation to ownership. Instead they chose to represent the camp as a self-enclosed or self-sustained entity.

This form of narrative building is a precursor to counter-mapping. This notion of the camp being an entity in its own right became a claim that was later made in court as a mechanism to protect the sanctity (as an exclusive entity) of the camp so that it could (potentially) be relocated elsewhere with the same overriding spatial rights that had been established through negotiations (with St Paul's Cathedral). This plan was ultimately unsuccessful but their ***method of mapping the camp was an emphatic expression of their socio-political aims.***



61: Photo: Occupy's Map of their camp

- Presented to The High Court of Justice (2011)

Their map emphasises the concessions made by the camp to provide emergency access routes to St Paul's Cathedral (illustrating a much wider path between zones 1 and 2 than physically existed), this map shows a different spatial understanding of the camp, essentially divided into two areas (with zone 1 containing a green patch showing an exaggerated representation of the area where the camp was present on land owned by St Paul's Cathedral).

This map is thus a product of the continuous negotiations that the St Paul's workgroup had with the Church and as such allowed me to engage with the practice of counter-mapping by conflating elements of these maps with a more cartographically accurate representation which also creates a more comprehensive picture of their methods for claiming space.

This mapping of the spatiality ***within*** the camp plays a large role in establishing and developing my process of theoretical reflection. By making visible otherwise masked relationships and continuities, as researcher I can gain a better understanding of emerging practices and their relationship to other pre-existing practices. These are often contextualising by oppositional forces (such as private stakeholders and law enforcement officials). Mapping their role has played a crucial part in understanding the practices which took place during the Occupy LSX camp. The sheer complexity of the camp's operations (up to 27 working groups, 500 attending general assemblies and lunch being prepared for 150 people every day), the history (and therefore socio-political significance) of the site, and the changing order of activities (such as the spatial organisation of tents; required a flexible and layered method of assessment by which to analyse the information. Diagrams were (when possible) created with interviewees, and later interpreted and built upon through my own visual digital mapping, to aid the construction of the theoretical argument and categorisation of protest typologies and tactics – operating as the bridge between theory and data collection.

Theory

Interrogating the initial intentions of occupy, embracing the notion of 'the right to the city' (in reference to both the definitions constructed by Lefebvre and Harvey) is a suitable theoretical starting point to begin to examine the spatial efficacy of this camp. For Lefebvre it is the notion of access; moving freely through different urban environs and locating oneself based on "desire" as opposed to following existing hierarchical constructs (Lefebvre, Writings on Cities 1988). This paves the way for citizens' access to resources and to create systems of commoning and communality[92]. For Harvey 'rights to the city' are more entrenched with gaining control over the mechanisms of economic change[93] (Harvey, The Right to the City 2003) and that democracy can be created through this expansion of its mechanisms, bringing them under citizen control (mechanisms such as the General Assembly[94]).

92 Described by Lefebvre as "demand...[for] a transformed and renewed access to urban life"
(Lefebvre, Writings on Cities, 158)

93 The *right to the city* is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanisation. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights
(Harvey, The Right to the City 2003)

94 The *general assembly* is an inclusive method of voting, different speakers address the crowd and they in turn vote on the proposals being put forward. Occupy (globally) had developed a number of hand signals to express a series of different responses to the proposal being put forward; 'want to talk', 'direct response'. 'Clarify', 'point of order', 'agree', 'don't agree', 'oppose' and 'block'.

The engagement with this notion of organised citizen 'right' is pursued by Occupy LSX in the development of their statements as the camp establishes itself and pursues a series of practices. The camp developed several of these 'statements' of intent which emerge through consensus decision making processes. There are several; one for 'Corporations', 'Economics', 'Autonomy' and Global democracy', but it is the 'initial statement'[95] agreed on October 26th 2011 through the general assembly which engages the notion of ***citizen rights*** as outlined by Harvey; essentially questioning the economic mechanism which decide cultural and social trajectories in society, and challenging the way that these decisions are being made. However, it is the engagement with the practices of ***spatial rights*** which are embodied in the practices that develop during their time there (which are more aligned with Lefebvre's notion of rights). So there is an ideological fissure between the stated intentions and how that relates to explored daily practices. This in many ways is the source of their longevity, as well some truths about the nature of public(ly accessible) space which will be explored later in the chapter.

What is of particular importance to the practice of claiming space, is that it exposes the different tactics of integration which are required to claiming ***internal*** or ***external*** spaces. The participants essentially establish a method for claiming external space (the Occupy LSX camp) then ***test*** these mechanisms on internal space (Bank of ideas) with very different consequences. This allows us to theorise on the necessary adaptation of the practice of protest to be appropriated for different fields of operation. This ultimately underwrites the purpose of these direct actions, which is as a ***tool for testing the efficacy of alternative practices.*** As such, the research examines the trajectories that they take.

Context

Occupy LSX was my first opportunity to observe a protest camp[96] in operation at first hand. In the first few days in which the camp was established, there had been much discussion by politicians, mainstream media platforms and those groups using social networking sites as vehicle to their political voice. The prevalent points of conjecture were the political, economic and social consequence of the practices prevalent in both the international and domestic banking sectors. The context for these dialogues was imbedded in the aftermath of the global economic crash of 2007/8 and the European Sovereignty Debt Crises of 2010 which had impacted on the lives of citizens in many locations around the world. As a result, analysis and critique of the collective global and national inaction[97] in response, brought into question the state's role as ***gatekeepers of sovereignty***. Their neglect of duty in regards to public concerns and their inability to operate as ombudsman for good practice, and enforcement of the parameters[98] for stable national asset management coming into question. What became

95 Initial Statement
1. The current system is unsustainable. It is undemocratic and unjust. We need alternatives; this is where we work towards them.
2. We are of all ethnicities, backgrounds, genders, generations, sexualities dis/abilities and faiths. We stand together with occupations all over the world.
3. We refuse to pay for the banks' crisis.
4. We do not accept the cuts as either necessary or inevitable. We demand an end to global tax injustice and our democracy representing corporations instead of the people.
5. We want regulators to be genuinely independent of the industries they regulate.
6. We support the strike on the 30th November and the student action on the 9thNovember, and actions to defend our health services, welfare, education and employment, and to stop wars and arms dealing.
7. We want structural change towards authentic global equality. The world's resources must go towards caring for people and the planet, not the military, corporate profits or the rich.
8. The present economic system pollutes land, sea and air, is causing massive loss of natural species and environments, and is accelerating humanity towards irreversible climate change. We call for a positive, sustainable economic system that benefits present and future generations. [1]
9. We stand in solidarity with the global oppressed and we call for an end to the actions of our government and others in causing this oppression.
10. This is what democracy looks like. Come and join us!
Notes
[1] Article 8 was added to the statement following a proposal being passed by the Occupy London General Assembly on 19 November 2011.

96 I have identified protest actions which fall into three overarching performative categories; (1) a march, (2) an occupation and (3) a riot (as outlined in my 'Introduction' chapter). As such, a protest camp is a form of occupation, it is a static – terrain defined tactical response, and as such the Occupy LSX camp fits neatly into this manifestation of protest.

97 The limited response from politicians in regards to the daily practices of the banking sector and the part that they played in the global economic crash. Responses include the update of the "Basel accord" in the form of the "Basel II accord" and an increase in capital assets that capital banks need to put aside to guard against the types of financial and operational risks that banks face. However, these have been roundly derided by prominent economists (namely Robert A. Jarrow, Bryan J. Balin and H. Benink & G. Kaufman)

98 The financial and economic securities which were in place before the global economic crash (of 2006/7) to insure both stability and incentivises for good practice were impotent at both prevention and reaction to this event. The relevant securities in place were overcome by banks restructuring their finances whilst maintaining their AAA rating. They would achieve this with the aim to...
"... offload risk, banks typically create 'structured' products... The first step is to form diversified portfolios of mortgages and other types of loans, corporate bonds, and other assets like credit card receivables. The next step is to slice these portfolios into different tranches. These tranches are then sold to investor groups with different appetites for risk...
As a result, the banking system still bears the liquidity risk from holding long-term assets and making short-term loans even though it does not appear on the banks' balance sheets."
(Christopher Alessi 2013)

evident was the palpable difference in expectation between citizens and their representative bodies which had developed in contemporary Western Society.

As with most affected nations, those within the UK were experiencing a well-documented social, economic and political crisis as a direct result of the changes implemented to mitigate the effects of this most recent economic financial collapse. In terms of financial growth, England had fallen into recession[99], politically it marked the end of the 'New Labour'[100] project, and socially there would be a rise in alternative modes of self-organization[101]. These would be explored by those groups and individuals frustrated by the recent developments outlined above. A clear effect of the "crash" and "crisis" was that citizens experienced the consequences of the limitations of the existing democratic mechanisms for representation (in no small part exemplified by the newly formed coalition[102] government where opposition was manifest in the series of tuition fee protests (more information can be found in the chapter 'Student Tuition Fee Protests'). These four mass actions established themselves in response to the early policy making strategy of the coalition government. As such, this expression of disaffection with many of the outdated and over-arching constructs prevalent in democracy, saw an increase in acts of public realm protest[103]. ***As such, protests should not be seen as a series of actions which happen in isolation to each other or societal constructs in general, but instead as the most visible manifestation of alternative practice due to its disruptive and seemingly[104] spontaneous and unpredictable nature.***

Protest Space

With this in mind I engaged with my first visit to Occupy LSX. What came out of this first visit was the nature of the physicality of the site and the tools of demarcation and control which are utilised by protesters and opposing structures alike. I had decided to enter the territory of action through the South East avenue (Cheapside, en-route from Aldgate East Station, passing along Leadenhall Street in conduit to The Bank of England) to St Paul's Cathedral, where I would have a clear path into the City/Corporation of London, a clearly identifiable territory as the street bollards begin to bear their crest an colours of this ancient authority[105], and the streets narrow as the chicanes which demarcate the "ring of steel"[106] begin to define this jurisdiction.

99 The definition of UK recession is generally considered as a period of time when the UK experiences two consecutive quarters of "negative growth". Put another way, when Gross domestic product (GDP) has to contract on a quarter by quarter basis (for a minimum of 6 months). Gross domestic product (GDP) is a measure of economic activity which captures the value of goods and services that the UK produces during a given period.

Office of national statistics (2013)

100 New Labour adopted the song by D:Ream "Things can only get better" as their theme song for their successful 1997 political campaign. A remix of the song was Number one in the pop charts in 1994 (the year that Tony Blair became leader of the Labour Party).

101 The rise in self-organisation is in no small part initiated by the 20% cuts to government spending therefore regional councils also restricted their spending particularly to services which were not seen as 'key'.

(Jenny Ridley 2012)

102 The coalition declared the aim to "bring forward detailed proposals for robust action to tackle unacceptable bonuses in the financial services sector; in developing these proposals, 'we will ensure they are effective in reducing risk'. However, in 2011 bank bonuses had risen from £12bn compared to a total of £14bn 2008 (directly after the Global economic crash)

(Office of national statistics 2011)

103 After the 2010 UK general election held on the 6th May, none of the parties gathered enough votes to operate a working majority. Negotiations between the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats who issued a "Coalition Agreement for Stability and Reform" (May 12 2010) outlining their aims and consensus proposition for governance.

However, the coalition subsequently saw both parties reversing many of their previous positions once in power together. I.e.: "Robust action to tackle unacceptable bonuses in the financial services sector", "Dissolution for a fixed-term parliament if 55% or more of MPs vote in favour and "New protections for whistle-blowers in the public sector"

104 Recent hegemonic examples of both politicians and the (popular mainstream) media's derisory condemnation of the practice of protest can be seen in three of the four of my case studies:
In response to Occupy LSX...
The thermal images that prove 90% of tents in the Occupy camp in London are left EMPTY overnight

(Gayle 2011)

In response to the August Riots 2011...
"Our feral underclass is too big, has been growing, and needs to be diminished."
(B. Johnson, Conservative Party Conference 2011)
In response to the Student Tuition Fee Protest(s)...
"The anarchic behaviour of students protesting tuition fees at Millbank is utterly counter-productive to their cause."

(Clarke 2011)

Student protest against tuition fees turns violent at Millbank

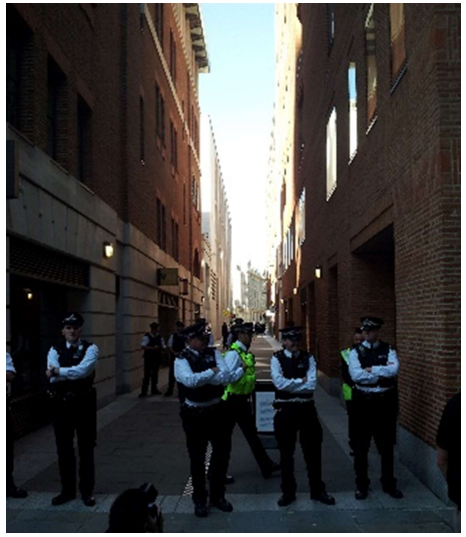
(The Telegraph 2010)

105 *The Corporation* has been defined differently to all other boroughs in the UK, not being party to The Municipal Corporations Act of 1882 – implemented in 1885 (1882 c. 50 (Regnal. Local Government Act 1972_and_46_Vict), Part VI, Charitable Trusts, Section 133 National Archives) which established a uniform system of Boroughs governed by town councils elected by rate payers.

106 *The ring of steel* is the series of security and surveillance cordons built of road barriers, checkpoint boxes and CCTV cameras defining the territory of The City of London. *City of London Police ANPR Policy report (2009). Ring of Steel implemented by Owen Kelly 1993 (Commissioner of Police City of London 1986 to 1993).*

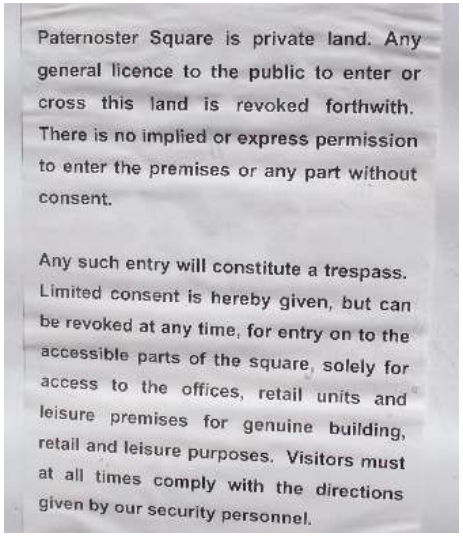
The first identifiable aspect of an occupation (whilst traveling through the North Eastern end of St Paul's Churchyard) is the noise of general chatter and live music, before the sightlines of the medieval road trajectories bring your vision to South West end of the Yard (passing opposite Paternoster, Chapter and Juxton house). There is a noticeable buzz of activity in the air even at 10am (the time of my first arrival). It is then with some surprise that as I entered the area of Chapter House, at the tail end of the encampment that I become aware at just how small a physical territory Occupy utilises. If a pedestrian passed along [New Change street, Cannon Street or St Paul's Churchyard] the occupation would be completely invisible before reaching the main entrance steps to the St Paul's Cathedral.

I would also soon see that the only activity which would be visible from Paternoster Square itself or the entrance to The London Stock Exchange were the metropolitan police officers and private security guards [initially present only on the Paternoster Row access route] spread to each and every entrance point to Paternoster square.



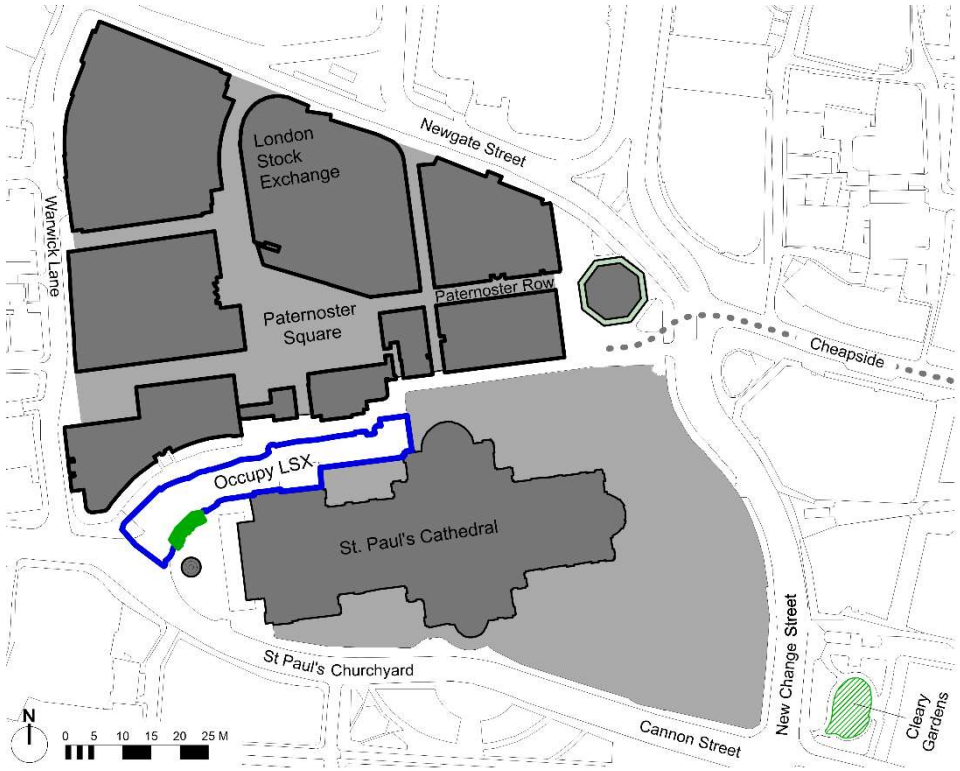
63: Photo: Continued change of state

(LSX Interviewee 01)



64: Photo: Writing as ownership

(Author2015)



62: Mapping: Occupy In-situ

Occupy LSX: Layer: Key spaces (Author)

Demarcation

This case study allows us to analyse the use of different forms of territorial demarcation. A prevalent method employed by the police and the council alike are the fixed leg pedestrian barriers with locking hooks, which operate as a precursor to more permanent alteration to access in a process of gaining greater control over the use (and perceived misuse) of public(ly accessible) space.

65: Photo: Fencing at Cleary Gardens

(Author Nov 2011)

66: Photo: Paternoster Square

Empty Square, Author (2011)

Cleary Gardens, South East of St Paul's Cathedral [above] is a stone's throw from the camp, erected their own temporary fencing once the Camp at St Paul's had establish itself, undoubtedly in an attempt to dissuade the possible spread and proliferation of tents within the area. These have since been upgraded to a series of permanent chain linked fences around the central green, with strategically located Heras®[107] fencing as an additional strategic tool to dissuade occupation. This in effect turned the site in a purely commercial space, as no one was allowed to wander, linger or dérive on these environs.

This is a theme which will be returned to with the conclusion to the case study chapters, as the effects of a protest in one location is utilised as a threat and thus the continued use of a space, particularly in relation to the behaviour of property owners and their attempt to restrict activity; starts to create a negative reality for future protests or, to greater concern non-commercial interaction within public(ly accessible) spaces. As such; the presence of the signs [previous page] and fencing are still present up to three years after the initial attempt at occupation[108].

Although the use of fencing is integral to the development of LSX the tent has become the first tool which is associated with the act of extended occupation. They are relatively light (transportable by a single individual) and inexpensive. But even this tool required a degree of transformative practical adjustment before it could be applied to this territory. In the first instance the vast majority of tents are designed to be secured into soft, porous surfaces (typically grass and or soil).

67: Photo: Tools of Demarcation

Fences, tents and signs (Author 2011)

Both paternoster Square and the environs of St Paul's Cathedral are paved in concrete slabs and pavers. So the traditional tent peg and guy rope system had to be adapted so that the tents could sit securely on this surface of the site. As such many of the perimeter tents are located on (and attached to) pallets for both stability and water drainage (after bouts of rain). Clearly the use of tents as the prevalent unit of occupation means that it widens the potential number of ways in which additional members can literally interlock with the existing fabric of the camp. Once tents are established it informs the urban narrative with marquees and stands becoming ever prevalent as the duration of the occupation extends.

107 The ubiquity of Heras® fencing demarcating the edges of construction sites and pedestrian thoroughfares in part explains its subsequent presence in sites of UK protest. However, the category of these fences which were utilised for crowd control of a more antagonistic nature is the 'Heras® 151 & Steadfast System' incorporate an Anti-Tamper Coupler Providing additional security, which can only be removed with the use These allow a rapid erection of linked fences.

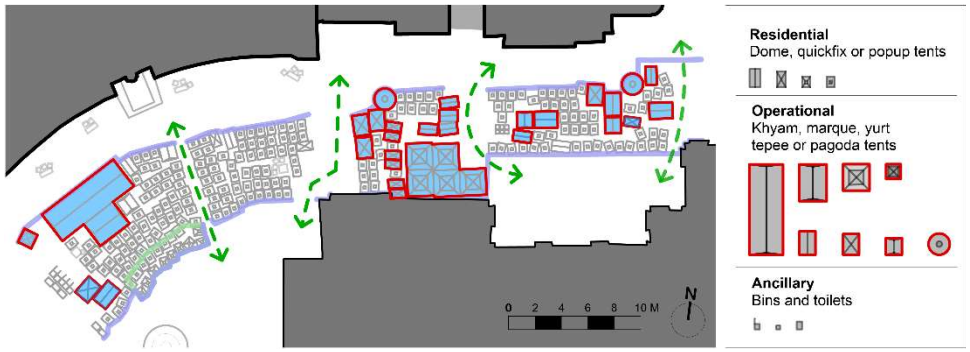
108 The barriers preventing entrance into Paternoster Square are still present and operational (as last observed by myself in 1/2/2015)

Again, this building typology allows for the activities which occur inside to be identified with the ***typology*** of temporary structure. Trekking type Tents (which are often instant, dome or quick-pitch) were used by residents. berth or Khyam system type tents often used for storage, pagodas for mobile and temporary information desks and congregation points. Marquees are used for public events, with circular yurt type tents used for private (often outreach) purposes. The congregation of older ridge (or Icelandic) type tents as well as Tepees which had clearly been utilised in previous protests actions, in the Eastern corner of the occupation site, were the sites of more private and strategic decision making during the occupation.

Later, the flexibility of this building unit became important as negotiations with St Paul's Cathedral began to develop and tent positions were relocated to respond to the requirements of the Church, the main body of tents could be relatively easily and quickly repositioned to accommodate a series of trajectories marked out in Heras fencing (allowing fire safety officers to reach key areas of the external façade).

The fencing is as an important tool of negotiation for the protesters as well as those who have located them (in this case, The Metropolitan Police department), as it provides a defined boundary line, delineating an area of prohibition. As a result, they can often become focal points for protesters to target actions, coalesce as a small gathering or even hold interviews. They are a point of departure from the otherwise (relatively) harmonious typology of the camp. They also became the way in which the camp showed good willing when the first attempt to evict them on health and safe grounds was thwarted as they showed their ability to work as a collective under consensus.

It is worth noting at this juncture that my decision not to attend the initial occupation was based on initial scepticism on my ability as a researcher to act independently from an occupation whilst observing its development at these preliminary stages of its developments. Particularly before the public nature of the space has been established by the protesters.



68: Tent Typologies and Fence paths

Occupy LSX at its largest (Author)

With the benefit of hindsight, this concern was overcautious, observed in transcripts and reports that I collated from the action on the day[109]. Fortunately, subsequent interviews with those who were present have proved a fruitful source of information, however at the time it was far from certain that the proposed action would be in any way successful in transforming our understudying of a space in such a profound and consistent manner. Also a factor which will be critical for my later conceptual development, I had no idea that the camp would in effect transform the area of occupation into a public space (in line with the understanding of by terminology being public (Deleuze 1972) – to be outlined later in this chapter). In addition, there was a third disincentive, I was opposed to initial engagement with the occupation for the simple reason that I did not want to perform within the protest space (as protester), and predictably, given the nature of the publicity which the protesters generated – pre-emptive steps were taken by both the Corporation of London and the Mitsubishi Trading Estate to ensure that the proposed encampment would not take place as advertised.

However, (as will be outlined below), the nature of the newly formed spatial association with The Church of England (via St Paul's Cathedral) was something which changed the intrinsic nature of the action.

109 Guardian and BBC live blog feed of protests and Occupy LSX Livestream... *(http://www.theguardian.com/news/blog/) (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-) (http://occupylondon.org.uk/livestream/)*

69: Paternoster Square historical overlay

from public to private square [turquoise to green] (Author)

The occupy protagonists chose to pursue an occupation of indeterminate duration, an encampment of tents in a location not only synonymous with their cause, but with the (prevalent) demarcation of public space, Paternoster Square. This space had gone through a number of recent spatial reconfigurations, most recently in 2000-2003 where the designs were received by different parties with both great fanfare and controversy[110]. This was in no small part due to the problems in defining the nature of the square (both ideologically, spatially and stylistically). One of the underlining principles of the final scheme was that it was to retain the public "spirit"[111] that was encapsulated by the (broadly) public ownership and layout of its predecessor as perceived before privatisation and ownership by the Mitsubishi Trading Estate (shown in turquoise [above] in relation to the current space in orange).

In using "public" as a terminology of reference, we can see the planned protest as a form of ***mass, spatial, public, complaint,*** in a space which has been designed to maintain a pubic remit and subsequently though the actions of their employees has been complicit in the malpractice[112] which became prevalent and accepted within the industry. These actions have had a detrimental effect on the public stock, (both of virtual and physical money and in conjunction to the well of public good-will and faith). It is then possible to say that the planned action was as much a physical comment on the very nature of being public within society as it was political. The location and its reasoning is part of a discourse on what we (rightly or wrongly) can claim as ***being public***, and therefore informed by public, citizen action. To mark the relevant claims of being public it is useful to make comparisons between the spatial and therefore practical everyday differences between Occupy Zuccotti Park and the Occupy London Stock Exchange. This also goes a long way in understanding why these protests lasted for the durations that they did (29 and 115 days respectively) – and thus explaining the temporality of their occupations.

Zuccotti Park is on one many POPS in America (Privately Owned Public Spaces), it just happens to be one which is located in the direct vicinity of Wall Street. These POPs first emerged in the 1960s as a financial and spatial obligation imposed upon developers by the state, as recompense for providing them with the legal and financial framework to redeveloping large parts of the city at that time. As a consequence, (as the name indicates) these spaces are demarcated as privately owned land, but with a

110 The competition attracted entries from well-established architectural practices including Richard Rogers, Norman Foster, James Stirling, Arata Isozaki, Richard MacCormac, Skidmore Owings and Merrill, and Arup Associates. Arup was chosen to complete the project in 1988 but the proposal failed to gain planning permission. This was in no small part aided by the intervention of the Prince of Wales who commissioned his own advisors to compile a proposal; Dan Cruickshank, Leon Krier and John Simpson. This failure to develop the winning entry was followed by a succession of schemes from foreign conglomerates which also failed to gain permission. Eventually. Three year later the scheme by William Whitfield was accepted by the planners and implemented 15 years later.

111 The previous incarnation of Paternoster Square (the incomplete plans by Holdford – constructed by 1967) had two distinct side effects on the *sense* of the space *feeling* public. With many of the buildings being finished by other architects designing outside of Holdford's vision - the square was not homogenous in its architectural typology. Thus, the lack of singularity and the pedestrianisation - whilst lacking architectural clarity, created a multitude of access points, and thus adaptation which was lost in future more homogenous schemes.

112 The global economic crash was due to an established practice amongst a section of bankers acting irresponsibly and without the recourse form government to dissuade them from pursuing these practices. As the 4th largest stock exchange in the world at the time of the crash) the practices of the London Stock Exchange epitomised some of the entrenched problems within the industry.

requirement to provide a "public function"[113]. Here is where the opportunity for tactical spatial intervention occurs. As the camp effectively asks; what activities are included in this understanding of public space? Similarly, the activities which were conceived of in the 1960s as public, may take on a very different manifestation of social and political understanding in contemporary society. This cultural shift in what is interpreted as constituting public activity is still a legal (as well as a cultural) grey area.

There was in effect an intermediary phase - between the establishment of the camp and official sanctioned state efforts to remove said camp. In this time period where the state had to identify practices which they felt could be documented and used as evidence to defend the position in a court of law, as activities which work against the notion of public space, then they could pursue removal of the protesters and closure of Zuccotti Park to dissuade repeat attempts at occupation. Although the true objection was to remove the threat embodied within the accessible democratic politics of the camp, legal objections orientate around re-defining its spatial identity as a mechanism to restore the status quo. ***This is a recurring contemporary mechanism to undermine the political potential of dissent. What we see repeatedly is that political diversity is thwarted by legal mechanisms and frameworks constructed to address other matters.*** This legal appropriation undermines the potential for exploratory spaces of political dissent.

As a result, whilst assembling the argument to make grounds for eviction - before law enforcement officials are given the order to act, this indeterminacy which is thrust upon the territory, in effect granted the protesters a grace period of around 20 days where they could establish and publicize a series of practices which would be appropriated around the world.

70: Photo: Protests Kettle at Cheapside

(By interviewee 001)

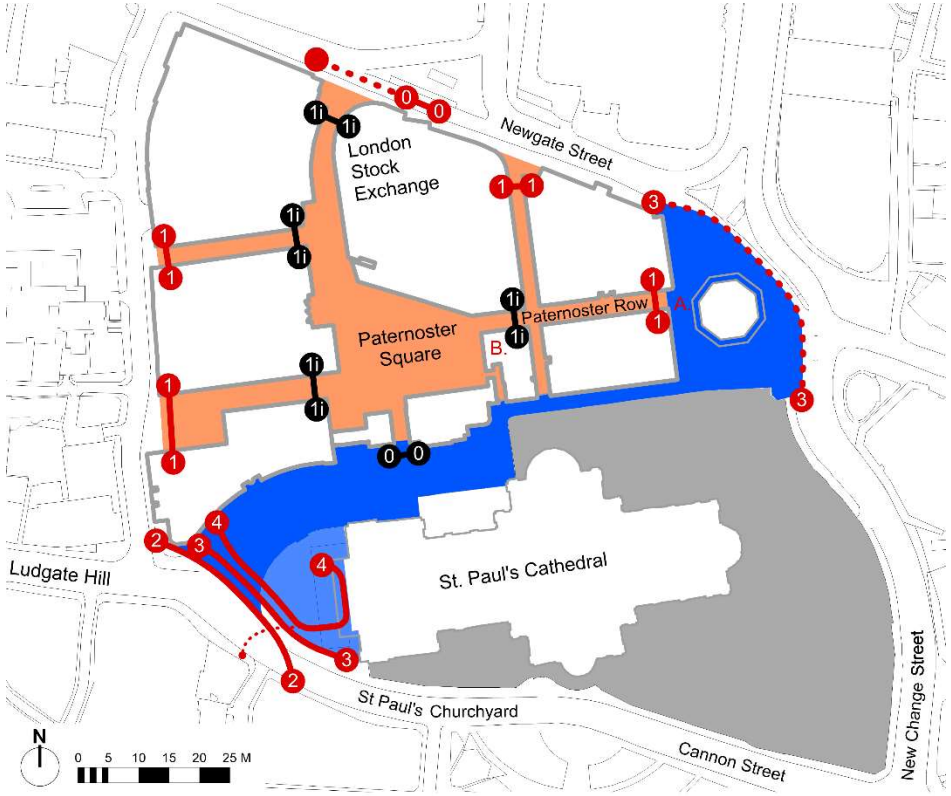
Photograph taken at one of the access routes to Paternster Square on the aproach from Cheapside (A). Here it is possible to see the two lines of police officers prohibiting acceess to Paternoster Square. The internal line was later pushed back to allow access to Satbucks located on the corner of Queens Head Passage(B)

Positions of photography indicated on following map.

113 Privately Owned Public Spaces, abbreviated as "POPS", are an amenity provided and maintained by a developer for public use, in exchange for additional floor area... Since 1961, the Zoning Resolution has allowed for several different types of privately owned public space, including plazas, arcades, urban plazas, residential plazas, sidewalk widening, open air concourses, covered pedestrian spaces, through block arcades and sunken plazas. POPS are primarily procured through incentive zoning, however some POPS were created as part of a variance or special permit granted by the City Planning Commission or Board of Standards and Appeals... In 2007, the New York City Council adopted revised standards for all outdoor POPS, representing a significant update to and consolidation of all previous plaza design regulations into one outdoor plaza designation – the "public plaza". ***The 2007 text is intended to facilitate the design and construction of unique and exciting outdoor spaces that are truly public***. Since the adoption of the 2007 public plaza text, a follow-up text amendment was adopted by the City Council in June 2009, to clarify certain provisions in order to enhance the 2007 text. The Current public plaza provisions enable the creation of high quality public plazas on privately owned sites that are inviting, open, accessible and safe." ***my highlights*** (Kaydenm 2000)

Comparatively, the publicity that Occupy LSX created for themselves allowed the Mitsubishi Trading Estate Company (who own Paternoster Square) to prepare for their proposed action before it was implemented, subsequently (and inadvertently) leading to the protesters being Kettled ***out*** of Paternoster Square (and unwittingly) Kettled ***in*** to territory owned by The Corporation of London and St Paul's Cathedral. The ***reactive decision*** the protesters took to establish their encampment there, would have long lasting implications on their longevity and the types of practice which would thus evolve.

By locating themselves between two sites, one public but with private stakeholder interests (The City of London). The other, The Church of England, a private organisation but with a ***public remit*** thereby makes a mockery of the definition. In actuality it was the private body whose actions created the framework for the protesters to prolong their stay.

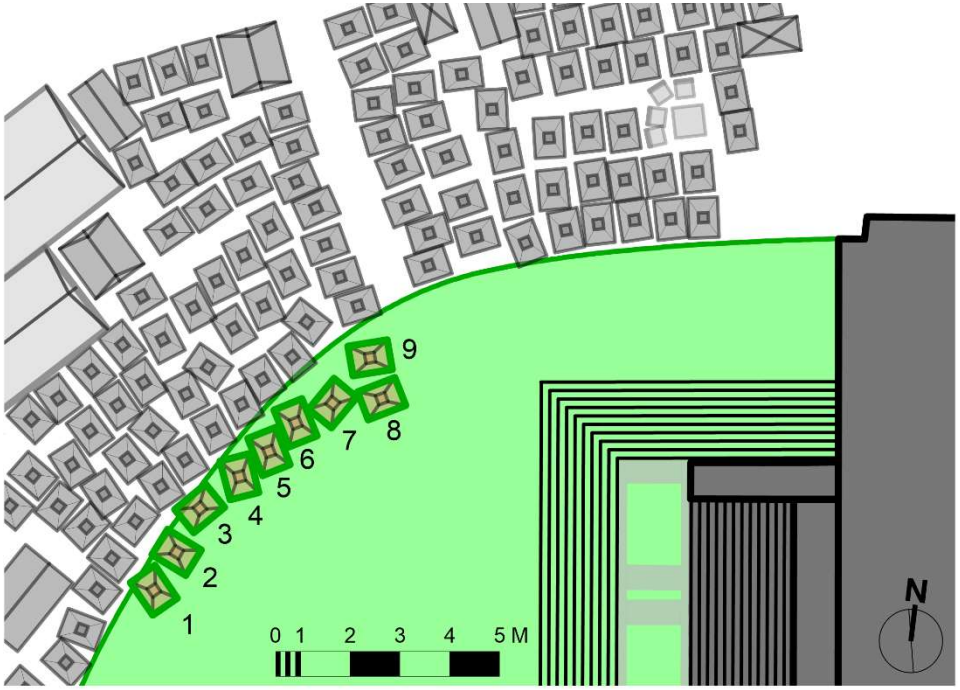


71: Mapping Occupy LSX Kettle

Layers indicating movement of Kettle lines (Author)

Protesters were Kettled Outside of Paternoster Square but into the area mainly defined as St Paul's Churchyard [blue]. This is a progressive kettle which, on the South Western side [moves progressively inwards controlling pedestrian and vehicular traffic down Ludgate Hill and prohibiting access the steps of St Paul's Cathedral. This action was policed heavily by the Corporation of London Police force.

The 'protection' of Paternoster Square was a two-tiered kettle with a solid line of police officers (shown in black) at the entrance points, with a secondary line of officers located at the connection with 'public' roads. This operation was carried out by London Metropolitan Police Officers.



72: Tents on St Paul's Cathedral land

Mapping Occupy LSX: boundary focus (Author)

Because the camp was located across both territories (by the matter of a mere 8/9 tents), the eviction which The Corporation of London immediately sought required the support of St Paul's Cathedral (as the occupation as a unit operated across both territories). However, the Church of England were hesitant to publicly support either side (Occupy or the Corporation) too strongly. In effect the relationship between St Paul's and Occupy LSX was more similar that of (the diminishing act of)

commoning[114] than anything that can be expressed by the binary dichotomies of private and public spaces.

In line with the traditions of commoning, where ***the owners of an identified piece of land allow access to a selected group for a particular purpose for an agreed period of time***, Occupy never established a permanent arrangement to remain on the site (such as an agreed minimum departure date - something which certain forces within the camp later attempted to achieve). The Occupy protesters entered into constant and detailed dialogue with the Church and at some points during their occupation were in discourse, on a daily basis. On several occasions, operational changes with spatial implications where made to the camp which extended that relationship, as both parties began to identify with the other as one that they could enter into an informal relationship which would be beneficial to both.

> *"A working group meeting [took place] with the church all the time...][Even on the eviction night, the working group; who were working with the church...."*
>
> *(LSX_interviewee_003 2014)*

This continuity of contact facilitated developments such as the appearance of portacabins, the relocation of tents in the living area to create corridors through the site creating a tangible physical sign of the relationship. However, this relationship also brought tensions to the forefront, with the resignation of three prominent church officials[115] occurring during the first two months of the occupation highlighting their difficulty in finding a consistent narrative to explain their position in relation to the camp.

Opposing Notions of the Public

As Occupy LSX is the example - public space takes on a very different domain of practice depending on the defining conditions, in fact to use the term ***public space*** is perhaps prohibitive in aiding our understanding the key importance of different spatial actions in specific territories. Occupy (as a series of global actions) highlights the redundancy of this terminology and mode of expressing space. It is worth remembering that the eventual order for the protesters to leave the site was activated under a health and safety requirement act[116], a fact which puts into question our definition and designation of spaces. I believe that there is evidence to show that ***Occupy LSX was public in its use of space and practices, thus is had an intrinsic value to society.*** This is not to say that the camp was without its faults or should have been granted permanent access to continue their practice (indeed temporality has its place in social and cultural organisation). Instead, the value is in the ***processes*** which occurred which is worthy of examination and analysis outside of the socio-political- economic reading of their cause. However, firstly, to do this it is necessary to understand what that context is. The feeling of 'injustice'[117] which had been felt by an ever more vocal minority was perhaps most clearly epitomized (in terms of global notoriety) by the protesters who had gathered in Zucotti Park, New York, United States of America in September of 2011 under the banner of "Occupy". Their actions then in tern incentivised a plethora of similarly motivated occupations across the world[118], including those which occurred in London, England. However, the "Occupy" ideology would manifest itself differently in each territory where its protagonists organised direct

114 Commons are a remnant of the manorial system which from medieval times had been the basis of the country's economy. The manor was the basic unit and was supposed to be self-sufficient. Crops were grown on the better soil and the poor land was the 'waste' used for grazing and gathering fuel. ***The Lord of the manor owned the whole land but the cottagers had rights recognised by the courts. In turn this meant that the Lord of the manor could not enclose land without parliamentary authority, hence the unfenced open spaces which we still recognise as the hallmark of a common.*** The obligation to provide land for commoners' rights derived from the Statute of Merton of 1235 and was reflected in the variety of courts leet which determined the dates for grazing and rotation of crops.

my highlights *(Clayden 1985)*

115 Those resigning in response to the politics that Occupy LSX brought to the site: canon chancellor, Dr. Giles Fraser, Thursday 27th October 2011 and Part-time Chaplin Fraser Dyer and the dean of St Paul, Graeme Knowles, Monday, 31 October 2011

116 Extracts from the court proceeding leading to the eviction of the Occupy LSX Camp: *"Withholding relief at this stage would plainly be wrong. The freedoms and rights of others, the interests of public health and public safety and the prevention of disorder and crime, and the need to protect the environment of this part of the City of London all demand the remedy which the court's orders will bring."*

(Lindblom 2012, 166)

"The extent and duration of the obstruction of the highway, and the public nuisance inherent in that obstruction, would itself warrant making an order for possession and granting injunctive and declaratory relief."

(Lindblom 2012, 165)

"So too would the effect of the camp on the article nine rights of worshippers in the cathedral. So would the effect on visits to the cathedral. So would the other private nuisances have caused to the church. So would the planning harm to which I have referred."

(Lindblom 2012*, 165)*

117 Fuel for the *feeling of injustice* "…however, the evidence shows clearly that whatever progress has been made for some groups in some places, the outcomes for many people are not shifting as far or as fast as they should. To make matters worse, the current economic and social crises threaten to widen some equality gaps that might have closed in better times. And finally, without corrective action longer term trends, such as technological and demographic changes are likely to entrench new forms of inequality without some corrective action"

(Equality and Human Rights Commission 2010)

actions. It is my conjecture that the ideology of engaging in acts of spatial dissent in response to the catastrophic social, political and economic consequences that result from the failures in free market capitalism[119] - were articulated differently in relation to the geographic territories (and then by necessity, the legal framework) in which this ideology was spatially explored.

73: Occupy: 951 cities in 82 countries

Guardian Datablog: (Rogers 2011)

The London Stock Exchange & Wall St

Each "Occupy" action engaged with the notion of protest which takes place in public(ly accessible) space as an act of spatial dissent so strongly linked to the location (geographic territory) in which it occurs. So to compare direct actions across these territories, requires an examination of the context in which they occur. A case in point is the significant differences that exemplified Occupy LSX and led to it being a substantially different exploration of spatial practice from that of Occupy Zucotti Park. The starting point for these differences has to be the laws controlling access to, and indeed the constitutional definitions of 'public space' in these two jurisdictions (a theme which has been outlined in the chapter Public(ly accessible) Space). In each case the categorisations were and remain fundamentally different. Indeed, on an even more elementary spatial level, if we take the two most powerful and iconic financial institutions[120] of each nation (Wall Street and the London Stock Exchange), those protesting in opposition to their actions spent the longest part of their campaigns in spaces in which the state and planning authorities had fundamentally defined in opposing spatial terms (in America POPS are considered public space and in the UK The Church of England owns and manages private land – which is where a significant placement of Occupy LSX tents were located). These spatial delineations would be key in deciding the ultimate fate of each camp. An occupation, by its very nature is dependent on one key construct, that of time, and how to utilise it to extend the stay and efficacy of the participants in any chosen location. As we continue to make comparisons between Occupy Wall Street and Occupy LSX the issue of time can be assessed at two scales (1) the 'timing of' and (2) the much more localised 'commencement time' of an event. Occupy LSX takes place whilst the public are still feeling the negative socio-eco-political effects of the crises (as outlined earlier in this chapter) - as well as acting act in the immediate aftermath of the instigation of Occupy Zuccotti Park; before their eviction, when positivity over the socio-political implications of the emerging movement is high. It is a time when public interest in and support for these issues are prevalent in the public psyche. Similarly, by proposing to meet in a public(ly accessible) place on a Saturday afternoon, the organisers maximise the potential attendance, from those entrenched in the

119 In his book "The End of Protest: How Free-Market Capitalism Learned to Control Dissent" Alasdair Roberts speaks extensively about despite the Failures in Free-market capitalism dissent was limited – in both its scope and quantity despite the fact that *"before 2008, the last great economic crisis to hit the United States was the recession of 1981-82. It lasted only sixteen months, but even then there was widespread unrest."* *(Roberts 2013)*

120 The (WFE) World Federation of Exchanges, annual survey of global markets lists the NYSE (New York Stock Exchange) and the UK stock exchange as the first and fourth (respectively) largest in the world (in terms of market capitalisation – total value of issued shares).

movement, to those recently politicised to those who are simply passers-by or observers in a busy part of London.

Although Occupy Wall Street would raise questions over the designation of public(ly accessible) space, primarily, ***if public space is so tightly defined that it does NOT include peaceful political protests of socio-political significance, then is the remit of its definition wide enough?***

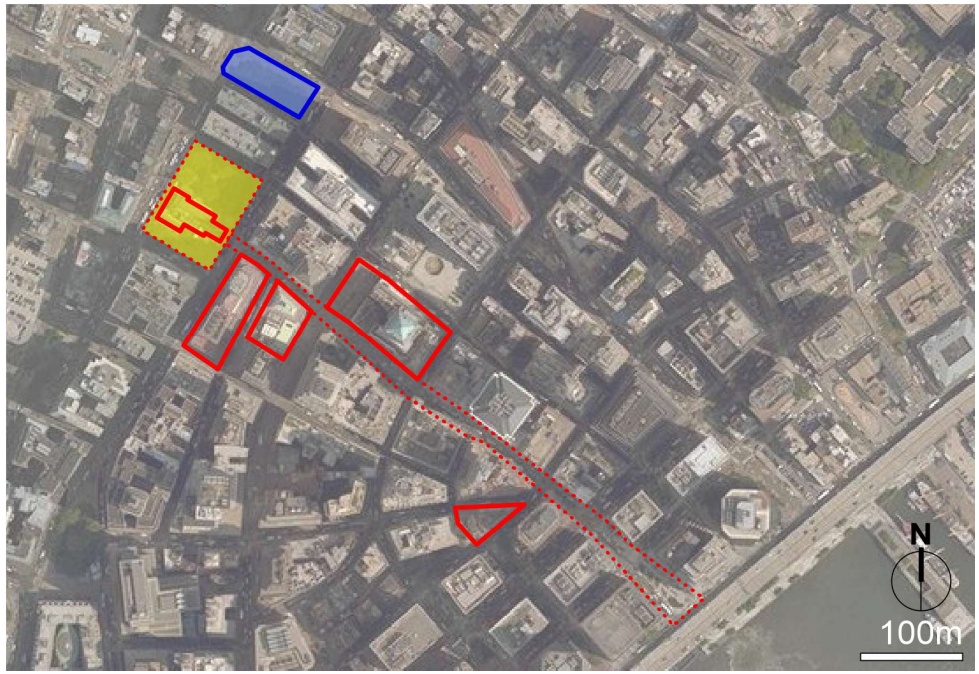
The camp's inability to facilitate a long standing occupation meant that in reality that conversation wasn't had (for a long enough time period, outside of the protest movement itself). Their eviction meant that the questions that the camp rose over democracy and representation were quickly extinguished as a key political debate occurring in American society.

However, for Occupy LSX who located themselves across both private and public territories, building on the indecision of by the site owners; they could create a scenario where the ***conversation over the efficacy of their action AND methods of appropriation were allowed to be expanded upon and tested in a variety of spatial ways.***

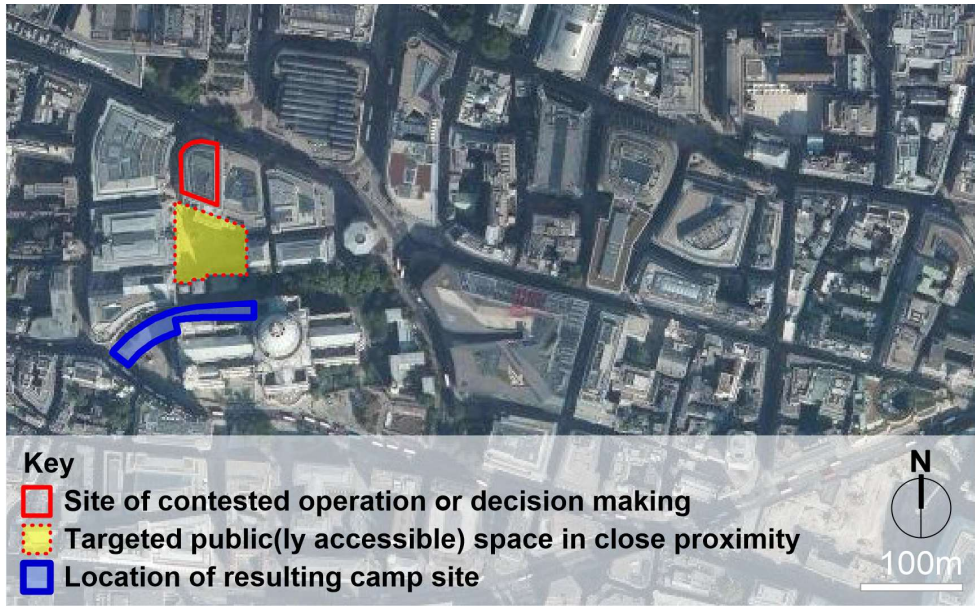
Alternative Spatial Practices

Occupy LSX sees the development of several distinct spatial practices, the most prolific deviation from the original LSX camp is the development of "the bank of ideas". Although a valid action in its own right, the bank of ideas raises larger issues around socio-political spatial democracy in contemporary British society. At its hiatus, the action highlights the loss of a significant social tool within British society. This break away action speaks clearly of the importance of two disappearing constructs (1) the role (and ultimate abolition) of squatting rights in Britain and (2) the seismic difference between the ***external*** and ***internal*** practices of protest.

On the morning of 17th November 2011 near the peak of the occupation's popularity, members of Occupy LSX squatted and appropriated a disused office block owned by the UBS bank in Sun Street, Finsbury, London. It was not the first building that they had attempted to occupy but it was the one that they were in for the longest (lasting 11 weeks) – as they were evicted from a number of spaces before they had time to establish themselves and a series of practices as they did here. What was significant about this site was that it was a stone's throw from one of their other



74: Aerial Photo: Occupy Wall Street & Zucotti Park



75: Aerial Photo: Occupy LSX & The London Stock Exchange

breakaway occupations – "Occupy Finsbury Square[121]". Clearly all of the occupations operated around the theme of highlighting and opposing the strategy utilised by British politicians to deal with the operational problems present in the finance and banking sectors and its after effects. As such, "the bank of ideas" was a spatial strategy in line with the socio-political ambitions of the general Occupy (London) movement.

What was significant about this location was that this internal protest site allowed the protagonists to transfer some of their spatial experiments from the street to the sofa. creating a series of new spaces and scenarios. Firstly, by re-appropriating a building (an environment under single ownership) and stating their intentions to "open the building to the public"; attracted a different user base and set of operating conditions. This internal space being easier to manage than the external ones – buildings can more easily be organised to have a single point of entry and exit. The building also more easily provides protection from the elements, expanding further the possible range of participants – in this case there were operational toilets, electricity and rudimentary heating systems which facilitated discussions and workshops of a more settled nature. Open debates were generally longer and more focused on particular (advertised) subject matters often with a more directly academic agenda, with speakers being able to give talks repeatedly on a subject in a more established environment than that which could be facilitated externally. There was a greater focus on creating a narrative to address wider global socio-political left-wing or liberal agenda, with speakers from university lectures to active politicians appearing on the schedule rota. As this space does not exist within the public(ly accessible) zone of activity, all attendees are there through elective choice (and are rarely passers-by), thus creating a more philosophically homogenous (if not harmonious) environment, hence the propensity for more explorative discussion looking to the nature and direction of future protest actions within the movement dominating in a way that they didn't at LSX.

With an external protest site, a substantial amount of energy has to go into maintaining the perimeter of the occupation as it has no natural boundary. In addition, negotiating with security authorities or the police on a daily basis is exhaustive on the resources of the camp. This occupation is essentially an illegal squat (as all squatting is now illegal in the UK without the possibility of becoming sanctioned), however, ironically the lack of rights that you have as a squatter, coupled with the manageability of the site, meant that less effort has to be put into the maintenance of the area of operation and the intrinsic activity boundaries. Thus, this protest could operate as a self-contained unit, which (until the point of eviction) is manageable as a more domesticated socio-political hub space.

Theoretical Analysis

Both the main camp and the breakaway/ nomadic actions raise the question of the nature of how these direct actions operated as public(ly accessible) spaces or enclaves. Analysing and assessing the daily processes of Occupy and the relationship between different groups of participants; I look at their behaviour within this context of ***being public***[122] (Deleuze 1972). This takes on a significantly different manifestation depending on the geographic territories in which occupy is practiced. Indeed, on a more specific geographic (or spatial) scale, Occupy differed from other protest actions planned in the UK in 2011/12 by virtue of its imbedded philosophy of ***being public***.

This is a re-appropriation of the term that Deleuze uses "becoming" as a way to express an agent being the reciprocal dependant of another. For Deleuze and Guattari the notion of becoming emerges from the metaphor of the rhizome; an organic organism which allows "multiple" or "non-hierarchical" entry (or exit points). Within the metaphor of the rhizome they explore the notion of "mutualism" as exemplified through the example of two interdependent species (in their case the orchid and the wasp) who need each other for their own propagation and survival, ***a mutually beneficial relationship.***

121 This occupation becomes the place of congregation after the eviction of the Occupy LSX camp, although the Finsbury camp had existed for almost as long (Saturday 22 October 2011 to 14 June 2012 - 8 months). The remaining participants in Occupy LSX relocated in Islington as the council did not initially have the funds to pursue an eviction process with the same expediency as The City of London. It was not the only break-away or "nomadic" camp, with Occupy Mile End setting up a much more temporary camp (between April to May 2012)

122 *Becoming public* the practice of performative transformation within accessed spaces. Taken from the theoretical notion of 'becoming' in correlation with the theories of Gilles Deleuze.

Such a relationship can be attributed to the horizontalism that is established within the Occupy LSX camp. The camp is in essence a platform for discussion and debate which ***creates*** different forms of civic action and social integration on which no pre-determined identification or qualification are required to gain access or involvement with the processes manifest. This is achieved both (1) ***spatially***; through the creation of places of (a) democracy (such as the general assembly), spaces of (b) knowledge exchange (such as The University tent) and (c) community and communal living (such as the kitchen tent). It is also achieved in relation to the practices which quickly become inherent, those of (d) equality of voice; (e) shared territories of action and (f) informal non-commercial exchanges. All of which contribute to the presence of a (2) ***practice*** of protest, which are dependent on mutualism and multiplicity. Such multiplicity which causes the development of the 27[123] working groups; which create focused forum to discuss and debate specific issues (such as welfare, legal, outreach, faith liaison or sanitation) and their consensus proposals are aired in the arena of the general assembly. The church working group is of particular interest as a mechanism of negotiating mutual dependence (as the camp is partially located on their land).

The co-dependence of Occupy LSX and St Paul's Cathedral, is not an expected one. On the face of it, there is little of interests which connects them. However, the implicit questions raised by the camp around morality and abuses of power; chime with the core interests of the Church of England. Although thrust upon them in an unceremonious way, the core values of the church meant that their response would always be different to that of The City of London.

This is an inversion of the situation which takes place in New York. rights and the embodiment of activity lead us to interrogate the notions of public and private territory and their redundancy as redefined by contemporary protest. If we consider the term "being public" through the comparison of these spaces "Occupy" in New York could only take place because it occurred on ***public property***, conversely in London, Occupy could - only maintained its 115-day long occupation through its alignment with a ***private organisation*** with a social remit (the Church of England). Thus the notion

123 First Aid, Health & Safety, Sanitation, Environment, Kitchen, Waste & Recycling, Youth, Faith Liaison, Non-violence, Outreach, Welfare, Economics, Technical, Tranquillity, mediation Commission, Land Ownership, London Corporation, Politics, Legal, Direct Action, Media & press, Cinema, Web, University & Library, Information, Surplus and Active non-violence.

76: Interdependent bodies

Occupy LSX & St Paul's Cathedral (Author)

of failure or success of an action can be seen in relation to these theoretical constructs as opposed to whether the actions of a few thousand people in 2011 managed to irrevocably change the world and the trajectory of established economic practices.

In this vein, the spatial manifestation of the ideology; which is the occupation of powerful and therefore culturally significant financial districts – in a binary dichotomic understanding would (incorrectly) have said to have failed in their initial spatial intention (as they were not able to set up a camp in the space originally targeted). However, the intrinsic value of the accidental, unforeseen - or more importantly the tactical response to these obstacles and physical obstructions (namely the Kettle), results in the

subsequent engagement with territories of a different nature to those which were imagined when the occupations were planned, creating something beyond the preconceived aspirations of the protagonists or the opposition forces of citizen spatial agency. Both protest camps suffered from the problem or targeting their desired location. Because of the impact of what has happened since, it is easy to forget that Occupy Zucotti Park wanted to "occupy" (locate a series of tents) on Wall Street itself, similarly, Occupy LSX did not actually succeed in "occupying" Paternoster Square; owned by the London Stock Exchange.

The planning of Occupy LSX is the first clue to as to why they were deviated from their initial (or at least stated) intentions. It is important not only to understand the particular role of their protest, that of 'being public' (in a most prosaic manner), but also to assess its role within a larger movement (a succession of protest actions related through ideologically).

Occupy clearly and openly advertised[xv] their intention to utilise the London Stock Exchange as the territory for action[124]. They also clearly stated the commencement time and location for the action on their own website (occupylondon.org.uk), this information was also published on social networking sites (most noticeably Facebook and Twitter). The intention here was (as is reinforced by a succession of later statements released by the camp during their occupation), to promote Occupy LSX as a ***public event***, taking place within a ***public space*** (or at the very least a place within the public stock[125]). The organisers are inviting interested parties to act in unison with them for their cause.

A prominent example of this approach is epitomize by their slogan "We are the 99%". The slogan, now synonymous with Occupy (globally) was first seen in the Zuccotti park occupation[126]. Its use suggests a very particular interpretation of space and (participant) representation. The slogan refers (inversely) to the earnings of influential and powerful individuals, suggesting that these individuals whose incomes are in the top 1% are making decision which detrimentally effect the lives of the remaining 99%. The accusation is that this 1% are reinforcing the socio-economic conditions which have allowed them to accumulate their wealth. Within the 1% are bankers and CEOs of companies with powerful domestic and international lobby (to politicians) and those seen to be directly responsible for the crash and crisis (outlined previously). Furthermore, these are individuals who are financially profiting despite the consequences of their actions[127]. This 1% represented a ***non-democratic***, ***non-geographic*** (domestic or territorially restrained) power base. In contrast, the Occupy narrative tells us that the occupying protesters were providing the antithesis to this current ***unrepresentative*** power order, and that through their actions, promoting themselves as a bona fide representation of the ***interests*** of the remaining 99%. By locating themselves in the symbolic territory where the 1% practice their trade and operating in an adversarial[128] manner, they were not only proposing alternative forms of democracy but ***practicing*** them, intentionally (through the creation of various forms of public assembly) and reactively (as will be outlined later in this chapter). We can see here that the protagonists of Occupy LSX self-defined themselves as ***being public*** (although not through the use of this terminology), but through their publications and spatial practices.

124 #OccupyLSX Callout – Be ready to create a better world!
- Posted on October 14, 2011 by occupylsx
- Occupy London Stock Exchange calls supporters to meet 12 noon at St Paul's Cathedral on Saturday, 15 October
- Occupy London Stock Exchange (OccupyLSX) has called on people to meet at 12pm 15th October in front of St Paul's Cathedral in London for the beginning of a planned peaceful occupation in London's Square Mile. Occupy LSX intend to highlight and address social and economic injustice in the UK and beyond, as part of a global movement for real democracy.
- Supported by UK Uncut, the London-based Assembly of the Spanish 15M movement and others, the movement has received phenomenal interest, from the public and media in the UK and around the world. The OccupyLSX facebook group now has more than 13,000 members, with more than 5,000 confirming their intention to be there on the day.
Full transcript available in the appendix section

125 Definitions of "the public" space and sphere
"By 'public space' we mean the range of social locations offered by the street, the park, the media, the Internet, the shopping mall, the United Nations, national governments and local neighbourhoods. "Public space" envelops the palpable tension between place, experienced at all scales in daily life, and the seeming spacelessness of the internet, popular opinion and global institutions and economy." (S.L. Smith 2006)

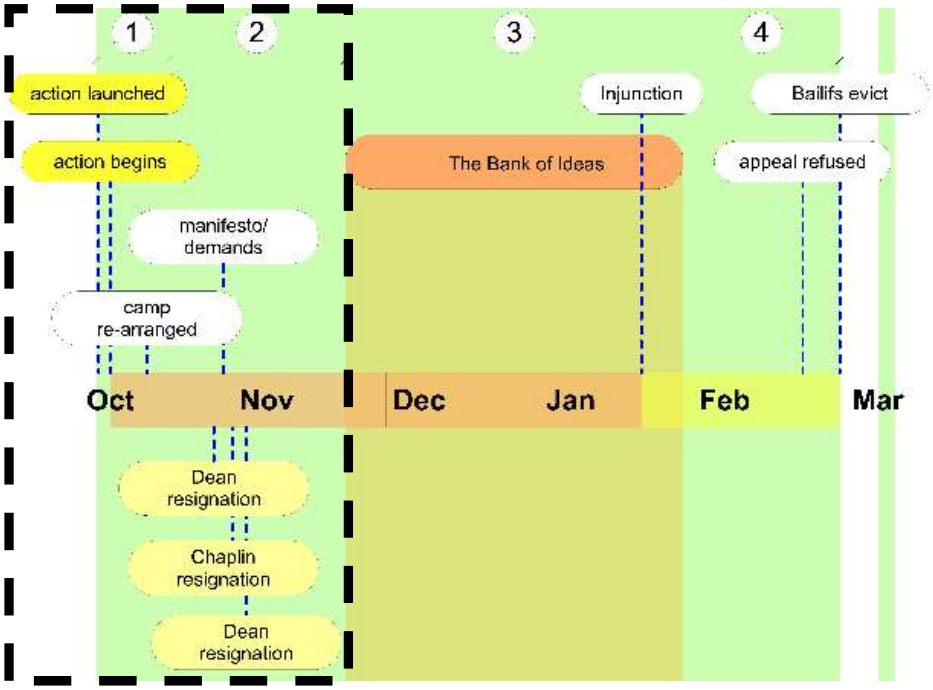
126

Most scholars agree that wealth inequality in the United States is at historic highs, with some estimates suggesting that the top 1% of Americans hold nearly 50% of the wealth, topping even the levels seen just before the Great Depression in the 1920s

(Ariely 2011)

127 Bonuses continued after the global economic crash and the implementation of cuts in government spending, contrary to the spirit of the aims as outlined by the con-lib coalition. In particular, the third commitment (banking reform).
(Conservative & Liberal Democrat parties 2010)

128 'Adversarial' as defined by Chantal Mouffe as relations between "friendly enemies" where in essence each party recognises the positional the other and will debate that position on an equal platform or forum.



77: Extract: Mapping Austerity Protests

Phases 1and 2 (Author)

Occupy LSX would later come to call these repeated rituals of participatory action a form of direct democracy'[129] a definition which I will also dissect later in this chapter, however for the moment this section aims simply to outline the public intentions as portrayed and the context in which it first developed (fuelled by knowledge of Occupy Zuccotti Park and their 29-day occupation which at that point was approaching its abrupt end).

One thing that it was clear that Occupy LSX achieved (by fortune or design) was the transformative impact over a conglomerate of territories previously defined through ownership as either "private" or "public". The protesters projected a third category of designation, that of ***being public*** by changing the daily operation and thus designation of these territories, allowing them to act as a singular space (even though they were acting across several specific and different territories of ownership). **They had transformed these disparate territories into *one* where the *public* is defined by the *activities* and citizen *access* to them.** Gifted through the luxury of time, Occupy LSX is singularly different from other forms of Occupy (occurring around the world at the time), it gave the activists the opportunity to adapt and develop tactical approaches to the manipulation of space.

> *"for me there was definitely two different aspects of occupy... for me there were the people who were career activists, they would live elsewhere and they would come in first thing in the morning and do the meetings and the tent city university thing until late into the night for hours and hours... with lots of communication about little points...*
>
> *"...and then it got really cold, and it was like a gift because it sorted out the chaff {from the weak} then it became, "if you stay it's because you part of really tight community and we're all watching out for each other, you'll shake the snow of people tents and make sure that they don't collapse."*
>
> *(LSX_interviewee_003 2014)*

The occupation itself can be loosely divided into four phases of activity (1) The initial hiatus where a hedonism spreads across the camp with ideas forming about what is possible running high (2) The development of a series of daily practices; those of negotiation and of daily living patterns. (3) Then the integration of a diverse population (noticeable a large homeless population), (4) and finally the resistance around the eviction; once those actions became inevitable.

As Occupy LSX moves from phase (1) to phase (2) The daily (sometime twice daily) occurrence of the general assembly over a period of 115 days, moves the practice of occupation into a new territory of operation. Individuals become adept at developing their ideas and convincing others of their validity, those with good oratory skills or those of practical application are more persuasive and thus effective than those without, and as the financial donations grow the value of the individual who can secure funds for each working group is a useful instrument in the development of their interests.

> *"...there are common shared notions of what is rewarded and I don't necessarily think that it's good speaking skills][so say you are someone who regularly goes to general assemblies and you see that there is someone who turns up every time on time, listens really well, doesn't hardly ever interrupt seems really shy about talking, and then when they do it everyone will be really supportive where as if you're someone who is really good speaker, around*

129 The documentation and theoretical exploration of Occupy LSX self-defining as direct-democracy, utilising 'horizontal democracy' and 'autonomy'.
(Graeber 2011), (Sitrin Spring 2012), (Roos 2013).

These conceptual reference points are contested by others participating in the Occupy movement who experienced the camp as having a self-selecting but clearly identifiable group of "government" and "people" (as will be explored in this chapter).

people who are not academic it would really get their back up "you come here, you think you're really clever"

"Take Joey who was head of recycling, he basically was recycling, no one else wanted to do that job, he used to do the same thing in festivals in the summer, so when he had something to say at meetings he had a lot of respect, he was never heckled because of his contribution."

(LSX_interviewee_002 2014)

This forum which creates mechanisms for different voices to be aired in an atmosphere working towards a common goal, led to claims throughout the camp that they were operating a direct democracy[130]. However, this claim is challenged as practices develop over a period of time. As LSX shifts from phase (1) to phase (2) of the occupation, actions which initially appear to bear the hallmarks of a direct democracy soon develop into a meritocracy[131], as individuals learn to utilise the system to their advantage or through their persistence become a valuable member of the community (with greater gravitas than others). Thus Occupy becomes an exemplum of the microcosm of the institutionalisation of practices and the inevitable diminished agency for others. When the skills of negotiation are so well developed that individuals in essence become self-electing, the representation of multiple interests have to find other outlets.

"Basically when the general assembly was going on [we would send] someone from the kitchen to see if anything interesting was going on [they would come back] and they said no, nothing interesting!"

*"for me there was definitely two different aspects of occupy... for me there were the people who were **career activists**, they would live elsewhere and they would come in first thing in the morning and do the meetings and the tent city university thing until late into the night for hours and hours... with lots of communication about little points..."*

*"Then there was the actual **community** who was living on the camp keeping it going on a day to day basis on their own... it was almost like government and people. So there would be dictates that would come down, they would have been consensus decisions, through a long process, but very few of the onsite community members would actually be there because you didn't have time to attend if you are working in the kitchen or on welfare..."*

(LSX_interviewee_003 2014)

It's in this phase that the self-organisation (which doesn't develop overarching democratic constructs, but ***principles*** of shared resources, starts to become a daily representation of people's lives. This split between what the interviewee calls 'career activists' and 'actual community' is interesting because it exemplifies the importance of the practice of protest to have a ***multitude of different avenues of expression***; not only to be relevant to a large number of individuals to participate, but to be effective in their aims. These split roles of 'government' and 'people' are in many ways an extension of the two principles that every camp has to engage with at its inception; that of ***maintaining their presence whilst also attempting to become an embodiment of their principles.*** Ultimately different individual will have skills which will make them more adept at facilitating one aim or the other.

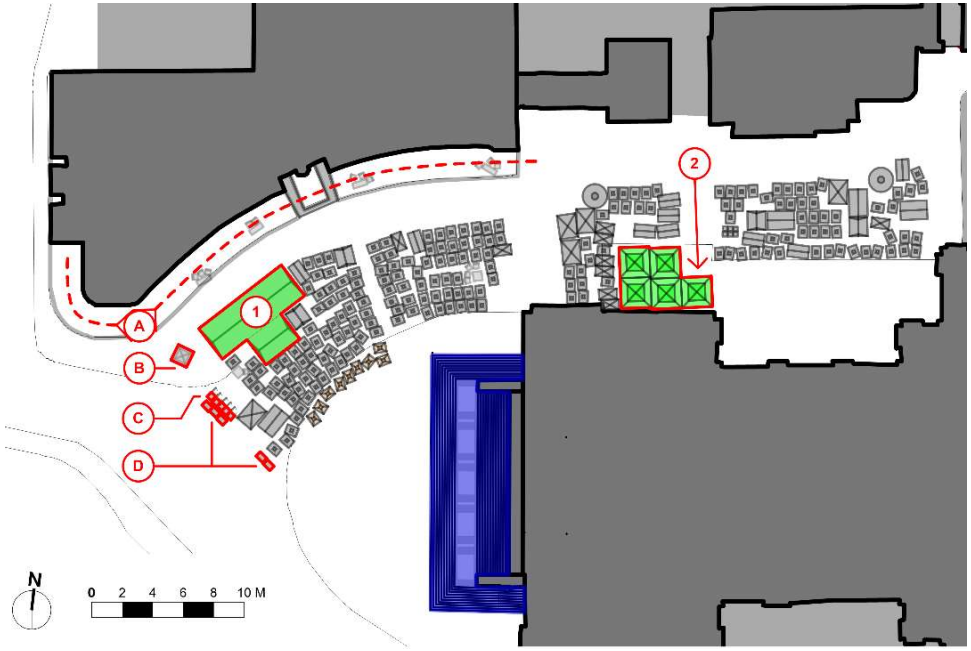
So at the same time the overt democratic processes develop the invited guests (academics, protesters and speakers from different disciplines supporting and propagating the Occupy brand) symbolise a departure from the reactionary instinctively responsive nature of other less long lasting protests. Occupy essentially begins to operate on several fronts, the working groups operating in a manner independent from each other. As each arm grows Occupy practices resembles those more akin to that of a ***settlement***. So as there were several spaces within the Occupy camp which embodied the notion of being public. Most prominently; the 'tent city University' and the 'Kitchen' tents. There were also break-away actions which camps such as Occupy Finsbury Square and subsequently 'The Bank of Ideas[132], with each space taking a very different approach to the method by which their space achieved their public remit.

130 A *direct democracy* is a form of government in which people vote on policy initiatives directly, as opposed to electing representatives to act on their behalf voting on initiatives and new bills.

131 In a meritocracy appointments and responsibilities are objectively assigned to individuals based upon their abilities and "merits", but in reality this practice can often privilege those with credentials which identify them in other "ocracies". However, the Occupy movement develops a Meritocracy through the repetition of **practices** which are at the point of creation open to all and non-hierarchical. However once the same people with identifiable skills manoeuvre themselves into a position where they dominate proceedings the inclusive nature of the procedures can be undermined although the inherent structure does stop individuals from amassing power and guiding proceedings to their own individual ideals in a holistic or totalitarian manner.

132 A disused office block owned by the UBS bank, activated and made public for 8 weeks beginning on 18th November – just over a month after the Occupy LSX camp established itself.

The kitchen was more of an ***adaptive*** non-strategic methodology of engagement, whereas with the University tent was more focused on creating a space of ***shared knowledge***.



78: Key Operational Apparatus

Tents as tools of spatial demarcation and operation (Author)

The University tent had a constantly updated series of notice boards, displaying their program of activities (discussions, workshops and affiliated direct actions). They were accessible both online (from the Occupy LSX website) and from within the space itself. The space integrated a library and was almost never empty with a 'receptionist' or 'guide' offering additional information on upcoming activities as well as the developing aims and purposes of the tent and thus camp. The agenda was varied and thus attracted a wide range of contributors from outside the camp, including prominent and well established academic speakers.

79: Photo: Embodiment of public

University Tent (Author 2011)

It was in this manner that they attempted to engage with the notion of ***being public***, by offerings a series of lectures that could be freely attended which would be used as a platform to question existing hegemonic constructs around the use of space, economic, rights and access to services. The tent [1] was in many regards the public face of the camp in both its location, comparative size and operation. Its location meant that it was the first point of contact for passers-by with a line of portable toilets [C] (used more by visitors than protesters) located beside a series of large bins [D], becoming a public advertisement for the camps' policy of maintaining the quality and cleanliness of the existing site. These were located at its street face with the length of the University running along the colonnade where petitioning often occurred [A]. Under shelter, temporary tables could be established to promote specific aims or causes loosely affiliated with the desires of Occupy.

The kitchen however [2] achieved its public nature through very different mechanisms. People need to eat, and by necessity of its function they would have to manage and negotiate the varied number of users accessing the kitchen who wished to do so. The daily preparation took into account the expectation to feed 150 people. So where the University was an optional,

affiliated location of antagonism, the kitchen was born out of necessity, and thus had to be more reactive to the daily requirements of its users. However, it shouldn't be forgotten that both institutions are created at a point at which the camp is not under imminent threat of being removed/evicted. Communal or shared spaces of activity can only find foundation on the back of (relative) stability.

Both the kitchen and the University are constructs of the second phase of occupation, when the camp can start to operate outside of its primary goal; where creating a targeted disruption to the status quo is no longer the solitary or main aim. Thus, the protesters that are involved in formulating and creating an action, the momentum behind it and motivating others to join them in claiming a space, is not the same skill set required to strategically operate different spaces for communal use.

> *"Around the kitchen it was properly truly communal... when I arrived there it was in grade 'A' chaos, I had arrived around 3 or 4 weeks in, from what I sensed there had been a real high from the beginning][and there were underhand tactics from the other side, so to speak the police telling a lot of homeless people "if you want free food go down to St Pauls"][and of course it was winter, so suddenly there was a massive influx of people who were mainly there out of practical reasons, not because of their revolutionary zeal."*

80: Photo: (The People's) Kitchen

Occupy LSX: Key operational Spaces (Author 2011)

The kitchen has to provide food to a variety of people, with different and in some cases contradictory aims, desires and notions around how the site should be used. As the diaspora became increasingly varied from 'career protesters', those who were homeless, volunteers and passers-by. All have different demands and levels of interaction. What is really striking about these two spaces is that they embodied the natural split of activity which occurred between people in the camp. The university was an output of that system, but the 'General Assembly' and the consensus decision making (often consensus minus one) was the mechanism by which this ideological and practical divergence became tangible.

> *"I was working as well as living in the camp, it meshed in with my life...] [I was there for the community aspect; I was not really interested in it as a political movement."*

> *"People with an academic mind-set who would have really strong academic theories about contentious decision making processes... [would] fundamentally would go home every evening and have their dinner... the actual community who was living on the camp keeping it going on a day to day basis on their own... it was almost like **government and people**. so there would be dictates that would come down, they would have been consensus decisions, through a long process, but very few of the on-site community members would actually be there because you didn't have time to attend if you are working in the kitchen or on welfare..."*

As the kitchens management emerged out of a pragmatism, it's method of becoming the embodiment of the notion of public was in the way that it created and integrated a diverse community. There wasn't a clearly defined pluralistic mechanism for gathering people's opinions and making sure that they were fully represented (as with the general assembly). It operated instead on the idea that self-engagement would take place because people would simply get hungry, and from that, a series of strategies of integration would occur. What defines this public facility from many others is that (similar to the principles of a GP surgery) it is not self-selecting minority but a ***universal service*** which doesn't discriminate at the point of use. They operate as if there is a defined social care mandate of inclusion, then find mechanisms to execute such an aim.

> *"There was one guy who said 'I've been here for years, before you guys turn up, this is my square, you guys can't have a meeting, come to a decision and tell me what to do'. He was very antagonistic... There were meetings and meetings and meetings about what can we do about this guy][... so I found out that he liked this one particular sleepy tea, he was suspicious about taking other remedies [but he was alright with that] so they'd come and see me saying*

"he's kicking off again" I'd go and have a chat with him, have a cup of tea, and the half an hour later he'd chill out"

"...in the end we found that he really liked art so we set up another marquee tent, right next to the info {highlighted on the map[B]} tent and that became his space, an art space, he was put in charge of that and then he didn't cause anymore issues. It also became where the guys who were a bit more like wasters would hang out. There were so many more stories like that because with a lot of the homeless people there, you have urban issues, you have addiction, mental health issues. So in the kitchen you would know straight away, like that these people have crack issues, and they can kick off with each other, so then we started to find out who was talking to that guy [and so on]"

(LSX_interviewee_002 2014)

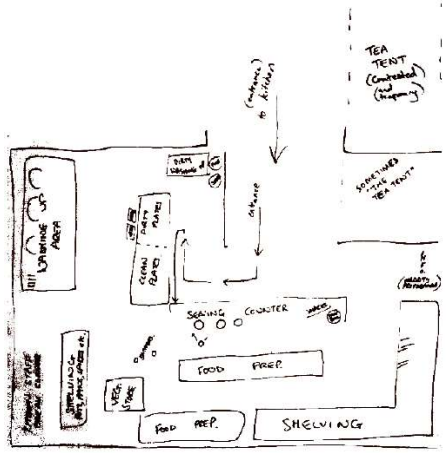
The kitchen had to be a space of continued diplomatic and inclusive compromise over the use of space. It engaged with the notion of public space being multifaceted and for everyone. As our notion of public space becomes increasingly narrow, (in the shadow of the propensity of the "clean and safe" spaces as highlighted by (Minton, Ground Control: Fear and happiness in the twenty-first-century city 2012)), where privately managed or owned spaces start to exclude activity which do not entrench predetermined corporate or commercial desires. Activities such as protesting, busking, picnics or street vending become obsolete. Here, the kitchen operates as an antithesis to this, they had to be included into the general fabric of everyday life. So as the kitchen established a series of negotiations with its 'tea drinkers' the Occupy LSX governing body negotiated space for strategic tactical expansion of their mandate in the corporate coffee house across the way…

"{Starbucks} it was like Occupy HQ...especially for the coffee addicts..."
"There were conflicts between the tea tents and Starbucks, the people in meetings all day here, they need a quick moment and a point to charge their laptop and so on, they're coffee heads so they go to Starbucks to carry on their meetings because for some reason they have money...][people who don't have money and don't want to sit in meetings but want to drink coffee too, but {they think that} it should come for free and the kitchen should provide it. So the people in the meetings {complain} about "there shouldn't' be any of our budget going around to support these people who just want to sit in the tea tent all day {and} harassing people"*

{but there was something that the Occupy 'government' didn't understand was that} "...homelessness" is more of a label that I use to talk about a culture {that existed in the camp}. When they became integrated they became nocturnal in a different way to the young people. They were a calm presence. Thy would stand around in small groups and {they thwarted an attack on the Info tent} stopped an arson attack just by being around, they're very level headed] [people who do meetings {didn't understand this because they} ...arrived at 9am and leave at 10pm..."

**Pointing to a location [A] (Juxton House) * {paraphrasing by author} (LSX_interviewee_003 2014)*

This divergent community which the camp attracts means that there are inevitable tensions as systems of spatial negotiation and strategies of engagement utilising and altering the status of the existing realm creating spaces of shared interest. However, within these spaces lay further, more nuanced explorations of social and cultural negotiations of space to overcome these tensions and achieve communal cohesion and identity. The kitchen tent itself, as with most public(ly accessible) spaces, still creates (and requires) several layers of accessibility control.

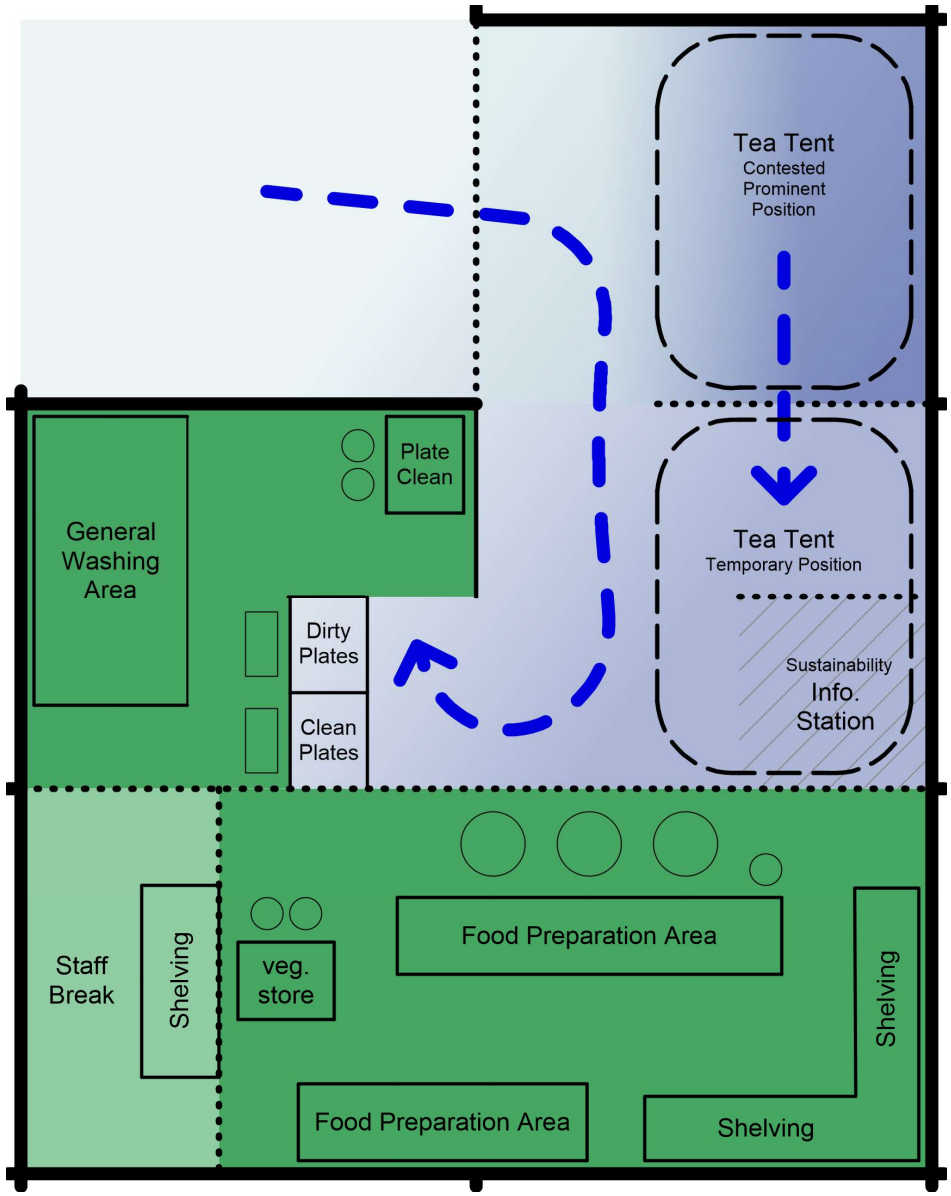


81: Sketch: The People's Kitchen

Sketch by interviewee 003 during interview

We are familiar with these constructs of access, even if they generally occur in more formal settings. Whether it be the reception area in a foyer or till area in a local grocery store; public infrastructure also embeds layers of accessibility. What was interesting about the kitchen was the way in which these layers were not split into the usual dichotomies of 'customer' and 'staff' but allowed a multitude of overlapping operations to be facilitated.

*The **kitchen was as evolution**, the consensus decision making and the kitchen had nothing to do with each other, a kitchen just has to work and you don't sit around waiting for consensus, if you step up and make it work you will get people against them and for them][There was one guy who ended up being main chef for the last 3 months... there was a good support structure][the budget would make lentils and rice 5 times a day, cos we'd serve 150 people 5 times a day and that would come out of the budget and we'd skip as many vegetables as possible... we'd do a lot of skipping through the night and that'd get handed out through unofficial channels to the people who were actually camping so that they could take it to their tent during the night and have something for breakfast {without having to leave their tent}. But there were some people who were like "I can't live without meat!" so they would go to the Sainsbury's and buy meat, and if they were one of the people who would regularly buy meat then they would get first digs when it was cooked or bigger portions... so in that way it was a meritocracy, **self-organisation** like that.*



82: The People's Kitchen Tent Arrangement

*The kitchen tent had three main areas of operation, **public** areas such as the tea tent, **semi-public**, staffed working areas and a **private** break space. Some who came to eat at the tent also assisted in washing up duties. The position of the tea tent was constantly being assessed, as it was originally located opposite the entrance, and some running the kitchen felt that they didn't provide a welcoming atmosphere*

End of the Occupation

The nature of the mixed community in LSX, starts to have greater providence as the camp establishes its practices in its 3rd phase. For example, the legal negotiations over the right to remain on the site are fought by different protesters to those who provide sustenance for the growing homeless members of the camp (which begin to arrive in larger number in late November and early December) ...

> *"I arrive there at the same time as the big influx of homeless people] [it was an interesting process of integrating. That is probably the most inspiring thing that I take away from St Paul's. That Somehow with time and patience people can live together..."*
>
> *(LSX_interviewee_002 2014)*

In regards to homeless man who had emigrated from Spain, lost his job and soon after starting to live in Occupy:

> *"There were a lot of proper human stories. There were people who were made homeless and came directly there, and in the end he said "I just can't do this" and left, but there's a time in-between when he was part of the community..."*
>
> *"Jim could prove that he had been sleeping on the steps of St Pauls, so the old covenant that still covered St Paul's and had never been revoked; gave possession to the person who had been living there the longest. They were then going to argue that they had a right to stay... it didn't work! But {although} he wasn't political… {the discovery of this covenant allowed him to be} part of the community..."*
>
> *(LSX_interviewee_003 2014)*

What is striking about LSX and the way in which the community aspect is ***managed***. Considering the rate and scale of change it is surprising that the level of inclusivity is reached. As the weather begins to turn and the homeless community grows; there is a diversity of lifestyles, and cultural experiences that are ***represented*** by the camp but is somewhat played down in their promotion (particularly in video interviews uploaded to the internet). This continues to be significant as Occupy moves into its 4th phase – resistance to eviction. Because of the public nature of the camp and the way in which they attempted to achieve validation and efficacy, the lost court case lead to a change in the negotiations with St Paul's Cathedral…

> *"Even on the eviction night,][the working group; who were working with the church were given the promise that anyone who didn't want to take part in the eviction could be on the steps and they would be left in peace. And so it split the camp, because half the people had said 'Ok, we do want to be here*

but we want to be non-violent' so basically they sat on the steps while the rest of the camp was cleared and then a lot of the camp that was cleared was moved to the steps, so basically at that moment people were shouting at the church 'you traitors' so on the eviction night the church clearly came down on one side. {of the Corporation of London and the eviction}."

(LSX_interviewee_005 2014)

The balance of negotiation and the state of "friendly enemy's" starts to be eroded as The Cathedral operate outside of the understood framework of conflict negotiation. At the core of the friendly enemy's dialectic is the notion that both camps recognise each other as a comprehensive structure with cohesive identity. As the end of the camp becomes an inevitability, The Cathedral Authorities agree to postpone acting on the order for at least seven days. However, within that week the notion of what the camp is, and what it stands for also starts to be eroded, thus facilities a change in the nature of the verbal agreement...

*"The kitchen was run by a **structure**, so as soon as the court case came through that they could evict, all of these structures were taken away because there had been agreed by consensus decisions, made in meetings for months, so these were a **possession of Occupy** and Occupy wants to use it in future..."*

***Author highlights** (LSX_interviewee_005 2014)*

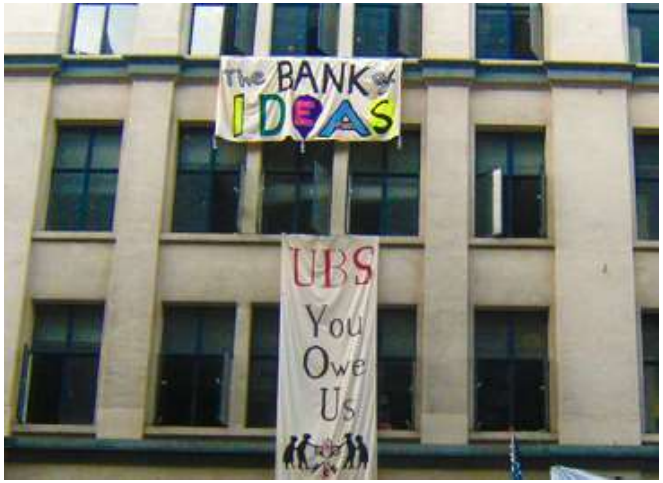
The idea to utilise some of the tools of protest which had developed during the occupation became a divisive one in the relationship between the "government" and "people" within Occupy, as it made manifest a chasm in the base ideologies of these disparate participant groups. Up until this moment of conflict and high stakes, the camp had managed to find methods of expansion which facilitated both. For the government (or seasoned and serial organised protesters), at the eminent demise of Occupy LSX, they saw the camp as one possible manifestation of their ideological position, which could potentially be re-packaged and put to just as good use in future direct actions in other locations. For residents, Occupy in its current form was the focal point and the format to be maintained and was the holistic representation of a cause which they believed in. As such, from this point they had different interests, one to salvage what they could from the product that had developed, the other to conserve the current status quo for as long as possible. the diversity which had made the movement so popular and effective was now working to accelerate their eviction from the site.

83: Photo: Occupy LSX 'info tent'

(Author 2011)

84: Photo: Occupy Finsbury Square

(Author 2011)



85: Photo: Bank of Ideas

18th November 2011 Hackney Citizen (Julia Ross)

Internalising the public. From the 'info tent' at 'Occupy LSX' to 'Occupy Finsbury Square' to the 'Bank of Ideas'

The Bank of Ideas[xvi133] book-ends the 3rd phase of LSX and also heralds the inevitable outcomes in relation to the 4th phase. For protest as a direct action to remain relevant it must continue to do what Occupy did at its initiation and apex; which was to facilitate a series of communal and democratic spaces which ***test*** the way in which we live in contemporary society and not to adopt these into state accredited constructs as they operate within a different socio-political context.

> *What I thought was critical and truly revolutionary was that your creating a whole new space where people can come and discover a skill that they didn't realise that they have...] [when I went there I thought that I'd know lots of people because I'd been squatting for years before that and I've been in activist circles forever, but by the time I arrived they had all gone, they were disillusioned {after three weeks}. I was blown away by that, I was in the middle of central London and there were lots of people who were there through circumstance, and I was one of them!*
>
> *(LSX_interviewee_002 2014)*

It's the tactical spatial response to that circumstantial situation (be it the global economic crisis, individual homelessness, political opinion or general discontent at the direction of contemporary society) which gives validity to the divergent practices that not only came together in LSX but the new practices which developed as a result of protesting in that proximity. Within or without the Occupy camp these citizens developed important mechanisms for enhanced civic communal existence and relative obstructive identity and a spatial lobby, which, if understood, utilised and expanded upon can be utilised in other, less temporary socio-political and spatial forms of alternative practice.

133 An account of my experience of a day of workshops at the Bank of Ideas can be found in the endnotes.

The issue for any protest action is that it is an act of dissent, and as such has a limited time period of operational efficacy. Even if constructs and tactic are taken forward to utilise on future direct actions; their life as a spatial tool for the participants is limited. This is because the actions are either nullified by existing hierarchical mechanism of control and management, or adopted and subsumed into them. In this case we see the former (a legal case refused on the grounds of existing case law and a subsequent eviction). However, the true value of any protest action, but particularly this one, is the practices that it facilitated. Regardless of their ability to be utilised by Occupy, the contemporary spatial counter strategies are a mechanism of organised opposition relevant to today's alternative practices.

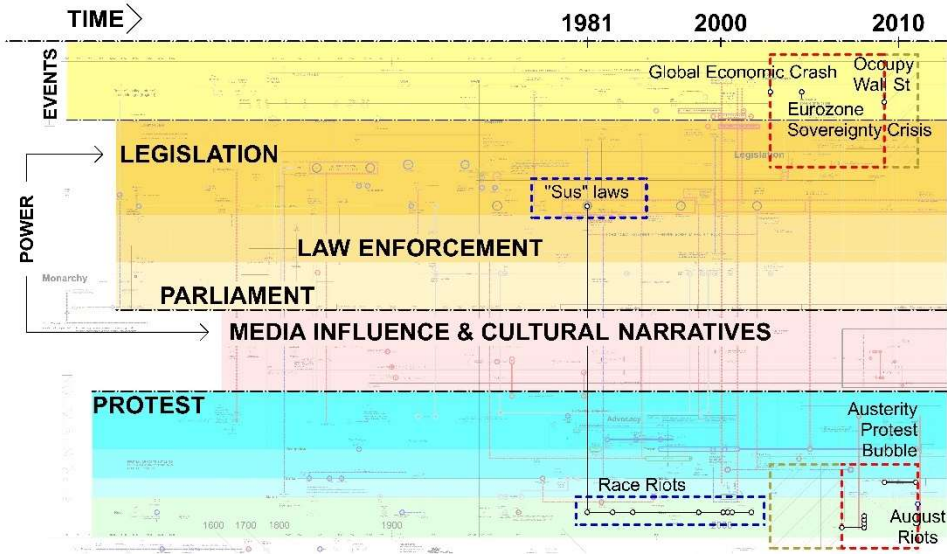
The importance of grouping protest as a practice along with other (more accepted forms of) alternative practice is sometimes a difficult argument to make, detractors make issue of the fact that these actions take place outside of the law (giving rise to notions of anarchy), violence or destruction to property. Similarly, they are criticised for being ideologically myopic, focusing on only one aspect of an agenda or issue which effects only them or a small number of people.

What occupy allows us to readily engage in, is the antithesis to this argument, where large numbers of people informed themselves and acted in unison in condemnation of established yet deeply floored practices, and in doing so created a base for them to test the efficacy of alternatives. The actions would of course never hold all the solutions to the eroding reciprocal relationship between citizens and our representatives in the neo-liberal age, but they give an avenue into the notion of what is possible if dissent engages with notion of politicising public(ly accessible)spaces and that this is a lesson which can be brought forward and applied elsewhere.

Page intentionally left blank

August Riots

The August Riots take place towards the end of the Austerity protest bubble (of 2010-12) in England and Wales. As the name suggests, these are riots, acts of violence and destruction to persons and property which takes place over a 4-day period in August 2011. Unlike most of the protests which took place during this period, the cause of these events is heavily disputed by social analysts, mainstream media and politicians. My research, focuses on how the ***causes create the arena for the method by which space is claimed by the participants.*** As such, I will also highlight the significance of the history of race riots in England and the prevailing social political landscape, exacerbated by the recent economic crashes which create a platform for divisive political ideologies and the effects that these have on social disenfranchisement which they instil.



86: Location Map: August Riots

Protest Contingencies Guide (Author)

The August Riots are a significant series of events within the study period. Although each event which characterises these 4 days of public disorder is different; what they all have in common is the way in which the actions are organised and executed, and as such, these events are fundamentally different to those of other direct actions within the research period. The participants in the August Riots use very particular methods for ***claiming space***. Their methods are ***instantaneous***, defined by its pace of change, developing nuances of engagement as it grows in momentum, ferocity and specificity – thus making it worthy of spatial analysis. This chapter will look in detail at two significant events which occurred in London. However initially, it is necessary to outline the socio-political conditions that facilitate the rapid escalation of the events that unfolded, so that we understand that the August riots are not simply acts of wanton violence perpetrated by lazy opportunism.

Firstly, there is the significance of the location in which the first incident takes place. Importantly, this first incident is not a riot but the death of a young man on the streets of London. What is key here, is the socio-political context in which this incident takes place; the fact that the victim is black and that the event happens in Tottenham and at the hands of the police; becomes a driver for subsequent actions which occur in response. This doesn't mean that the events which follow are reprisals, but are instead understood as actions in reference to this trigger point which has relevant historical ramifications.

Secondly, the rapid geographical spread of activity from Tottenham to other areas of London is not random but reflects the continuity of the urban fabric within the city. London typically facilitates a dense urban population characterised by the way in which those who are on opposite ends of the wealth spectrum often live in close proximity to each other - and the spread of the riots through the dense urban areas with a high residential quotient and low income (relatively speaking) reflect this urban sprawl.

Comparatively once the action moves to cities such as Birmingham and Manchester the majority of the rioting takes place on the edge of the city because of the way in which the pattern of commerce and residential blocks has developed differently in these localities. This difference in engagement practice is exacerbated by the sequence in which the action develops. By the time that the ***idea*** of the riots develops into *action* in other cities; the rioters are operating on a more strategic level, in nearly all cases ***choosing*** when and where to target their action - based on the response of police to rioting in London (largely of non-combative containment) and the knowledge that the rioters have of areas familiar to them.

87: Photo: A Carpet Right store set ablaze

- first night of rioting, Lewis Whyld: Press Association (2011)

When we speak about The August Riots we are referring to thousands of reported incidents of looting, destruction to property and unprovoked physical attacks which occurred over four days in England and Wales from 6th to the 11th August 2011. The disturbances that spread with rapidity after the death of a young black man from Tottenham at the hands of the police, is followed by the peaceful march by his friends and family from Broadwater[134] Farm to the local police station. Reports on the trigger point for the explosion of violence vary, but what they hold in common is that after a heated altercation between a young woman and a police officer outside of Tottenham police station, the riots began. These acts of violence were systematically and holistically negatively characterised by mainstream media, politicians and the judiciary system[135]. In this chapter I will look to alternative narratives to allow me characterise the four days of disturbances. Rather than looking at these events in cultural, social, historical and economic isolation (as many of the commentators did at the time and in the immediate aftermath); I'll take into account the key trigger points in this latest incarnation of the recurring theme of riots triggered by issues of race and other constructs of disenfranchisement (such as relative poverty). Within this process of re-evaluation I'll be primarily concerned with how the rioters re-defined public(ly accessible) space; not just the production (or destruction) of physical space; but the production of social space (Lefebvre, The Production of Space 1974).

To understand the August Riots, it is necessary to place the activities into the context of the geographic constructs which shape the actions which occur. Although the Riots start in Tottenham, they are characterised by their rapid spread across a multitude of different urban environments through England and Wales. The riots in Birmingham[136] had a different manifestation to those in Manchester or Liverpool, with the variation of activity in London being intrinsically linked to the pattern of the urban diaspora there. An important factor in this ideological spread, is the fabric of city life and the proximity at which different communities live side by side.

134 *Broadwater farm* was a scene of notorious rioting in Tottenham 1985. This had long been an area of tension between the black community and law enforcement, as such, this riot was triggered by the accidental death of Cynthia Jarrett (an Afro-Caribbean woman) who died of heart failure as police searched her home for a relative who wasn't there.

135 *Magistrates are being advised by the courts service to disregard normal sentencing guidelines when dealing with those convicted of offences committed in the context of last week's riots... The advice, given in open court by justices' clerks, will result in cases that would usually be disposed of in magistrates' courts being referred to the crown court for more severe punishment.*

(Guardian 2011)

"The principal purpose is that the courts should show that outbursts of criminal behaviour like this will be and must be met with sentences longer than they would be if the offences had been committed in isolation."

(Manchester crown court judge Andrew Gilbert QC)

"...ask the court to lift the anonymity of a youth defendant when they believe it is required in the public interest that the youth be identified".

(The Crown Prosecution Service)

136 West Midlands Police reported: Around 100 arrests were made after rioters rampaged across Birmingham city centre and some surrounding areas. Hundreds of youths gathered in the city's main retail area close to the Bullring shopping mall, which closed its doors early in anticipation of violence, while there were reports that a police station in Handsworth was set on fire.

Through their actions the rioters redefined the nature and function of public(ly accessible) space, briefly creating pockets; remarkable in their specificity and the fact that the anarchic environs ceased to exist once society returns to the customary status quo and imbedded hierarchies of spatial order. These are ***spaces of cultural opportunity***; and far from the popular categorisation; the main opportunity isn't to develop more stringent mechanisms (both physical and legislative) to restrict the use of public(ly accessible) space for every and anybody[137], but to understanding ***how*** and ***why*** these riots occurred ***when*** they did and putting in place informed socio-political strategies to prevent people having the ***desire*** to behave in this manner again, as opposed to a series of ever more reactionary measures which are utilised when riots inevitably return to our streets in future decades.

Approach

Due to the nature of the study group, it was necessary for my approach to information gathering to be cautionary, and as well informed as possible before arriving on site. It was important that I took all reasonable steps to safeguard my own safety whilst being at a workable distance to observe or document unfolding events. Due to the rapid escalation of activity it was necessary that I maximised my sources of information. This was primarily achieved by accessing the live event feeds provided by The BBC, The Guardian and The Telegraph. In addition to this, I monitored Twitter, Facebook and Blackberry Messenger[138] as many participants in the riots were very public in the way in which they planned their acts of dissent.

The trigger point for the rioting (the death of a Mark Duggan at the hands of police officers in Tottenham two days earlier) meant that the planned march by his family (to the police station nearest to the incident site), was well known about. This was a spatial and physical manifestation of their frustration with the lack of information provided by the police on the events leading up to Mark Duggan being shot and killed. However, the explosion of activity which occurred once the march reached Tottenham police station came as a shock to those organising the march.
Similarly, as the violence escalated and moved out of Tottenham and into other urban areas it became clear that this would be a valuable case study and I had to make a decision on how and where to engage with the process of data collection. Although the rioting took place in public(ly accessible) spaces; the violent and unpredictable nature of the activities meant that it was difficult to ascertain whether these would be useful and safe environments for me to inform my research.

In the main stream media some comparisons have been made between the August riots and the Brixton riots of 1981, and although similarities persist, one of the defining differences between the two riots was the way in which those taking part interacted with their peers. The 30 years that separate the actions sees the development of an interconnected virtual social dimension which was inconceivable in the late 20th Century. It means that the way in which the two riots spread from their initial trigger point is fundamentally different. In the case of the August riots, the use of social media as a precursor to informing the territory of action, gathering support and creating a degree of choreographed simultaneity to the action taking place. This responsive, self-informing method of mass ***dérive***[139] not only typified the nature of the protest and its participants but also allowed vast amounts of data to be gathered on the unfolding events. The Guardian (along with the LSE) commissioned a report into the riots as well as developing a series of interactive infographics, making it possible to see how the riots migrated over the four days; making tangible the kind of links that remain prevalent to geographic location, typology of streetscape and thus riotous behaviour.

To put this into context, this type of analytical information has only recently become available as a tool to understand patterns of behaviour during mass unplanned urban activity. In France, the riots of 2005 (which lasted for 14

137 Since the August riots several legislative measures have been passed to restrict *everyone's* use of the public(ly accessible) space. Most noticeably the use of water cannons and a wider number of circumstances in which police officers are allowed to use rubber bullets.

138 There was a high percentage of young teenagers and young adults (18-25 year olds) who took part in the August riots (The Guardian & The London School of Economics 2011) and at the time Blackberry was a popular mobile phone manufacturer amongst these age groups. A key factor was that all BlackBerry mobile phones came equipped with the BlackBerry messenger service, allowing the owner to send free and secure messages to other owners of Blackberry mobile phones.

139 A ***derive*** as utilised and defined by the Situationists International is an unplanned journey through an urban landscape with the expectation of encountering a completely new and *authentic experience* by creating rules of engagement which are different from the participants' daily lives.

days), showed a pattern of social media (mainly micro-blogs and websites) which played a part in constructing an understanding of the events on the ground. From these (and other[140]) recent riots and their pattern of mobilisation, it became possible for me to build an understanding of ***when*** and ***where*** moments of intensity would occur between rioters and law enforcement officials - in what type of spaces during contemporary riots they would be most likely to clash. On a more practical basis, it allowed me to visit several areas in the immediate aftermath of the hiatus of destructive activity, because it was possible to approximate when the end of the action would occur. This was of particular use when deciding to go to Chatsworth Road in Hackney in the direct aftermath of the rioting, looting and arson which took place there. This was only possible as reports outlined that rioters had moved to new locations or ceased their activities; then I could attend the sites to assess some of the lingering effects on the spatial hierarchies and how these are systematically realigned over the course of the following days.

So whilst my research approach was more distant than for other case studies, the data available to me to construct useful theoretical analysis is wider than the others. This was key as once these riots had occurred it was possible for me to make comparative assertions of some of the key structural and operational differences between protests; as these riots occurred after the Student tuition fee protests and the Occupy LSX camp; some of the overt differences between a march, occupation and a riot became obvious (and appear in the conclusion chapter of this thesis).

Similarly, the reports released in the aftermath of the riots became data resources which allowed me to build an understanding of trends which occurred during this brief period of activity. Relevant reports including the NatCen (National Centre for Social research) "The August Riots in England" produced a report based on interviews with participants in five cities, along with Guardian and LSE (London School of Economics) report on the ***socio-political*** reading of the riots. In addition, the Home Office created their own report named "An overview of recorded crimes and arrests resulting from disorder events in August 2011" giving a more ***economic*** account specific figures on arrests and punishments (another area of conflict in terms of social management).

It would be difficult for me to add to this wealth of social, political and economic analysis. However, what I could contribute to, regardless of the data collected; was an in depth consequential spatial analysis. ***The spatial practices which emerge within riots are not a by-product but an intrinsic part of their identity*** and I could research them as such.

Theory

The rioters engage emphatically with a series of actions which forcefully claimed a variety of spaces. Although retail outlets and the value of the goods located there made this type of building a common focal point (61% of premises targeted - from electronic stores to clothes shops to grocery stores), it's worth remembering that ***everything*** that was accessible that lies within public(ly accessible) space was targeted. This included residential property; private vehicles, buses and police cars being amongst those frequently targeted ***without a focus on financial gain***, but were targeted as the rioters ***desired***.

By their actions, they transformed the existing associations between, use, user, identity and physical space for indeterminable periods of time. Although the validity of motive and method for these actions is questionable at best and wholly unacceptable to most; regardless of their rationale for their decision making, what these actors within the public realm were doing was ***claiming space***, and an examination of how this is achieved is thus worthy of research analysis.

These spatial transformations occurred in several locations across England but was particularly nuanced in London where the violence began and thus took on several different spatial forms. In some locations (one of which this case study focuses on, Clarence Road in Hackney), the public landscape and mechanisms of social engagement were transformed for periods of up to 24 hours, with knock on effects of ***reactive communal claiming of space*** continuing to this day. When individuals or groups of individual's cease control of their environment in such an uncompromising manner it undermines the existing structures that govern behaviour in our shared territories. Whilst their mechanisms for claiming their environs are (A) socially, (B) economically and (C) politically (Ai) unsustainable, (Bi) destructive and ultimately (Ci) self-defeating (respectively); they still

140 Other significant recent (race) riots include the Harehill, Oldham and Bradford riots of 2001where the previous action informed the preceding. Also giving context to the Birmingham riots of 2005.

display clear and targeted mechanisms to achieve their goal of reshaping the public realm to their own immediate desire. Furthermore, the inherent instability of their actions provides a momentary opportunity to assess the nature of the public realm that exists as the status quo (particularly in the direct aftermath as mechanisms are put in place by other stake holders as they ***re-claim*** the space by placing emphasis on facilitating established practices which foster degrees of social integration). In particular, the citizenship that utilise these shared zones and the activities that reconstitute after the riots (these will be explored in more detail later in this chapter).

The methods by which the rioters claim space is multifaceted, those acting as they desired clearly had similar aims but required no centralised organisation or validation to facilitate their individual actions, they operated as individual self-defining cells within a wider co-operational framework. The participants have all the emotive validation that they require from the initial riot (in Tottenham) to "justify" and validate their actions in this temporary new volatile "psychogeography" (as used by Debord 1955[141]) where the actors were liberated by this action as a validator for claiming space through destructive means.

In conjunction, the theory of the rhizome (Deleuze 1972) is also a relevant reference point as the simultaneous nature of the direct actions across several terrains operated within a form of antagonistic multiplicity rarely seen in British society. The protagonists are operating across platforms with no intrinsic hierarchy (of command), the locations are almost all emphatically mundane and every day (the Ladbrokes and Lidl as opposed to the Town Hall or Chambers of Commerce), they are targeted, but at the infrastructure of everyday life, at the familiar, and most importantly in relation to those environs which participants can identify as their own[142].

What happens once the rioters are operating with confidence is that the usual assumed links between time and location become erroneous, similar, or related activities start to take place in different environments. The defining factors are no longer relevant, hierarchical structures are inverted; so shop typology, and proximity become paramount. Furthermore, the timeframe of activation is sporadic and unpredictable for those who are not involved in the decision making process of each individual action. The defining parameters of space are redefined and as such the rioters create a type of space which is a manifest representation of an alternative spatial reality.

This bears relevance to Soja's theoretical analysis of a "Third Space", here, space cannot be fully defined by the physical cartographic definitions which we attribute to location ownership and purpose - that in fact the nature of the space ***is defined by less tangible practices which do not respect the time / geography dichotomy.***

Soja moves understanding of space away from a linear connection between time and geography as the multitudinous way in which these riots spread across the urban terrain is an emphatic example of this. Time collapses into the ***now***, these actions are connected as the urban space of capital is quite literally transformed. It is not just the spaces which are victim physical destruction which are changed but the very notion of spatial trajectories. This is embodied in the alterations which are made to everyone's daily lives, as cities attempt to continue with recognised behaviours (commuters traveling to and from work and communal activities such as socialising and consuming in public(ly accessible) spaces) but the new reality creates a series of recurring moments which disables others from carrying out their activities as they did before. As to achieve these goals they must transgress the city and the unpredictable tableau of psychogeographic reconstruction as it occurs.

Suddenly the indefinable third space becomes the platform for re-ordering (the definable) physical spaces. The inconceivable introspective spaces as perceived in the mind, those of explorative self-identity by the individual come into visceral reality. ***Indefinable spaces*** (such as those that exist between yourself and the mirror or that of a phone call between two speakers;) are taken to new levels as they become tools for activism. The indefinable space between digital platforms of social networking become the creator of spaces of physical destruction in public(ly accessible) space. And thus become the parameters by which the city is then re-ordered. Not only do these non-definable spatialities become manifest, the relationship between urban destruction and (relevant) Twitter, Facebook or BlackBerry messenger account spikes in traffic is unmistakable, but only becomes

141 As explored in the book "Beneath the paving stones" 2001. Translated by Ken Knabb Chris Gray. Edinburgh: AK Press/ Dark Star

(Situationist_International 1968)

142 Statistical analysis showed that there was a strong correlation, between the proximity between the home address and the offense address of those convicted of offences during the August Riots. Showing that many were committing offenses in the areas that were familiar to them.

tangible and quantifiable after the fact; in the ***now***, they are third space writ large.

There is a connection between the physical locations that these virtual statements are issued from, and the physical space of action. They are not the same but relative. The notion of aimlessly wondering until whimsically acting upon a terrain, or engaging with "riot tourism" (as Eric Pickles (Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government) names it), is incorrect and in essence an oversimplification of a much more nuanced and ***location specific practice***. There is an inherent connection between lived or ***experienced-space*** and ***riot-space*** facilitated across platforms of virtual space.

> *... court hearings found 70% of those accused of riot-related crimes had travelled... The average distance from home to where defendants were accused of a riot offence was just over two miles, or a half hour walk. In London, people were closer to home: 1.5 miles in Peckham and 2.2 miles in Brixton. But those accused of riot-related offences in suburban Ealing and Croydon were 2.7 miles and 2.3 miles.*
>
> *(The Guardian & The London School of Economics 2011)*

88: Infogram: Appetite for Destruction

"What was hit by rioters" (The Guardian 2011)

In general people were not rioting on their own doorsteps but in environments (that through proximity) and the nature of urban living; were familiar to them. It's the degree of separation which defines a locality that; in some cases, define the travel distances between boroughs and wards such as Hackney and Camden, Tottenham and Haringey or Brixton and Peckham. Almost no one travelled to a new city to riot, and in London rioters almost never cross the river to commit offenses on the other side of the (physical but more importantly) socio-political boundary that is represented by the river Thames.

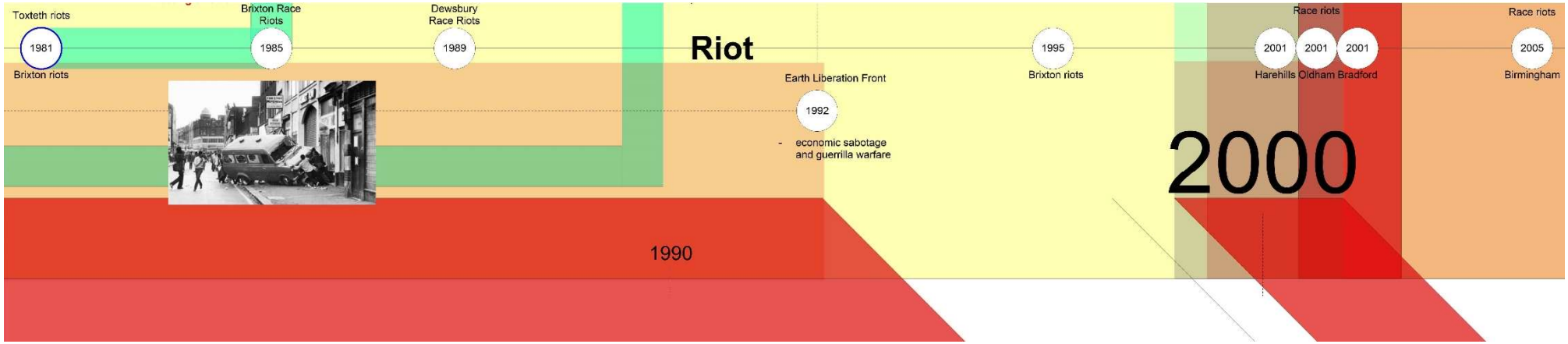
What comes out of the ***different state of reality*** which the rioters created, is the important separation between the four distinctly different modes of operation that the protests moved through during their four days of activity. If Soja's notion of third space is relevant to explore the explosion of a re-constructed public realm, then it is less relevant to the two phases that preceded it. For these phases (of peaceful march & Tottenham Riot) it is the latent discontent which is key to understanding their spatial relevance.

> *"[those who] may not be materially deprived but are culturally alienated or disconnected… the recession had thus highlighted breaking points around which urban social movements have been rallying in the past, this validating their claims and arguments about the destructiveness and the lack of sustainability of the neo-liberal growth model"*
>
> *(Mayer, Social Movements in the (Post-) Neoliberal City 2010, 29)*

Here, Mayer defines the reactionary nature of protest, how allegiances are formed between groups opposed to growth politics, neo-liberal labour markets and globalisation. However, what is fundamental to ***reactionary opposition of hierarchical constructs***, is exclusion. The feeling or the reality that you are not part of particular trajectories of change but subject to their negative outputs, creates sense of disenfranchisement which becomes a powerful platform for discontent and unpredictable action (both in temporality of response and target). These riots in particular are triggered by events which occur in a location which is already heavily laden with cultural tension. It was the inability to resolve those latent social problems that created the potential for what then occurred.

Historical context

The wider historical and spatial context of these actions is regularly underestimated. Although riots of this nature are rare, they occur frequently enough to be worthy of examination. Many reports made overt connections to the Brixton riots (1981) partially because the duration of the disorders



89: Extract: British Riots Lineage

Mapping Protest Contingencies (Author)

was the same (4 days) and partly because the disturbances occurred because of a death of a member of the black community at the hands of the Metropolitan police. However, the Scarman[143] inquiry, the subsequent report where policing and legislation in the UK was questioned and altered as a result; is in stark opposition to what happened in 2011. Here there was no inquiry in regards to the policing of the August riots. This is a most noticeable absence considering the trigger point and the police approach to dissemination of information regarding the death of Mark Duggan. Similarly, the subsequent policing strategy utilised during the riots; choosing to establish a series of loose Kettles[144] and not engage with rioters in the public realm created a completely different atmosphere of spatial entitlement. Most importantly, the constitutional and operational changes, in the aftermath of the riots have been made more, not less draconian as a result. In tandem to these facts, there are more recent riots where issues of race/ poverty and scale of riot in terms of socio-political importance (in the UK), and riots of similar scale (in France) which may create equally relevant comparisons and more relevant spatial ones.

The image below shows a lineage of British race riots; from the Brixton riots (1981 & 1985), the Dewsbury riots (1989), Brixton riots (1995), Harehill, Oldam and Bradford riots (2001) and the Birmingham riots (2005). What systematically occurs after these riots are poorly constructed piece meal approaches to disorder, resulting in repeat occurrences in remarkably short time periods.

As such what emerges out of the August riots is the important difference between developing mechanisms to understand what took place and condemning them, which avoids engaging with some of the possible solution to prevent such actions occurring again. Here I will contextualise these four days of rioting by using four concepts of analysis:

1) Trigger points
2) Defining participant roles & motivation
3) Reciprocal & alleviating tactics
4) Future proofing VS Root causes

The first and fourth concepts are the most important, as they create an opportunity to understand the wider cycle of actions of this nature. Essentially ***why*** they occur ***where*** they do and why that opportunity of

143 The Scarman Report: The Brixton disorder 10-12 April 1981

(Home Office, August 14th 1981)

144 kettlling is the term derives from the German "kessel" or “Kesselschlacht” - literally a cauldron battle, used to describe an encircled army about to be annihilated by a superior force (i.e.: “Kessel von Stalingrad”) describing the experience of soldiers within the kettle, as the situation would soon become “unbearable hot”.

Police surround demonstrators to keep them in a particular place. This is called a ‘kettle’, or in official police language, ‘containment’. Kettles can be very large, holding hundreds, sometimes thousands of people, or can be very small, containing only a dozen. The key feature of a kettle is that people are held within it until the police decide to let them go. In a number of recent incidents, police have decided against releasing Kettled protesters, and instead have carried out a mass arrest of everyone held.

(NETPOL the network for police monitoring)

analysis is systematically missed by those with a controlling stake (politicians, law enforcement officials and the judiciary).

Context

At the heart of the problems surrounding the August riots is a misunderstanding of the use of public(ly accessible) space and how it operates as a mirror which reflects the nature of ingrained problems within society. To have a useful understanding of the August Riots it's important to look at the catalysts. The most significant was Mark Duggan, a young black man killed by armed police officers as he and a group of associates were in a taxi with a gun thought (by the police) to be on their way to a location where they planned to use that gun on a rival. On the face of it this is not the kind of case which one would assume would lead rise to national riots. But the case is more complicated than that. There was at the time (and still) misgiving over whether the police gave full and frank accounts of events which took place on that day. Contradictions in the continuity of the police account of events such as the location of the gun, the lack of finger prints, and the late discloser of a police radio with a police issue bullet lodged inside of it had all been much scrutinised. However, scepticism over the details of the operation are not the key problem with the case. The problem was an acute misunderstanding of the cultural and social sensitivity of the area in which the killing of Mark Duggan had occurred.

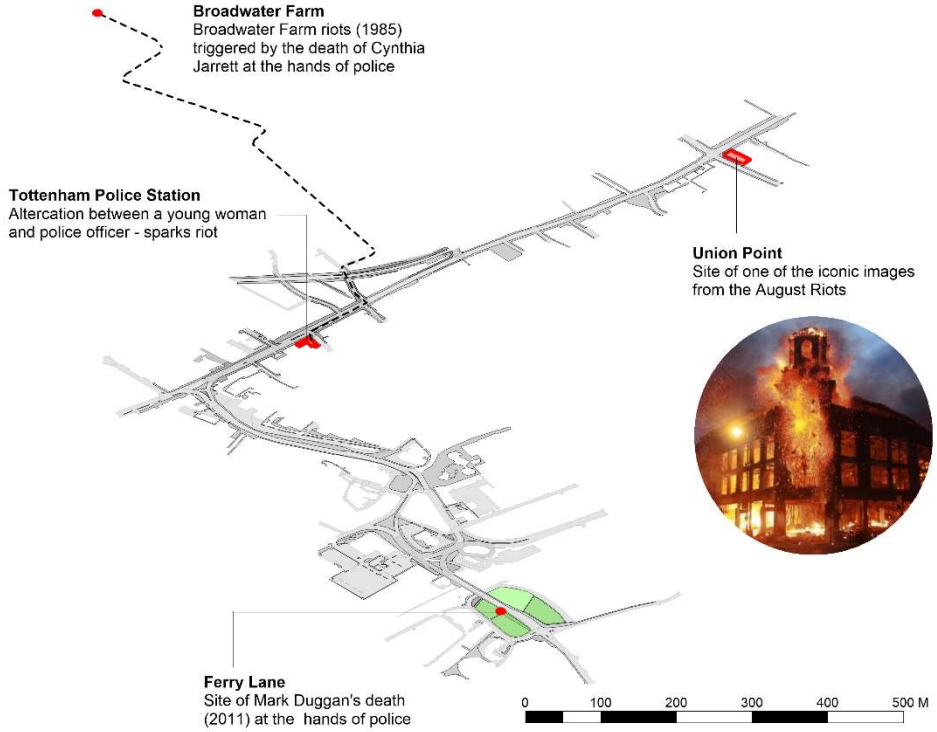
Mark Duggan lived and was killed in Tottenham where the (BME) Black and minority ethnic community have had extremely strained relationships with the Metropolitan police force for decades. The death of Cynthia Jarrett (1985) and Roger Sylvester (1999) are of particular importance in the local psyche. Similarly, the murder of Officer Keith Blakelock (during the Broadwater Farm riots which were triggered by the death of Cynthia Jarrett) have resulted in a historical disproportionate use of force and discriminatory criminal procedures[145] within this and other areas of the UK but specifically London. The lived reality of these cultural tensions have festered for decades, breeding mistrust and hostility. This is not a problem specific to Tottenham, and is in part an explanation of why the riots spread so quickly out of Tottenham, particularly into areas such as Brixton and Hackney which also have (relatively) large BME populations who have experienced similar incident[146] of conflict with the Metropolitan Police Force.

Although these conditions do not explain the participation of all the rioters (clearly some were motivated by opportunism), it does explain that for a number who acted, a certain feeling of validation was provided by the way in which the initial action developed and the socio-cultural background in which it occurred. This thereby facilitated the physical disruption that spread to other terrains. The problem is that England has seen a large number of relatively frequent[147] race riots tracing back to those which occurred in Notting Hill (1958).

145 The findings of the MacPherson report/ Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1999) branded the Metropolitan police force "institutionally racist" and outlined a series of approached that they should take to amend this condition.

146 The use of stop and search is disproportionately high amongst the BME community. This was the fuel for the Brixton Riots (1981) as the use of 'Sus' laws (the idea that you can arrest an individual on suspicion that they *might* commit a crime in the future – since repealed). The (relatively) high rate of death of BME men and women in custody also occurs Hackney, most noticeably the deaths of Michael Ferreira (1978) and Colin Roach (1983) and more recently, Cheryl Simone Hartman (2000), Vandana Patel (2001) and Kwame Sasu Wiredu (2002).

147 Since 1948, and the arrival of Windrush to the UK (the ship that brought he first wave of immigrants from the Caribbean) there has not been a period of more than 10 years where large scale race riots have taken place in the UK, pointing towards continual failings in pre-emtive strategies by successive governments in the integration of migrant communities.



90: Tottenham: Socio-political Catalysts

Mapping The Riots (Author)

Many of these are fuelled by tensions between existing an immigrant communities and the approach to managing cohesion from law enforcement officials. To put some of these conflicts of interest into context; the statistics on deaths during or following police contact are varied, but they all point to a large number of deaths with those from a BME background being overrepresented. Over 800 individuals have died in or directly after police contact (usually custody) since 2004[148] with no officers facing convictions for deaths at their hands since 1969, and with only a handful of cases being investigated. Although most people wouldn't be able to quote these figures, the impression of disproportionate targeting is commonly felt.

The inability to take the recent and current contextural history into account was evident on the day in which the Mark Duggan killing was handled. As the spotlight of controversy moved again to Tottenham in the direct aftermath of Mark Duggan's death there was an opportunity to prevent the outbreak of violence which occurred by understanding the embodied potential volatility of the situation. Mark was killed on Thursday 4th August 2011 and two days later on Saturday 6th August his friends and family were unhappy with the level of information that had been received regarding his death. This was in no small part due to the contradictory nature of the evidence being issued by police, in conjunction to this, his family had not been informed of his death until the 6th of April.[149]

148 With the (IPCC) Independent Police Complaints Committee releases an annual report documenting the number of deaths. They also employ the (IAP) Independent Advisory Panel to release figures on this issue, the IAP quote a figure of 5,998 deaths between 2000 and 2010 after police contact. The figure of 827 since 2004 is from *https://www.opendemocracy.net* ("a digital commons; an independent, public interest, not-for-profit, publishes an average of over 60 articles a week").

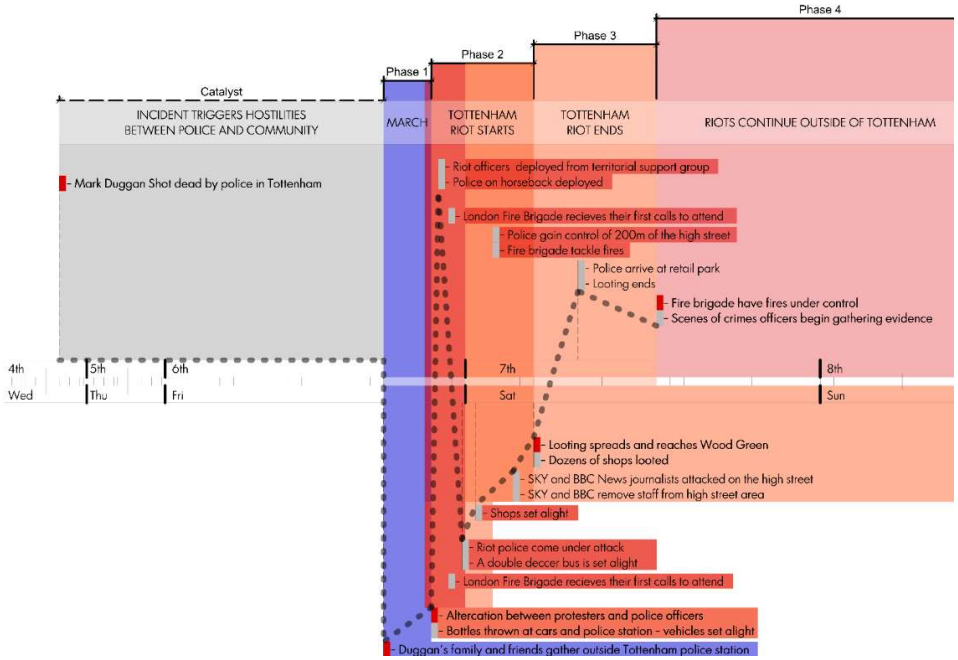
149 The "disinformation" and contradictory accounts that were issued by the Metropolitan police after Mark Duggan's death created a feeling of hostility amongst the Tottenham community, below are a list of the most controversial statements:
[Duggan] "was shot while he was pinned to the floor by police"
According to an eyewitness ("A death at the hands of police – and a vigil that turned to violence", The Independent, 8 August 2011)
[A police officer had] "Shouted to the man to stop 'a couple of times', but he had not heeded the warning".
According to an eyewitness ("Man killed in shooting incident involving police officer". The Telegraph. 4 August 2011)
Police waited a day and a half to inform the Duggan family of the death. Several days later they apologised for this delay.

One of the officers who had surrounded Duggan was hit by a bullet, which had lodged in his radio. However, it had not been fired by Duggan but by a police officer identified only as V53, before it passed through Duggan's arm and hit the officer.

An initial "short-form" report of the incident—filed by an officer identified as "W70"—did not say that Duggan had raised a gun. W70 filed another report 48 hours later which described Duggan drawing a gun from his waistband.

Initially, a spokesman of the Independent Police Complaints Commission stated that they "understand the officer was shot first before [Duggan] was shot;" police later called this statement "a mistake".

On 18 November 2011, the IPCC announced that the 9mm gun associated with the scene of the killing had been found 10–14 feet away, on the other side of a fence. However, QC Michael Mansfield, barrister for the Duggan family, told the IPCC that witnesses had told him they saw police throw the gun over the fence. The IPCC initially reported that three officers had also witnessed an officer throw the gun, but later retracted this report.



91: Phases of Dissent

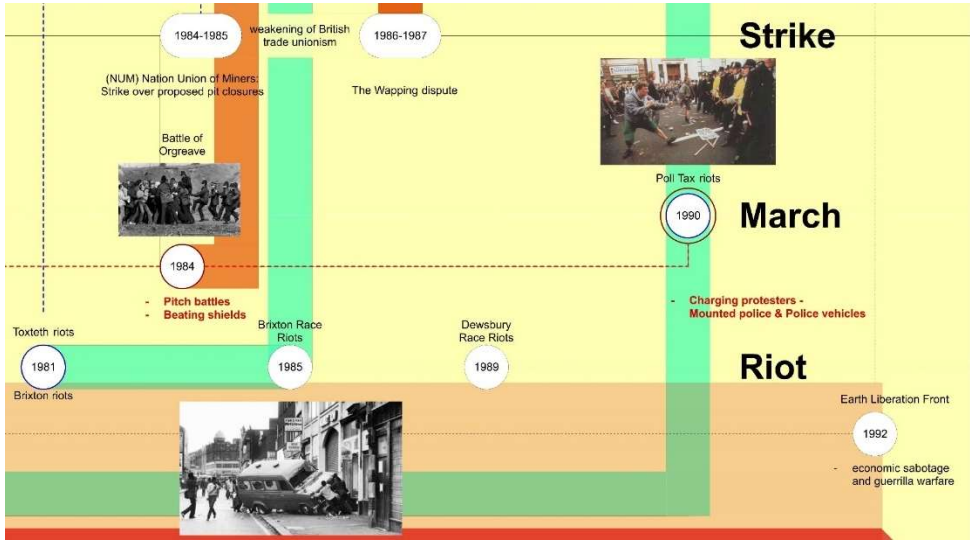
Mapping the riots (Author)

In response his friends and family held a peaceful march from Broadwater farm (where he lived) to Tottenham police station. The family requested to speak to a senior police officer and for additional information, a request which was denied. By this point many people had observed the peaceful protest (originally around 200-300 people) and had joined the gathering outside the police station. Once the family had left many of those bystanders remained, soon after there followed an altercation between a young woman who had joined the protest and a police officer. Witness accounts differ wildly on who started the altercation and the degree of physicality of their exchange, but the resulting reaction was a riot. Once it begins, the riot spreads rapidly between several phases (as I've identified them). The (relatively) long time lapse between the killing of Mark Duggan [catalyst], the memorial march [phase 1] and the rapid acceleration of activity as the first recorded incidents of violence [phase 2] take place. It is the speed of change that seems to define the Augist riots. Infact the aproach by the Metropolitan police force to the subsequent disorders that occur in other areas are informed by that speed of change in Tottenham. The key here is how ineffective the "riot officers" and "mounted police" are at averting the behaviour of the growing number of rioters.

These police tactical response units appear after the rioting begins but as they arrive they become the target, they themselves come under attack as rioters engage in face to face pitch style battles. This causes the police to retreat and employ a less direct tactic of dealing with the disorder. ***This method of distancing themselves from direct engagement leads to a lack of police presence, a vacated public(ly accessible) terrain where order is recreated by it's remaining protagonists***.

Action then turns again to destrution, but also epands to looting when there is no response from the law enforcement officials. Within an hour this realisation speads through Tottenham high street and continued North as rioters head to the nearest shopping district – Wood Green. Here looting is more emphatic and a second attempt by police officers to quell the destructive opportunism is required. However, by this time other parts of London have seen the disorder unfurl and have already started to act in kind.

Metropolitan Police Specialist Training Centre



92: Pitch Battles

Mapping Protest Contingencies (Author)

As such the tactical spatial engagement by the metropolitan police is brought into question by the August riots. The Metropolitan Police are mandated to train for a minimum of two days a week at Gravesend, a purpose built 610m^2 mock-town which is the facility for this endeavour. The facility emerges as a result of the (relatively frequent) toe-to toe battles

which occurred between officers and protesters, where lines of territorial stand-off were established. Protests such as the Battle or Orgreave (1983) the Brixton riots (1980s) and the Poll tax riots (1990) create a symbolic idea of such pitch battles and their increased practice was becoming a dominant force in British cultural landscape, not only deconstructing infrastructure but changing political position and legal frameworks. As a result, the facility is one of a number of measures which were taken to redress that balance of influence. The facility (for which fundraising began in 1997 and completed in 2004) was a direct response to these socio-political changes. Britain was also operating in the shadow of the Irish independence movement and the associated attacks on public(ly accessible) space.

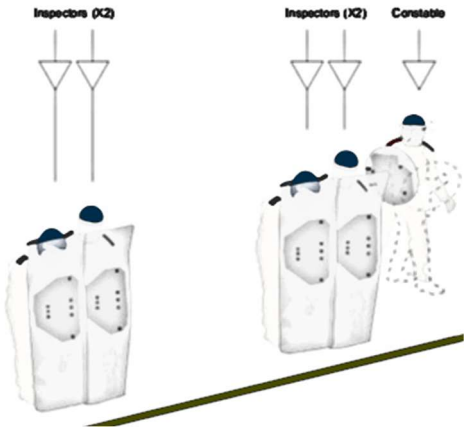
Hallmarks of the responsive spatial restrictions imposed on public(ly accessible) space over a decade ago are still clearly visible today, such as the check points located at every vehicular entrance to the City of London which still control all traffic flow in and out of the borough. However more than 30 years since pitch battles were regular fare, these forms of dissidence and protest are rare and increasingly redundant, but are still used as a benchmark for spatial tactics of quelling contemporary protests, creating for some officers the only practical preparation that they would have experienced in responding to public disturbances.

93: Photo: Gravesend: an external view

This purpose built creates a 3dimensional façade of a cityscape, equipped with stadium, estate, high street and train station – all of which are unpopulated thereby creating the constructs of the city without the reality... all shops are facades

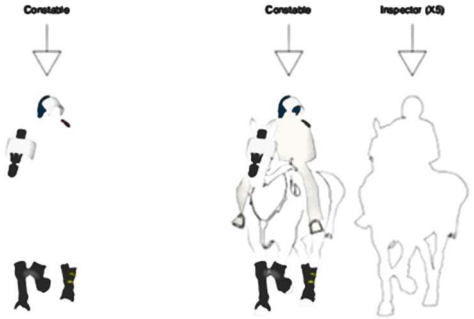
This disconnect between training and the realities faced on the ground comes into stark focus in the wake of the August riots, where police tactics across the country were in essence in opposition to those practiced in the Gravesend training site. The training at Gravesend presupposes that the police will be the main target of attacks, and although there were moments during the August riots when this was the case (most specifically in Tottenham) the majority of the action was focused on infrastructure and property instead of personnel as police removed themselves from the territory of action. As a result, the nature of these targets; a dispersed and ubiquitous range of high street infrastructure; created a territory was impossible to seal off from access to the general public as they exist as an inherent part of the fabric of public(ly accessible) spaces. Thus the practice of assembling a series of increasingly impermeable lines of corral and containment became a somewhat redundant tactic to use against a more scattered and dispersive approach to spatial ingress. Here, formations were too slow to react to small groups or individuals who targeted accessible infrastructure, and then those who responded to the ingress (smashed or broken shop fronts) and looted, without having taken part in the initial criminal damage. As a result, the police started to employ the use of 'Kettles', but due to their newly found desire to not engage and to avoid direct confrontation, these Kettles were often too 'loose' to detract many of the rioters from acting.

As the riots spread across the UK, but specifically through London, police officers essentially set out a series of exclusion zones, within which the normal laws of operation were completely reconfigured. The expansive employment of military tactics is exemplified by the use of Kettling (employed in earnest since the year 2000). Its rise in practical deployment is clearly documented in protest actions over the past decade despite the recent change in tactics utilised by protesters. Kettling is a much used indiscriminate tool utilised by law enforcement officials which avoids spatial or conditional nuance. Despite its now prolific use, there is no useful way to test its efficacy and potential spatial ramifications at the Gravesend site. As such its efficacy is only tested in situ. This can create a series of basic operational issues, if officers are training to encounter a reality which they will never face (due to tactical decisions on both sides of the battle for spatial control), then they will be ill equipped to establish the spatial conditions which they desire, fuelling the spread of destruction which we saw over 4 days in August.



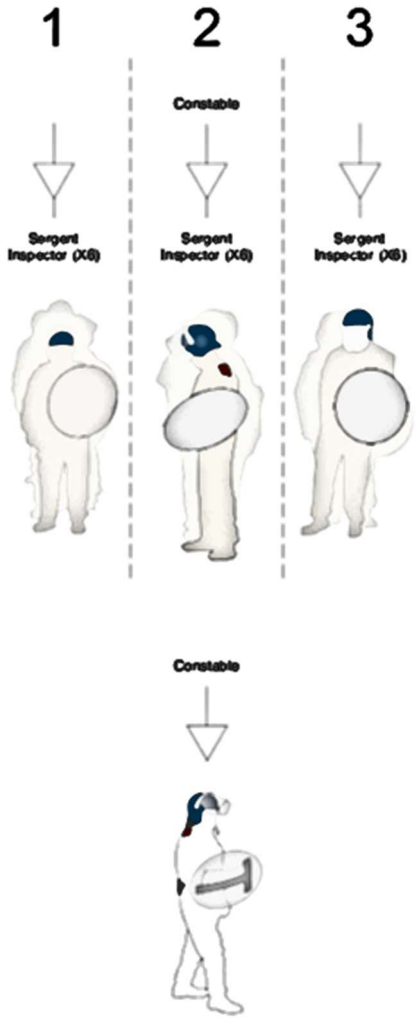
94: Gravesend 'Long shield barrier'

Long shields are set up with gaps in-between to allow other officers (usually mounted to advance at speed to quell or break up a crowd. The long shield provides greater protection than the short shield but can also easily become a target as those throwing projectiles know that they can throw without causing series damage but showing intent



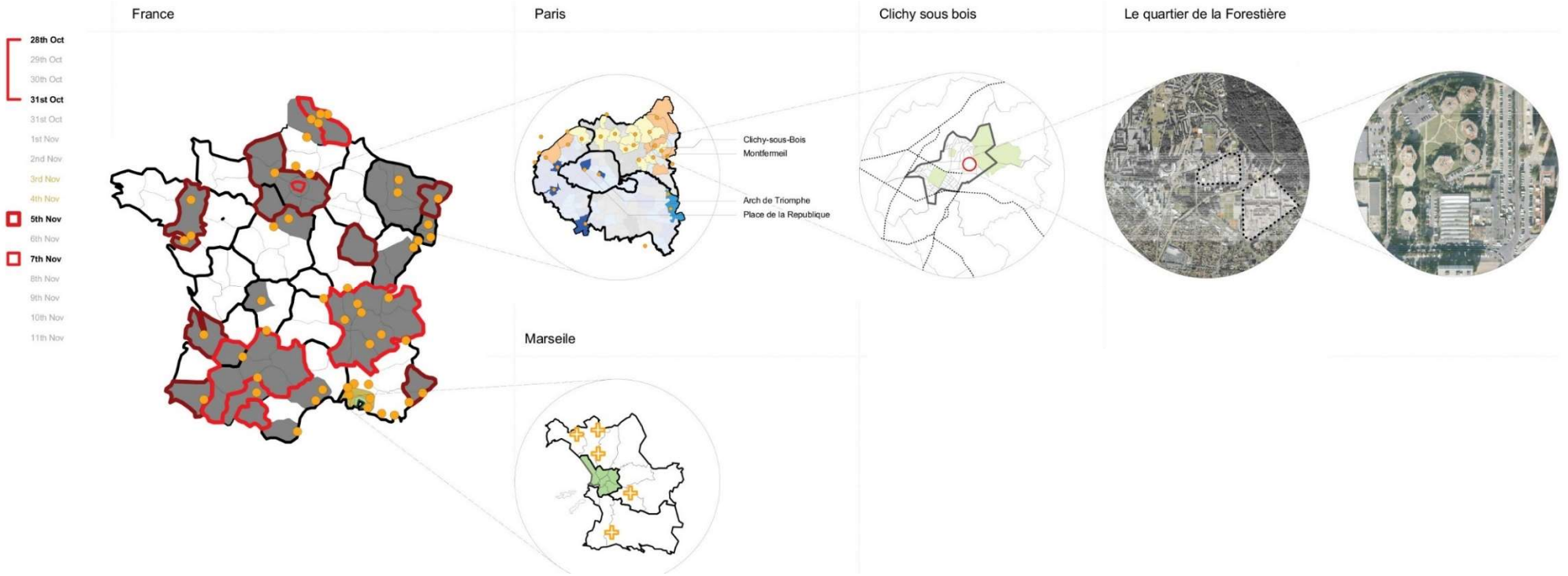
95: Gravesend formations 'Mounted charge'

The mounted charge is the modification of a military tactic where raised officers have greater ability to disperse a crowd, although effective against large dense groups of people, this system is also dangerous as it is somewhat indiscriminate



96: Gravesend formations 'Short shield'

Short shields offer greater dexterity to the police officers but less protection/ coverage, they often form more complicated formations as they can respond more quickly to conditions on the ground than long shield and mounted divisions



97: Mapping: France disturbances (2005)

Looking at other riots can provide the opportunity to analyse the approach that law enforcement officials use to manage spatial dissent within public(ly accessible) space by. Particularly in relation to the latent cultural, social and political issues which their deployment often overlooks, but can be significant in individuals choosing to participate in direct actions. In this case, the importance of a specific typology of living environment and configuration (the Banlieue[150]) and the response of residence as inherent catalyst to fuelling antagonism.

It might be thought that violent outbreaks of this nature are so rare in contemporary Western societies, that there is little opportunity for a police force to operate with this level of cognition, however the events which took place in Paris 2005 are a useful insight into dealing with what happened in the August Riots in 2011; ***where the deaths of those living as marginalised minorities within densely populated areas of relative poverty sparked a national riot.***

The death of the Bouna Traoré and Zyed Benna, two young men in France who, in an attempt to avoid police pursuit ran and hid in an electrical substation, bears some relevance and a form of precursor to the nationwide riots which occurred in England and Wales in 2011. In 2006 Bouna and Zyed were inadvertently electrocuted to death as they hid from police. The resulting power surge caused blackouts in the local area so (with the benefit of hindsight) local residents knew exactly when they young men had died.

150 A *Banlieue* is the name given to a suburb of a larger district in France. In the 1960s these suburbs were the basis for industrial growth, however since the 1970s and the proliferation of the HLM (Habitation à Loyer Modérés) the Banlieue is often associated with low income housing projects which are statistically locations of higher incidents of crime.

both were of North African heritage and they lived in the Banlieue of Clichy-sous-Bois, a suburb of Paris.

Testimony from friends (others who also ran from the police) explained that the reason that they responded to the sight of a police car by fleeing, was due to the differential treatment that they received at the hands of police, their daily reality was a series of inspections and accusations. Two days after their death when a march took place to remember the deceased, the path of the protest was blocked by police officers. An altercation ensued between the two parties and the riots began. In France the riots didn't last for 4 days but instead spanned 20. There are obviously differences between the cases of London and Paris, different countries, time of day, ages and activities of those who died, as well as patterns and approaches to protest by the citizen population which differ in each country. In France the actions were not so focused on looting, but the burning and general destruction of the Banlieue where many of the rioters lived.

However, on the streets there was a significant tactical operational difference and that was due to the approach pursued by the law enforcement officials. In France officers engaged in direct combat with protesters and street battles ensued in many Banlieue across the country. In England officers limited the amount of direct engagement that they had with protesters, creating exclusion zones. It meant that (in many locations) the publicly accessible landscape was not contested facilitating looting and vandalism. As such, where the riots were contested (by citizens and not the police), groups formed taskforces which attempted to protect property in the wake of riots (in London, most noticeably in areas such as Dalston, Hackney, where the largely Turkish and Kurdish high street business owners and customers thwarted many of the activities). However, these (largely) uncontested territories gave rise to a different set of rules around the utilisation of those spaces by rioters.

The wider socio-political issues which caused the riots; disenfranchisement, lack of opportunity and the (absence of appropriate) implementation of justice has been addressed in the coverage of both these incidents. However, what is often lacking in the assessment and subsequent conclusions that are reached by politicians and mainstream media; is the way in which the role of the participants develops in tandem to the unfolding events, and the general and overly simplistic collective grouping of a variety of ***participants*** simply as "wrong doers". Thereby missing an opportunity to understand both the participation and the type of spaces of communality that they facilitated.

Participants

To gain a better understanding of the transformation which takes place, it's necessary to start with a more nuanced understanding of the spatial actors. Terms readily used by mainstream media '" wanton destruction", "feral youths" and "mindless" clusters together a variety of different participants into a form of zombie-like unthinking mass. In reality the participation was much more varied. In the NatCen report the researchers refer to 8 categories of participant.

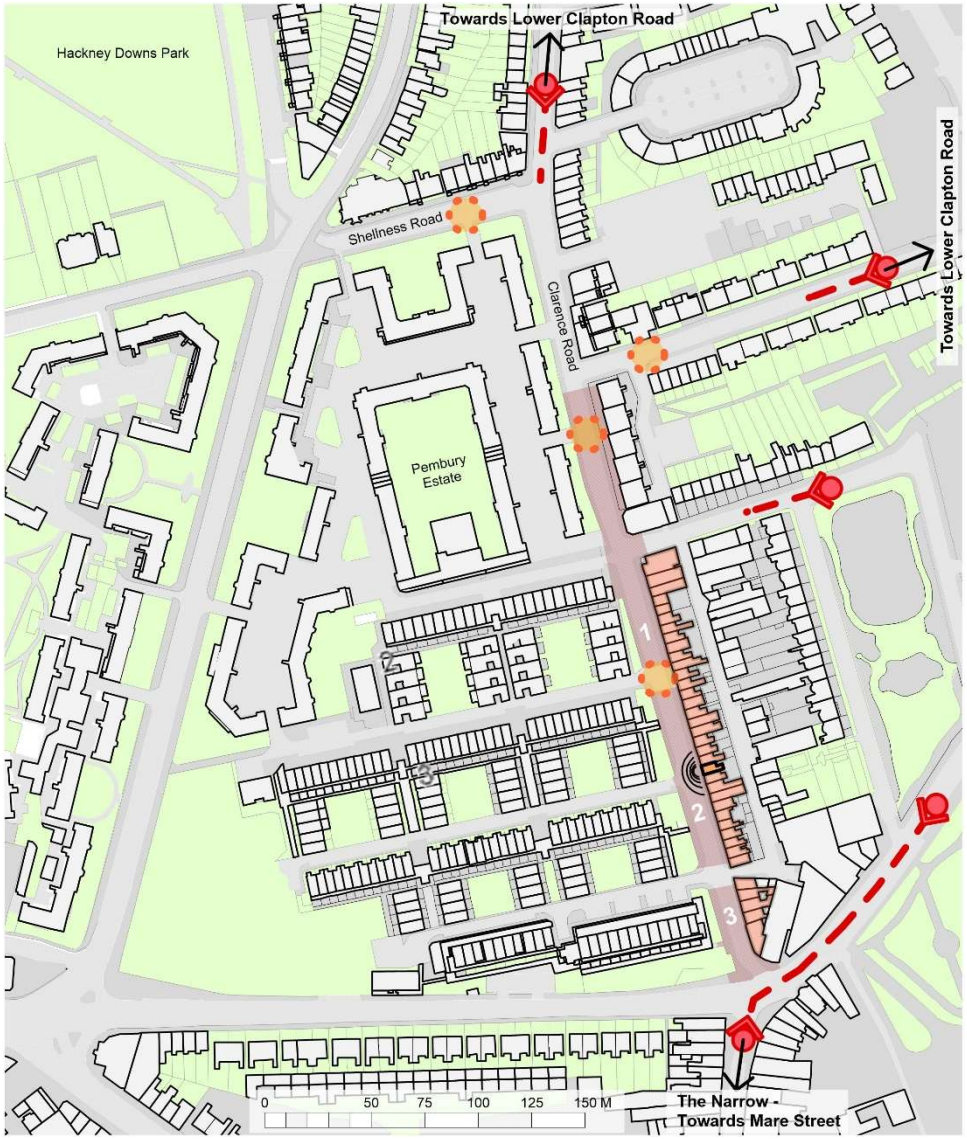
Watchers: were observing but not involved	**Bystanders:** happened to be there **The curious:** deliberately chose to be there
Rioters: involved in violent disturbances	**Protesters:** had a specific set of grievances **Retaliators:** acted against police or the "system" **Thrill-seekers:** looking for excitement or a "buzz"
Looters: involved in breaking into and/or stealing from broken-into shops or handling stolen goods	**Opportunists:** took a rare chance to get free stuff **Sellers:** planned their involvement to maximise "profits"
Non-involved	**Wannabes:** would have liked to be involved **Stay-aways:** chose not to get involved

98: A Typology of Involvement:

NatCen report: The August Riots in England (2011)

These categories show how the riots encompassed a variety of different modes of ***being***, some of which facilitated the riots by providing the role of spectator [referred to in the table as those who are "bystander and the curious"]. One of the defining features of these riots is that a lot of the activity took place during the day, not only in clear view of the ubiquitous CCTV cameras on UKs high streets, but also other citizens in public(ly accessible) spaces. The fact that there is no (prolific or significant) role of those ***contesting*** the riots allowing the violent claiming of space to go largely uncontested. Instead there is this variety of roles of ***involvement*** which ultimately result in a more varied ***social*** use of the spaces. There is a fluency that allows individuals to move between a multiplicity of roles effortlessly, as was the case on Clarence Road where rioters remained and looters, returned to the scene and became watchers.

Clarence Road



99: Clarence Road

Mapping August riots (Author)

Clarence road lies towards the Northern end of Mare Street (known as The Narrow, as the path tapers and becomes one way for vehicular traffic). This was an exit route for some as they left the rioting that occurred on Mare Street itself; as at the intersection with the narrow, the road spits into a several pedestrian routes. These roads are easy to disperse and disappear within the fabric of the urban environment (Such as Amhurst Rd, Bohemia place, Mare St, The Narrow and Laneway). With a similar distribution of roads at the North end where the narrow meets Clarence road [base of the map]. As the disturbances spread onto Clarence road, the police set up a blockade to contain the disturbance and stop it spreading back to Mare street [highlighted on the map to the left as a red arc]. This method of containment again focuses the reaction to the trigger point for a ***transient socialisation*** of Clarence road.

100: Photo: Loose Kettle…

AFP,Getty Images, 8th August 2011(Ki Price)

The trigger point for the spatial politics of reappraisal was the smashing and looting of (the then named) “Clarence Convenience Store” [yellow]. As rioters moved through Clarence Road they looted shops, set fire to several cars and wheelie bins and set up blockades to delineate the space as theirs; setting these burning apparatus as markers of their territory [shown as orange target spots]. These actions drew crowds of people onto the street (who had the Pembury Estate as a perfect vantage point). At different moments those gathering outputted a plethora of digital data documenting the events from texts to twitter feeds, YouTube videos and blogs. This is in no small part due to the fact that Clarence road flanks the Pembury estate (which houses over 2000 residents).

Whilst the destruction occurred within a relatively small time frame, the occupation of the street (which is the first of 3 transient moments of socialisation which happen on Clarence Road), is defined by local residents' passers-by and looters, who periodically re-entering the looted shop; created a much more longstanding narrative as defined by their behaviour. This mixture of users of the space meant that after a couple of hours (but whilst the detritus was still burning) Clarence road continued to be used as a thoroughfare, as many felt comfortable with the idea of transgressing that space. As well as the main police blockade (which would later advance through Clarence Road from North to South), the law enforcement officials also reacted by setting up a series of loose Kettles to stop the disturbance from spreading to other nearby areas [indicated on the map as dotted red lines], this was to stop the spread to areas such as the Nightingale estate which has a similar spatial and socio-political urban demographic and lies the other side of Pembury Road.

101: Photo: Police Lines Advance...

AFP Jiji Press International, August 8th 2011

However, the behaviour of the police in no way deterred the more casual loitering which was now taking place on Clarence Road. It was at this time that I decided to visit the site. The lull in violence had developed over several hours, during which time there had been no more reports of looting or violence. It was now 4 hours after the initial disturbance had begun.

There were no police vehicles or officers visible from my route to Clarence Road which I took through Hackney Downs (which sits to the West of the site). However, cycling the perimeter of the roads connected to it, police blockades were visible and in full force towards the East connections to Lower Clapton road. However, moving from the West, Shellness Road [highlighted in the map above] is the first indication that anything is out of the ordinary with the burning embers of a bin still flickering. As you turn onto Clarence road itself, there is a crescendo of people and activity as you get closer to Clarence Convenience store. People are gathered in small groups and are very comfortable in providing their observational social spectacle.

102: Photo: Distructive disruptioun: Phase 1a

Raúl Pérez, NewStatesman

(Mid-afternoon 8th August 2011)

103: Photo: Loitering (without intent): Phase 1b

Clarence Road; Occupation; post looting,

Author (Approx. 11pm 8th August 2011)

104: Photo: Clean out: Phase 2a

Kerim Okten, European Pressphoto Agency

(Morning 9th August 2011)

105: Photo: Clean up: Phase 2b

Catherine Dempsey, Hackney Citizen

(12th August 2011)

106: Photo: Re-opening: Phase 3a

Heardinlondon, DEMOTIX

(18th August 2011)

107: Photo: Re-branding: Phase 3b

Street Party: "Loving Dalston"

(26th August 2011)

This behaviour continues until the early hours of the morning, until around 12am – 1am when the crowd completely disperses. This period of time is split between two different methods of claiming space, the first is much documented destructive physical ingress, and the second is the almost ignored ***loitering***, in acceptance of the new spatial hierarchy and the resultant communal use of the spaces that it facilitated. During the time that I observed "bystanders" were constructively choosing to spend time in this space, and in some cases people had clearly arranged to meet friends and acquaintances in spaces that marked of the aftermath of the destruction, not only for the spectacle but to be part of that new event space. As such, the transient socialisation that defines the site in the following 3 weeks can be seen as (1a) Destructive disruption, (1b) Loitering (without intent (2a) Clean out, (2b) Clean-up, (3a) Re-opening (3b) Re-branding. With visual narrative provided by Clarence Convenience Store [pictured in the reel to the left in yellow].

Although the area was clear of loitering for hours, the spatial act of re-claiming the space is first taken by the riot police, who sweep through Clarence road in formation in an act of spatial solidarity and the re-establishment of order. Within three days there is an active element of the community who start to mobilise their own methods of re-claiming Clarence Road by organising a clean-up of the area, focusing on Clarence Convenience Store. This starts a series of digital and physical forum where they plan methods of "re-building the community". As this road increasingly becomes a socio-political focal point, local MP (for Hackney South and Shoreditch) makes sure that she is present for the photo opportunity with the owner of the Clarence Convenience Store (Siva) as the campaign to restore and re-open the convenience store gathers momentum.

The final phase of transient claiming occurs when the street party takes place around two weeks after the riots. With around 300-400 attending and with the day almost free of incident a narrative of "success" starts to manifest "...the triumph of hope over adversity, a community overcoming a terrible night." (McQuire 2011). However, three years later the street party is as transient as the riots themselves, without returning (as hoped for by the organisers). The resolution of a stronger community is a powerful narrative but not evident in the street as it returns to its status quo, the only remaining remnant being the expansion of the Clarence Convenience store which has now engulfed its adjacent shops.

Ultimately the creation the "triumphant" narrative is more an act of publicity which simply papering over cracks present in the local community. By cutting a symbolic ribbon at the well-publicised re-opening, this does nothing to address the latent socio-economic problems. There are a great number more people engaged on the streets during the riots and in the immediate aftermath as those utilising the space during the street party. The notion that this activity is somehow more (or indeed less) representative of the 'community' is an unsubstantiated and misplaced notion. However difficult to digest, the claiming of space by the rioters and loiters is a representation of a large element of the community and ignoring it doesn't change individual's desire to act in this way. However, the desperation to re-package the narrative of Clarence Road as a success story, points to the necessity for a forum to take concerns which emanate from the street to be addressed in the community or other citizen or ground-up organisations.

100 Days After The Riots

The riots are an opportunity to assess certain inherent socio-economic constructs which are prevalent, and act as a reference point to potentially recurring problematic issues within British society. These issues relate to relative poverty, the notion of disenfranchisement, divergent opportunities and a disruption to the status quo - the established and accepted rules of engagement. This opportunity for constructive reflection is represented most comprehensively in the representations that mainstream media organisations constructed in response to the riots after the events had taken place. The popular "BBC 5Live" radio station, which boasts daily listening figures of 5-7million (in the UK alone); organised an event to assess the impact of the riots, scheduled to take place 100 days after the disturbances, with the understanding that time would allow a degree of distance with which to reflect on an emotive subject.

This event took place in St Mary's Church Tottenham (Lansdowne Road) opposite the CarpetRight store [right] which was set ablaze in the first night of riots (and became one of the images that became a recognisable symbol of the riots). At this event, a ***public forum***[151] was on exhibition and I attended as a way to gather further information on the nature of local responses, opinions and experiences of one of my case studies.

108: Photo: First Day of The Riots

Lewis Whyld: Press Association (6th August, 2011)

109: Photo: 100 Days After The Riots

(Author, 14th November 2011)

A public forum can be a useful mechanism to facilitate different levels of citizen participation. They can operate as a platform for a variety of different aims. Depending on the supporting administrational infrastructure on offer they can be a precursor to (1) community partnerships, (2) ongoing consultation, (3) distribution of information or at the very least a form of (4) cathartic self-expression for its participants.

With these possible outcomes in consideration, this particular event can be easily seen as a missed opportunity to pursue any meaningful outcomes or processes.

There was a broad cross section of society present at this event with around 150 people gathering in the Church, all with a ***stake*** in the local area. There were (1) local community leaders, some of whom knew and/ or had worked with rioters personally, (2) local school children who had witnessed many of the disturbances, (3) local businesses and home owners whose livelihood or dwellings had been detrimentally affected by the riots. There were also formal established representatives, from (A) The Metropolitan Police Force, (B) The Ambulance and Fire Services who responded to events on the night of the 6th August, (C) the coalition members of parliament who commissioned the report into the riots, and (D) the incumbent labour MP for Tottenham.

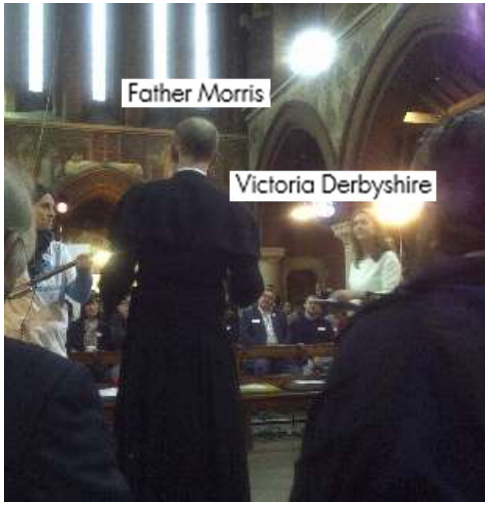
151 As explored in the methodology chapter, this thesis researches protest actions which take place in public, and their use of public(ly accessible) spaces or forum to promote their protest related activities. By definition this includes events outside of the protests themselves as a socially constructed alternative space of enquiry.

Rarely does such a varied but relevant body of people gather in one place, to essentially discuss public space management practices and what happens when these practices are absent. However, instead of this being used as an opportunity to analyse, reflect and discuss some of the intrinsic causes and possible solutions to what had occurred 100 days previously within a local community setting; the event instead simply became a vehicle to express general outrage and condemnation. A reestablishment of the battle lines which had been so intrinsic in facilitating the disturbances themselves. A platform to show more disbelief at the "anarchy" which had occurred.

It may be argued that it is not the role of the BBC (whose mission statement it is to inform, educate and entertain) to facilitate a more reflective and constructive process of consultation. However, having clearly manoeuvred themselves into a position where they are a powerful voice in British society, able to attract a large audience (present in this case both physically and on the radio); the hegemonic narrative through which the actions were evaluated were problematically narrow, narrower than the participant base in the hall were able to support, which effectively undermined their agency.

110: Publicity: 100 days after the riots

(BBC Radio 5live, 2011)



111: Photo: Event Presenters

(Author, 14th November 2011)

The session was introduced by the Vicar of St Mary's but facilitated and choreographed by Victoria Derbyshire (who at the time was the anchor presenter of the week-day news, current affairs and interviews programme on 5Live). There were ***Two key decisions*** which controlled the nature of the outcome of the session. ***The first*** was that everything which was broadcast on "live" radio was a repeated miss-mash of exchanges which had happened earlier. The session took the best part of 4 hours with the live broadcast lasting 2 of those. This meant that as the discussion emerged in the preceding "practice exchanges" the conversations were cordial, even between those who were explaining (but not condoning) the actions of the rioters, were conversing with victims who were burnt out of their homes. There were additional exchanges between friends of the young woman who had an altercation with the police officer which triggered the riots, and one of the police officers who was working at the scene as the violence escalated. Despite the inherent high emotional connection that participants had to these events, the initial exchanges had a cathartic feel, as though the participants went into the arena well aware that they would disagree but happy and willing to engage in a ***forum for antagonism***[152] which would allow them to express themselves. However, this process was continually injected with additional levels of adversarial zeal by the anchor. There was a particular moment when a lawyer representing some of the rioters refers to a comment made by one of his clients, describing the scene as representing something of 'a carnival atmosphere'. There are some murmurs of discontent from the assembled crowd but by far the most vociferous response comes from our anchor:

> *"A carnival atmosphere? When people's houses are burning, shops are being destroyed? I've never seen that at the Notting Hill Carnival!"*

Comments like this were not only a suggestion that our anchor had no experience of the Notting Hill Carnival in the years when proceedings didn't finish at 7pm with the mass appearance of police officers to control the violence that often occurred as celebrations extended into the darkness. However, more pertinent was that the aim of the broadcasters which was made manifest through these statements. This aim was support a much more combative narrative than the one that was being fostered by the participants

152 In line with Mouffe's definition of conflict:
"I propose a distinction between two forms of antagonism, antagonism proper – which takes place between enemies but between 'adversaries', adversaries being defined in a paradoxical way as 'friendly enemies', that is, persons who are friends because they share a common symbolic space but also enemies because they want to organize this common symbolic space in a different way."

in the hall. Comments such as these were littered through the live event cultivating hostilities which at the beginning of the session had been put to one side. ***The second*** reason for this session culminating in being a missed opportunity was that there was a focus on cultivating the direction of the discussion from inputs of those who were not in the room. Texts, tweets and emails were encouraged once the session went live which counteracted the opening gambit of the facilitator whose use of the pronoun was prolific in the first hour of the proceeding.

> *"This is **your** opportunity... **You** matter... **You** can applaud... Raise **your** hand if **you** want to talk"*

With this invitation being made at the beginning of the day the focus was on those directly affected or effected, by events 100 days ago, but by the time that it came to the live broadcast the cynical contributions from those listening on the radio (and by their very nature a degree of separation from events) were given greater importance than those in the room, which fuelled a hostile environment and an air of recrimination which had developed by the end of the broadcast. This was further fuelled by the lack of continuity facilitated at the end of the session. Many of the different stake holders actively attempted to gain contact details of others who had vocalised views during the session – primarily those whose work they were previously unaware of. The most common attempt was made by different community groups who wanted to liaise with likeminded individuals. In addition, there were those who wanted to utilise the services of those working for different institution; lawyers and police representative groups being the most popular. What this lead to were questions from these now aligned group asking "when will the next event be?". For both the Church and the Broadcasters this was a problem, as they hadn't considered the option of facilitating additional session where participants could pursue a particular thread of inquiry as a form of social exchange potentially providing a sustained touchstone for different groups within the community. This lead to some of the participants feeling somewhat abandoned by the whole process.

However, the aim of this evaluation is not just to highlight the failings of this particular event and others like it and their wilful misrepresentations through the construction of a popularist narrative, but to look at the implicit potential of this and other similar structures and formats (if correctly used) for community based participation and even decision making. These events may provide the type of social inclusion that acts as a preventative mechanism or operate as an intermediary social buffer against the type of disaffection which lead to the opportunistic and destructive direct actions which were the inspiration for the event in the first place.

If the decision was made by the broadcasters to promote a more harmonious tone, or even better, to allow the participants to develop their own tone and position as a disparate group; then the event takes on an ***efficacy*** of its own. Similarly, and most importantly, if events like these are not seen simply as one off opportunities to choreograph headlines, but as part of a wider network of scheduled, recurring, public events; then spaces of this nature have the potential to be utilised to gain positive momentum for local social causes and agenda.

Historically, churches operated as one of the central hubs of a community, but in the diverse multi-faith diaspora that characterises contemporary Britain, truly inclusive communal spaces are a rarity, as partial and special interests can render their use (or the use of any single faith building or facility) a non-neutral space where inclusive access is an increasingly difficult narrative to make manifest. Events such as these, whether they take place in a religious or community centres, parks, libraries or cafes; have the potential to reignite the possibility for them to be utilised as public forums, subject to their location and accessibility. The idea that there could be a series of social hubs which are activated for social political discussion is another aspect of the missed possibilities made tangible by the organisation of this event.

Instead, what we see is that the representations explored in that meeting was part of the larger dichotomic narrative of ***punishment and recrimination***, as opposed to a more nuanced exploration of why these spatial practice occurred ***where*** and ***when*** they did. As a result, this event missed the opportunity to understand (but not condone) the actions that defined the August riots through the eyes of some of the people who experienced it first-hand. Because this narrative is effectively suppressed (the opportunity to air these uncomfortable positons nationwide being lost,) the associative hegemonic assumptions that align to the antithesis become commonplace.

This allows problematic dominant narratives to exist by constructing a pretence that decisions have considered or listened to a more nuanced or partial voices and their understanding of an issue; before taking actions,

that they had decided to take before the event takes place. As a result, political decisions supported by narratives fostered by main stream media organisations, feed into the popularisation of popular politics such as reducing the scope of public(ly accessible) space for all, based on the temporal decisions of a few. As a result, ideas such as these are not challenged as a single-minded response to these riots, and thus go unquestioned. This practice of presenting one-sided arguments as balanced enquiry is problematic when pre-disposed positions are given efficacy which has remits beyond singular events.

This comes into stark focus when examining the legislative changes which have been initiated in the aftermath of the August riots. Most noticeably participants were not only demonised in the national press or by high profile serving politicians, but by sentencing guidelines, extending existing established punishment for their offences after the first day of arrests, as well as the experimentation with policies which undermine the human rights[153] of the offenders.

This predeterminism is most stark when considering how other sectors of society who broke the law in the surrounding 12-month period were treated very differently by the legislator. This is most noticeable when analysing the treatment of wrong doers in the (1) banking sector in particular reference to those illegally fixing the Libor (interbank lending) rate. Similarly, the return of another (2) Parliamentary expenses scandal in 2012 (following that of 2005-10) and the (3) illegal phone hacking (made common practice by the News of The World). The third of which lead to the commissioning of the Leveson report which brought into question the role of the media, Metropolitan Police and certain members of parliament in facilitating these activities which undermined the trust and legitimacy of many of our established institutions. However, their misdemeanours have brought little concrete change to the way in which the three areas of society operate (particularly in relation to changes in the law), typified by the comments of Prime Minister David Cameron; publicly saying "I rejecting the report's key findings[154]".

Conversely, no such leniency has been shown to the rioters and as a result ***all*** users of public(ly accessible) spaces. The principal position that serving politicians utilise, seems to take the most extreme examples of human behaviour (terrorism and spatial order breaches categorised as wanton destruction) and then fashion laws to ***treat all unsanctioned actions as a possible precursor to them***. Bills have been drafted (and accepted in essence) by the Metropolitan police, requesting the use of rubber bullets and Tasers for a wider variety of activities under the power of a constable. Similarly, they have also requested the introduction of water cannons[155] (a previously unheard of step in English policing). In addition, bills have been drafted to make any sense of disorder a crime (as outlined in the new ASBCA bill (Anti-social behaviour crime and policing act) which extends the remit of previous bills of exclusion (such as ASPBOs[156], SOCPA[157] zones and POPs[158]). What these approaches accumulatively achieve is the creation of a sanitised public(ly accessible) space which does reflect the culture, diversity and idiosyncratic nature of the urban communities which they should be a platform for. In this type of approach also increases the militarisation of spaces. Choosing to choreograph these spatial strategies of control as opposed to communal growth integration and social exchange means that these urban issues are left untouched by political strategy, leaving a latent trail of socio-political causes to fester in society for future generations to unravel.

153 In another example of short-term popularist politics, Both David Cameron (Prime Minister) and Iain Duncan Smith (Work and Pensions Secretary) suggested that changes would be made to rioter's benefits in the week after the riots took place:

"I am at the moment looking to see whether or not someone who's convicted of a criminal offence but not custodial, that we would be able to impose a similar process on them as well, that they would lose their benefits for a particular period of time relevant to that process,"

(I. D. Smith 2011)

"…we need to reclaim our streets from the thugs who didn't just spring out of nowhere, last week, but who've been making lives a misery for years.…well this is moral hazard in our welfare system - people thinking they can be as irresponsible as they like because the state will always bail them out…we're already addressing this through the Welfare Reform Bill going through parliament."

(Cameron, Prime Minister 2011)

In reality these reforms were never proposed to parliament because the law at the time of the riots was that anyone who receives benefits and who is jailed for an offence automatically loses their payment. However, the rhetoric was used to create political favour.

154 (Cameron 2012, 446) COMMONS HANSARD, 29 Nov

155 Requested by (Cameron, Prime Minister 2011) at a public address: following a meeting of the government's emergency committee. 10th August

156 ASBOs: Ant Social Behaviour Orders (introduced in 1998)

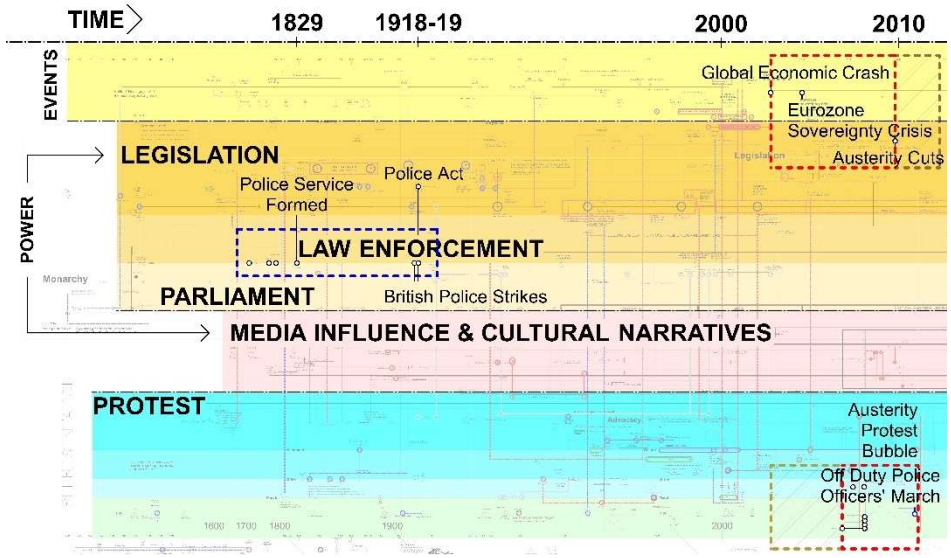
157 SOCPA zones: Serious Organised Crime and Police Act (2005)

158 POPS: Privately Owned Public Spaces (1990s – prolific since the mid-2000s)

Page intentionally left blank

Off Duty Police Officer March

The Off Duty Police Officer March is at the end of the Austerity Protest Bubble (2010-12), both in chronology and as a representation of the change in momentum and pessimism that develops over these two years. Most noticeably this protest embodies the shift in the ideology of participants, their expectations, approach to claiming space and the ultimate outcomes of their actions. The protest itself raises many philosophical questions around the nature of policing and the rights that key service providers can or should expect in contemporary society. However, of particular importance to this research is the way in which these participants are limited in the tools available to them in claiming space during their act of dissent due to their uniformity and standing in society.



112: Location Map: Off Duty Police Officer March

Protest Contingencies Guide (Author)

This ***institutionalised*** protest is a significant addition to the group of case studies due to the homogenous and hierarchical nature of the participant base. This informed the way in which the participants engaged with public(ly accessible) space. This protest allows us to explore the advantages and disadvantages when considering the possibility of protest operating as a more universally inclusive form of organised opposition. The main considerations are the participant body and the way in which they structured their protest, which created a different spatial reality to that of other case study protests. These differences highlight the inbuilt operational restrictions that exist within all direct actions.

This protest is of research interest because (1) the participants are law enforcement officials (representing a potential widening of the protest franchise when considering those who usually participate in such actions). (2) The way in which they are operationally restricted, structures the action in a way which makes their protest unique. The officers cannot integrate and participate with the same anonymity as most other activists do. This is due to the socio-political expectations that comes with their standing and the lack of social diversity within the participant body. This means that unlike other protesters, they do not experiment with the extent to which they can challenge the operational framework which has been laid out for them during their action. The notion of ***civil disobedience*** is lost from this actions as they are fully engaged with the rules of engagement which are presented to them.

What the previous case studies explore; is the way in which protest is a liberating function or experience for the individuals involved – as the participants operate outside of their daily routines with rules of operation and interaction realigned through their protest action. Performing in this acquired reality occurs despite the fact that everyone is subject to the possibility of having their actions captured, documented and taken out of context by a number of different actors from mounted CCTV cameras to mobile phones. To be in public space is to be on display – yet for most this isn't as operationally limiting as we might expect. The fact that protest often creates the ability for its participants to behave outside of the norms of everyday life because of the ***relative anonymity*** that the action facilitates – is significant by its absence with this protest.

As discussed in previous chapters; there are different categories of protests that this thesis examines, (broadly, those which are ***reactionary*** and those which create ***ideologically structured opposition***[159]). Although the off-duty police officers fall into the ***reactionary*** category – the expectations placed on their profession means that their ***choice*** to protest (despite their structural limitations as a body) ***is the culmination of the reaction***; as

159 For more detailed description of these different roles of protest; see the "Protest" chapter.

opposed to most protests which are defined by the ***way in which*** they protest being an ***embodiment*** of their strength of feeling.
The reason for this signature difference is that the officers protested alone – other members of public or indeed members of union bodies (organising protests around the same time) did not join their march in solidarity (in any significant numbers). As such, they essentially protested as a police force, with all the restrictions that you would expect from such an act in contemporary Britain where their actions would be under heightened observation, scrutiny and criticism.

Ironically, this protest is essentially a trade dispute (focusing on what would usually be considered under the category of union rights and interests) however, when your trade has no union and thus no legal mechanism by which to withdraw your labour, it creates an operational quandary for any direct action that you manage to facilitate outside of these restrictions. as participants are still operating under the hallmarks of ***homogeneity*** and ***hierarchy*** that exist when they are at work, and the restrictions which are imposed.

113: Photo: Officers Maintaining Hierarchy

- marching in order of rank (Bimal Sharma, 10th May 2012)

Despite the absence of their usual uniform, there is still a uniformity and order prevalent, (this is most evident as rank takes precedence, with suited commissioners, superintendents and inspectors leading the march and the constabulary behind [left]). With these factors of predetermination still in place; there is an inherent juxtaposition within the protest itself. The strike questions the ***decisions made*** on the behalf of the force (to introduce the Windsor plan part 2) without questioning the ***decision making process*** and the structure of the existing hierarchy. The constabulary had a similar trade dispute in 2008, however, the discussion over how to operate with greater say in their work and pay conditions has not been considered since that march. According to Police magazine; a survey of members during a pay dispute in 2008 found 87 percent of the 60,000 who responded would have liked the Federation to lobby for the right to strike in the absence of binding arbitration. This recent legacy raises the question of how can the participants use their performance as an effective mechanism to give their discontent efficacy? In answering this question, this participant base must adopt significantly different spatial practices to other direct actions in order to pursue a legitimate and influential protest.

To give an idea of the wider socio-political constructs which limit the operational potential of the participant body it is important to remember that this protest occurs as a response to the Global economic crash and the European sovereignty debt crisis. In this aftermath the newly elected UK coalition government committed themselves to the ideological decision to reduce government spending[xvii] across the board by approximately 20%[160]. This was an often disputed figure, with the coalition government choosing to publicise partial information on the cuts that they were making, choosing to publicise much lower percentages relating to particular jobs and not considering sectors as a whole, which increased opposition from civil servants, who felt that there was a degree of misinformation being utilised by parliament as a method to diffuse collaborative and organised opposition.

160 Results of the Spending Review October 2010, Presented to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer *(Her Majesty's Treasury 2010)* – table of key decision available in endnotes.

Of course other strategies of fiscal management in response to economic crisis were open to the government[161] but this is the one that they chose to pursue. As a result, there were protests which were planned in response to the changes in lifestyle which many employees in government related jobs would experience. These protests took place across the country as politician's drip fed the information on which industries in which locations would be effected by their cuts. By delaying the announcement of their overall strategy and instead focusing on peripheral aims and issues, it allowed them to validate their actions as "restructuring" of a particular workforce in a particular location. By staggering the flow of their strategic approach, they could announce information weeks apart in an attempt to negate the continuity of their decision making, instead claiming that they were "targeting" another area of spending for restructure.

In some areas of government spending this worked effectively, such as cuts to welfare, legal aid (free legal representation), disability allowances and the rights of care workers. Other, (well unionised) or more established organisations managed to construct a more robust response to this strategy of divide and rule. Namely teachers, NHS staff, Students and Police officers. It is this last group that this chapter focuses on.

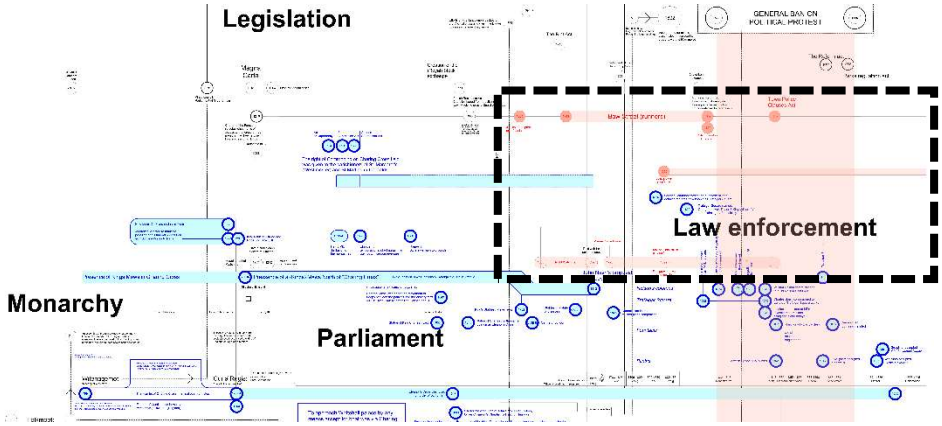
114: The Police Federation Magazine: April & May 2012

Headlines Recognise the restrictions in self-expression that are embodied in the illegality of strike action

Significant to this this protest is the history of the police service as an intrinsic force in the daily managements of public(ly accessible) space. Since 1918 the police force has not been permitted (by law) to unionise. This act came about after the mass disturbances that followed after police officers went on strike over pay and conditions (in 1918 and 1919). The threat of mass disorder was seen as too high a price to pay for the political liberation of this core service, leaving today's officer's in an indeterminate position when it comes to acts of public self-expression. The Metropolitan police force was established in 1829 at a time of great social and political change in British history (the mid-1800s). Many of the organisations' significant responsibilities are in relation to the act of controlling and mitigating activities within public(ly accessible) space which inherently includes the act of protest. However, some of these activities of dissent are

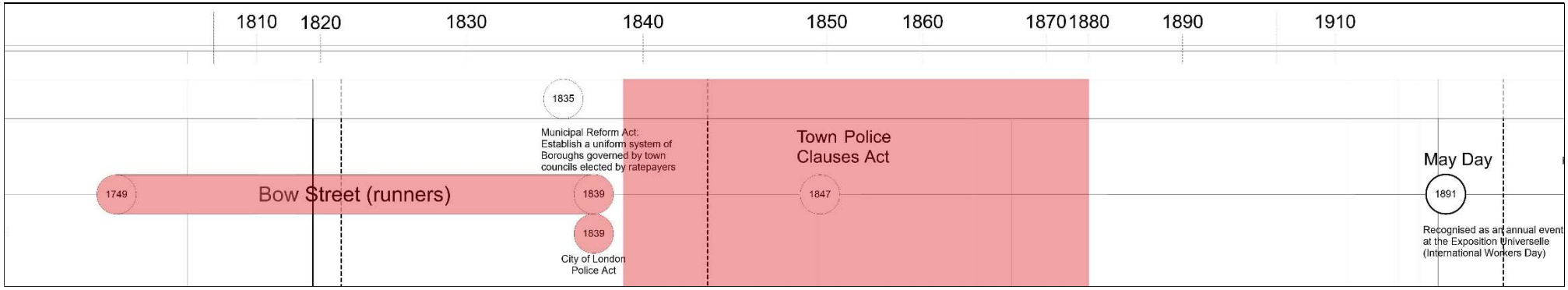
161 Significant alternative strategies to reduce the deficit were never considered. These require engaging with different ideological starting points. By choosing to engage with alternative methods to *increase* their income. Options for this include collecting unpaid tax from global corporations, taxing all spot conversions of one currency into (sometimes known as the Tobin Tax). Another option would be to deviate from the annual Bank of England policy of chasing inflation targets. Similarly, other government spending could be targeted such as that on foreign aid or defence (such as the UK Trident programme).

the culmination of actions by significant political movements who (through their acts of spatial opposition) establish rights and practices which we hold dear today. Their rise in activity and ultimate historical significance, occur in oppositional tandem to the development a growing number of political strategies to thwart their actions and their spaces of operation - one of which being the establishment of a comprehensive police force. These movements include groups such as the Chartists, The reform league and the establishment of spaces such as Speaker's Corner and Trafalgar Square (as public spaces of discussion and dissent). These movements become particularly active and important during the "general ban on political protest" which detracted from many spaces of congregation, but was enforced with particular fervour at (the increasingly significant) Trafalgar Square [highlighted as the red vertical band in the following image]. At the time Trafalgar Square was going through a series redesigns, rebuilds and developmental changes [highlighted by blue circles spanning from 1812-1865].



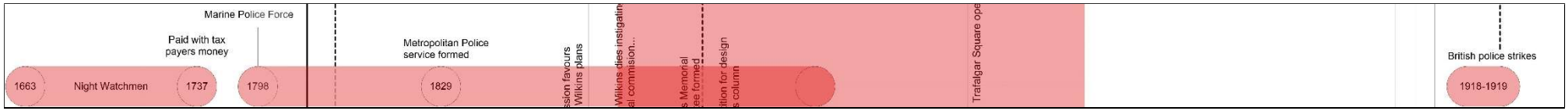
115: Policing Public Space

Mapping Protest Contingencies: Extract (Author)



The pre-cursors to the Metropolitan Police Force (and associated act of parliament [1829 below]) start as mechanisms to protect the interests of propety owners at land and at sea (at a time when travel by sea was the norm for most goods and the military. [Above] the role of "justice of the peace" develops into the well known precursors who operated within a specific geographicly defined district; such as the "Bow Street"magistrates office.[Bottom]. Similarly, the Marine police force is established (1798) from it's precursor of the individually employed "night watchmen", galvanising their actions, operating in a more colaborative and consistent basis.

The Metropolian Police Force itself, employed different tactics to solving crime than these precursors, they began to use ***preventative*** methods as oposed to prodominently using ***reactive*** ones, and thus their creation overtook the fractured and inconsistent nature of preceeding forces within a generation. This preventative methodology is a key operational aproach which perpetuates through to today's understanding on effective policing, and is often at odds with the freedom of the individual to opperate within public(ly accessible) space (highlighted by the use of kettlling[162]).



116: Policing Public Space (Focus)

Mapping Protest Contingencies: Extract (Author)

162 kettlling – explored in the Student Tuition Fee Protests case study; is The term derives from the German "kessel" or "Kesselschlacht" - literally a cauldron battle, used to describe an encircled army about to be annihilated by a superior force (i.e.: "Kessel von Stalingrad") describing the experience of soldiers within the kettle, as the situation would soon become "unbearable hot".

Although the site which we now associate with Trafalgar Square has existed with relative importance since 1291[163], the development of the site as we know and identify today, was triggered by the then modernist notion of creating spaces which embodied the emblems of empire[164]. As such, Trafalgar Square comes into being as a visual and spatial statement of the newly defined global political power in Britain (built to celebrate the military seafaring victory of the Battle of Trafalgar [1805]). It is an overt political statement, in no small part, constructed to overt civil unrest[165].

Within this context there is a growing political desire for a unified police force, particularly in London (as the political power base of the nation). As these socio-political machinations mobilise over spaces of contestation; their growing power gives rise to an organised, non-militarised series of law enforcement forces. If we observe the development of this force, we can see the predefining structures that make its existence possible, and the events which thwart its independence.

As the Metropolitan Polices' role became increasingly intrinsic to controlling public space, their working conditions does not respond in kind, particularly in relation to the social realities of post war Britain. Their strike in 1918 thus revolved around three issues (1) The NUPPO[166] as the recognised representatives of police workers (2) demands for increased war bonus' (wages), as well as opposition to the shortening of their (3) pension entitlement. The strikes involved nearly all active police officers (12,000 men) and resulted in improvements to police officers' pay and conditions. The strike was so effective, that a year later when others were on strike; including bakers, TUC[167] members and the mass individual action culminating in what commonly became known as the "rent strikes"; police officers were prevented from joining. This essentially is managed through the development of the Police Federation, which (amongst other things) outlawed a trade union for police officers.

As history repeats itself the issues which threatened the nature of policing at that time (particularly in the 1918 strikes) would recur with relevance in 2012. Cuts to pensions (through a changing of the pensionable age) and cut to pay (through a restructuring and categorisation of roles particularly those of constable) were key operational changes which officers were in opposition to. Other significant hallmarks (more reminiscent of 1919) were that officers embarked on their (off duty) strike on the same day as unionised workers[168] in a show of solidarity. And in a throwback to the working association of the NUPPO; prison officers (also banned from striking) staged a "surprise" walkout across the country in opposition to the (similarly implemented) raise in their pension age. Thus with the level of consternation high (30,000 – 35,000 police officers taking to the streets – the largest ever in England and Wales) the protests occurred despite the notable absence of an institutional framework (a union) to support their objections. This was a police force that had no practical connection to the notion of ***trade rights***, they were no longer part of a self-defining organisation, and therefore the notion of the affiliated rights and the associated expectations are thus eradicated. As a result, notions of ***how*** to protest, particularly circulating around mechanism of ***claiming space*** are remiss from their subsequent actions.

163 In 1291 Eleanor of Castile, wife of King Edward I of England, dies. To commemorate her death Edward organises a funeral procession from her place of death (Harby) to her resting place in Westminster Abbey. Each place that her funeral procession stopped overnight was marked with a monument. The final overnight stop for her procession was the Hamlet of Charing Cross where a monument was erected in her memory. Thus in the 1300s Kings establish their mews (stables) and thus becomes a key thoroughfare particularly after the development of St James' Palace. By the time that the mews falls into disuse and thus disrepair, Charing Cross is well established as a vehicular junction with political significance (as troops returning from battle utilise this route receiving subsequent praise or condemnation).

164 Spaces which are developed to cultivate a notion of national pride are "emblems of the empire". This terminology is used by Rodney Mace in his description of Trafalgar Square (charting its significance from 1840-1976).

165 The development of Trafalgar Square coincides with the 2nd and 3rd corn wars. With the state of unrest high the proposal of Trafalgar Square was partly to remind people of the glory of the empire and deflect from growing civil unrest.

166 NUPPO: National Union of Police and Prison Officers.

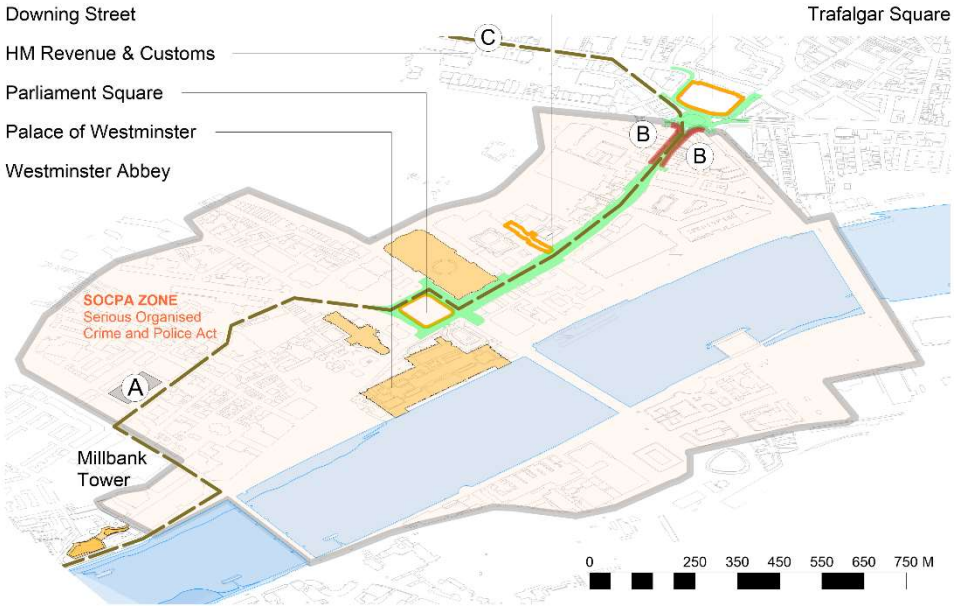
167 TUC: Trade Union Congress, representing jobs such as railway, dock and transport workers.

168 400, 000 public sector employees hold a one-day walk-out led by PCS, TUC, Unite, Nipsa and RMT unions: (Public and Commercial Services, Trade Union Council, Northern Ireland Public Services Alliance, Rail Maritime and Transport).

The March

Police officers arranged to meet on 10th May 2012 at 10:30am outside of [Millbank Tower] which had recently become the notorious scene of the First Student Tuition Fee protests in 2010 (see student tuition fee chapter for more information). Here, protesters broke into the tower and caused a great deal of damage. A particular incident caused consternation as a protester threw a fire extinguisher from the roof of the tower to the crowd below (fortunately no one was injured in that incident). Subsequently there were complaints about the way in which the police handled the protests – leading to rebuttals from the police (amongst others) that a cut in their numbers would make events like these even harder to police effectively in the future – thus making the Tower a relevant staging post for the start of their own protest.

The cuts to policing had been announced two years earlier by the policing minister Nick Herbert in December 2010. Proclaiming that central funding would come into effect between 2011-2012, reducing the police force by between 4% and 5% of officers (although this has been contested and upped to 20% when considering the entire police ***force***) nationwide; with cuts starting in March 2012.[169] Officers took to the streets as these cuts started to take effect, with this particular day of protest chosen in alignment with the day of walk-outs by other public sector employees (if only in name), with May being a traditional[170] month of protest. In London the route [highlighted in brown] of the planned march was from outside the SOCPA[171] zone starting at [Millbank Tower], past The Home Office[172] [A] (who sanctioned the decision to make the systematic cuts to their pay and conditions) and as such was located inside the (now reappraised) SOCPA (Serious Organised Crime Act) zone [shown in grey]. This area was



117: Off Duty Police Officer's March

Mapping Route (Author)

designed to be control through ommitance of "unwarranted" activity within a mile of parliament square - due to this reappraisal of ***political public space***[173]**.**

As such ***police officers were applying to protest within their own exclusion zone***. this application has to be made a minimum of a week in

169 Data released by the police force showed that they needed to save £768m by the end of Year1 (March 2012). They planned to balance the books by reducing their workforces by 17,600 posts (between March 2010 and March 2012), cutting their spending on goods and services by around £185m and using over £28m of their reserves

(Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) 2012)

170 The May Day protest traditions are only tenuously linked to the other well-known spring festivals which begin in May in the Northern Hemisphere. As the climate changes it brings better conditions to grow food which was a time for celebration in agricultural societies. Therefore, with May comes connotations of new beginnings, and fresh start, and these notions are tenuously associated to the more contemporary associations with early May. In the late 1800s the original Socialist's international organisation (Paris 1889-1916) chose May 1st as International Workers' day (now known as Labor/ Labour day or May Day). This day was chosen to align themselves with the American Labour movement in commemorating the May 4, 1886 Haymarket affair (where whist celebrating their annual labour day (in September) deaths occurred at the hands of the police after a bomb was thrown at officers). This alignment of labour actions across different western societies; thus begins to identify this time of year with liberal ideology and the act of organised protest.

171 The Serious Organised Crime and Police Act (SOCPA) 2005 placed on a statutory basis the framework for dealing with static demonstrations in the vicinity of parliament (the intention being that marches would be dealt with under the Public Order Act). Sections 132-138 of the Act provide (details of which can be found in the endnotes).

(Joint Committee on the Draft Constitutional Renewal Bill 2008)

172 The Home Office is a ministerial department which leads on immigration and passports, drugs policy, crime policy and counter-terrorism and works to ensure visible, responsive and accountable policing in the UK. The Home Office is supported by 25 agencies [including The Police Advisory Board England and Wales and the Police Negotiating Board].

(Home Office 2012)

173 This is perhaps the most political "public space" in Britain, where key strategic buildings (which house operations) which are intrinsic to the daily operation of the country. The fact that this space in particular has had a series of acts and bylaws constructed to essentially privatise its use tests the active deployment of participatory democracy and public(ly accessible) space. A full list of the key buildings and functions along this route can be found in the "Appendix".

advance; if granted, the police can place a series of restrictions on the protests such as duration, number of attendees as well as the option of refusing to sanction the protest altogether. However, in this case the request was unsurprisingly granted. So the route of the march begins at Millbank Tower, past The Home Office, meanders through to Trafalgar square, then onto Whitehall passing Downing Street (the residence of the Prime Minister). From here the March continues onto [Trafalgar Square] and out of the SOCPA zone, where the protesters turn onto Pall Mall stopping at the junction with Waterloo Place [C]. At this point the march loses its intensity, direction and purpose as some continue along Pall Mall to St James' Palace (where Pall Mall effectively ends) and others regress back to Whitehall [B]. The protest itself lasting a mere 2 hours.

Approach

My decision to attend this protest was because the participant base represented a different approach to direct actions. Here, what was in contention was the ***extent*** of the Austerity measures being implemented by the coalition government. This meant that this day of events would be the largest planned display of oppositional dissent (eventually reaching 400,000) across the country, since my research period had begun. At the time, main stream media organisations were making comparisons to the general strike of 1926[174]. And although there are stark differences between the working conditions experienced then and now, the reverence for this time at the cusp of the Austerity protests meant that these were likely to be a significant protest event and thereby an informative addition to the case study series.

As with all of the public sector worker strikes, the publicity and organisation of their intended direct actions took place in the public realm and on public forums[175]. Their strategy was to attract as many participants as possible in a show of ***austerity resistance*** (as opposed thot he anti-austerity rhetoric of other protests). The popularity of these protest was the other main reason for my decision to make this one of my case studies. My decision to focus on the Off-Duty Police Officers march was due to the inherent ***spatial juxtaposition*** represented by the police protesting within a zone that they themselves control and restrict. Their activation of this as a ***political public space*** with all its inherent spatial restrictions and conditions were a key factor in my decision to attend the protest as an observer.

It was apparent that there were some intrinsic differences between this and other Austerity protests. It suffered from similar operational problems to that of the Barristers protesting which attempted to focus national attention on the cuts that were being made to legal aid (which would occur in 2014). What both these groups of homogenous protesters had not principally understood was that protests are a performative act which takes place at a particular location to promote an agenda – and one of the key audience members who you are performing to is the mainstream media. If the media are allowed to misrepresent your intentions and actions, or deflect attention to issues beside your main focus, then the wider message can and will easily be lost.

Where the Barristers protest was ridiculed for the expensive clothing and accessories that the participants protested in or with - this was made to seem delusionary and hypocritical and sitting in opposition with their key political concerns. Their concerns being that the effective removal (by making untenable and unaffordable for solicitors to provide support to those in most need due to changes (cuts) in the structure of financial support) of a service for the poor, or those without a great deal of disposable income. The counter argument was that those that they were protesting on behalf of would not have access to the material goods in which the barristers were protesting in or with. This aside which sidesteps the key political issues, became the dominant perspective through which commentators and observers alike understood the protest through.

Here, in a similar fashion, the officers were shown to be ineffective and toothless, lacking the ability to create oppositional activity with any real likelihood of changing political opinion. The narrative was one of ***powerlessness***, in the face of their usual (seemingly) ***powerful*** standing in society. As such, the off-duty police officers were never in control of this

174 The general strikes if 1926 lasted for 9 days and involved 1.7million workers. Although the workers were unsuccessful in forcing through better working conditions, their action caused months of disruption to the work in the heavy industries. The protests in 2011 took place over one day and involved less than ½ million participants.

175 Subsequent news feeds on the developing actions included BBC News, The Telegraph and the Guardian (As it happened: Public sector strike action) – (*http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-2824118; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/8924005/Public-sector-strikes-as-it-happened.html; http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jul/10/public-sector-strike-live-coverage*)

wider narrative. As a result - unlike other unionised protests, were unable to generate sympathy or solidarity from other sections of society.

Even before taking to the streets the protesters had decided to operate well within the confines of the extensive additional bylaws[176] which now typified this territory of[177] action. This decision marked a rare deviation from the ***use*** of protest as a ***tool*** of to express discontent at Whitehall (and the surrounding environs). Although the vast majority of protests which occur on Whitehall are peaceful (despite the popular political rhetoric), protesters are often willing to test the rules of engagement within the public realm. These mainly include minor deviations from the rules of conduct; such as the use of microphones, signs with messages that test the assumed boundaries of good taste or appropriate behaviour. As well as testing more spatial forms of compliance, such as remaining in the territory outside of their specifically allotted route, time period of protest or extending the number of attendees beyond previously agreed numbers. It should be said that often, ***when these deviations from the norm occur in other protests it is not a premeditated departure from protocol; but arises as an evitable and embodied by-product of direct action*** (which is in itself a deviation from the norm). Often the inherent communal nature of these gatherings (where those who are likeminded – but who may well be strangers meet others to engage in communication over shared concerns, essentially creating spaces of non-commercial exchange. ***Socio-political space when produced in this way create atmospheres where operating by a set of prearranged constructs less likely, as participants have already begun to perform in a less ordered and more self-defining manner; and as a result indeterminate spaces of communality are produced***.

However, in this instance because the Off Duty Police Officer March never entered into this level of communal engagement; its participants never approached the spatial possibilities inherent in ***non-compliance***.

118: Photo: Mutual Applause

Whitehall (Author 2011)

This was perhaps most noticeable in the way in which the protesting officers responded to the serving police officers who lined their route. There was no antagonism between the two parties. Although this was to be expected, it very much highlighted how the protest was a gesture free from antagonism as a whole in its manifestation, and not in any way an attempt to question or counteract the inherent structures which they had caused their discontent. The structures that where changing their working conditions without creating an avenue by which they could contest these changes or inform the decision making process. If this were the case there would have been a portion of the marchers who would have seen the on-duty officers as an embodiment of their struggle, but no such notion was present. The ***homogeny of the protest as a structure*** instead created gestures such as mutual applause symbolised that some officers were in uniform and others marching; that they were in solidarity one force (on or off duty). In effect, their gestures were as clear a political statement as any other protest at Whitehall. To emphasis this point further, as the protesters passed the junction between Whitehall and Downing street [50 metres from the

176 Protest is generally nullified on Whitehall by a combination of strategies. Spaces such as Parliament and Trafalgar Square are subject to an increasing number of bylaws that redefine their use and access.

177 The additional bylaws that typify Whitehall include an extensive series made after the protests of 2011: (examples of which can be found in the "appendix" under "spatial definitions").
(1) All references to the "the Square" in this table are references to Parliament Square Garden.
(2) All references to the "new Byelaws" in this table are references to the new Parliament Square Garden Byelaws.

photograph above]; the applause migrated to a chorus of boos. Targeting their antagonism towards the incumbent prime minister. However, at no point did the participants break step, or slow their pace to elongate this moment or in any way create a moment for the media to focus on.

As a result, the juxtaposition between the "applause" or the "boos" were reported in the main stream media – instead reports were led by a tone of general condemnation of the protest, questioning the purpose – not facilitating the officers in their aim to align their struggle with the wider (unionised) civil servant body which they wished to have. These protests were generally reported upon in a much more positive light (by numerous newspapers). Clearly terms of media reports (all) protesters are in difficult position; often dammed if they do and dammed if they don't (or can't) – however, in this particular case – the largest ever protest by the police was seen as something of a non-event (outside of the force itself), and ***the internal solidarity that officers perused from each other did nothing to persuade the powers that be to reassess the ruthlessness of their political actions***. Similarly, their lack of spatial non-compliance didn't allow them to create moments to test value or efficacy through spatial exploration.

119: Photo: Scheduled Clean Up

Refuse workers able to clear site whilst protest is still in action (Author 2012)

As a result, the officers were very ordered in the way in which they approached proceedings, they chose to wear 16,000 black baseball caps, creating a uniform of sorts. These caps were to signify the mourning of the 16,000 officer jobs that would be lost during the implemented cuts. There was also a clear hierarchy maintained throughout the protest. Often, these are constructs which are often challenged or overturned in the liberal exchange that takes place in a protest environment. Here, the march was led by the most senior officers, who united and lead holding aloft their main banners. This continued hierarchical construct led to a situation where individual groups of officers did not feel capable of deviating from the pace and path set for them – they were clearly briefed on how to behave and compliant in executing that brief. Of most importance spatially is that public realm protest embodies a very vociferous claiming of space which was emphatically missing from this action. This was embodied by the Westminster Council truck [white] that followed directly behind the back of the march; removing the cones that delineated their routes less than 10 metres away from them - effectively removing all signs of the protest (and the potential for disturbance) as it occurred. Although practices such as this are frequent in protests elsewhere (such as Spain), the frequency and varied fervour of their direct actions mean that this practice has a different effect on the way that the protest is read and experienced in the UK.

As a result, no claim to space was made or attempted, an inbuilt factor which even extended to the scheduled timing of the protest. This perhaps over all of the other actions (or inaction) typifies this protest, its lack of spatiality through compliance. This comes into stark focus as the only time that the officers engaged with any form of non-choreographed spatial deviation is ***after*** the protest. As the protest was scheduled to finish just before lunchtime, most were hungry and no one brought their own food or attempted to create a gesture of spatial claim revolving around the need to eat (as often seen in protest actions).

120: Photo: Side-lines

(Author 2012)

121: Photo: Clear Out

(Author 2012)

So as marchers approached Trafalgar Square they passed the McDonald's located on Whitehall (the only fast food outlet on the road). Subsequently those who had been marching lead a queue outside the McDonald's which as the protest ended, the officers meandered down Whitehall. Weaving a path which blocked access to bus stops and occupying both sides of the pavement; creating the only moment of (coincidental) obstructive pedestrian action. It was then followed by a use of the pavement (once officers had purchased their food) [seated] which attempted to facilitate a full continuation of a return to a vehicular ***normalisation*** to occur as soon as possible, lining the pavements (not the road) to eat [as shown left]. Similarly, the Westminster Council van meeting the protest at the head of the protest (Trafalgar Square) was able to collect and dispose of all of the protest paraphernalia; a plethora of signs, as the march ended in the same moment. In the final analysis there was a regimented beginning middle with a hasty end.

The most defining aspect of this narrative is that the officers on the ground were confused as to how they were supposed to bring resolution to the proceedings, despite the high level of choreography the end of the march seems to have not been considered with the same level of detail. Unlike most protests, here it was almost impossible to mingle and engage with protesters as an outsider with only official media outlets (such as the BBC, ITV etc.) being talked to in an openly discursive manner and predominantly by Paul Mckeever[178]. This operational containment was most evident as the march rounded the corner onto Pall Mall, participants were anxious to end the proceedings feeling that their... "point has been made". On Pall Mall expressions of "what happens now" and "which way do we go from here" began to emerge from different groups, who, again in a departure from other protests did not mingle with other groups of ***unknown*** participants. Small clusters of officers began break away from the main body before retreating back to Pall Mall.

Theory

The way in which the officers ***perform*** in this protest allows us to make comparisons with other, spatially different direct actions. As such, we can begin to make conjectures on the trajectory of future direct actions. In recent times (a post Thatcher, neo-liberal England,) incumbent politicians have developed a collective strategy to undermine protest actions. They all employ a use of dismissive terminology to undermine the efficacy of said actions. This often contains a variation of the phrase "I'm in favour of the freedom to demonstrate, but..." and is thus followed by a series of caveats explaining why the ***particular protests*** in question is problematic and falls outside of the category of ***acceptable*** direct action.

This caveated definition can be heard in opposition to a number of recent and significant protest actions during different parliamentary administrations; particularly when protest actions are popular Such as Brian Haw's[xviii][179] peace camp (2001-2011), Occupy LSX[180] (2011-12) and the

178 Paul McKeever is the current chair of the police Federation.

179 Under the Tony Blair administration, Home Secretary David Blunkett, introduced a clause in the Organised Crime Bill (2005) – (see endnotes) designed to evict Brian Haw and ban protest at Parliament Square. It attempted (unsuccessfully) to use retrospective action to remove Brian Haw's protest from parliament square. His camp only ended when he died on the site (2011).

180 David Cameron condemnation of the Occupy LSX camp:

I do think there is a broader issue here – I'm all in favour of the freedom to demonstrate, but I don't quite see why the freedom to demonstrate has to include the freedom to pitch a tent almost anywhere you want to in London.... Of course we need the right to protest but these tents, whether in Parliament Square or whether in St Paul's, I don't think is the right way forward, and I do think we need to look at this whole area and I'm very keen that we do.

(Cameron, Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting 2011)

London tube strikes[181] (2014) to name just three. By direct comparison, it is clear that the Off-Duty Police officers' protest is exactly the type of protest that politicians would like to see, as it nullifies the potential embodied in the oppositional position. As such, this protest can be defined by the constructs which were absent. The lack of spatial enquiry meant that the ***choreographed performance lacked spontaneity***. In this ***purely performative*** form; which doesn't engage with the idea of protest as a mechanism for change, there is the absence of a ***practice*** on which this is built upon. If protest is utilised as a practice, there is an inherent realisation that to achieve any form of impact and potential for change; protest requires iterative repetition to effectively contest and therefore became a relevant construct of opposition. As such it will inevitably contain a degree of antagonism to trigger a response from the powerful institutions which it is disagreement with. The absence of such meant that this protest was in line with the recent trajectory of ***de-politicisation of public space*** where places which are within the public stock or sphere are removed from the sphere of ***activation and engagement*** through citizen action. Where this becomes relevant to the Off-Duty Police Officer's March is the way in which the third category (first outlined in the introduction[182]) has been marginalised and how their form of protests works within this marginalised reality.

Those who want to utilise a public(ly accessible) space in a way so that it operates as a ***reciprocal space*** will see public realm protest as an opportunity to explore these aims. As such the concept as outlined in the third definition of public space (footnote) is one which would suit a dispute of the nature of these protests. Essentially the Off Duty Police Officers disagreement with the government was well within the framework of "antagonism". They were not proposing anarchy – they were in a socio-political position where they generally agree with the fundamental structures of their work environment. As such they are not requesting revolution but reform - as well as an adherence to the working conditions for which they joined the police force. What they require is a ***common symbolic space where antagonism between adversaries***[183] can occur. However, they failed to realise that they had ***created the platform*** to do this ***within*** their march. The unwillingness (or inability) to engage with key questions around their status and role in society and how that relates to their understanding of their identity. How much can an officer act as an individual? To what degree can the force represent or express a range of differing opinions? A sanctioned march attended by the greatest number of serving police officers in history, moving through Whitehall is a powerful spatial construct to explore this form of antagonism. It is the embodiment of popular sovereignty without the spatial engagement to test the validity of this form of spatial objection. As such this case study is a prime example of the dominance of a hegemonic which not only changes the rules of engagement but the psychological relationship between space and its use.

181 Boris Johnson condemning tube strikes as "wildcat" strikes created by a "small minority" of the workforce. A standard by which he did not condemn his own electoral process. The turnout for the London Mayoral election in 2012 was 38% with Boris Johnson receiving 44% of that vote, meaning that 17% of Londoner's voted for Boris Johnson as Mayor for his second term
(http://www.ukpolitical.info/london-mayor-election-2012.htm)

"What we need is legislation so that when there is a ballot for strike action... the number of people participating in the ballot, of the relevant workforce, has to exceed 50% of that relevant workforce before you can have a strike,"

(B. Johnson, Conservates will act on union strikes 2014)

182 **THIRDLY**, there are the locations which house operations which are identified as representative to the citizens within a predefined terrain (district, borough, city or nation). The examples of the "United Nations, national governments" is given and again can be extended to both democratic and non-democratic/ elective institutions. The houses of parliament and The London Stock Exchange are both designations which could be added to this category. What binds these locations is remit. These operations invariably take place on private land and in stark contrast to the first definition of public space - do require (often elaborate) forms of identification and checkpoint systems for individuals to gain access. Here, the decisions made in these terrains has wide reaching public ramifications (regardless of the processes utilised to reach them). Their effective remit is the public. Citizens feel that they have a degree of reprisal or ownership over the spaces and individuals whose practices reside there. They are part of the "public sphere" as much as they are public spaces. What defines them as public is that their terrain of action is singularly identifiable – architectural. One can identify the exact forum in which particular decisions are made. A trading floor or house of chambers resides in a physical locality. The public sphere has a less physically definable construct.

183 *In reference to Mouffe's definition of conflict:*
"I propose a distinction between two forms of antagonism, antagonism proper – which takes place between enemies but between 'adversaries', adversaries being defined in a paradoxical way as 'friendly enemies', that is, persons who are friends because they share a common symbolic space but also enemies because they want to organize this common symbolic space in a different way."

(Mouffe 2003, 13)

Page intentionally left blank

Section 5: Counter Mapping & Conclusions

Counter-mapping is a practice which looks specifically at mapping as a method to contradict established, hegemonic traits within accepted or established cartography. Here it is used as a thematic premise to inform the use of my Protest Contingencies Timeline. Using this approach to challenge the designation of site, where it lies in direct opposition to the strategies used by the law enforcement officials. These drawn digital mappings serve three core theoretical functions:

FIRSTLY, they make visible otherwise unseen or masked trajectories and continuities between events which we are familiar with. These events take place at different moments in time and are instigated by actions taken by seemingly unconnected organisations. The mappings theorise on tangible links between these events, structured in such a way to contest the established narrative around the causality of certain key events along the timeline.

SECONDLY, the mappings allow me as the author to explore theoretical concepts which I am developing in text, and augment them through a visual form of representation. By utilising a secondary method to analyse the theoretical approach, the maps allow me to engage in another method of analysis.

THIRDLY, the printed hardcopy versions of the mappings operate as a vehicle by which to inform discussion, operating as a bridge between different narratives and nuances of language which emerges when individuals or groups of individuals approaching an issue from disparate points of view. In essence the maps become a reference point which focuses a conversation around a particular political issue, with a clarity which is harder to create without the use of imagery.

The "Protest Contingencies Map" (a full size copy of which can be found attached to this thesis) brings together these three aims in one continually expanding diagram looking back in time to explain some of the causalities and key lineages to present day protest events. It uses historical practices as evidence to inform me on the reasoning behind current conflicts of socio-political interest. It takes the stance that protest can act as an indicator of the strength and type of relationship that exists between citizens and their representatives. The map focuses on England, giving priority to protest events which occur in London as it is the political and economic powerhouse of the UK and thus the focal point for many acts of dissent which happen there.

The development of this representational structure (mind map migrated into constructs of traditional flow, table and timeline diagrams,) aims to make visible the relationship between a series of constructs on which protest is contingent. As such these constructs are visualised as a series of rows, with their height within the map indicating their general power or influence that they have over the act of protest. These rows are organised vertically in relation to a horizontal timeline. This timeline is divided into vertical bands where periods of time are expanded or contracted (in width across the page) in relation to the importance of the events in their influence over the practice of protest in public(ly accessible) space. So space allocated to time is not treated equally, with the emphasis expressed in its graphic spread and thus significance (being dependent on the events which occur within that period, and their influence).

Physical lines of continuity are drawn between these contingency rows and the row of protest events which lies towards the bottom of the page. This hierarchical relationship highlights the continuity between events which occur at particular moments in time and the institutions or organisations which instigate them. As such, the rows are structured to show key constructs which affect and are effected by protest action, other occurrences which do not have a particular or significant effect on the practice of public protest do not feature (often including periods of warfare – where protest action still occurs but is often marginalised in importance if the protest itself is not intrinsically related to the war effort – be it in support or opposition – as war is such a defining and polarising construct). The rows include social and cultural constructs such as the frequency of 'Economic crashes', the form and development of 'protest typologies' (riots, marches and occupations) and 'power constructs' (ostensibly monarchy and parliament as they develop through time). These are large categories of nuance and complexity that change significantly over long periods of time, so my approach to making the data manageable was to identify indisputable dates at which particular events occur; and look at which socio-political reactions of significance predated or were mobilised in response. As such, I started with legislation, as the most indisputable facts are laws or acts which are passed through parliament (or historically; by the monarchy).

Although these legal changes only tell part of any story; they are emphatically time and date stamped and are accompanied by explanation of their reasoning - all be it from a partial point of view, they make clear certain political intentions. As such, they create a point at which oppositional action has or will deviate from. Although there are many laws which pass through our courts with little opposition – those of contention became my historical marker – a focal point through which I could orientate related activity.

The mind map-timeline format also includes the implementation of a 'law enforcement' line (exploring the emergence of the Metropolitan police force and the expansion of their practices and roles into contemporary society). This act changes the understanding and thus daily operations that take place in public(ly accessible) space. Before this point in time (1829) – the rules of operation within public space are determined by its users and its owners. The introduction of this new element transforms the power relationship and thus the nature of appropriation. With the introduction of the police force, public(ly accessible) space essentially becomes politicised as the police ***represent*** (an arm of) the government who can now be ***physically*** present in these spaces, something which was only possible previously through the use of the army which had a completely different operational potential – essentially obliterating existing structures of daily use as opposed to informing or adapting them.

There are of course other mechanisms of control which are non-physical but have a strong influence on these spaces. Soft power, most noticeably that wielded by national 'mainstream media' (including their shifting ideology and potential influence) and the row of greatest significance, the one charting a series of interconnected 'legislative changes'. This lineage shows clear political and ideological trajectories, establishing positions, the map then has the role of identifying where these are contested by protesters.

Each of these constructs create a platform which provides information of when and where different protest actions take place (typically in response to changes which have been made to the status quo). These connections are mapped, drawing physical lines between these constructs and the subsequent development of the practice of protest.

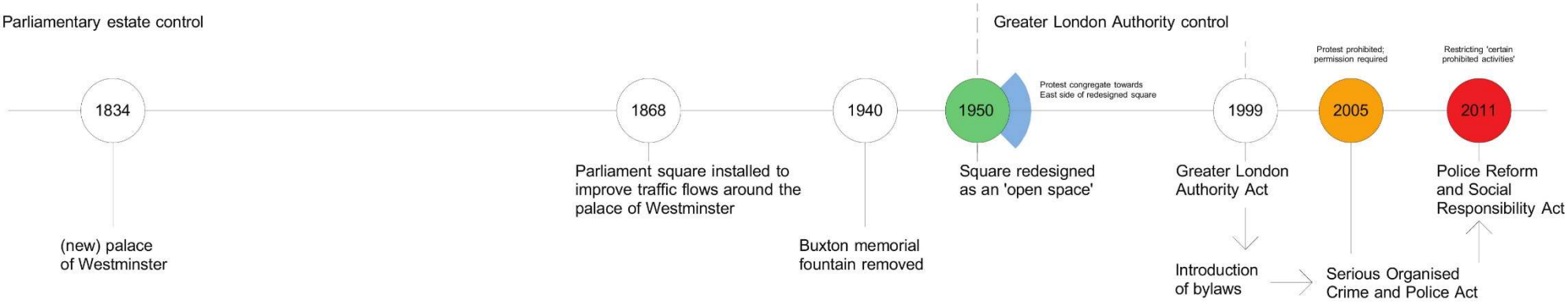
What this process of expressly representing contingencies facilitates, is the realisation of trajectories. Trends in behaviours which in some cases transgress decades, political parties and tenures can be seen and thus tactically opposed. In conjunction, the trajectory of protest, developing as a practice within the context of popular movements both informs the tactical development of this practice and the response by overarching power constructs within society.

The "Protests Contingencies Map" operates as a tool to collate information which will then inform the written thesis. By presenting information in a linear and associative graphic form; I can explore methods of representation which I cannot achieve through writing alone. This particular map was born out of an attempt to clarify the ownership of locations of particular significance to the history of British protest, Parliament and Trafalgar Square.

As the map expanded it began to show that one of the most significant factors in the designated and appropriated use of public(ly accessible) space was the rate at which new laws were being created. This was in no small part due to the dual nature of ownership of both Parliament and Trafalgar Square, with significant portions of each site being owned by Westminster Council and by The Greater London Authority. As one is a local council they are limited by finance if they wish to pursue a change to the criminal laws which inform the use of the site. However, they have the ability to pass lower order (generally civil offence) by-laws at a rate that cannot be achieved by the GLA administration. As these laws are being implemented, they can be used to temporally block the civic appropriation of space thus creating time to pursue statute laws and criminal offences (which take allot longer to be processed in the court system but are generally more rigorously upheld[184]). Thus both systems have the ability to change the daily state and thus the civilian understanding of what constitutes public(ly accessible) space. This leaves these key spaces seemingly in a state of constant flux as by-laws are created with rapidity[185].

184 On 25 January 2012 the GLA made the Trafalgar Square Byelaws and the Parliament Square Garden Byelaws (the 'Byelaws'). Following the deposit period, the Byelaws made on 25 January 2012 were confirmed by the Secretary of State on 27 March 2012 and came into operation on 30 March 2012.
(Parliament Square Garden and Trafalgar Square Bylaws 2012, Greater London Authority 2012)

185 See the recent "list of changes to Parliament Square" in the endnotes



122: Initial Time Line Diagram

Mapping Protest Contingencies (Author) - My preliminary research aim was simply to create a map as a way to understand how ownership rights had changed within Parliament Square

However, the value of the visual mapping is that it allows us to chart these series of legal changes, thus making it possible to see trends in the political re-designation of public space. As each by/ law in itself is subject to the conditions that surround its implementation, a broader window of time by which to analyse them allows for a greater understanding of political intent and subsequent spatial outcome.

Although Parliament and Trafalgar Square were the starting points for the contingencies map; they are merely an example of how legal changes are one of the key constructs by which the trajectory of public(ly accessible) space is decided. As such; to create a better understanding of these constructs it was necessary to create a series of strata to represent this information thus the map develops from the desire to find a method to accurately represent the relationship between these overarching structures and the act of protest. Often there are seemingly transcendental links which once mapped show clear lines of correlation between events. Thus the category of events developed as the links between them became tangible. The key aim is to show the continuity of these events using time and space as the platforms of examination.

Time is the key construct on which all of the information hangs. As the map developed, time would stretch back to 5th century (to document the beginning of a representative system - the earliest descendent of the parliamentary system[186]). This gives focus to events which were significant to the narrative charting the development of contemporary protest, a lineage of representative structures. In this format time can be expanded and compressed to show key moments.

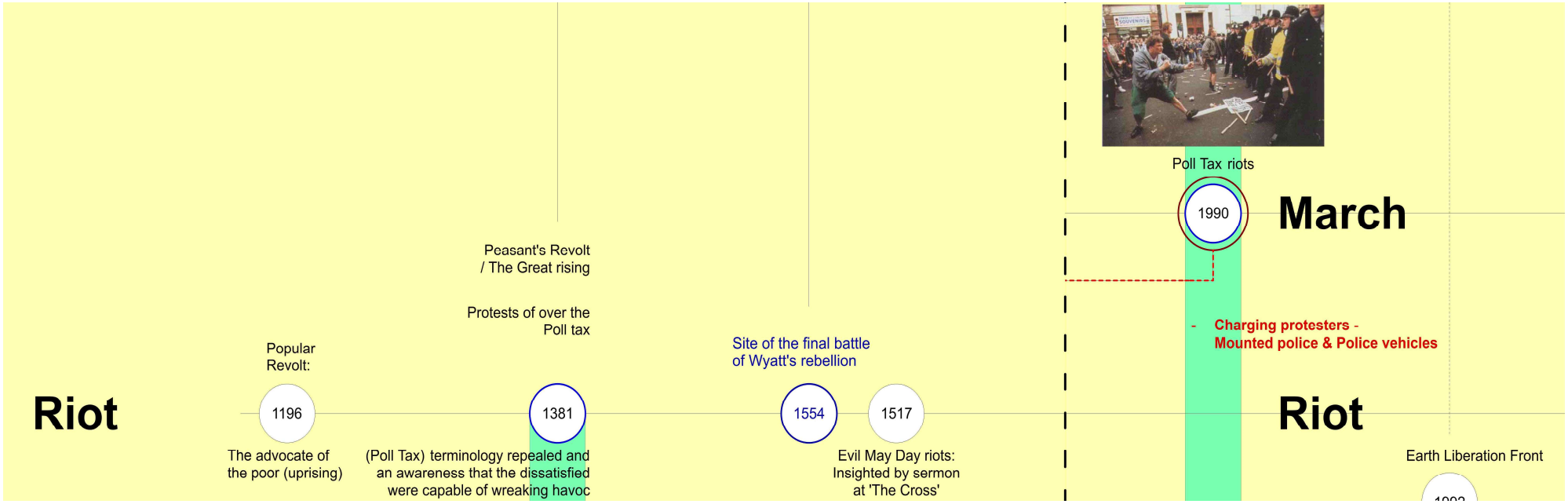
186 The “meeting of wise men" known as a Witenagemot was an Anglo Saxon form of democracy established as far back as the 700s. It prevailed after the Norman Conquests of 1066 and subsequently is seen as the precursor the parliamentary system that is present in the UK today. Certain roles held by the Witenagemot developed directly in to "Curia Regis" (Royal Council) in the 1200s which in turn formed the basis of the now well recognised parliamentary role of "office of the Lord Chancellor".

123: Time Compression & Expansion

Mapping Protest Contingencies: Extract (Author)

Although we read the passage of time as linear; there is never an even spread of events which we can mark as "significant" to the development of a topic. Times of war are generally compressed [vertical purple bands] as war completely redefines social and cultural efficacy. However, economic crashes, shown as a line of dated [yellow circles] time zones are expanded, particularly when these crashes are followed by reprisal protest movements.

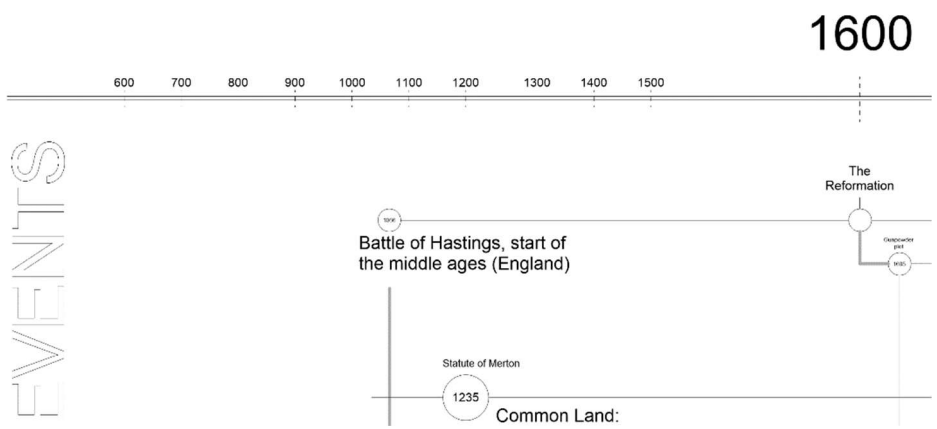
This construct also makes it possible to make connections between events over great stretches of time. In the example below, The Poll Tax riots of 1381; with the revolt ending in the city of London with the murder of Watt Tyler and the Poll Tax Riots of 1990; where the key actions also take place in London at Trafalgar Square - can be seen together.



124: Poll Tax Riots

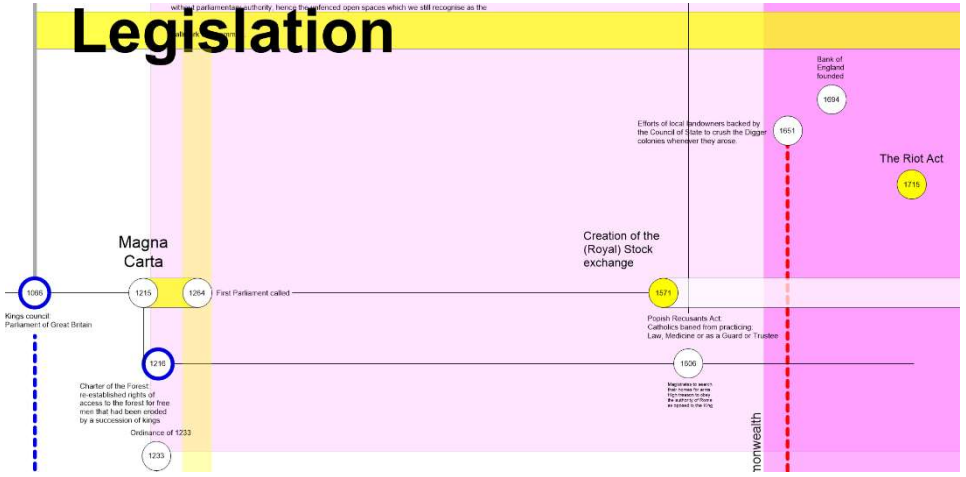
Mapping Protest Contingencies: Extract (Author)

As such it was necessary to develop a series of strata by which the development of these spaces are contingent. Each stratum developed out of a need to find and describe additional information in relation to a particular location.



125: Events group

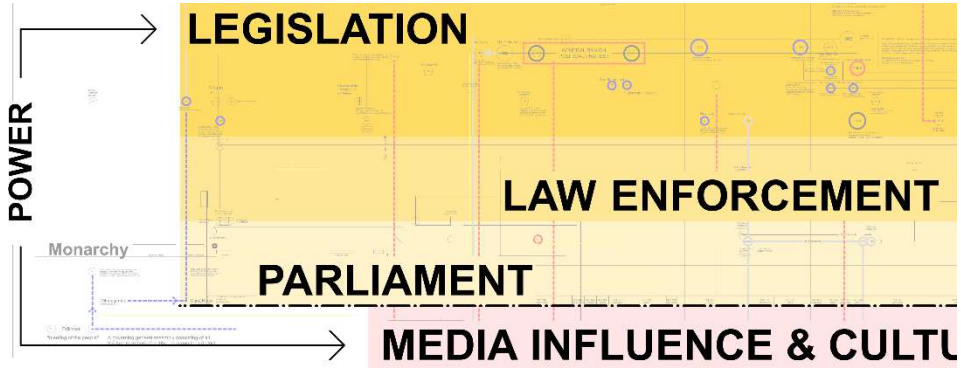
As such, ***Events*** are an obviously required strata the general nature of the title is to ensure that the strata can encompass activities as diverse as the outbreak of war, economic crashes and terrorist attacks as these change the status quo for everyone in society. In addition, it was necessary to create a ***legislation*** stratum.



126: Legislation strata

187 David Cameron was elected as prime minister in a coalition government in which the Conservative government held the balance of power in 2010 – he subsequently went on to win the general election of 2015 with an outright majority for the Conservative party. The Conservative candidate Boris Johnson was elected as Mayor of London in 2008 - a post which he holds to this day (2015).

This was required to chart particular acts and their effects on the instigation or suppression of acts of protest and develop several cross links to the "parliament" strata; as the positioning of the incumbent politicians historically is an important indicator to the type of policies which will be implemented and as such trajectories of systemic behaviour can be traced. The clearest example of this is the strong relationship between the restrictive policies that trade unions had to operate under when the Conservative Party were in power (under the Thatcher administration). This can be linked to the continued restriction on unions three decades later under another Conservative Party leader (David Cameron and Mayor Boris Johnson[187]). This ideological continuity may seem to diminish with the passage of time, but the strata helps to group thematic actions across time. Both ***Legislation*** and ***Parliament*** are part of the ***Power*** group of strata which also includes ***Monarchy***, ***Media*** and ***Law enforcement*** - as they develop different but related power mechanism over the centuries.

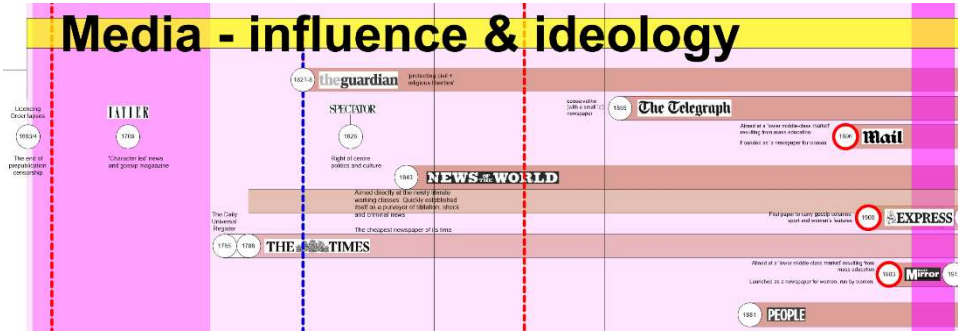


127: Power group

Each is relevant (as of the development of "Law enforcement" in the late 1700s) - by grouping them together, it is possible to chart the reduced power-base of the monarchy as the parliamentary system increasingly establishes itself (beginning in earnest with the English Bill of Rights established after the English Civil Wars of the 1600s).

Similarly, the influence of the media can be charted back to the end of "pre-publication censorship" in the mid-1600s which would see the rise in print media - and titles that we still recognise today. Of greater importance is the

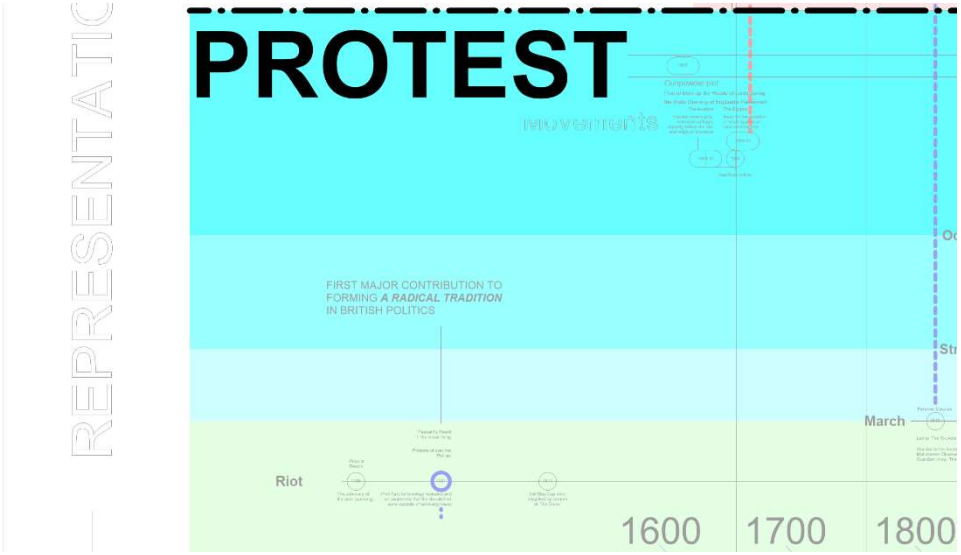
forum for petitions for oppositional movements - such as the daily strike update which was the forerunner of the present day Guardian newspaper[188] established in 1821-8.



128: Media strata

The reporting of the news doesn't only represent information particularly when created by private enterprise, it instead presents news, information and thus knowledge from a subjective viewpoint. So the power of the press is intrinsic in understanding the development of the liberties that were fought for, as these developments are in sync with other socio-economic changes such as the leap in literacy rates of the early 1800s. So as these different forms of power develop within these strata, we can start to see where power resides in society and thus how oppositional movements form against them.

As a result, the "Protest" strata lies at the bottom of the map - as it is contingent on the power structures and struggles which occur above which in turn are a response to of significant events which are documented at the top of the document. This is primarily because all forms of protest forms as a reaction to policies being implemented from a power-base which they cannot inform but use of established mechanisms.



129: Protest strata

This contingency means that we can see the development of different spatial forms of protests which are in oppositional tandem to hegemonic ones. As such, we see occupations form in relation to practices which remove spatial rights from citizens - such as the enclosures Acts[189] and their prominent opposition protests such as Kett's Rebellion[190] (1549), the Levellers, the Diggers and the Ranters[191] (mid 1600s) and the Crofter's War[192] (1880-90). These land law opposition movements throughout the

188 The Guardian newspaper started life as a replacement of the Manchester Observer which campaigned for a more equal distribution of voting rights in parliamentary constituencies and made regular calls for reform (- the Manchester Observer which had supported the cause of the Peterloo Massacre protesters* and was subsequently shutdown by repeated prosecutions by the Liverpool government).
*The Peterloo Massacre of 1819 occurred when cavalry charged into a crowd that had gathered to demand reform to parliamentary representation. The charge led to the death of 15 people and the injury of hundreds more.

189 Land Enclosures start in 1215 (shortly after the Norman Conquests of 1066) a series of “charters’ of the forest” were negotiating determining land rights for peasants. The first Land enclosures act culminated in the demise of the open field system and the loss of land “held in common” - the rise of the enclosure of sheep farming and a precursor to industrialisation and capitalism. The rate of enclosures significantly increases in 1773 – which removed the rights of access to common land - and thus meet with great resistance from movements such as "The Swing Riots (1830)" and "The Crofters' War" (1880-1885).

190 Angered by the enclosure of common land - a peasant army of 20,000 took control of Norwich, then England's second city; and forced the army to truce. Known as Kett's rebellion as one of targets of the rebellion agreed to their terms and offered to lead them. His name was Ben Kett.

191 The Levellers’ (1648-50), ‘The Diggers’ (1649), ‘The Ranters' (1640s-50s) were linked land rights movements. The Levellers were a political movement that formed during the English Civil War (1642-1651) that emphasised popular sovereignty, extended suffrage, equality before the law, and religious tolerance, all of which were expressed in their manifesto; "The Agreement of the People". A copy of this manifesto can be found in the appendix under endnotes. The Diggers emerged out of the Levellers movement (often called "the true levellers"), employing the practice of farming on common land. Their beliefs are outlined in the pamphlet “The Law of Freedom in a Platform” – extracts of which can be found in the appendix under endnotes. The term 'Ranters' is used to define a series of actions by various activists that came to prominence after the fall of the Levellers movement. All the participants shared a sense of disillusionment at the betrayal of the Levellers' reforming aims of previous years. They were considered “Freethinkers" by their contemporaries (which was generally used in condemnation), they were those who were considered might reject the religious, and or social values of their community – discussing their dissention openly.

192 The crofters' war was a dispute between landowners and communities distressed by high rents, their lack of rights to land or facing eviction to make way for large scale (what we would now consider industrial) farming operations. This (civil) war also marks the beginning of Scottish and Irish "home rule" where their parliaments were established in a process which would today be described as devolution.

ages are intrinsically linked with contemporary protests. This particular thread has a direct relationship with actions such as Climate Camp and Occupy London who utilise occupation of land as a mechanism to challenge the designated use of said spaces. As such these methods have a long legacy which are best identified through mapping - identifying coherence and using it a basis for theoretical development.

*Crofters were those who lived and worked on land on which they payed rent to the landlord - in rare circumstances some were able to purchase their 'croft'.

Conclusions

Protest which occurs in spaces which are public(ly accessible) are a tangible manifestation of the relationship between citizens and their representatives, it is the only category of space that all people within society transgress at some point, and as such conflicts between different parties around the appropriate use of those spaces are key to understanding where social and political power reside in our society. The way in which public space is manipulated by different parties within the urban context is key because we all have some form of access to them, thus it affects us all. Furthermore, as this practice of public protest becomes increasingly marginalised by hegemonic constructs; the need to chart this change in tactical spatial strategy utilised by both sides is paramount as this is also an indication of the changing mechanisms of the relationship between different citizen groups and our representatives. The main case studies of this thesis explore how different citizen groups utilize different tools to contradict the trajectory of contemporary society. The demographics of the participants and the nature of the complaint for which protest is an outlet - affects the type of protest utilised as mechanism for resistance. With these case studies a wide remit of objective forces has been charted through the (first wave) of the UK Austerity protests. There is a strong contingent of young people (Student Tuition Fee Protests and August Riots), seasoned protesters - who would consider their actions as overtly political (Occupy LSX), those who consider themselves disenfranchised (August Riots and later elements of Occupy LSX), and those working in the civil/ state services (Off Duty Police Officer March). All, through their actions achieve three distinct aims. ***(1) To challenge aspects of the current trajectory of politics and its effect on their daily lives (2) Develop new forms of spatial opposition – the practice of protest (3) To create spaces held in common and in ideological solidarity through engagement with public(ly accessible) space.***

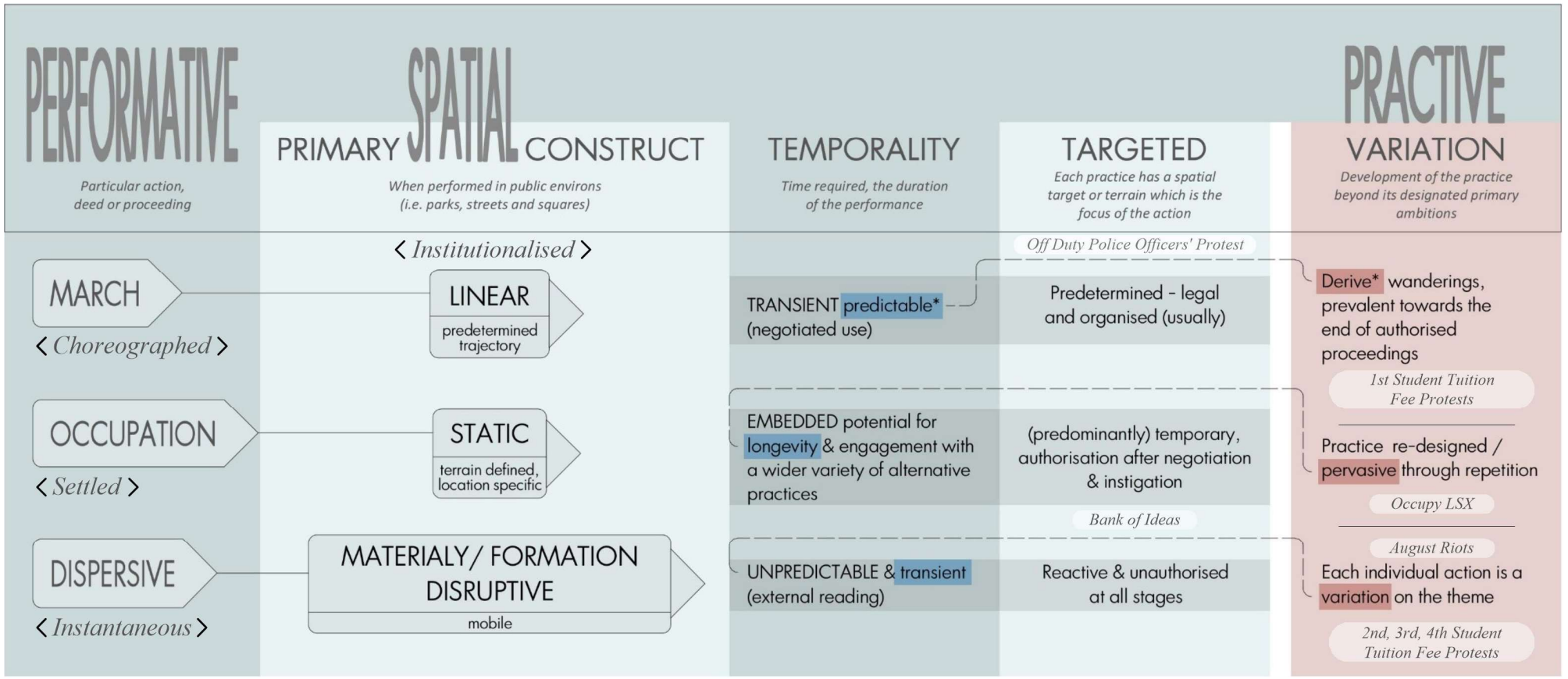
Each raises questions about the nature of representation in our society. Acts of protest are the bastion of those who cannot express their aims or desires through established oppositional constructs, such as political representation, petitioning or voting. The breadth of involvement suggests; if nothing else; that the enfranchisements of current political representation is too narrow and outdated. Each case study is an example of this.

In the case of the "Student Tuition Fee Protests" many of the votes gathered by the Liberal Democrat party which allowed them to form a coalition government – was due to their stance on tuition fees, which once they were in power they quickly rescinded on. This highlights one of the limitations of the existing system where there is next to no recourse when a party decided to renege on their manifesto soon after being elected or mid-way through their term. If their unpopularity continues then they may not be re-elected, however, there is little incentive to keep to campaign or manifesto promises once the careers of the incumbent politicians have been established through deceptive political positioning. The inability of the citizen body to affect the decisions made by incumbent politicians is again noticeable when reviewing the "Off duty Police Officers March". In this case they were powerless to oppose the 20% cuts being made to their workforce. Being as is was, announced by government a year after the election had occurred. This problem was even more acute with this protest, as police officers' - without the power to unionise are left with fewer methods of opposition than the rest of the civil service. This institutionalised restriction to civilian/ representative interaction (and opposition) is perhaps most stark when reviewing the actions of "Occupy LSX". Participants were outraged by the economic decisions which had massive socio-political ramifications on the daily lives of many in the UK. From cuts to benefits, legal aid, work and pay conditions in sectors such as the NHS, civil service, and the transport infrastructure. The ideological approach represented by choosing this method of debt opposition (or finance creation) in response to the "global economic crash" and the "European sovereignty debt crisis" is clear. By pursuing the policy of drastically reducing domestic spending and thus restricting the living standards of a large number of the population who are dependent on key services in society - whist leaving those implicit in the problematic practices which caused the crash and equity crisis largely unchanged and unmodernised – is a decision which is difficult to oppose by existing institutionalised tools of representation. This policy was jointly seen as unfair by many who were not politically motivated and by those who are. It represents a significant shift away from more socialist ideals championed by previous governments – such as striving towards more equal societies and the maintenance of the welfare state. As such, the attempted occupation of the stock exchange (where many financial decisions take place;) was one of the only ways in which objection to these policies could be expressed. Similarly, the violent and seemingly sporadic approach taken by the participants in the "August riots" were a manifestation of a deep seated

discontent amongst some in our society. Some of this discontent related to poverty and feelings of disenfranchisement which – given the trigger point clearly created a release from the established constructs of everyday life. Although this release led to destruction, violence and looting the latent issues, that of a wider social discontent have not passed with the season. However unacceptable the behaviour it is a tangible reminder of the festering social problems of inequality and disenfranchisement within contemporary society. In essence ***each action develops out of a clear vacuum in effective representative constructs*.**

In a similar vein; an overview of the methods that each groups uses is definitive in understanding the relationship between citizens and their representatives in contemporary society. Each case study develops a variant form of dissent which have different spatial structures, hierarchies and methods of execution aligned with their different demographics and spatial terrain of operations. In the table below the case studies are compared using their spatiality as the key construct. The different temporal nature appeals to different participants. There is a relationship between the length of time that the protest occurs in a location and the overt political aims of the key participants. The "Off Duty Police Officers March" and the "August Riots" are different in many ways, however, what they have in common is that neither of them see their actions as a mechanism to change the decision making and processes of the target of their actions. They are instead expressions of discontent which appear on opposite spectrums of that axis. However, what they have in common is that neither of them is an attempt to engage with a mechanism of change. Similarly, if we take the main structure of the "Student tuition fee protests" – the [march], it is clear that the ***spatial variation was key in the manifestation of a more subversive approach to protesting***. The [dérive] that detached itself from the 52,000 strong march with the intention of attacking Milbank Tower; strategically locating themselves outside of the SOCPA zone of intensive policing. Similarly, over time, as the successive protests gather momentum and more varied practices of protest developed amongst a young user base – the emergence of the "cat and mouse" protests which take the dérive to another category of the [dispersive]. Here, targeted attacks on police Kettling lines are used to gain access to spaces through the disruption of this formation. Similarly the physically destructive looting and arson which defines the August riots completely redefines the rules of operation within public(ly accessible) space. Ultimately protest as a practice is relatively fluid, with seemingly disparate activities existing on a continuum of oppositional behaviour.

What each action has in common as a part of a [practice] is that every protest event emphatically engages with a [variation] of its form - as it is a response and reactive practice which works in dialogue with established oppositional constructs. What the table attempts to do is make the comparison between these protests more tangible. This speaks of the value of this practice and the diversity of approaches employed and thus its value to society. However, what is also clearly apparent is that the ability to protest is constantly being eroded by powerful hegemonic neo-liberal forces, whatever the typology that the protests forms it is being marginalised in a systematic way which is effective and dangerously popular. If we take the example of the Student tuition fee protests, not only did the price hikes for university study rise without political objection, but the column inches where focused on the 2% of destructive behaviour as opposed to the 98% constructive behaviour elicited by the participants in the first protest event. This is part of a strong narrative to legitimise the limitations placed on protest in the most politically significant and public(ly accessible) space in the UK – Whitehall.



130: Table of Comparative Spatial Approaches

- to the performative act of protest (Author)

Here protest has effectively been banned (through the implementation of a series of bylaws) forcing increasingly inventive oppositional tactics from protesters met by more austere legislative restrictions from government and spatial management tactics to match by law enforcement officials. So in the space which should be facilitating democratic expression we see the reverse happening. Similarly, the issues around our economic decision making also raises questions around the definition and thus our understanding of public space. An action such as "Occupy LSX" is likely to be impossible in the future. Not only is the court injunction lasting and legally binding – as the protest took place on private property; a plethora of other private property owners have taken out similar injunctions against "tent equipment" in a pre-emptive response to this possibility - the most powerful of which being Canary Wharf. Signifying the loss of many public practises that the direct action facilitated. Similarly, the disproportionate use of punishments for participants in the August Riots where sentences were increased overnight - raised questions over whether human rights ad been violated by the legislator – coupled with the equally damming fact that there was no strategy to prevent the type of activity which took place from happening again. At all ends of the spectrum of protest; activity is being curtailed. The overwhelming concern is that if socio-political representation disappears from this spectrum – then where does it exist? Additional forums of representation for citizens are not being created. Similarly, our existing rights are not being expanded upon in line with contemporary society. In fact, the opposite is true, as global corporations gain greater influence over government politics (such as those created by TTIP - the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership).

As varied forms of protests attempt to affect the landscape of political decision making, they are thwarted at every turn. Thus ***the sphere of democratic and spatial politics is being systematically decreased and not replaced***.

Exclusion and inclusion

Although all of the case study protests are planned in an attempt for the participant's desires or complaints to be heard; all of these protests are exclusive in a multitude of ways and as such the problem of social inclusion is twofold (because it is both internal and external to these actions). Each protest represents a form of special interest group. As a result, their ability to court the involvement of those outside of that group can be limited. We can see how that affects the longevity of the protest in the first instance but also for longer lasting ambitions of social change. Essentially the longer the protest manages to remain active in public(ly accessible) space, the greater longevity that has been created after their evacuation of the site.

To take the protests in chronological order – the "student tuition fee protests" started with a broad base of participants (an estimated 50,000) however, after the violence initiated by a small number of the participants (approximately 100 people); the successive protests had a greater number of violent incidents, a less diverse participant base and as a result the number of participants dwindled. This was also reflected in its spatial appropriation, as the successive protests became less ***choreographed***

Occupy LSX hit a height of inclusive operation when in November 2011 they were successfully negotiating with the other site stake holders, receiving positive narratives from national press and notoriety from incumbent politicians. Within the camp itself, there was a diversity of daily activities and the creation of their initial statement[193] which had wider political attention[194]. Two months later they were facing imminent eviction, the only group of participants that were growing within the camp were the homeless – and many instigators had moved on to start other protest actions[195]. This shift came as the momentum from the original direct action was lost with property rights used extensively to outmanoeuvre the camp. However, due to the length of the camp the offshoot protest groups took some of the strategies from Occupy and continued to utilise them. However, they failed to achieve the same level of inclusion, having no site on which they could remain long enough to consider themselves ***settled***.

The off Duty Police Officer's March was in some respects an action held in tandem with the other key worker marchers; with the exception that the police force it not allowed to unionise, and as a result their march held all the hallmarks of an ***institutionalised*** event. By its very nature this type of protest is exclusive and is advertised to a select group of individuals (serving officers). This makes the action self-referential – it does not undermine its value but instead defines its operational and spatial limitations.

The August riots were a clear case of action which not only excluded others but also endangered them. However, the most telling outcome of this protest was that the conditions which triggered the dissent are still prevalent (disenfranchisement, poor communal relations and relative poverty). Thus ***instantaneous*** protests can suffer from a very particular social malaise. This is easier to identify if we compare this protest to the Brixton Riots – where the level of destruction was much higher, and more targeted and was thus a main contributor the repeal of the law which initiated the action. Similarly, the France Riots of 2006 (although equally condemned) led to a series of spatial redevelopment and gentrification proposals sanctioned by the French government in an attempt to make sure that such events could

193 The Occupy LSX initial statement was created during the first general assembly process and was the basis for a lot of the action that followed on that and other sites of protest in London. A copy, with their initial 9 aims can be found in the appendix under endnotes.

194 Occupy LSX attracted many different personalities from a staggering array of backgrounds. There were high profile celebrities such as Julian Assange (WikiLeaks) and Russell Brand (comedian turned actor and campaigner), but also those from a much wider spectrum of social and political activism all within the first month of the occupation. From social justice campaigner such as Marcia Rigg (Justice for Sean Rigg Campaign - Death in Custody Campaign) and Bell Ribeiro-Addy from The Support of the Society of Black Lawyers). To left wing commentators such as Josie Long and Mark Thomas (comedians). This appeal even extended to incumbent politicians such as Caroline Lucas (The UK's Green MP). As such, there was a collective ***social advocacy*** for the camp which initially gave it great motivation even before structures such as the "university tent" started to attract discussions and debates from a more academic and politically motivated participant group.

195 Occupy LSX created the momentum and a social network of affiliated participants from which a number of affiliated groups formed. Most active is "Occupy Democracy"; who have facilitated a number of direct actions in London which share the same concerns as those denounced by Occupy LSX. Often protesting (or aiming to protest) at significant locations such as Parliament square and Runnymede over issues such as democratic representation and land rights.

not happen again. There was a political realisation that punishment was not the only answer to thwart the desire for individuals to act in this way.

What violent outbreaks of this nature present, is an opportunity for government and other spatial stakeholders to work collaboratively for long term solutions of these problems. Unfortunately, in the UK what we emphatically saw as a response which was marred in short term thinking, a series of immediate law enforcement measures which did not even scratch the surface of the underlying causes.

Propositions

The first part of this chapter will explore some of the academic contribution that I believe that this thesis has to offer. The second part looks at the types of industry or practices that I believe could benefit from aspects of the conclusions found in this research. The schematic of the chapter is outlined below:

Academic Contribution

This research explores the act of public protest from the view of its ***spatial contribution, using the practice as a prism through which to review and create greater understanding of the socio-political landscape of urban life***. Because of the seismic change to Western society that has culminated in what we now collectively referred to as the neo-liberal period (beginning in the UK in the1970s); there is limited benefit of comparisons to study of protest actions that took place before that time period as many structures that are in-place now (such as global capitalism) have had a profound effect on the movement of people, local identity and labour practices.

Traditionally the act of protest is rarely researched as a holistic "practice" - rather as a series of loosely affiliated actions which take place within a territory in a general time-period. Pervading research approaches the case study as an exploration of the "success" or "failure" of such actions – or where they are posthumously defined as movements[196] (as observed by leading theoreticians Habermas, Klandermans, and Marsh[197]). Their extensive research is often focused on the social or psychological explorations of such practices and opposed to their spatial consequences - such the effect on the construction industry, policing strategies and the legal designation of space.

Similarly, there is much research in the fields of architecture and town planning developing theories on the implementation of spaces which we consider to be public. However, there is little in the way of assessment of the role of protest in informing the trajectory of these spaces.

Furthermore, there is an emphasis on the wider consequences in regard to social and political changes. Because protest occurs as an act of dissent there are many sources which explore the validity of protest in regard to a particular social need - and how the protest is a building block in that struggle for enfranchisement (prominent examples include the work of Lipsky, Meyer and Blumberg[198]). However, for this study the protest is a tool to understand the manipulation of space by a number of different stake holders. ***The key finding of this study is the intrinsic link between the spatial act of protest and its connection to the space-less[199] act of passing legislation which dominates the use of said spaces.***

Theories on the protest movements as a form of enfranchisement are also developed in relation to economically poorer countries than my case studies. These locations are often referred to as "second" or "third world" countries – essentially those whose economics have not experienced a transformation akin to the industrial revolution that occurred in some Western nations. Similarly, these studies explore the nature of protest within a completely different sphere of operation – as they take place in spaces and societies of mass exclusion. To the contrary the terrain that this thesis explores is one where citizens do have rights and freedoms of congregation which have been established over centuries. However today, protest in public(ly accessible) spaces is being systematically undermined by successive political ideologies (transgressing both sides of the political house) which is facilitated through the implementation of powerful legislation. As such the practice of protest in this environment takes on a

196 Once a series of protest actions are defined as a movement they can be assessed as part of a collective with a particular outcome and a cohesive series of ideals, as opposed to theoretical analysis without the benefit of hindsight.

197 Seminal works in the contemporary field of protest analysis include "Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science, and Politics" - Jürgen Habermas (1971) "Protest and political consciousness" - Alan Marsh (1977) and The Social Psychology of Protest - Bert Klandermans (1996).

198 "Protest as a Political Resource" Michael Lipsky (1968), "The Politics of Protest" Social Movements in America David S. Meyer (2007), "Women and Social Protest" Guida West and Rhoda Lois Blumberg (1990)

199 The spaces where legislation is passed fall into the definition of public spaces which are within the public stock – more information can be found in the introduction chapter. Although they exist in real physical locations – they are *off limits* to the population and thus become space-less, inaccessible and often opaque in their operational processes.

particular approaches and strategies as it struggles to maintain its legitimacy in neo-liberal London.

Claiming Space: & the Associated Methods

The case studies look in detail at several examples of claiming by different protest actions. This chapter is about the efficacy of those practices and the potential use of their methods for other protests and alternative practices.

The case study protests utilised four distinct methods of claiming space; choreographed, instantaneous, institutionalised and settled. This multiplicity of approaches to appropriation of the public should be recognised as part of the inherent diversity of the practice of protest. However, these need to continue to grow and diversify if protest is to remain a significant contributor to the fabric of contemporary life. Although the case study only explores these four variations others exist.[200] However, what I believe is that these practices are important in understanding the future development of this proactive practice in its ability to bring together different protest practitioners to work together, utilising these approaches as tools of appropriation to utilise where and when required. They also need to be accessible to those from different landed territories - as we saw with some of the movements that developed in response to the global economic crisis - to even consider the possibility of resisting the Global dominance of large corporations and the ramifications on our daily lives (including regional trade agreements such as TTIP, TPPs and CETAs[201]) - it is necessary to work globally and locally digitally and physically to maximise the inherent diversity that exists within the practice of protest.

Politicised Spaces: Socio-economic Conditions

In its initial designation - ***public(ly accessible) space is that which falls between other - assigned spaces. As such it is always disputed*** particularly within the urban environment. Land which is designated is always under threat from those who wish to capitalise upon it for investment and financial gain. This, by its very nature requires a transformation of its daily use. As such there is tension as site stake holders come into conflict with each other. The disparate interests of those who use the space come into conflict with those who wish to permanently reconfigure its materiality.

This reconfiguration of space is part of a continual cycle of change, and all with a powerful mandate to govern will at some point seek to place their mark upon this landscape. Each incumbent politician has the desire to make infrastructural changes within their minimum 4-year cycle, and as society entered into the neo-liberal age, where annual growth targets are set - the burden on spatial change accelerates. As such we have become conditioned to believe that gentrification and re-development are intrinsic and necessary to facilitate societal, political and economic progress. This may or may not be the case, but what is of greater importance is that there is a multitude of different ways that the issue of redevelopment can be addressed. As the economic centre of politics moves to the right, notions such as the "free market" dominate the perceived wisdom over the correct designation of space and its most beneficial use to society. As such, we see a dwindling in the number of locations which users can appropriate for their own means which in turn de-politicises these spaces. This is a problematic state even for a hegemonic narrative, because it is part of the process that facilitates apathy from the electorate over seismic changes in society.

Conflict in Public(ly Accessible) Space

The act of public protest as a traditional form of oppositional practice which is under threat. Before I discuss (iv.) ***how*** to alleviate that threat, it is important to first outline (i.) ***why*** it is under threat, from (ii.) ***who*** (or ***what***) and (iii.) ***why it's decline is problematic for civic society***.

(i.) ***Why*** - Direct action has at its core an opposition to the existing establishment, perceived wisdom and authority. Regardless of the morals or ambitions of ***any*** protest action, its mere existence is a questioning of said structures. Thus, it is nearly always in the interest of the establishment to suppress such actions – regardless of the moral or political agenda being pursued by the protesters. By its very nature the establishment must protect the structures of the systems by which they operate. Maintaining their own self-interest achieving this by undermining the validity of alternative practices. They will always insist that other methods of opposition exist, are preferable and should be utilised. Redirecting activists to instead vote,

200 The other varieties of spatial protest which are prevalent include those which are inherently *performative* (e.g. dance/ carnivals), *pickets* – which are employment specific. Those of a variety which are not intrinsically spatial include Boycott (of goods), petitioning (of organisations) and withdrawal of labour (employment).

201 There are a series of regional trade agreements which outline global rights for companies which critics fear will undermine national rights for workers. The contracts of particular contention are the 'Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership' TTIP, 'Trans-Pacific Partnership' TPPs and 'Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement' CETA.

petition or lobby their political representatives as a more constructive use of time and energy. However, it must be remembered that these avenues have only existed because they have been fought for against an existing hierarchy who resisted them staunchly. So, although recognised in Magna Carta; petitioning was illegal until 1406 (in rights outlined by Henry IV) alluded to in the Petition of right (1628) and explicitly referred to in the 1688 Bill of Rights. The development of standing representatives for each district or borough (Burgess) become part of a standardised system of regularly meeting to discuss legal reform in the 1300s (although those who could become a representative was limited to a small elite until the 1830s). The expansion of the voting franchise to all adults only comes into being in 1932 (1918 for men) at the behest of significant popular movements (The Suffragettes and The Chartists).

We must remember that these acts were in effect a reversal of pre-existing acts which were overly simplistic, outdated or pernicious. Most importantly their reversal did not come about through processes integral to the existing hierarchy; instead these enfranchisements came about because those acting ***outside the system*** (utilising alternative practices) pursued change which was resisted by those within the franchise. As such, there is always a place for alternative practices in challenging the limitations of the status-quo.

(ii.)
To be more specific about ***who*** is opposing this tradition it is necessary to understand the territory of operation for direct action is public(ly accessible) spaces, and it's stake holders are always looking to manipulate the designation of these spaces. Neo-liberal ideology (which has taken root in the UK since the 1970s) is responsible for a rise in several trends which diminish this territory of action -

(a.) the daily management of public space increasingly falling under the control of private management companies. This includes a subcategory of legal changes which allows law enforcement offers greater powers of coral and containment[202] and the invention of several special behaviour exclusion zones (ASBOs and SOCPAs[203] to name a few).

(b.) The second is the subjugation of organised opposition. Since 1968 we can see the continued development of government organisations who have specific remit to counteract domestic dissidence in all its forms and that has always included protest which occurs in public(ly accessible) space.

(c.) The third is the issuing of a series of guidelines for urban planning and the development of public spaces. These are for architects and planners to adopt into their daily practices and by and large restrict the activity of all within the public sphere[204]. The ***'what'*** is government. Their role is in the creation of a series of bills acts and legislation passed by the incumbent politicians; in this case the "New" Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties over the past 40 years.

(iii.)
The reason why this ***process of designing out protest*** is problematic for contemporary civic society, is that there are not enough new constructs to replace its scope of representation. A pertinent example of this is the now criminalised act of squatting. Squatting provided a framework for a series of social and economic needs. It allowed properties which are abandoned

202 A reference to Kettling: A police tactic for controlling large crowds during demonstrations or protests. It involves the formation of large cordons of police officers who then move to contain a crowd within a limited area. Protesters are left only one choice of exit, determined by the police, or are completely prevented from leaving. The act of Kettling detains individuals who have committed no crime (as it takes place in publicly accessible spaces surrounding all who happen to be present there). Furthermore, it contains and corrals them into an area without access to legal representation or amenities (such as toilet facilities) for an indefinite period of time.

203 Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs – introduced in 1997), Serious Organised Crime and Police Act (SOCPA introduced in 2005), Privately Owned Public Spaces.

204 There are the set of locations which house operations which are identified as representative to the citizens within a predefined terrain (district, borough, city or nation). The examples of the "United Nations, national governments" is given above and again can be extended to both democratic and non-democratic/ elective institutions. The houses of parliament and The London Stock Exchange are both designations which could be included to this categorisation. What binds these locations as a definable group is their remit. These operations invariably take place on private land and in stark contrast to the first definition of public space - do require (often elaborate) forms of identification and checkpoint systems for individuals to gain access. Here, the decisions made in these terrains has wide reaching ramifications for the general public (regardless of the processes utilised to reach them). Their effective remit is the public. Citizens feel that they have a degree of reprisal and ownership over the spaces and individuals whose practices reside there. They are part of the "public sphere" as much as they are public spaces. What defines them as public is that their *terrain of action is singularly spatially identifiable* – architectural. One can identify the exact forum in which particular decisions are made. A trading floor or house of chambers resides in a physical locality. The public sphere has a less physically definable set of constructs but instead has operational remit.

or disused by their owners to be activated for a section of the community. The practice can provide shelter and accommodation for those who are homeless or find it expensive to live in the city. It also provides a series of community hubs with their own sub-culture and rules of conduct. Previously, those who had squatted properties for a number of years were entitled to rights over that property - this is no longer the case (since 2012[205]). However, as house prices rise disproportionately to wages and the problem of homelessness persists - the small role that squatting played in alleviating these issues is lost. Indeed, there is now no alternative to the social and economic structure which squatting created. It is the same for various forms of protest. As an increasing number of public services are being provided on land owned or managed by private organisations, there is less remit by which they can be held accountable. If (as many argue) the act of protest is an outdated form of opposition - it is imperative that the landscape of operations which it coved are institutionalised so that there are ***other forms of redress for citizens and their complaints*** (which is more responsive than a 4/5year voting cycle or a discussion point in the house of commons). As there is not; there is a deficit of alternative oppositional mechanisms which are an indication of the strength of the relationship between citizens and their representatives. We should remember that ***laws which are outdated or inappropriate - need to be challenged and changed***. Often this impetus does not come from politicians but from the public, and in contemporary society, protest is one of the ways in which to begin this process.

(iv.) The best way to alleviate the attempts to limit the act of public protest is to utilise them in tandem with more contemporary forms of oppositional activity. The Arab Spring (2010) was very noticeable for this example of merging digital with physical acts of protest when - take just one example, Facebook was used extensively by the protesters in Tahrir Square to maintain a 24-hour presence on the site. Allowing participants to align their schedule of protest shifts on the physical site. Similarly, the rapid and global spread of Occupy was due in no small part to the alignment of a landed practice facilitated by the use of digital social support networks. This alignment needs to be repeated if future campaigns are to have real value and importantly ***longevity as oppositional strategies***.

So in conclusion, the importance of the tradition is that it emerges as the output of citizen action, and is thus always growing and moulding to the society that it (in part) represents. For it to remain a source of valuable opposition, then it needs to continue to evolve to the same extent that the practices that continually develop to oppose it. ***Most importantly, if we look back through history, many changes to our daily lives which we take for granted would have been impossible without mass oppositional action by unaffiliated individuals in public space - and that is as true today as it has been historically.***

Learning from Protest

Alternative practices are those developed as a response to limitations of existing institutionalised ones. They include charities and community groups. These can be separated into variations of two categories which are defined by clear operational differences. Firstly, those who are local, informal and who's key workers and resources are not funded. Secondly, on the other side of the spectrum are those practices who have their wages (or a portion of them) funded or subsidised and as a result can attract a greater number of participants and operate with a larger remit. These disparate realities effect the structure, scale and time that these alternative practices have to mobilise over their interests. The protest strategies that form the case studies of this research are perhaps most useful for alternative practices who fall into the first category.

As they operate at a smaller scale; their geographic location (more often than not) is intrinsic to their aims. As such these include ground-up organisations such as estate, neighbourhood or community trusts and groups, (including those with a religiously base, ethos or starting point). Ultimately these are all different forms of ***special interest groups***. This

205 As of 2012 (Offence of Squatting in a Residential Building Circular No. 2012/04); The offence will be punishable by a maximum prison term of up to six months, a £5000 (maximum) fine or both.
'For too long squatters have had the justice system on the run and have caused homeowners untold misery in eviction, repair and clean-up costs. Not anymore. Hard working homeowners need and deserve a justice system where their rights come first - this new offence will ensure the police and other agencies can take quick and decisive action to deal with the misery of squatting.'

'For too long, hardworking people have faced long legal battles to get their homes back from squatters, and repair bills reaching into the thousands when they finally leave.

'No longer will there be so-called 'squatter's rights'. Instead, from next week, we're tipping the scales of justice back in favour of the homeowner and making the law crystal clear: entering a property with the intention of squatting will be a criminal offence. And by making this change, we can slam shut the door on squatters once and for all.'

(Coalition government 2012)

description is purposely broad and covers a wide range of practices whose approach and ideology will vary vastly to utilise a wide spectrum of activities. However, what they have in common is that their ***organisation has come together for non-profitable reasons***. This means that their survival is predicated on donation or voluntary contributions (of finance, labour or skill). As a result, their participants are usually contributing for ideological reasons - they may have jobs or other commitments which can restrict the amount of time that they contribute to said alternative practice. As such they often do not have the strategic or collective resources as established hegemonic practices. In this regard the efficacy and longevity of their practice is predicated on overcoming this financial deficit through organisational strategies.

There are three things that I believe that this scale of organisations can broadly learn from the practice of protest. **FIRSTLY**, the development of a targeted response to a finite issue with temporal immediacy. If you accept the notion that direct action is a key element of protests' validity - then this rapid mobilisation of existing resources would prove invaluable to small groups who generally lack this degree of practical rapidity. It is not the actions themselves which should be adopted but the galvanisation of available resources. This should serve as an adjunct to the regular scheduling of meetings to discuss a series of pre-set issues creating a principled approach - so that at short notice the more loosely affiliated members are prepared to agree to meet and mobilise over a particular issue.

For these practices to be relevant to section of a community that they wish to serve - it is important that these organisations **(SECONDLY)**, see themselves as (overtly or passively) political entities. This is because their aims require a level of socio-political engagement which means that they will be negotiating with others that are (by their very nature) politicised constructs with related but intrinsically different priorities and focuses. If you take the very mundane task of utilising a community hall to arrange a series of meetings concerning the maintenance of the connected facilities - then the bodies that you will have to contact and work with are institutions with operational procedures grafted by political reality (controlling ownership, licensing access health and safety legislation etc...), and as such their decision making on your access to said facility are shaped by these realities. Essentially it is about a level of appropriate organisational structure and galvanisation at times which are not necessarily regular but specific to your organisations' aims.

The aim of the **THIRD** and most important aspect to take from protest action is to ensure that each and every gathering has a clearly defined intention. For this to be the case the gatherings need to be tailored to the aims of the group. Meeting weekly or monthly at pre-set times not always the correct requirement to achieve their aims. On occasion it will be necessary for a few key individuals to meet for a shorter and unscheduled period of time to catalyse a response to a key issue. This fluid responsiveness is key to the act of protest remaining relevant and is applicable to small un-financed organisations.

For those organisations whose contributors have established reliable funding streams the picture is different (as by the nature of these funds they are either larger or will have a series of recognised structures in place). However, this usually comes with a restriction - as their activities are usually subject to contracts which outlines which actions fall within their funding remit. Thus their ability to court radical (or truly alternative practices – such as direct action) are limited whether their financial aid is sourced from government or private institutions.

Such examples would include Registered Charities, Community Organisers[206] and NGOs. Once an organisation has reached this level of recognition they have often progressed out of a phase of not receiving financial support. However, they are still within the category of alternative practices as they are ***providing a key service which is not being provided by government but is important to the quality of the lives of everyday citizens***. Prominent examples would include MIND, Shelter, The RSPCA and Greenpeace. These charities often generate reports which analyse government action (or inaction) over principled issues and formulate strategies to reduce problems such as poverty and inequality of opportunity in society. Greenpeace is an interesting organisation because they have controlled their funding stream in such a way that they are still able to carry

206 Registered charities (or other forms of non-prophet organisations) that are not an extension of religious activity – have been recognised (in various forms) since the mid-1700s. However, the coalition government formed in 2010 introduced the role of community organisers which is "a national training programme in community organising and a grass-roots movement for social action." Seemingly ignoring established existing constructs for community action.

Sourced from (cocollaborative.org.uk)

out direct actions. They have found a balance between being an internationally recognised an established organisation that operates within existing laws with clear ambitions. Whilst at the same time pursuing a number of diverse direct actions which dance on the line between civil disobedience and criminal acts. As such its organisational structure allows them to attract a wide diversity of people – those who are prepared to protest on the streets, or lobby government or write reports. This diversity is key if ideologically based oppositional structures are to have significance in a contemporary socio-political context.

The value of protest practices is in the connection between these actions moving from the street (i.) to the neighbourhood (ii.) To the institutionalised funded alternative organisation (iiia.) or even parliament[207] (iiib.) Such as witnessed with the rise of Podermos from 2011-2014. If used strategically, realising the potential for the practice of public protest to be part of the catalyst for a broader range of direct action which can operate at these three urban scales; can allow a network of related oppositional activities to form which can offer a wider range of participation from a more disparate range of participants and thus creating more sustainable and pluralistic set of alternative practices.[208]

207 Podermos are a Spanish political party (formed in 2014) who emerged out of the "Indignados" (the indignant) movement of 2011 which formed a popular protest movement which began with the 15-M (15th May) mass action organised over the problems of inequality in Spain. Podermos is the second largest political party in Spain (2015).

208 MIND is a mental health charity. Started life as a three separate voluntary organisations which were conglomerated in 1946 to create MIND (then under a different name). Nationally MIND receives donations, sponsorship and grants and operates hundreds of charity shops across England and Wales as well as lobbying government and local authorities on their user base.
Sourced from (mind.org.uk)

Shelter is an organisation which campaigns to end homelessness and conditions of bad housing. Shelter grew out of charitable work being carried out at St Martin-in-the-Fields (besides Trafalgar Square) but it catalyst was the success of a TV drama portraying the trials of a couple who spiral into homelessness (called "Cathy Come Home") which highlighted the plight of the homeless in Britain. Established in 1966 – over half of their funding comes from voluntary donations.
Sourced from (Shelter.org.uk)

The RSPCA (Royal Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Animals) has unusual powers for a charity; because they have been active for almost 200 years; they have developed a number of practices including the right of inspectorate who have the power to cease animals which they believe are being mistreated. The RSPCA was founded in 1824 – and historically has played a strong role in lobbying government (particularly in the 1800s and 1900s where the cruelty to animals' act was passed in 1835, 1876 and 1911) to improve animal welfare. In more contemporary setting because of their large powerbase the organisation comes under much criticism and scrutiny for their deliberation on the seizure and sometimes euthanasia and destruction of animals.
Sourced from (rspca.org.uk)

Greenpeace is an international organisation which campaigns on a number of fronts including protection of the oceans, rainforests - the use of toxic chemicals, fracking and actions which accelerate climate change. They started in the 1960s in Canada; where activists were opposed to the US government plans to carry out nuclear weapons testing in Alaska (under the concern that this may cause further earthquakes and tsunami). Greenpeace now operates in over 40 countries with the UK branch being founded in 1977. Although Greenpeace is an international organisation they engage on a number of direct actions for which they have a robust management system (including legal representation) to sanction and deal with the aftermath of said actions. Greenpeace receives its funding from individuals and foundations – screening all major donations to make sure that they do not contradict their core intentions.

Page intentionally left blank

Bibliography

[2012] EWHC 34 (QB). 2012. HQ11X04327 (Royal Courts of Justice, 18 January).

Interview by 10 August 2011. BBC News. 2011.

Ariely, Michael I. Norton and Dan. 2011. "Building a Better America—One Wealth Quintile at a Time." *Perspectives on Psychological Science* (Perspectives on Psychological Science) 9-12.

Author. 2012. *Mapping: Neo-global economic debt cycle (UK).*

BBC. 2011. "100 days after the riots." Edited by Victoria Derbyshire. London: BBC, 11 November.

—. 2011. "Anti-cuts march: Tens of thousands at London protest." BBC news, 27 March .

Blaug, Ricardo. 2002. "Engineering Democracy." *Political Studies* 102–116. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.00361.

Cameron, David. 2012. London: Common Hansard, 29 November.

—. 2011. "Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting ." Perth, 28 October.

Cameron, David, interview by BBC News. 2011. *Prime Minister* (10 August). http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-14475363.

Certeau, Michel De. 1984. *The practice of everyday life.* Translated by Steven Rendall. California: California Press.

—. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Translated by Steven Rendall. California: University of California Press.

Christopher Alessi, Roya Wolverson, and Mohammed Aly Sergie. 2013. *The Credit Rating Controversy.*

City of London. 2002. "(Ward Elections) Act 2002." Vols. Section 5, CHAPTER vi . London: National Archives, 7 November.

Clark, Gregory Claark and Anthony. 2001. *Common Rights to land in England 1475-1839.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clarke, Kenith. 2011. "Parliamentary Committee Hearing." London, 7 September.

Clayden, Paul. 1985. *Our Common Land: The law and history of commons and village greens.* 4th. Open Spaces Society.

Clegg, Nick. 2010. "Annual Conference." NUS National Union of Students, May.

Coalition government. 2012. "Homeowners protected, squatters criminalised." *Commencement of offence of squatting in a residential building.* Edited by Grant Shapps. London: Ministry of Justice, 1 September.

Conservative & Liberal Democrat parties. 2010. *The Coalition: Our Programme For Government.* Policy document, London: House of Commons.

Deleuze, Félix Guattari and Gilles. 1972. *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Edited by trans. 1983. University of Minnesota Press.

Equality and Human Rights Commission. 2010. *How fair is Britain?* Triennial Review, London: House of commons, 637.

Foucault, Michael. 1978 . "Lectures at the college de France 1975-76: Society must be defended ." 2003 ed.: 95-96.

Foucault, Michel. 1975. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* Translated by Alan Sheridan. Great Britain: Penguin Books Ltd.

Gayle, Tom Kelly and Damien. 2011. "The thermal images that prove 90% of tents in the Occupy camp in London are left EMPTY overnight." London: The Daily Telegraph, 26 October.

GEORGII N. REGIS. 1824. *Vagrancy Act* . Act, George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode.

Graeber, David. 2011. "Occupy and anarchism's gift of democracy." The Guardian, 15 November.

Grotius, Hugo. 1625. "On the Law of War and Peace." no. 2012. Translated by Stephen C. Neff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Guardian, The. 2011. "Riots: magistrates advised to 'disregard normal sentencing'." Edited by Owen Bowcott and Stephen Bates. London: The Guardian, 15 August.

Haraway, Donna. 1988. "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective." *Feminist studies* 575-599.

Harvey, David. 2000. *Megacities lecture 4.* Amersfoort: Twynstra Gudde Management Consultants.

—. 2006. *Spaces of Global Capitalism.* New York: Verso.

—. 2006. *The Politics of Public Space.* 1. New York: Taylor & Francis Group, Routledge.

Harvey, David. 2003. "The Right to the City." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 939–941.

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) . 2012. *Policing in austerity: One Year On.* Annual, London: HMIC.

Her Majesty's Treasury. 2010. "Spending Review." London: Presented to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer , October.

Hirst, Paul. 2005. *Space and Power: Politics: War and Architecture.* Cambridge: Polity.

Hobbes, Thomas. 1651. “Leviathan.” Translated by J.C.A Gaskin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11 September.

Home Office and Ministry of Justice. 2006-2012. *Anti-social behaviour order statistics: England and Wales.* England and Wales, London: Home Office.

Home Office. 2012. *What we do.* London. https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/home-office.

Illich, Ivan. 1973. *Tools for Conviviality.* 2000. London, New York: Marion Boyars Publishers.

Jenny Ridley, Michael Robinson. 2012. “UK Government Spending by department, 2011-12.” The Guardian.

John Locke, David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau,. 1979. “Social Contract: Essays by Locke, Hume and Rousseau.” Edited by Sir Ernest Barker. Galaxy Books, 5 April.

Johnson, Boris. 2014. “Conservates will act on union strikes.” London: BBC News, 30 April.

—. 2011. “Conservative Party Conference.” Manchester, 4 October.

Johnson, John. 1908. “Great votes for women demomstration in Hyde Park.” *Great votes for women demomstration in Hyde Park.* London.

Joint Committee on the Draft Constitutional Renewal Bill . 2008. *Demonstrations in the vicinity of parliament.* Memorandum by the Clerk of the House of Commons (Ev 02), London: Houses of Parliament.

Kaydenm, Jerold S. 2000. *Privately Owned Public Space: The New York City Experience* . New York: The municipal Art Society of New York .

Lefebvre, Henri. 1974. *The Production of Space.* English Translation first published in 1991. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Devon: T.J International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall.

—. 1988. *Writings on Cities.* 1996. Edited by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas. Translated by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

2011. *General Assembly.* Performed by Occupy LSX. St Paul’s Cathedral entrance, London. 31 October.

LSX_interviewee_002, Occupy, interview by Author. 2014. (March).

LSX_interviewee_003, Occupy, interview by Author. 2014. (June).

LSX_interviewee_005, Occupy, interview by Author. 2014. (12 April).

Marcuse, Peter. 2009. “From critical urban theory to the right to the city.” *CITY.* doi:10.1080/13604810902982177.

Marshall, T. H. 1950. “Citizenship and Social Class.” *University Press.*

Mayer, Margit. 2010. *Social Movements in the (Post-) Neoliberal City.* Edited by Jesko Fezer and Matthias Görlich. London: Bedford Press.

—. 2010. *Social Movements in the (Post-) Neoliberal City.* London: Bedford Press.

McQuire, Kirsty. 2011. “Hackney shop keeper Siva Kandiah restarts after London riots.” London: Heard in London, 20 August.

Ministry of Defence. 2005-6. *Ministry of Defence: Police and Guarding Agency.* Annual, London: The Stationery Office.

Minton, Anna. 2012. *Ground Control: Fear and happiness in the twenty-first-century city.* London: Penguin Books.

Minton, Anna. 2006. *What kind of world are we building?* London: The Royal Institute of Chartered Surveryors.

Monbiot, George. 2005. “A Land Reform Manifesto.” *A Land Reform Manifesto.* The Guardian newspaper, 22 February.

Mouffe, Chantal. 2003. *The democratic paradox.* London, New York: Verso books.

Office of national statistics. 2011. *Private Sector Employment Indicator.* Quarter 4, Regional (UK): Department for Business Innovation & Skills.

Paine, Thomas. 1797. *Agrarian Justice.* 2009. Edited by Joshua Allen. Lulu publishing.

Roberts, Alasdair. 2013. *The End of Protest: How Free-Market Capitalism Learned to Control Dissent.* Cornell University: Cornell University Press.

Rogers, Simon. 2011. *Guardian Datablog: Occupy protests mapped around the world.* Guardian.co.uk, 18 October.

Romano, Flavio. 2006. *Clinton and Blair: the political economy of the third way.* New York: Oxon.

Roos, Jerome. 2013. “How Occupy reinvented the language of democracy.” ROAR magazine, 17 September .

Scarman, Lord. 1982. *The Scarman report: The Brixon disorders 10-12 April 1981.* London: Pelican Books Ltd.

Sennett, Richard. 2006. *The Culture of the New Capitalism.* Yale: Yale University Press.

Sitrin, Marina. Spring 2012 . “Horizontalism and the Occupy Movements.” DISSENT magazine.

Situationist_International. 1968. *Beneath the paving stones.* 2001. Translated by Ken Knabb Chris Gray. Edinburgh: AK Press/ Dark Star.

Smith, Iain Duncan, interview by BBC. 2011. *Work and Pensions Secretary* (15 August).

Smith, Setha Low & Neil. 2006. *The Politics of Pulbic Space.* New York: Taylor & Francis Group, Routledge.

Stamp, W. G. Hoskins and L. Dudley. 2009. *The Common Lands of England and Wales.* London: Harper Collins.

Thatcher, Margaret, interview by Douglas Keay. 1987. *"no such thing as society"* Woman's Own, (31 October).

Thatcher, Margaret. 1984. *Conservative backbench 1922 committee.* Newspaper Article, House of Commons, London: The Times , 20 July 1984.

The Guardian & The London School of Economics. 2011. *Reading the Riots.* London: Guardian Books.

The Guardian. 2009. “Crime and Disorder Act 1998.” London: The Guardian, 19 January.

—. 2011-12. *The Guardina (Website DataBlog).* http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2011/oct/18/occupy-protests-map-world.

The Telegraph. 2010. “Student protest against tutition fees turns violent at Millbank.” November.

Turner, Alwyn W. 2012. *Things Can Only Get Bitter: The Lost Generation of 1992.* Kindle Edition. New York: Perseus Books Group.

Appendix

This section contains a number of different notes that have aided me to construct this thesis:

Spatial Definitions 165
Public Realm Restrictions
Political Governance
Spatial Governance
Neo-liberal Constructs
Global Protests
Unused and Referenced Images 175
End Notes and legal references

Spatial Governance

Public Space

The public realm is a space which intrinsically embodies unique qualities which are rarely reproduced elsewhere in society. It is a place where unplanned, non-commercial but social exchanges are produced between unaffiliated individuals or groups of citizens. As such conflicts will occur as individuals with different ideologies (willingly or otherwise) share space. These conflicts which occur over the use of territories - are expressed through issues of power, ownership and identity. This is essential if these spaces are to be representative of the societies that they serve. As such – spaces which facilitate conflict are an intrinsic element of negotiating the public realm and the means of production. These are spaces not limited to consumption, leisure and branding. They are democratic and political spaces of negotiation which require use and activation[209] to be of value to society. Without such interaction the public realm fails in the most basic of its functions.

Activation of Public Spaces

Activation comes through participation which realise the specificity of public spaces. Unplanned, non-commercial but social exchanges produced between unaffiliated individuals or groups of citizens achieve this goal. These exchanges can be as light-hearted as conversation or as directed as political protest. However, activation as an aim requires utilising the space for these activities and not exclusively for trade or transition alone.

Where individuals are able to enter and move through a space, without being subject to security checks, such as the requirement to present personal forms of identification, declaration of intention of occupation, or other requirements of a checkpoint system.

Maintenance Mandate:

The law designates the thoroughfares which pass through Boroughs (or City Councils). As such that these spaces are owned by those councils. definition of public space, a space which fits the definitions of legislation as passed by a succession of acts between 1972 and 2000 which combine to define the nature of the public realm (in its maintenance, access and safety). What they collectively achieve is to create a status quo; a usual order of events which if deviated from or obstructed; provides through its ***exclusion the definition of a non-public act or space.***

Temporary Commons:

For brief moments in time, inaction is created; where private land operates publicly because the private organisation fails to prohibit certain activities. It is a temporary state of public space and subject to closure at any time, but as such its nature is directly negotiable.

Political Protest

A political protest is an expression of objection, by words or by actions, to particular events, policies or situations. Political protest usually forms around the opposition to clear ideologies aimed at an established authority or power.

Whitehall

Whitehall is a road in the City of Westminster, in central London, which is the main South ward route from Trafalgar Square to Chelsea passing through Parliament square en-route. Some of the most significant infrastructure and their remits are listed below:

Government role	Since	Building name
HM Treasury, HM Revenue and Customs and parts of the Cabinet Office	1908	Government Offices Great George Street
Foreign and Commonwealth Office	1968	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Department of Health	1987	Richmond House
Cabinet, Prime Minister (10 Downing Street) and Deputy Prime Minister	1680s/ 1735*	Downing Street
the Cabinet Office	1916	70 Whitehall
Wales Office	1772/ 1871*	Gwydyr House
Scotland Office	1750s/ 1830*	Dover House
Ministry of Defense	1964	Ministry of Defense main building
Ceremonial	**1664/ *1751	Horse Guards
Office of the Parliamentary Counsel	1869	36 Whitehall
Commercial property (sold)	17th C/ *2013	(old) War Office
Department for Energy and Climate Change	2008	55 Whitehall
Department for International Development	**1964/ 1997	22 Whitehall
Foreign and Commonwealth Office	1726	The Admiralty Buildings

*current use
**previous location

Public Realm Restrictions

CCTV cameras

There is thought to be over 1.85million CCTV cameras in the UK, approximately 1 every 32 people, with the average person expected to be seen by 70 cameras a day

(Cheshire constabulary Jurisdiction report, 2005).

The ASBO (Anti-Social Behaviour Order) is responsible for the creation of over 3000 new offences in England and Wales since 1997 of which around half are imprison-able. Many of these offences have a lower standard of proof than other similar civil offences. Those charged with ASBOs are overwhelmingly young people. (National Statistics 1998 – present & Crime and Disorder Act 2008).

Section 44

The most commonly encountered use of the Terrorism Act was outlined in Section 44 which enables the police and the Home Secretary to define any area in the country as well as a time period wherein they could stop and search any vehicle or person, and seize "articles of a kind which could be used in connection with terrorism". Unlike other stop and search powers that the police can use, Section 44 does not require the police to have "reasonable suspicion" that an offence has been committed, to search an individual.

In 2009, over 100,000 searches were conducted under the powers, but none of these resulted in people being arrested for terrorism offences. 504 were arrested for other offences.

(Office of National Statistics).

Protest Restricted by Law

from both sides of the political house

The supreme legislative body of the United Kingdom is located in Westminster. Here, a system of parliament where an elected bicameral legislature (parliamentary chambers), in which at least one house is elected, tend to require a concurrent majority to pass legislation. Proponents of this system argue the merits of the "checks and balances" which they believe help prevent the passage into law of ill-considered legislation. However, prominent limitation of the system occurs when consensus is established within a bicameral legislature whose scope of opposition is on an increasingly narrow set of issues diluting the notion of alternative modes of representation and this ideology. This is borne out by the public realm restrictions introduced by the Labour government (2000 – 2007). These powers of interrogation and detention lie in continuity with the restrictions on unionisation developed by the previous Conservative government (1979 – 2000) where protest is marginalised as a construct to effect societal change:

2000: Terrorism act introduced - increase to 7 days detention without charge and ability to detain without reasonable suspicion.

2003: Terrorism act amended – increase to 14 days' detention without charge.

2005: Creation of SOCPA (Serious and Organised Crime Act): New general power of arrest for all offences, significant extension and simplification of the powers of arrest for a constable, introduction of restrictions on protest in the vicinity of the Palace of Westminster.

The sus law was the informal name for a stop and search law that permitted a police officer to stop, search and potentially arrest people on suspicion of them being in breach of section 4 of the Vagrancy Act 1824. This was resurrected in 1980 by the parliament of England and Wales and put into practice in many inner city areas. The act reads as follows:

every suspected person or reputed thief, frequenting any river, canal, or navigable stream, dock, or basin, or any quay, wharf, or warehouse near or adjoining thereto, or any street, highway, or avenue leading thereto, or any place of public resort, or any avenue leading thereto, or any street, or any highway or any place adjacent to a street or highway; with intent to commit an arrest-able offence.

(Author highlights)

The law essentially allowed law enforcement officer to arrest individuals on the possibility that they may commit a crime in the future. Contemporary movements / events

Political Governance

Democracy

The term democracy comes from the Greek word δημοκρατία (dēmokratía) "rule of the people",

Since the development of the Agora in ancient Athens the idea of democracy, the importance of the citizen and the potential for public space to facilitate societal change, have been key considerations for constructing a state which is representative of its people. The concept of fundamental rights[210]*, which first emerged in ancient Athens, has relevance beyond the social, political and economic constructs of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Centuries. As our societies transgressed phases of agricultural production, industrialisation, urbanisation and now globalisation; the issue of the fundamental rights of the citizen through these modes of production have had a significant effect on a state's willingness and ability to execute* dēmokratía. *A word that resonates through time; born out of a combination of* dēmos, the people *and* Kratos*; translating as* power or rule.

Direct democracy

A form of government in which people vote on policy initiatives directly, as opposed to a representative democracy in which people vote for representatives who then vote on policy initiatives.

Meritocracy

Appointments and responsibilities are objectively assigned to individuals based upon their "merits", namely intelligence, credentials, and education. Through the two definitions what the Occupy movement actually develops is a Meritocracy through the repetition of practices the same people with identifiable skills manoeuvre themselves into a position where they dominate proceedings.

Fundamental Rights

Natural rights; which are rights not contingent upon the laws, customs, or beliefs of any particular culture or government, and therefore universal and inalienable; sit in contrast to fundamental rights, which lie on a philosophical trajectory emerging from legal rights; those bestowed onto a person by law. In modern parlance The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union enshrines certain political, social, and economic rights for European Union (EU) citizens and residents, into EU law. Entry into force at the Treaty of Lisbon on 1 December 2009.

Public Realm

As defined by a series acts: Local authority under the Local Government Act 1972, the Highways Act 1980, Town and Country Planning Act 1990, Local Government Act 2000.This creating a narrow designation of public realm based on maintenance.

Social Contract

Private spaces with an embodied public and social responsibility; as a lineage from that defined in social contract theory, outlined by

John Locke (1689).

Universal Suffrage

The extension of the right to vote as applied to adult citizens (or subjects) as a whole. In England male suffrage was established in 1918 with women receiving the same terms in 1928. However multiple voting was not repealed until 1948 in England (Wales and Scotland) and 1968 in Northern Ireland.

Modes of Production

First penned by Karl Marx in reference to 'the way of producing' which is a combination of productive forces (e.g.: human labour) and the relations of production (e.g.: property, power and control relations governing society's productive assets, often codified in law, cooperative work relations and forms of association).

Lefebvre further developed this theory to include the notion of embracing everyday life as a construct of spatial justice embraced by the term right to the city: "demand...[for] a transformed and renewed access to urban life". David Harvey has in turn developed a rationalised / reductive approach to this theory of right to the city by defining it in largely economic terms

> *"greater democratic control over the production and use of the surplus. Since the urban process is a major channel of use, then the right to the city is constituted by establishing democratic control over the deployment of the surpluses through urbanization."*
>
> *(David Harvey – The right to the city, 2003)*

Spatial Governance

A notation on the different constructs which have informed my understanding of the relationship between public(ly accessible) space and protest in contemporary British society

Power

Power is a measurement of an entity's ability to control its environment, including the behaviour of other entities. As such, both law enforcement officials and citizens struggle over power with the contested territory of the public realm as their domain. Foucault describes power as "a complex strategic situation in a given society social setting" Foucault, Michel (Power/Knowledge 1980).

Preventative Law Enforcement

As law enforcement became increasingly preventative so the public realm has occupied a smaller sphere of activity. The introduction of Kettling to UK policing in 2000 exemplifies this shift.

Kettling

A police tactic for controlling large crowds during demonstrations or protests. It involves the formation of large cordons of police officers who then move to contain a crowd within a limited area. Protesters are left only one choice of exit, determined by the police, or are completely prevented from leaving. The act of Kettling detains individuals who have committed no crime (as it takes place in publicly accessible spaces surrounding ***all*** *who happen to be present there). Furthermore, it contains and corrals them into an area without access to legal representation or amenities (such as toilet facilities) for an indefinite period of time.*

State

A state is an organized political community, living under a government, it is a political and geopolitical entity self-identifying as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign entity for a nation or citizen body.

Rule of law

The rule of law is a legal maxim that suggests that governmental decisions be made by applying known legal principles. It stands in contrast to the idea that any individual is above the law.
"It is more proper that law should govern than any one of the citizens: upon the same principle, if it is advantageous to place the supreme power in some particular persons, they should be appointed to be only guardians and the servants of the laws" Aristotle – (Politics – book 3)

Neo-liberal

A contemporary form of economic liberalism that emphasizes the efficiency of private enterprise, liberalized trade and relatively open markets to promote globalization. Neo-liberals therefore seek to maximize the role of the private sector in determining the political and economic priorities of the world.

Centrally Commanded Resources

In the majority of Neo-liberal countries the private debt is larger than the public debt (National Statistics Agency 2011). This means that the creditors of government spending have an influential role in the designation of the finances which they facilitate, specifically in times of economic decline (in line with the principles of Keynesian economics).

Government control of means for material and social production of space
Neo-liberal economies are financed on the accumulation of debt. As such, the UK government's spending and debt since 1946 (Office for National Statistics – Public Sector Finances) has steadily and consistently grown (regardless of political party). This has necessitated the state to increasingly rely on creditors to finance both the external liabilities of its citizens (such as private householders) and the government's own public overspending. This results in an increased percentage of control over government policy being influenced by external forces. As Private sector finances are increasingly used to fund public sector spending and productive expenditure (e.g.: defence, agriculture, infrastructure and industrial development), the state has a smaller control over its own means

of production as undemocratic bodies (other governments, private commercial banks or international financial institutions) become increased determinants of public finance.

Commons

Commons are a remnant of the manorial system which from medieval times had been the basis of the country's economy. The manor was the basic unit and was supposed to be self-sufficient. Crops were grown on the better soil and the poor land was the 'waste' used for grazing and gathering fuel. The Lord of the manor owned the whole land but the cottagers had rights recognised by the courts. In turn this meant that the Lord of the manor could not enclose land without parliamentary authority, hence the unfenced open spaces which we still recognise as the hallmark of a common. The obligation to provide land for commoners' rights derived from the Statute of Merton of 1235 and was reflected in the variety of courts leet which determined the dates for grazing and rotation of crops.

(Stamp 2009)

Since time immemorial commons have served as grazing grounds for the sheep, cattle and ponies of pastoral farming communities. The commons are resources that are owned in common or shared between or among community's populations. These resources can include everything from natural resources and common land. The commons contain public property and private property, over which people have certain traditional rights.

The area of common land in England is estimated to have been 33% 1500, 27% in 1600 and 22% in 1750 however much of this land precluded those without formal property rights.

(Clark 2001)

In direct succession; in 2005 "4% of land in England and Wales registered as 'commons'

(Monbiot 2005)

The Enclosures Act

In English social and economic history, enclosure is the process which ends traditional rights such as mowing meadows for hay, or grazing livestock on common land formerly held in the open field system. Once enclosed, these uses of the land become restricted to the owner, and it ceases to be common land.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, enclosures were by means of local acts of Parliament, called the Enclosure Acts. These "parliamentary" enclosures consolidated strips in the open fields into more compact units, and enclosed much of the remaining pasture commons or wastes.

Publicly Owned

"Today nearly all space is owned by somebody – be it government, private organisations, private individuals or financial institutions such as pension funds or international finance consortiums… As a generalisation government owned space is often.

Thought of as 'public', particularly public buildings, squares and parks. Such spaces have also long been associated both with revolutionary political struggle and with exhibitions of state power…"

(Minton, Ground Control: Fear and happiness in the twenty-first-century city 2012)

Neo-liberal Constructs

The utilisation of neo-liberal politics and economics has changed the relationship between citizens and their representatives, the notations below outline some of the key changes which have helped redefine this terrain

Free Market Economics

The liberated market has not ended the cycle of growth followed by recession and thus exists on a continuum from the first identified economic crash in 1711. Since then there have been 14 economic crashes / busts which have thrown the English (British) economy into decline / recession. At a mean average that equates to 1 every 14 years (with the longest linear time without economic crash lasting 56 years; from 'The Panic 1837 to the Wall Street Crash 1929).

Global Economic Crash

Also referred to as Global Recession, Global Financial Crisis or the Credit Crunch. In 2007 the collapse of large financial institutions which was triggered when credit rating agencies and investors failed to accurately price the risk involved with mortgage-related financial products. The spread of the financial problem was exacerbated by the 1999 repeal of the Glass–Steagall Act of 1933 which had effectively removed the separation that previously existed between Wall Street investment banks and depository banks.

European Sovereignty Debt Crisis

Occurred when the fragility of public deficits was triggered by the Global Recession and the associated bank bailouts. Earlier strategies which culminated in large public deficits - establishment of the Euro and the loss of competitiveness that ensued in many economies.

Thatcher's Line of Legislative Changes

1980 Employment act: Solidarity action made illegal, 1982 Employment act – limits definition of a strike / trade dispute and international trade union action made illegal. 1984 Trade union law, illegal to strike without a ballot and voting for a strike is equal to breaking your employment contract. 1988 Employment act: Imposition of postal ballots. Employment act 1993: Six weeks delay between ballot decision and date of action.

1980 Employment Act

Solidarity action made illegal, 1982 Employment act – limits definition of a strike / trade dispute and international trade union action made illegal. Combined, these acts effectively block the possibility of legal global unionisation.

Regional Trade Agreements

Including 'Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership' TTIP, 'Trans-Pacific Partnership' TPPs and 'Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement' CETA

Effect on democracy:

> *TTIP's biggest threat to society is its inherent assault on democracy. One of the main aims of TTIP is the introduction of Investor-State Dispute Settlements (ISDS), which allow companies to sue governments if those governments' policies cause a loss of profits. In effect it means unelected transnational corporations can dictate the policies of democratically elected governments. ISDSs are already in place in other bi-lateral trade agreements around the world and have led to such injustices as in Germany where Swedish energy company Vattenfall is suing the German government for billions of dollars over its decision to phase out nuclear power plants in the wake of the Fukushima disaster in Japan. Here we see a public health policy put into place by a democratically elected government being threatened by an energy giant because of a potential loss of profit. Nothing could be more cynically anti-democratic.*
>
> *There are around 500 similar cases of businesses versus nations going on around the world at the moment and they are all taking place before 'arbitration tribunals' made up of corporate lawyers appointed on an ad hoc basis, which according to War on Want's John Hilary, are "little more than kangaroo courts" with "a vested interest in ruling in favour of business."*

Effect on democracy: Jobs

> *The EU has admitted that TTIP will probably cause unemployment as jobs switch to the US, where labour standards and trade union rights are lower. It has even advised EU members to draw on European support funds to compensate for the expected unemployment.*
>
> *Examples from other similar bi-lateral trade agreements around the world support the case for job losses. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the US, Canada and Mexico caused the loss of one million US jobs over 12 years, instead of the hundreds of thousands of extra that were promised.*
>
> *TTIP's 'regulatory convergence' agenda will seek to bring EU standards on food safety and the environment closer to those of the US. But US regulations are much less strict, with 70 per cent of all processed foods sold in US supermarkets now containing genetically modified ingredients. By contrast, the EU allows virtually no GM foods. The US also has far laxer restrictions on the use of pesticides. It also uses growth hormones in its beef which are restricted in Europe due to links to cancer. US farmers have tried to have these restrictions lifted repeatedly in the past through the World Trade Organisation and it is likely that they will use TTIP to do so again.*

Effect on Democracy: Food & Environmental Safety

> *The same goes for the environment, where the EU's REACH regulations are far tougher on potentially toxic substances. In Europe a company has to prove a substance is safe before it can be used; in the US the opposite is true: any substance can be used until it is proven unsafe. As an example, the EU currently bans 1,200 substances from use in cosmetics; the US just 12.*
>
> *(Information taken from Lee Williams, The Independent, Tuesday 7 October 2014)*

Global Protests

A notation on significant global protests which there was not time to explore in the main body of the thesis but which shaped the conditions which the case study actions operated within

¡Democracia Real YA!

Considers the current political and economic system incapable of listening to and representing its citizens and therefore demands changes to the current social and economic policies, which have led many people into unemployment, loss of their homes, and poverty. The organization denounces the way big businesses and banks dominate the political and economic sphere and aims to propose a series of solutions to these problems through grassroots participatory democracy and direct democracy, which is based on people's assemblies and consensus decision making.¡Democracia Real YA! is associated with approximately 200 smaller organizations. Their manifesto states that it is a broad social movement that maintains no affiliation with any political party or labour union. It has not appointed any single leader and is unwilling to join any of the existing political bodies. The manifesto also claims that the organization is dedicated to non-violent protest. ¡Democracia Real YA! was started in March 2011 in Spain.

Global Occupy Movement

The Occupy movement is an international protest movement that seeks to make the economic structure and power relations in contemporary society fairer. Different local groups have different foci, but among the prime

concerns is the claim that big corporations and the global financial system controls the world in an unstable way that benefits only few and is undermining democracy. The first Occupy protest to receive wide coverage was Occupy Wall Street in New York City's Zuccotti Park, which began on September 17, 2011.

General Assembly

The general assembly is a construct of a participatory democracy. The actions of the general assembly are informed by 'working groups' where any participant (in this case protestor) is able to have their say. The General assembly occur daily (at the Occupy London Stock Exchange camp in the City of London), it is on this basis that consensus is reached.

Oppositional Positions within Democratic Theory

Traditional (conflict/ role)

Is democracy more properly about the protection of liberties (including the right to property) or the involvement of citizens in the decision-making process?

Contemporary

Is democracy more fundamentally about the protection of individual autonomy, or the coherence of cultural groups?
Democracy is as much a political strategy as a philosophical position, and must therefore be moulded to suit particular political interests and circumstances.

A Definition of democracy

To the extent that there is agreement about the definition of democracy, it is generally seen as a combination of institutions (free elections, political rights, independent judiciary), political values (accountability, toleration, participation), and a propitious political context (a wide availability of alternative sources of information an ability to meet the basic needs of individuals, an educated population) e.g., Dahl 1971, 1989; Diamond, Lpse, Linz 1989, preface; Braybrooke 1968).
What people generally view as the most attractive aspect of democracy is that, ideally, it gives them the ability effectively to pursue what they want within a relatively stable political order.

Limitations of Liberalism

Liberalism can, as political theorists occasionally remind us, remain independent of 'democracy' insofar as the former merely stresses a sphere of individual agency and autonomy within any given political system. Democracy may be the best means of protecting this sphere of autonomy; but it is in the instance more a procedural mechanism than a statement of political beliefs.
The most common political objective of liberals in the recent past has been the maintenance of a set of established rights, protected through the due process of transparent laws.

The Dream of Liberal Democracy

The nature of a mature liberal democracy, wrote T.M Marshall almost half a century ago, was that it would gradually expand its account of citizenship over time to include previously marginalized groups. Thus political rights (to due process, freedom of speech and equal voice in government) would grow to include social rights (welfare, education, healthcare) and would, he argued, soon accommodate a very civilised set of economic rights (including the ability of workers to govern themselves in their place of work).

On Athens: Its Athenian origins, as far as we know, were unrepentantly grounded in the attempt to enlarge a factional power base rather than to the desire to promote the development of human autonomy for its own sake (Dunn 1992). Its subsequent materializes, likewise, seem to have been more about challenging the sovereignty of a specific group of per-holders than about emancipating the human spirit.

Tacit Consent

Proof that accountability exists is more difficult to gauge, and it rests both in the active ability of some to choose by whom they wish to be governed, and in the tacit consent often rest to accept the rule of those they have not explicitly chosen.
Reasoning for discussing Athenian democracy - natural law
'Middle' concept of democracy - Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau etc... Locke - humans naturally possessed rights to security and property. David Hume sceptical critique of natural law, Rousseau - nearing repudiation of property rights - Jeremy Bentham's dismissal of rights as 'nonsense on stilts'. Richard Tuck (1979) has shown, the modern account of 'human rights' is firmly grounded in a narrower base of ***property rights****.*

Thomas Paine asserted: it is not in the ownership of goods but rather in the symbolic depiction of human dignity as a fundamental touchstone of social life. In early modern political theory rights can be broadly classified as 'natural', or 'civil', or both. Civil rights are legal constructions created and espoused by society; natural rights are said to exist (due to the precepts of natural law) regardless of whether they are recognized legally or not. G.W.F. Hegel argued: in the acknowledgement that the mutual recognition of human rights in conductive to political maturity

Definition of Rights

In practice the acceptance of rights as 'inherent' has generally depended upon the willingness of a majority of individuals to acknowledge this fact; but the irony is that the very point of having a 'right' is to protect the rights-holders from the whims of a fickle majority. Thus, to a large extent, rights are the symbolic articulation of the legitimacy of beliefs that already exist rather than declarations of what ought to exist... to that extent, rights are the rhetorical reflection of the actual balance of power rather than the logically coherent account justifying a distinct political status for a group or subgroup of individuals.

It was Locke, too, who argued that humans naturally possessed rights to security and property. The rights to security o person derived from the natural law to maintain peace, while the inherent right to property established both in man's natural possession of himself and his faculties, and in God's ultimate possession of himself and his faculties, and in God's ultimate possession of all men. This laboured formulation was forceful in its argument for why the sovereign had no absolute or arbitrary power over either subjects or their property; and we tend today to accept many of Locke's conclusions without digging too deeply into their historical roots or logical persuasiveness. Notwithstanding David Hume's sceptical critique of natural law, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's sneering repudiation of property rights, and Jeremy Bentham's dismissal of rights as 'nonsense on stilts', however, rights discourse plays an integral and singularly powerful role in modern liberal democratic politics. But as Richard Tuck (1979) has shown, the modern account of 'human rights' is firmly grounded in a narrower base of ***property*** *rights. The protection of human dignity and autonomy was, historically, of far less legal import than the protection of property. The ministration of the human soul could be left to the church, but the preservation of property required the active intervention of civil laws.*

Property rights are an essential element of contemporary economic relations of power, which depend heavily upon a normative account of why some people are entitled to exclude others from the ownership or control of resources. Whether current accounts of private property rights exist merely to justify the present distribution of economic power is, of course a philosophical issue that is deemed less important than issues of efficient production, or fairer redistribution. Yet it is not in the ownership of goods but rather in the symbolic depiction of human dignity as a fundamental touchstone of social life (as Thomas Pain asserted), and well as in the acknowledgement that the mutual recognition of human rights is conducive to political maturity (as G.W.F Hegel argued), that the modern import of human rights rests. But the unrepentant utterance of 'right' alone, combined with a show of violent force, is little more than a raw play for power.

> *...the first essential tension of modern democracy is that between political rights and social entitlements... the second is between those who deeply value 'universality' and those who believe that a strong account of universality reinforces a status quo which serves to exacerbate the marginalization of those who do not enjoy a reasonable share of the benefits of their society.*
>
> *(pg 38)*

> *Thus the legal protection of the pursuit of economic reward in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was inherently destabilizing to the extent that these rewards were distributed very inequitably. The expansion of suffrage in the nineteenth century, and the development of social welfare in the twentieth were attempts to stabilise the free pursuit of material happiness that was the cornerstone of much early liberalism... Contemporary liberal democracy is thus expected to perform two uncomfortably antagonistic political tasks: to protect the private property od economic actors in order to facilitate their ability to reproduce their wealth, on the one hand; and on the other hand, to protect other individuals from this very exercise by providing 'social safety nets' built by the state with the resources of those whose private property it has sworn to protect.*

> ***[THE PARADOX OF MODERN NEO-LIBERALISM] THE RECURING INEVITABILITY OF PROTEST people feel this incongruous state of being and it sits uncomfortably with them***
> *This paradox was noted quite clearly by a number of (generally neo-Marxist) theorists in the 1970s and 1980s, who predicted with varying levels of apprehension that this conflict of purpose would lead to a destructive 'crisis in legitimacy' in which both sides would express a high degree of cynicism about the ability of the state to perform its expected function effectively.*
>
> *Liberal democracy*
> *Liberal democracy now has very few coherent and desirable political models against which to define and evaluate itself: where one liberalism was pitted against socialism or fascism, there is now simply an internal debate about the nature of liberal democracy itself.*

If postmodernism has a profound though to offer to democratic theorists, it is the Nietzschean insight that a too-rigorous 'rational' analysis of liberal principles may destroy the very utility of the rational institutions upon which we depend so heavily

(see e.g., Zizek 1991)

Democracy is a system widely admired because of the freedom it permits for citizens to pursue the objects they most deeply value within a relatively stable and predictable political environment. As societies become larger, more heterogeneous, and less bound by rigid moral codes, however, the demands placed upon a state obliged to referee between groups with increasingly disparate interest become onerous. The problem, it would seem, is that the stability cherished by democracies may well require a fairly uncompromising underlying consensus on the norms and objectives which serve as the moral framework for the polity.

... Marginalized groups are just as effectively disenfranchised if they face unparalleled economic power in the private sector as they would be confronting unchecked political power by the state. Powerful economic elites may be an ever more potent enemy, according to this account, because they may exercise their power in an atmosphere of political legitimacy secured by neo-liberal economic theory. if marginalised groups fail to flourish within an environment of economic and political liberalization, when the blame must rest not with the system or with the successful parties but with those who fail to succeed.

But the problem with the reification of private property rights is that it limits the extent to which those who are not property-holders have an opportunity to influence many of the forces which directly or indirectly affect them.

Property rights - acquisition

One point that many proponents of private property rights fail to acknowledge is that there exists no coherent and uncontroversial philosophical basis for private property rights. As Waldron (1994:90) succinctly notes, '[t]he history of property theory indicates that there is no consensus on legitimate acquisition.'

(pg42)

Power: Public + Private Property

If various public policies (such as industrial development, the protection of indigenous cultural or religious institutions, environmental regulation, and so on) are seen to infringe upon citizens' private property rights, that are removed from the public agenda and must be resolved within the marketplace. The objection voiced by many here is consequently, that the only individuals who can influence the policies that may ultimately affect everyone are those who have the economic ability to do so. To the extent that accountability to 'the people' in these areas becomes accountability to consumers, one of the key principles of democracy - the equal voice of all in matters which concern everyone - is neglected.

Value as Power Hierarchy

Moreover, when 'individualism' or 'autonomy' or 'competitiveness' are seen as neutral values that allow citizens to flourish in their own individual spheres, groups which place value instead on mutual support and dependence are penalized for not operating within the 'rules of the game' which liberal theory holds to be both neutral and fair.][

aesthetic characteristics, moral values, and consumer preferences which are said to be in the ***private sphere*** *and thus not subject to state intervention are nonetheless detrimental to weaker groups when an informal hierarchy of value is established by a dominant group*

Power over the means of production

If individuals in these groups wish to remain within a context which has meaning to them, they are marginalized as a group; if they attempt to absorb mainstream values they face a personal crisis of identity in their inability to comprehend all facets of the dominant invisible language.

Civilise

To educate or enlighten a person or people to a perceived higher standard of behaviour. The word civilization comes from the Latin civilis, meaning civil, related to the Latin civis, meaning citizen, and civitas, meaning city or city-state. As such the word civilise is a symbiotic product of the relationship between a state and its citizens.

We have ended boom and bust The spatial contestation is epitomised by the direct and identifiable contestation over spaces IE: A programmatically iconic building, or an infrastructural development. Here the territory of action is clear.

The temporal is the fight over the means (and processes) of production IE: who passes legislation or who informs the development of public or private spaces, contestation occurs over the right to inform the strategies implemented. These constructs are temporal because they operate across

time zones and can be triggered by time specific events such as High Frequency trading.

> *"...Rigorous financial discipline that, together with monetary stability, ends once and for all the boom and bust that for 30 years has undermined stability"*
> *"We will not return to the old boom and bust"*
>
> *(Gordon Brown (Chancellor/prime minister) 1997 & 2007)*

Technocrat

An expert in a managerial or administrative role, making decisions based solely on technical information.

Extract from conversation

> *"You can come through but you have to buy something from Sainsbury's"*
>
> *Security to guard on 26.11.2011 to gain access to Paternoster Square at St Martins Court checkpoint*

Aims of the Occupy LSX

> *...We welcome all, who in good faith, seek redress of grievances through non-violence. We provide a forum for peaceful assembly of individuals to engage in participatory as opposed to partisan debate and democracy.*
>
> *Extract from statement of autonomy by Occupy London - reached consensus at the General Assembly by St Paul's Cathedral on 14th December 2011.*

Identified Restriction

The construct that prevents the private body from acting in its own immediate interests and thus facilitates a temporary common to exist. The restrictions exist on a broad spectrum including economic (e.g. Lacking funds for eviction), or social (fear of the negative opinion that may ensue from an act of eviction).

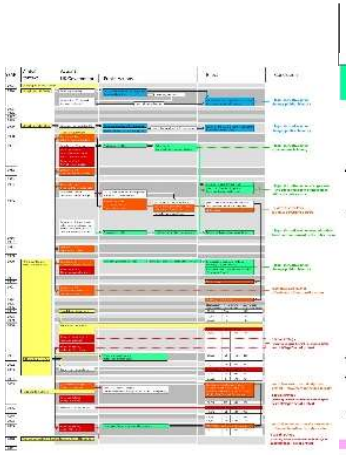
End of Time

A psychological state where citizens and politicians express an innate inability to conceive of socio-political constructs differing from that of consensus (in this case the global system of free-market neo-liberal capitalism). Characterised by rhetoric around the role of successive generations are seen as a perpetuation of the existing constructs. Such examples are the transgression from 'Fordism to Post-Fordism', 'liberal' to 'neo-liberal' or 'generation X (Y and Z)'.

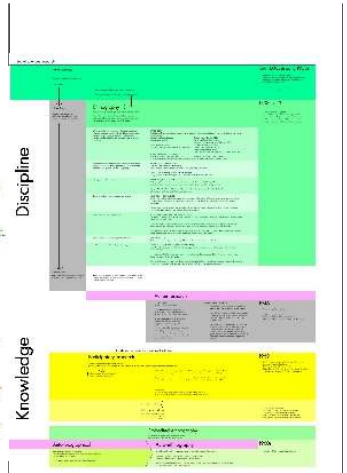
Wikipedia update's...

Wikipedia's article on 'democracy' has been altered over 11,000 times in an 11-year period; an average of 93 a month. This goes to illustrate changing perceptions and the accumulative loss of the continuity of identifiable fact.

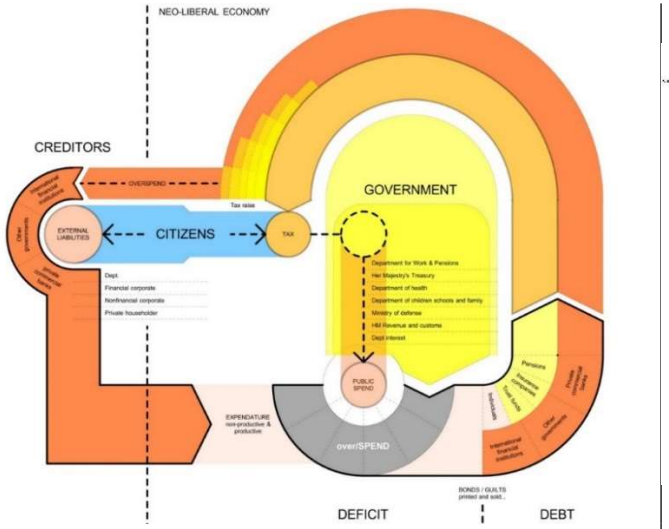
Unused Images Thumbnails



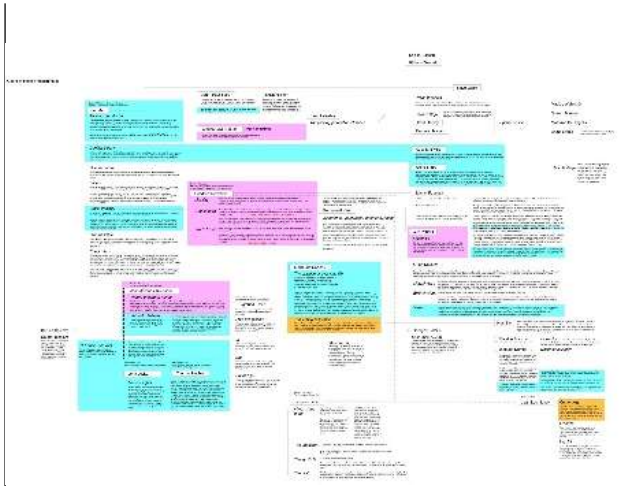
Successful protest lineage



Methodology

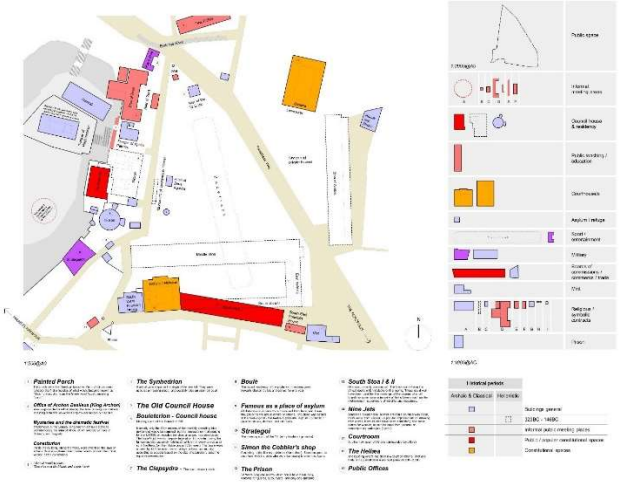


Economic debt cycle

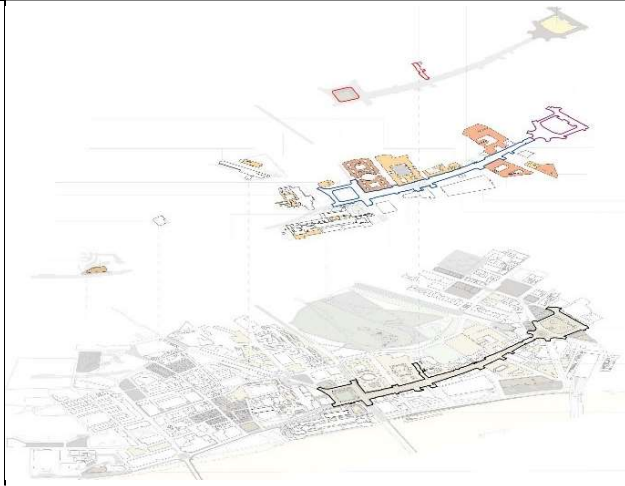


Timeline of thinkers

Categorising protest

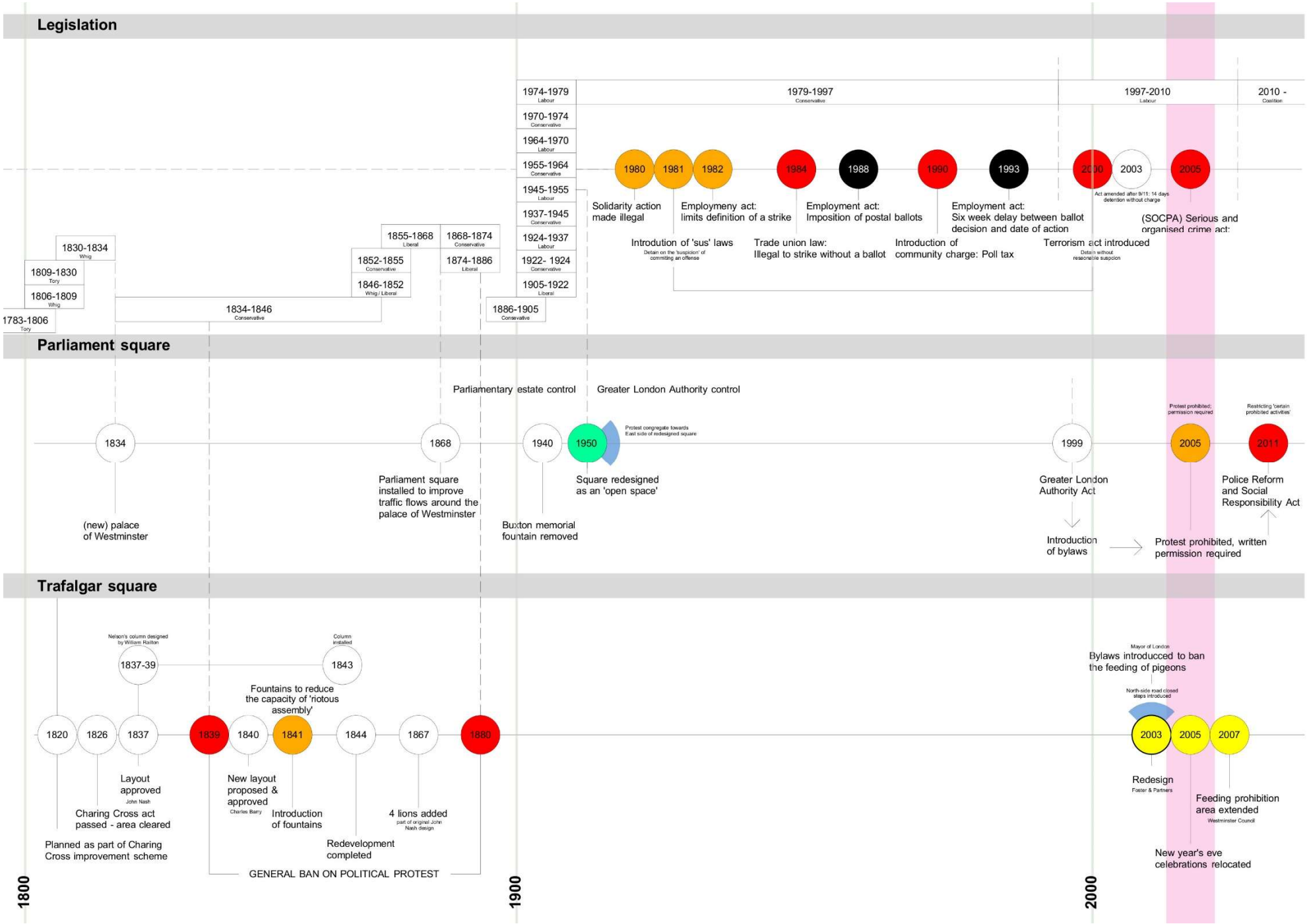


Dēmokratía



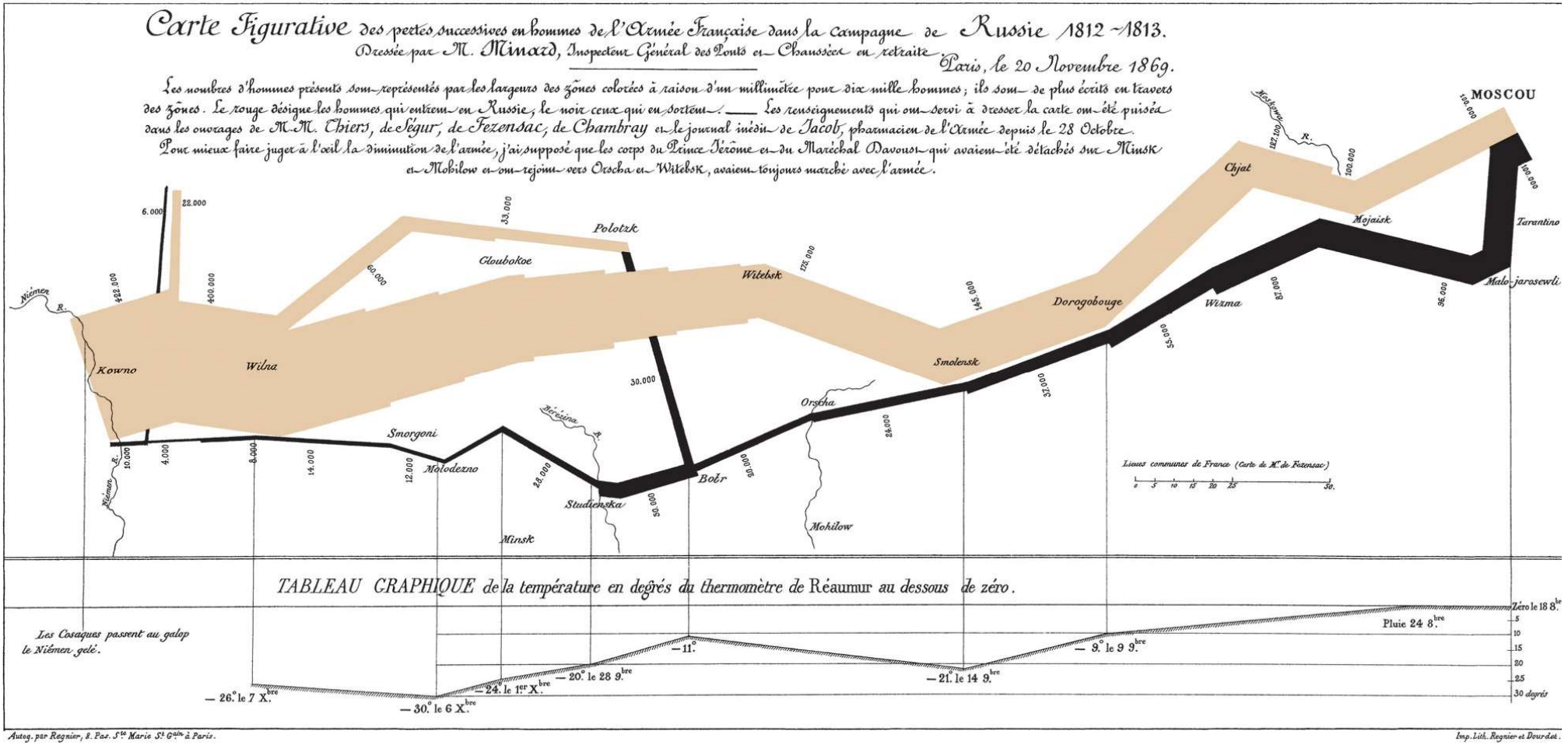
Whitehall

British protest lineage (full size images available at sitarc.org)



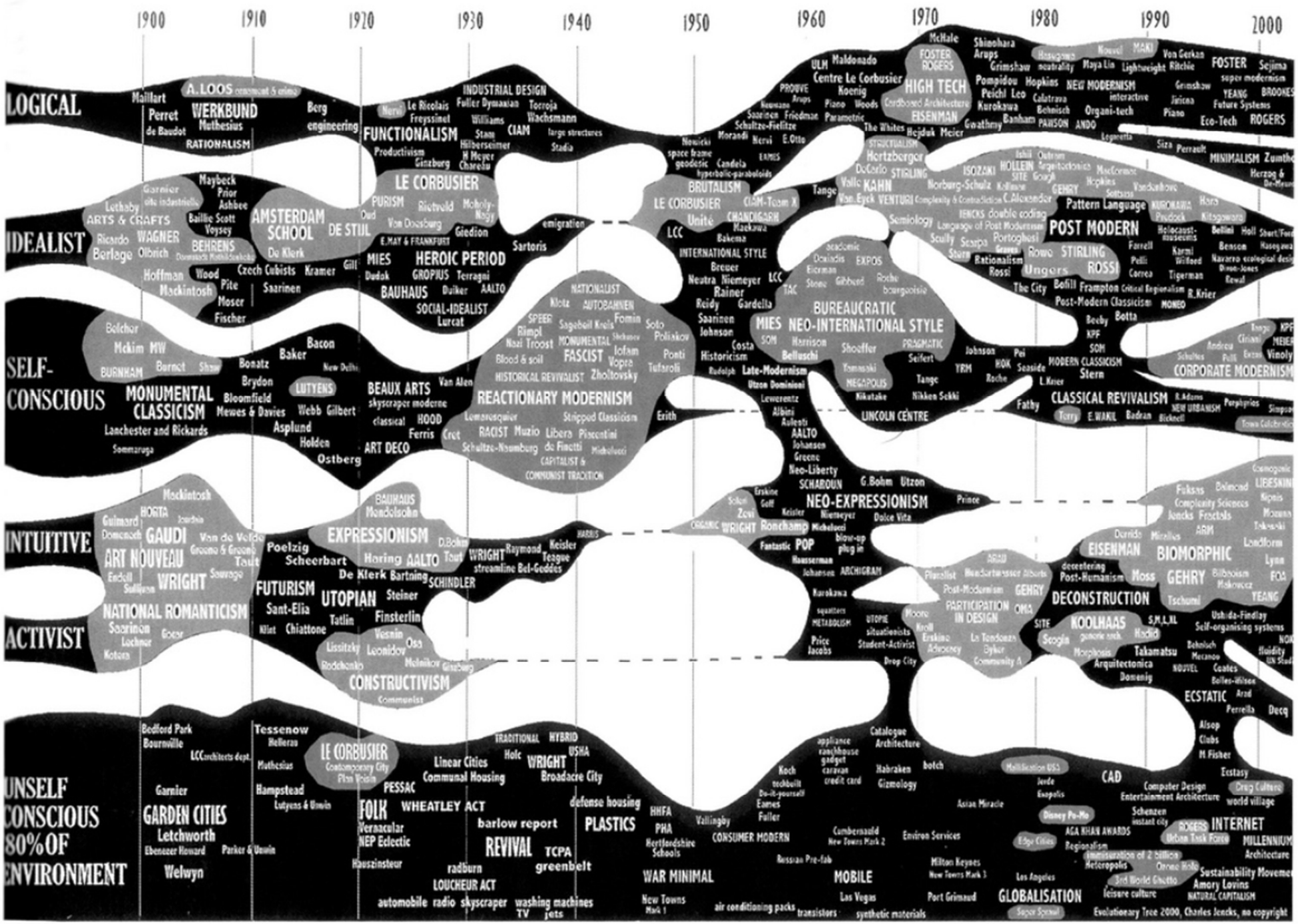
Early version of the protest contingencies map as it was develped to examine the key developments in our contemporary understanding of Trafalgar and Parliament Square

Referenced images



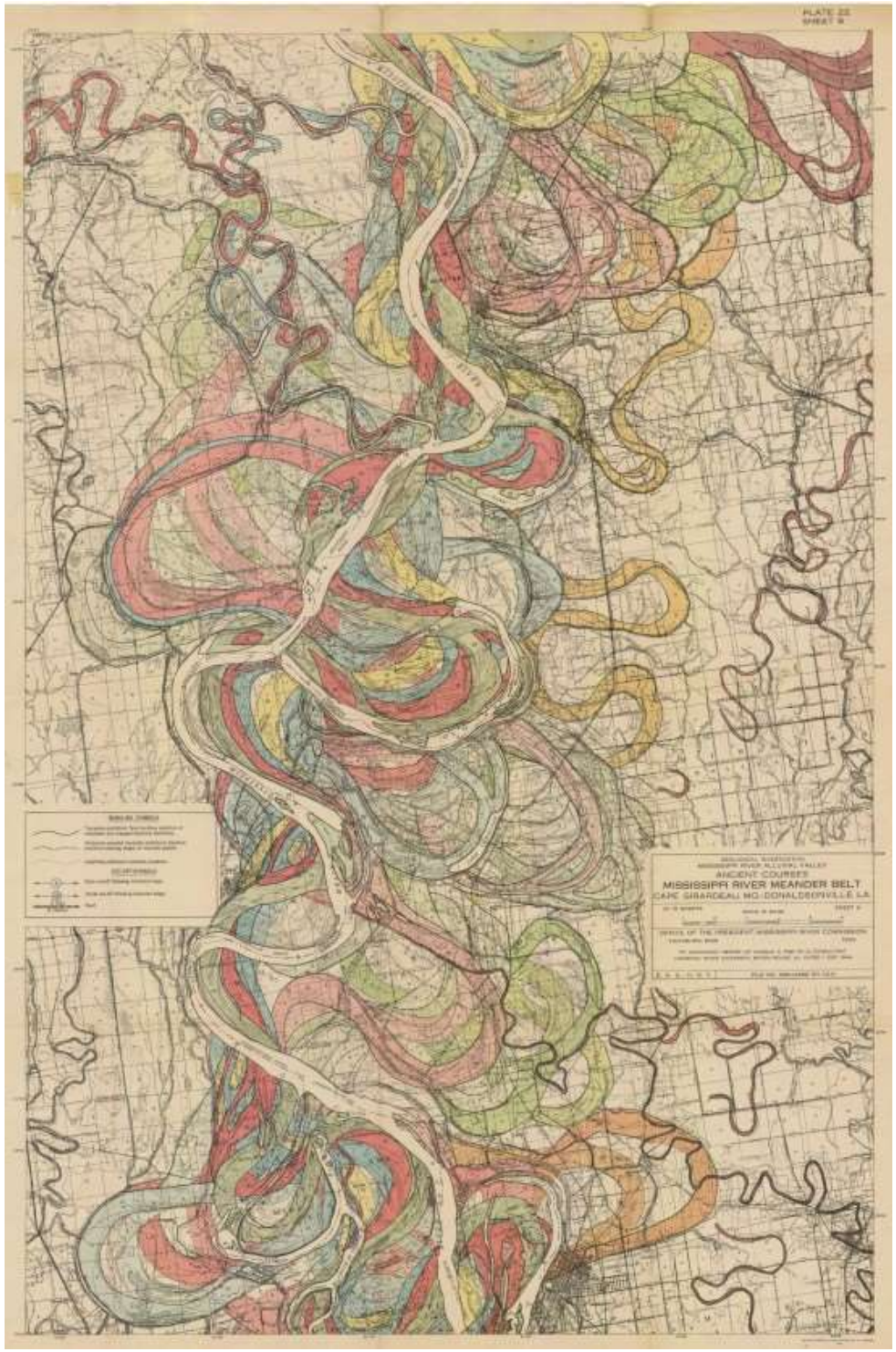
131: Napoleon's 1812 Russian campaign

Charles Minard's illustration



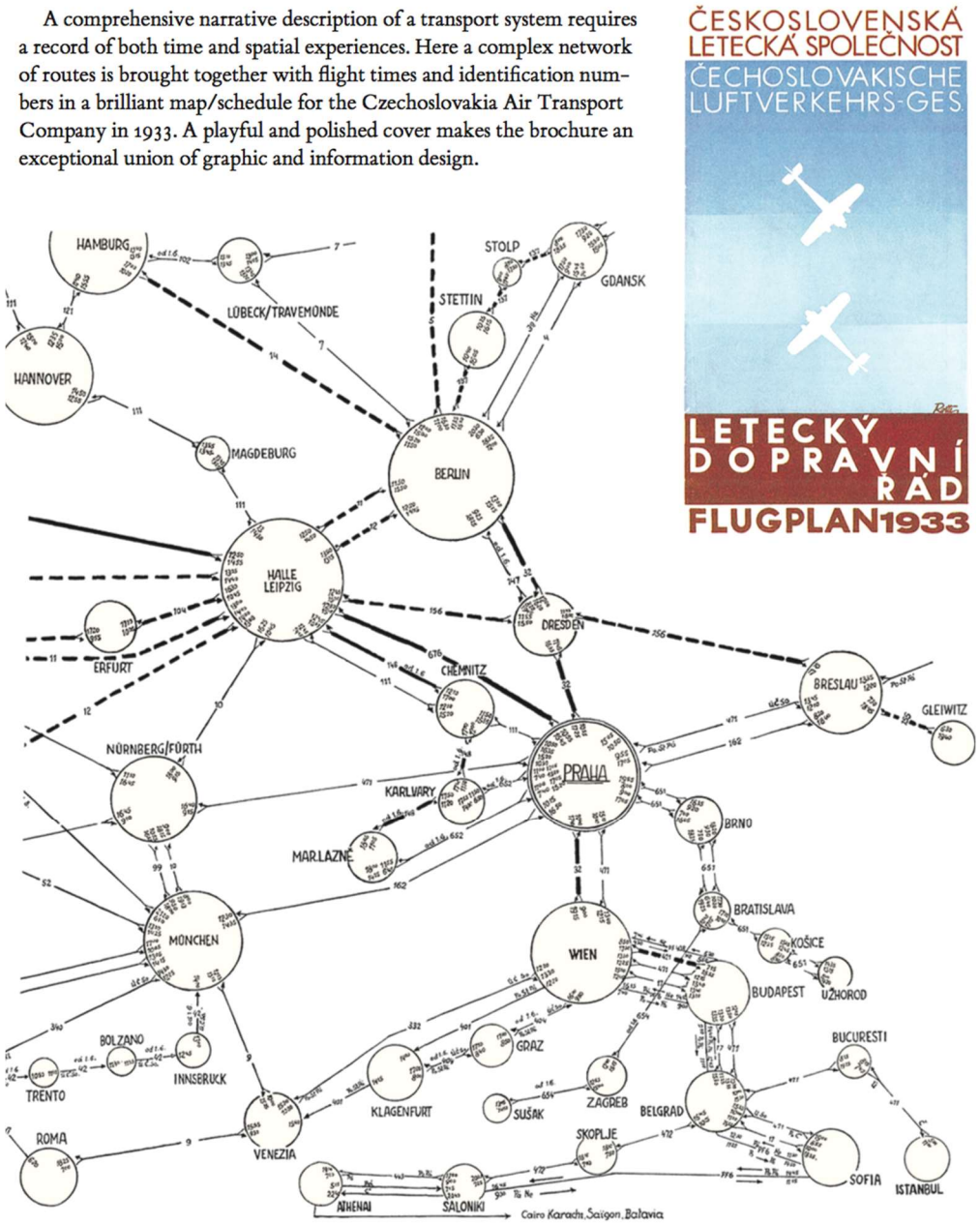
132: Charles Jencks: Map of The Theory of Evolution

(an overview of 20th century architecture)



133: Harold Fisk: Mississippi Meander Map (1944)

A comprehensive narrative description of a transport system requires a record of both time and spatial experiences. Here a complex network of routes is brought together with flight times and identification numbers in a brilliant map/schedule for the Czechoslovakia Air Transport Company in 1933. A playful and polished cover makes the brochure an exceptional union of graphic and information design.



134: Czechoslovakian air route map (1933) Author unknown

Page intentionally left blank

End Notes

Expansive information on topics touched upon in the main body of the text including extract of acts passed into law and protest manifestos, charters and appeals…

[i] Employment Act 1980

CHAPTER 42

An Act to provide for payments out of public funds towards trade unions' expenditure in respect of ballots, for the use of employers' premises in connection with ballots, and for the issue by the Secretary of State of Codes of Practice for the improvement of industrial relations; to make provision in respect of exclusion or expulsion from trade unions and otherwise to amend the law relating to workers, employers, trade unions and employers' associations; ***to repeal section 1A of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act 1974****; and for connected purposes.*

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.)

Employment Act 1982

CHAPTER 46

An Act to provide for compensation out of public funds for certain past cases of dismissal for failure to conform to the requirements of a union membership agreement; ***to amend the law relating to workers, employers, trade unions and employers' associations****; to make provision with respect to awards by [F1* ***employment tribunals****] and awards by, and the procedure of, the Employment Appeal Tribunal; and for connected purposes.*

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.) ***(Author highlights)***

Trade Union Act 1984 (repealed 16.10.1992)

Part I Secret Ballots for Trade Union Elections Secret Ballots for Trade Union Elections

Part II Secret Ballots before Industrial Action Secret Ballots before Industrial Action

Part III Political Funds and Objects Political Funds and Objects

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.)

Employment Act 1988

CHAPTER 19

An Act to make provision with respect to trade unions, their members and their property, to things done for the purpose of enforcing membership of a trade union, ***to trade union ballots and elections and to proceedings involving trade unions;*** *to provide for the Manpower Services Commission to be known as the Training Commission; to amend the law with respect to the constitution and functions of that Commission and with respect to persons to whom facilities for work-experience and training for employment are made available; to enable additional members to be appointed to industrial training boards and to the Agricultural Training Board; and to provide that the terms on which certain persons hold office or employment under the Crown are to be treated for certain purposes as contained in contracts of employment.*

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.)

Trade Union Reform and Employment Rights Act 1993

CHAPTER 19

An Act to make further reforms of the law relating to trade unions and industrial relations; to make amendments of the law relating to employment rights and to ***abolish the right to statutory minimum remuneration****; to amend the law relating to the constitution and jurisdiction of[F1* ***employment tribunals****] and the Employment Appeal Tribunal; to amend section 56A of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975; to provide for the Secretary of State to have functions of securing the provision of careers services; to make further provision about employment and training functions of Scottish Enterprise and of Highlands and Islands Enterprise; and for connected purposes.*

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.) ***(Author highlights)***

[ii] Commons Registration Act 1965[ii]

1 Registration of commons and town or village greens and ownership of and rights over them.

(1) There shall be registered, in accordance with the provisions of this Act and subject to the exceptions mentioned therein,—
(a) land in England or Wales which is common land or a town or village green;
(b) rights of common over such land; and
(c) persons claiming to be or found to be owners of such land or becoming the owners thereof by virtue of this Act;
and no rights of common over land which is capable of being registered under this Act shall be registered under the Land Registration Acts 1925 and 1936.

(2) After the end of such period, not being less than three years from the commencement of this Act, as the Minister may by order determine—
no land capable of being registered under this Act shall be deemed to be common land or a town or village green unless it is so registered; and
(b) no rights of common shall be exercisable over any such land unless they are registered either under this Act or under the Land Registration Acts 1925 and 1936.

(3) Where any land is registered under this Act but no person is registered as the owner thereof under this Act or under the Land Registration Acts 1925 and 1936, it shall—
(a) if it is a town or village green, be vested in accordance with the following provisions of this Act; and
(b) if it is common land, be vested as Parliament may hereafter determine.
22 Interpretation.
(1) In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, ***"common land" means—***
(a) land subject to rights of common (as defined in this Act) whether those rights are exercisable at all times or only during limited periods;
(b) waste land of a manor not subject to rights of common;
but does not include a town or village green or any land which forms part of a highway;

"land" includes land covered with water;

"local authority" means . . . F1the council of a county, . . . F2, London borough or county district, the council of a parish . . . F2;

"the Minister" means the [F3Secretary of State];

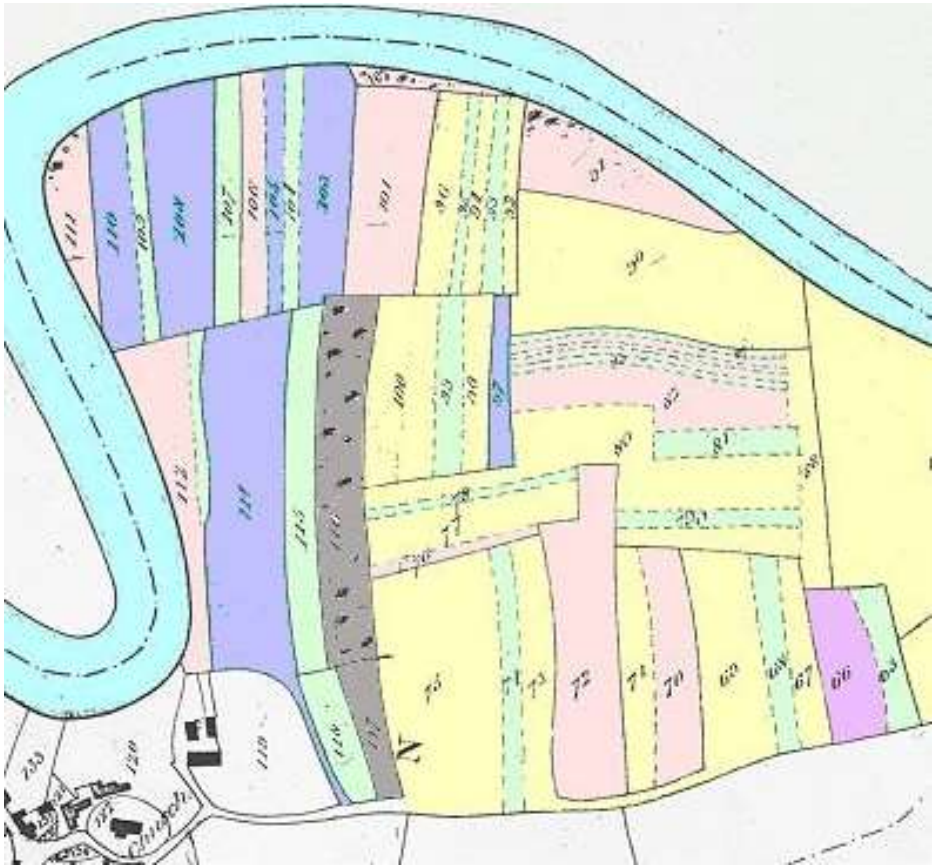
"prescribed" means prescribed by regulations under this Act;

"registration" includes an entry in the register made in pursuance of section 13 of this Act;

"rights of common" includes cattlegates of beastgates (by whatever name known) and rights of sole or several vesture or herbage or of sole or several pasture, but does not include rights held for a term of years or from year to year;

"town or village green" means land which has been allotted by or under any Act for the exercise or recreation of the inhabitants of any locality or on which the inhabitants of any locality have a customary right to indulge in lawful sports and pastimes *[F4or which falls within subsection (1A) of this section].*
[F5(1A) Land falls within this subsection if it is land on which for not less than twenty years a significant number of the inhabitants of any locality, or of any neighbourhood within a locality, have indulged in lawful sports and pastimes as of right, and either—
(a) continue to do so, or
(b) have ceased to do so for not more than such period as may be prescribed, or determined in accordance with prescribed provisions.
(1B) If regulations made for the purposes of paragraph (b) of subsection (1A) of this section provide for the period mentioned in that paragraph to come to an end unless prescribed steps are taken, the regulations may also require registration authorities to make available in accordance with the regulations, on payment of any prescribed fee, information relating to the taking of any such steps.]
(2) References in this Act to the ownership and the owner of any land are references to the ownership of a legal estate in fee simple in any land and to the person holding that estate, and references to land registered under the Land Registration Acts 1925 and 1936 are references to land the fee simple of which is so registered.

[iii] Commons



Example shows users of common land in different colours in a less free use of common land than that which was prevalent in the 1500s and 1600s with designations

[iv] Countryside and Rights of Way Act 2000

Definitions for Part I.

(1) In this Part "access land" means any land which—

(a) is shown as open country on a map in conclusive form issued by the appropriate countryside body for the purposes of this Part,

(b) is shown on such a map as registered common land,

(c) is registered common land in any area outside Inner London for which no such map relating to registered common land has been issued,

(d) is situated more than 600 metres above sea level in any area for which no such map relating to open country has been issued, or

(e) is dedicated for the purposes of this Part under section 16,

but does not (in any of those cases) include excepted land or land which is treated by section 15(1) as being accessible to the public apart from this Act.

(2) In this Part— "access authority"—

*(a) in relation to land in a **National Park**, means the National Park authority, and*

*(b) in relation to any other land, means the **local highway** authority in whose area the land is situated;*

"the appropriate countryside body" means—

(a) in relation to England, the Countryside Agency, and

(b) in relation to Wales, the Countryside Council for Wales;

"excepted land" means land which is for the time being of any of the descriptions specified in Part I of Schedule 1, those descriptions having effect subject to Part II of that Schedule;

"mountain" includes, subject to the following definition, any land situated more than 600 metres above sea level;

*"**mountain, moor, heath or down**" does not include land which appears to the appropriate countryside body to consist of improved or semi-improved grassland;*

"open country" means land which—

(a) appears to the appropriate countryside body to consist wholly or predominantly of mountain, moor, heath or down, and

(b) is not registered common land.

(3) In this Part "registered common land" means—

(a) land which is registered as common land under the M1Commons Registration Act 1965 (in this section referred to as "the 1965 Act") and whose registration under that Act has become final, or

*(b) subject to subsection (4), land which fell within paragraph (a) on the day on which this Act is passed or at any time after that day but has subsequently ceased to be **registered as common land under the 1965 Act** on the register of common land in which it was included being amended by reason of the land having ceased to be common land within the meaning of that Act.*

(4) Subsection (3)(b) does not apply where—

(a) the amendment of the register of common land was made in pursuance of an application made before the day on which this Act is passed, or

(b) the land ceased to be common land by reason of the exercise of—

(i) any power of compulsory purchase, of appropriation or of sale which is conferred by an enactment,
(ii) any power so conferred under which land may be made common land within the meaning of the 1965 Act in substitution for other land.

[v] The Levellers, the Agitators and the New Model Army: An Agreement of the People (1647-1649)

An Agreement of the People for a firm and present peace upon grounds of common right was first drafted in October 1647 when Agitators of the New Model Army and civilian Levellers collaborated to propose an outline for a new constitution in the aftermath of the First Civil War. It was probably drafted by John Wildman though its authorship is not known for certain. Stating that sovereign power should reside in the people of England rather than with the discredited King or Parliament, the original Agreement consisted of four clauses:

- *The peoples' representatives (i.e. Members of Parliament) should be elected in proportion to the population of their constituencies*
- *The existing Parliament should be dissolved on 30 September 1648*
- *Future Parliaments should be elected biennially and sit every other year from April to September*
- *The biennial Parliament (consisting of a single elected House) should be the supreme authority in the land, with powers to make or repeal laws, appoint officials and conduct domestic and foreign policy*

[vi] The Diggers:

The Law of Freedom in a Platform - Gerrard Winstanley - 1652 (extract)

To His Excellency Oliver Cromwell

To the Friendly and Unbiased Reader

Chapter 1 - The Law of Freedom

The great searching of heart in these days is to find out where true freedom lies, that the commonwealth of England might be established in peace.
Some say, 'It lies in the free use of trading, and to have all patents, licences and restraints removed'. But this is a freedom under the will of a conqueror.
Others say, 'It is true freedom to have ministers to preach, and for people to hear whom they will, without being restrained or compelled from or to any form of worship'. But this is an unsettled freedom.
Others say, 'It is true freedom to have community with all women, and to have liberty to satisfy their lusts and greedy appetites'. But this is the freedom of wanton unreasonable beasts, and tends to destruction.
Others say, 'It is true freedom that the elder brother shall be landlord of the earth, and the younger brother a servant'. And this is but a half freedom, and begets murmurings, wars and quarrels.
All these and such like are freedoms: but they lead to bondage, and are not the true foundation-freedom which settles a commonwealth in peace.
True commonwealth's freedom lies in the free enjoyment of the earth.
True freedom lies where a man receives his nourishment and preservation, and that is in the use of the earth. For as man is compounded of the four materials of the creation, fire, water, earth and air; so is he preserved by the compounded bodies of these four, which are the fruits of the earth; and he cannot live without them. For take away the free use of these and the body languishes, the spirit is brought into bondage and at length departs, and ceaseth his motional action in the body.
All that a man labours for, saith Solomon, is this, That he may enjoy the free use of the earth, with the fruits thereof. Eccles. 2.24.
Do not the ministers preach for maintenance in the earth? the lawyers plead causes to get the possessions of the earth? Doth not the soldier fight for the earth? And doth not the landlord require rent, that he may live in the fulness of the earth by the labour of his tenants?
And so, from the thief upon the highway to the king who sits upon the throne, do not everyone strive, either by force of arms or secret cheats, to get the possessions of the earth one from another, because they see their freedom lies in plenty, and their bondage lies in poverty?
Surely then, oppressing lords of manors, exacting landlords and tithe-takers, may as well say their brethren shall not breathe in the air, nor enjoy warmth in their bodies, nor have the moist waters to fall upon them in showers, unless they will pay them rent for it: as to say their brethren shall not work upon earth, nor eat the fruits thereof, unless they will hire that liberty of them. For he that takes upon him to restrain his brother from the liberty of the one, may upon the same ground restrain him from the liberty of all four, viz. fire, water, earth and air,
A man had better to have had no body than to have no food for it; therefore this restraining of the earth from brethren by brethren is oppression and bondage; but the free enjoyment thereof is true freedom.
I speak now in relation between the oppressor and the oppressed; the inward bondages I meddle not with in this place, though I am assured that, if it be rightly searched into, the inward bondages of the mind, as covetousness, pride, hypocrisy, envy, sorrow, fears, desperation and madness, are all occasioned by the outward bondage that one sort of people lay upon another.
And thus far natural experience makes it good, that true freedom lies in the free enjoyment of the earth.

Chapter 2 - What is Government in General.

Chapter 3 - Where began the first original of Government in the Earth among Mankind?

Chapter 4 - What are the Officers' Names in a free Commonwealth?

Chapter 5 - Education of mankind, in Schools and Trades.

Chapter 6 - The King's old laws cannot govern a free Commonwealth.

[vii] Reform Act 1867

Representation of the People Act 1867
1867 CHAPTER 102 30 and 31 Vict

An act further to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people in England and Wales [15th August 1867.]

Whereas it is expedient to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people in England and Wales:

Be it enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:
1. This act shall be cited for all purposed as "The representation of the people act, 1867."

2. This act shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland, nor anywise affected the election of members to serve in parliament for the universities of Oxford or Cambridge.

Part 1.
Franchises
3. Every man shall, in and after the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, be entitled to be registered as a voter, and, when registered, to vote for a member or members to serve in parliament for a borough, who is qualified as follows; (that is to say,)

1. Is of full age, and not subject to any legal incapacity; and
2. Is on the last day of July in any year, and had during the whole of the preceding twelve calendar months been, an inhabitant occupier, as owner or tenant, of any dwelling house within the borough, and
3. Has during the time of such occupation been rated as an ordinary occupier in respect of the premised so occupied by him within the borough to all rates (if any) made for the relied of the poor in respect of such premises; and
4. Has on or before the twentieth day of July in the same year bona fide paid an equal amount in the pound to that payable by other ordinary occupiers in respect of all poor rates that have become payable by him in respect of the said premises up to the preceding fifth day of January:
Providing that no man shall under this section be entitled to be registered as a voter by reason of his being a joint occupier of any dwelling house.

4. Every man shall in and after the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, be entitled to be register as a voter, and, when registered, to vote for a member or members to serve in parliament for a borough, who is qualified as followed; (that is to say,)

1. Is of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity; and
2. As lodger has occupied the same borough separately and as sole tenant for the twelve months preceding the last day of July in any year the same lodgings, such lodgings being part of one and the same dwelling house, and of a clear yearly value, if let unfurnished, of ten pounds or upwards; and
3. Has resided in such lodgings during the twelve months immediately preceding the last day of July, and has claimed to be registered as voter at the next ensuing registration of voters.

[viii] Chartism

(1838-1859): 6 proposed changes to representation in British politics:

1	*A vote for every man twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and not undergoing punishment for a crime.*	*4*	*Payment of Members, thus enabling an honest trades-man, working man, or other person, to serve a constituency; when taken from his business to attend to the interests of the country.*
2	*The Secret Ballot – To protect the elector in the exercise of his vote.*	*5*	*Equal Constituencies, securing the same amount of representation for the same number of electors, instead of allowing small constituencies to swamp the votes of large ones.*
3	*No Property Qualification for Members of Parliament – thus enabling the constituencies to return the man of their choice, be he rich or poor.*	*6*	*Annual Parliament Elections, thus presenting the most effectual check to bribery and intimidation*

(5 have come into law), The Reform League (1866): Campaigning for male suffrage, Speakers' Corner (1872): An area of open air public debate in Hyde Park

The People's Charter (1837)

The People's Charter called for six reforms to make the political system more democratic:

- *A vote for every man twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and not undergoing punishment for a crime.*
- *The Secret Ballot – To protect the elector in the exercise of his vote.*
- *No Property Qualification for Members of Parliament – thus enabling the constituencies to return the man of their choice, be he rich or poor.*
- *Payment of Members, thus enabling an honest trades-man, working man, or other person, to serve a constituency; when taken from his business to attend to the interests of the country.*
- *Equal Constituencies, securing the same amount of representation for the same number of electors, instead of allowing small constituencies to swamp the votes of large ones.*
- *Annual Parliament Elections, thus presenting the most effectual check to bribery and intimidation, since as the constituency might be bought once in seven years (even with the ballot), no purse could buy a constituency (under a system of universal suffrage) in each ensuing twelvemonth; and since members, when elected for a year only, would not be able to defy and betray their constituents as now.*

[ix] *Protection from Harassment Act 1997*

This act in practice made it easier for officers to arrest protesters as they could claim that they had been harassed by indiscriminately identifying more than one act of dissent…

CHAPTER 40
2 Offence of harassment. ***(Author highlights)***
(1) A person who pursues a course of conduct in breach of section 1 is guilty of an offence.
(2) A person guilty of an offence under this section is liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine not exceeding level 5 on the standard scale, or both.
s. 2(1) text amended by 2005 c. 15 s. 125(3)
Part 4
Public order and conduct in public places etc. Harassment
125Harassment intended to deter lawful activities
(1) The Protection from Harassment Act 1997 (c. 40) is amended as follows.
(2) In section 1 (prohibition of harassment)—
(a) After subsection (1) insert—
"(1A) A person must not pursue a course of conduct —
(a) Which involves harassment of two or more persons, *and*
(b) Which he knows or ought to know involves harassment of those persons, and
(c) By which he intends to persuade any person (whether or not one of those mentioned above)—
(i) Not to do something that he is entitled or required to do, or
(ii) To do something that he is not under any obligation to do.";
(b) In subsection (2), after "amounts to" insert "or involves" and after "amounted to" insert "or involved";
(c) In subsection (3), after "Subsection (1)" insert "or (1A)".
(3) In section 2(1) (offence of harassment) for "section 1" substitute "section 1(1) or (1A)".
(4) In section 3(1) (civil remedy) for "section 1" substitute "section 1(1) ".
(5) After section 3 insert—

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.)

[x] *Terrorism Act 2000*

CHAPTER 11
Power to stop and search. ***(Author highlights)***
44 Authorisations.
(1) An authorisation under this subsection authorises any constable in uniform to stop a vehicle in an area or at a place specified in the authorisation and to search—
(a) The vehicle;
(b) The driver of the vehicle;
(c) A passenger in the vehicle;
(d) Anything in or on the vehicle or carried by the driver or a passenger.
(2) An authorisation under this subsection authorises any constable in uniform to stop a pedestrian in an area or at a place specified in the authorisation and to search—
(a) The pedestrian;
(b) Anything carried by him.
(3) An authorisation under subsection (1) or ***(2) may be given only if the person giving it considers it expedient for the prevention of acts of terrorism.***
(4) An authorisation may be given—
(a) Where the specified area or place is the whole or part of a police area outside Northern Ireland other than one mentioned in paragraph (b) or ***(c), by a police officer for the area who is of at least the rank of assistant chief constable****;*
(b) Where the specified area or place is the whole or part of the metropolitan police district, by a police officer for the district who is of at least the rank of commander of the metropolitan police;
(c) Where the specified area or place is the whole or part of the City of London, by a police officer for the City who is of at least the rank of commander in the City of London police force;
(d) Where the specified area or place is the whole or part of Northern Ireland, by a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary who is of at least the rank of assistant chief constable.
[F1(4ZA) The power of a person mentioned in subsection (4) to give an authorisation specifying an area or place so mentioned includes power to give such an authorisation specifying such an area or place together with—
(a) The internal waters adjacent to that area or place; or
(b) Such area of those internal waters as is specified in the authorisation.]

[F2[F3(4A) In a case (within subsection (4)(a), (b) or (c) in which the specified area or place is in a place described in section 34(1A), an authorisation may also be given by a member of the British Transport Police Force who is of at least the rank of assistant chief constable.]
(4B)In a case in which the specified area or place is a place to which section 2(2) of the Ministry of Defence Police Act 1987 applies, an authorisation may also be given by a member of the Ministry of Defence Police who is of at least the rank of assistant chief constable.
[F4(4BA) In a case in which the specified area or place is a place in which members of the Civil Nuclear Constabulary have the powers and privileges of a constable, an authorisation may also be given by a member of that Constabulary who is of at least the rank of assistant chief constable.]
(4C) But an authorisation may not be given by—
(a) A member of the British Transport Police Force, F5...
(b) A member of the Ministry of Defence Police, [F6 or
(c) A member of the Civil Nuclear Constabulary, [in any other case.]
(5) If an authorisation is given orally, the person giving it shall confirm it in writing as soon as is reasonably practicable.
[F7 (5A) In this section—
"driver", in relation to an aircraft, hovercraft or vessel, means the captain, pilot or other person with control of the aircraft, hovercraft or vessel or any member of its crew and, in relation to a train, includes any member of its crew;
"Internal waters" means waters in the United Kingdom that are not comprised in any police area.]

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.)

[xi] Demonstrations in vicinity of Parliament

132 Demonstrating without authorisation in designated area

(1) Any person who—
(a) Organises a demonstration in a public place in the designated area, or
(b) Takes part in a demonstration in a public place in the designated area, or
(c) Carries on a demonstration by himself in a public place in the designated area, is guilty of an offence if, when the demonstration starts, authorisation for the demonstration has not been given under section 134(2).
(2) It is a defence for a person accused of an offence under subsection (1) to show that he reasonably believed that authorisation had been given.
(3) Subsection (1) does not apply if the demonstration is—
(a)a public procession of which notice is required to be given under subsection (1) of section 11 of the Public Order Act 1986 (c. 64), or of which (by virtue of subsection (2) of that section) notice is not required to be given, or
(b) A public procession for the purposes of section 12 or 13 of that Act.
(4) Subsection (1) also does not apply in relation to any conduct which is lawful under section 220 of the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992 (c. 52).
(5) If subsection (1) does not apply by virtue of subsection (3) or (4), nothing in sections 133 to 136 applies either.
(6) Section 14 of the Public Order Act 1986 (imposition of conditions on public assemblies) does not apply in relation to a public assembly which is also a demonstration in a public place in the designated area.
(7) In this section and in sections 133 to 136—
(a) "the designated area" means the area specified in an order under section 138,
(b) "public place" means any highway or any place to which at the material time the public or any section of the public has access, on payment or otherwise, as of right or by virtue of express or implied permission,
(c) References to any person organising a demonstration include a person participating in its organisation,
(d) References to any person organising a demonstration do not include a person carrying on a demonstration by himself,
(e) References to any person or persons taking part in a demonstration (except in subsection (1) of this section) include a person carrying on a demonstration by himself.

133 Notice of demonstrations in designated area

(1) A person seeking authorisation for a demonstration in the designated area must give written notice to that effect to the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis (referred to in this section and section 134 as "the Commissioner").
(2) The notice must be given—
(a) If reasonably practicable, not less than 6 clear days before the day on which the demonstration is to start, or
(b) If that is not reasonably practicable, then as soon as it is, and in any event not less than 24 hours before the time the demonstration is to start.
(3) The notice must be given—
(a) If the demonstration is to be carried on by more than one person, by any of the persons organising it,

(b) If it is to be carried on by a person by himself, by that person.
(4) The notice must state—
(a) The date and time when the demonstration is to start,
(b) The place where it is to be carried on,
(c) How long it is to last,
(d) Whether it is to be carried on by a person by himself or not,
(e) The name and address of the person giving the notice.
(5) A notice under this section must be given by—
(a) Delivering it to a police station in the metropolitan police district, or
(b) Sending it by post by recorded delivery to such a police station.
(6) Section 7 of the Interpretation Act 1978 (c. 30) (under which service of a document is deemed to have been effected at the time it would be delivered in the ordinary course of post) does not apply to a notice under this section.

134 Authorisation of demonstrations in designated area
(1) This section applies if a notice complying with the requirements of section 133 is received at a police station in the metropolitan police district by the time specified in section 133(2).
(2) The Commissioner must give authorisation for the demonstration to which the notice relates.
(3) In giving authorisation, the Commissioner may impose on the persons organising or taking part in the demonstration such conditions specified in the authorisation and relating to the demonstration as in the Commissioner's reasonable opinion are necessary ***for the purpose of preventing any of the following—***
(a) Hindrance to any person wishing to enter or leave the Palace of Westminster,
(b) Hindrance to the proper operation of Parliament,
(c) Serious public disorder,
(d) Serious damage to property,
(e) Disruption to the life of the community,
(f) A security risk in any part of the designated area,
(g) Risk to the safety of members of the public (including any taking part in the demonstration).
(4) The conditions may, in particular, impose requirements as to—
(a) The place where the demonstration may, or may not, be carried on,
(b) The times at which it may be carried on,
(c) The period during which it may be carried on,
(d) The number of persons who may take part in it,
(e) The number and size of banners or placards used,
(f) Maximum permissible noise levels.
(5) The authorisation must specify the particulars of the demonstration given in the notice under section 133 pursuant to subsection (4) of that section, with any modifications made necessary by any condition imposed under subsection (3) of this section.
(6) The Commissioner must give notice in writing of—
(a) The authorisation,
(b) Any conditions imposed under subsection (3), and
(c) The particulars mentioned in subsection (5),
To the person who gave the notice under section 133.
(7) Each person who takes part in or organises a demonstration in the designated area is guilty of an offence if —
(a) He knowingly fails to comply with a condition imposed under subsection (3) which is applicable to him (except where it is varied under section 135), or
(b) He knows or should have known that the demonstration is carried on otherwise than in accordance with the particulars set out in the authorisation by virtue of subsection (5).
(8) It is a defence for a person accused of an offence under subsection (7) to show—
(a) (In a paragraph (a) case) that the failure to comply, or
(b) (In a paragraph (b) case) that the divergence from the particulars,
Arose from circumstances beyond his control, or from something done with the agreement, or by the direction, of a police officer.
(9) The notice required by subsection (6) may be sent by post to the person who gave the notice under section 133 at the address stated in that notice pursuant to subsection (4)(e) of that section.
(10) If the person to whom the notice required by subsection (6) is to be given has agreed, it may be sent to him by email or by facsimile transmission at the address or number notified by him for the purpose to the Commissioner (and a notice so sent is "in writing" for the purposes of that subsection).
135Supplementary directions
(1) This section applies if the senior police officer reasonably believes that it is necessary, in order to prevent any of the things mentioned in paragraphs (a) to (g) of subsection (3) of section 134—
(a) To impose additional conditions on those taking part in or organising a demonstration authorised under that section, or
(b) To vary any condition imposed under that subsection or under paragraph (a) (including such a condition as varied under subsection (2)).

(2) The senior police office may give directions to those taking part in or organising the demonstration imposing such additional conditions or varying any such condition already imposed.
(3) A person taking part in or organising the demonstration who knowingly fails to comply with a condition which is applicable to him and which is imposed or varied by a direction under this section is guilty of an offence.
(4) It is a defence for him to show that the failure to comply arose from circumstances beyond his control.
(5) In this section, "the senior police officer" means the most senior in rank of the police officers present at the scene (or any one of them if there are more than one of the same rank).

136 Offences under sections 132 to 135: penalties (omitted)

137 Loudspeakers in designated area
(1) Subject to subsection ***(2), a loudspeaker shall not be operated, at any time or for any purpose, in a street in the designated area.***

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.). ***(Author highlights)***

[xii] *Local Government Act 1972*

Introducing a two-tier management system of counties and districts across England and Wales. Introducing 'agency', one local authority could act as an agent for another. This delegation could be used for tasks such as the maintenance of roads and other public infrastructure.

As outlined in Part I – New local government areas, 18. Establishment of new authorities in England, Part IX – The environment, 187. Local highways authorities and maintenance powers of district councils

Highways Act 1980

Changes to the management and operation of the road network in England and Wales and the duty to maintain publicly defined areas as a legally binding mandate.

As outlined in Part IV. Maintenance of Highway: 36 Highways maintainable at public expense, 41 Duty to maintain highways maintainable at public expense

Town and Country Planning Act 1990

An expansion to the pre-existing codes of planning regulations in England and Wales.

Local Government Act 2000

The main role of this act is to create an expansion of powers to local authority to promote economic strategies and well-being. However, in relation the use of public highways, there are clauses which highlight how the failure to act becomes as issue of maladministration. I.e.: The failure to remove an obstructive protest preventing maintenance of the public highway via a pre-defined cleaning schedule.

92 Payments in cases of maladministration etc, (1)Where a relevant authority consider— (a)that action taken by or on behalf of the authority in the exercise of their functions amounts to, or may amount to, maladministration, and (b)that a person has been, or may have been, adversely affected by that action, the authority may, if they think appropriate, make a payment to, or provide some other benefit for, that person (2)Any function which is conferred on the Greater London Authority under this section is to be exercisable by the Mayor of London and the London Assembly acting jointly on behalf of the Authority. (3)In this section— "action" includes failure to act, "relevant authority" has the same meaning as in Part III of this Act.

[xiii] *Human Rights Act 1998*

CHAPTER 42
Other rights and proceedings
11. Safeguard for existing human rights.
A person's reliance on a Convention right does not restrict—
(a) Any other right or freedom conferred on him by or under any law having effect in any part of the United Kingdom; or
(b) His right to make any claim or bring any proceedings which he could make or bring apart from sections 7 to 9.
12. Freedom of expression.
(1) This section applies if a court is considering whether to grant any relief which, if granted, might affect the exercise of the Convention right to freedom of expression.
(2) If the person against whom the application for relief is made ("the respondent") is neither present nor represented, no such relief is to be granted unless the court is satisfied—
(a) That the applicant has taken all practicable steps to notify the respondent; or
(b) That there are compelling reasons why the respondent should not be notified.
(3) No such relief is to be granted so as to restrain publication before trial unless the court is satisfied that the applicant is likely to establish that publication should not be allowed.

(4) The court must have particular regard to the importance of the Convention right to freedom of expression and, where the proceedings relate to material which the respondent claims, or which appears to the court, to be journalistic, literary or artistic material (or to conduct connected with such material), to—
(a) The extent to which—
(i) The material has, or is about to, become available to the public; or
(ii) It is, or would be, in the public interest for the material to be published;
(b) Any relevant privacy code.
(5) In this section—
"Court" includes a tribunal; and "Relief" includes any remedy or order (other than in criminal proceedings).

Source: (The National Archives on behalf of HM Government.)

[xiv] Serious Organised Crime and Police Act 2005

CHAPTER 15
An Act to provide for the establishment and functions of the Serious Organised Crime Agency; to make provision about investigations, prosecutions, offenders and witnesses in criminal proceedings and the protection of persons involved in investigations or proceedings; to provide for the implementation of certain international obligations relating to criminal matters; to amend the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002; to make further provision for combatting crime and disorder, including ***new provision about powers of arrest and search warrants*** *and about parental compensation orders; to make further provision about the police and policing and persons supporting the police; to make provision for protecting certain organisations from interference with their activities; to make provision about criminal records; to provide for the Private Security Industry Act 2001 to extend to Scotland; and for connected purposes*

[xv] Web media:

02_Occupy LSX

#OccupyLSX Callout – Be ready to create a better world!
Posted on October 14, 2011 by occupylsx

Occupy London Stock Exchange calls supporters to meet 12 noon at St Paul's Cathedral on Saturday, 15 October

Occupy London Stock Exchange (OccupyLSX) has called on people to meet at 12pm 15th October in front of St Paul's Cathedral in London for the beginning of a planned peaceful occupation in London's Square Mile. Occupy LSX intend to highlight and address social and economic injustice in the UK and beyond, as part of a global movement for real democracy.

Supported by UK Uncut, the London-based Assembly of the Spanish 15M movement and others, the movement has received phenomenal interest, from the public and media in the UK and around the world. The OccupyLSX facebook group now has more than 13,000 members, with more than 5,000 confirming their intention to be there on the day.

OccupyLSX issued the following call out to potential attendees:

"The words 'corporate greed' ring through the speeches and banners of protests across the globe. After huge bail-outs and in the face of unemployment, privatisation and austerity, we still see profits for the rich on the increase. But we are the 99%, and on October 15th our voice unites across gender and race, across borders and continents, as we call for equality and justice for all.

"In London, we will occupy the Stock Exchange. Reclaiming space in the face of the financial system and using it to voice ideas for how we can work towards a better future. A future free from austerity, growing inequality, unemployment, tax injustice and a political elite who ignores its citizens, and work towards concrete demands to be met."

- When and where? Assemble Midday in front of St Pauls Cathedral (London EC4M 8AD). Please try to be on time and not early or late. When you are there be ready and attentive. Nearest tubes are St. Pauls, Mansion House and Canon Street; buses 4, 11, 15, 23, 25, 26, 100, 242; more information at www.stpauls.co.uk/Visits-Events/Getting… and check Transport For London website for delays and closures at journeyplanner.tfl.gov.uk
- What to bring? If planning to stay for a while, do bring plenty of food and water, wrap up warm. Tents , sleeping bags and torches are also a good idea

- Stay in contact – Make sure to follow @OccupyLSX on Twitter for updates on the day. Hashtags #OccupyLSX #OLSX #OccupyLondon #oct15. The OccupyLSX Facebook page will also be updated regularly: www.facebook.com/occupylondon
- Stay safe – People are advised to come with a friend or group of friends. Legal advice will be distributed on the day
- Have fun – Most of all, OccupyLSX asks that you bring your energy and excitement, and be ready to create a better world!

Press enquiries:
Email: press@occupylsx.org
Phone: +44 (0) 7428 076610 / (0) 7592 424578

Questions or comments, please get in touch:
- Email: general@occupylsx.org
- Twitter: twitter.com/OccupyLSX
- Facebook: www.facebook.com/occupylondon
- Website: occupylsx.org

#OccupyLSX initial statement

At today's assembly of over 500 people on the steps of St Paul's, #occupylsx collectively agreed the initial statement below. Please note, like all forms of direct democracy, the statement will always be a work in progress.

1 *The current system is unsustainable. It is undemocratic and unjust. We need alternatives; this is where we work towards them.*

2 *We are of all ethnicities, backgrounds, genders, generations, sexualities dis/abilities and faiths. We stand together with occupations all over the world.*

3 *We refuse to pay for the banks' crisis.*

4 *We do not accept the cuts as either necessary or inevitable. We demand an end to global tax injustice and our democracy representing corporations instead of the people.*

5 *We want regulators to be genuinely independent of the industries they regulate.*

6 *We support the strike on the 30th November and the student action on the 9th November, and actions to defend our health services, welfare, education and employment, and to stop wars and arms dealing.*

7 *We want structural change towards authentic global equality. The world's resources must go towards caring for people and the planet, not the military, corporate profits or the rich.*

8 *We stand in solidarity with the global oppressed and we call for an end to the actions of our government and others in causing this oppression.*

9 *This is what democracy looks like. Come and join us!*

[xvi] A visit to The Bank of Ideas…

It is a space which has been transformed both inside and out, with banners streaming from the otherwise faceless ubiquitous late 20th century office block on a road of the un-extraordinary; commercial offices, foyers and security guards; the recently squatted extension the 'Occupy London movement' is hard to miss. With hastily erected banners streaming from the façade and a seemingly endless succession of Yoga and Kickboxing Lessons The RBS "owned" building located in the city of London, stone's throw away from London's Liverpool Street Station has become both a visual symbol of something quite out of place with its setting.

I was on my third visit to see a talk on the 'public order', an apt topic when located in a space transformed from abandoned autocratic office of the sixth largest bank in the world to a diaspora of workshops, play areas, swap-shops, crèches, courses, discussion groups, and a whole raft of other activities occurring almost spontaneously on a daily basis.

The setting has a strange informality to it. At first glance there appears to be guards at the door, but as you approach the entrance to the building they seem to look straight through you. It soon becomes apparent that their role does not chime with that of the other florescent coated security personnel at the other buildings in the district. They have a different remit, they are lookouts. The doors stay open and people come and go unless a threat to the running order of "The bank of ideas" are spotted. They usually appear in the form of the police, the only omnipresent but inconstant threat to the banks operations. Although the organisers have claimed squatter's rights; these rights have not been recognised by the appropriate authorities; thereby striking an uneasy balance between the owners, occupiers, participants and the police.

These lookouts do not seem to take much interest in the 'advertised' events or sessions. There are at least two lines of operation in this building and they are the first line of (informal) contact.
Once inside I am startled by the condition of the building. The roof is present and correct, the rooms are all clean, most of them carpeted and lightly decorated. There are no broken windows peeling wallpaper strange smells or a multitude of rodents. It is a space which judged on its condition alone; one would expect to be occupied (if not by a subversive group then by the owners or their employees).
People have struck such a comfortable habitation of diversity that the presence of strangers do not phase or deter people from their personal trajectories and activities. It is like no other building or enclosure that I have entered, where the anonymous unchecked, undefined and undeclared individual has as much right to enter as anybody else.

In the room where the talk (which I have travelled to attend) will take place the first thing that hits you is the cold! It's December and the coat that you arrived in will remain the garment that engulfs you throughout the proceedings. The second is that there are no chairs or tables. There is a couch that has seen better days in one corner and a handful of folding chairs spread randomly around the room; but apart from this, it is clear that the vast majority who attended (including the speakers) will be seated on the floor.

The first talk given by Nina Power originates around her campaign group; focused on the rights of the citizen against the growing power of the police officer (or more specifically constable). Hers is a well-informed speech on the increased powers that the police officers have amassed in the past two decades and how this fractures the link between the citizen and their protectorates. It weakens trust acts of reciprocation and more importantly citizen interaction and integration which is not based around commerce.

What becomes immediately apparent about this format is that the physical levelling of space (and absence of an elevated platform for speakers) is that although people are respectful they are quick to interject and agree or disagree with the speaker in whatever way they see fit. The arena also creates a diversity of participants who would rarely be gathered together outside of this. There is a diversity of ages, genders (and judging from the accents) a diversity of nationalities represented. Also from the range of comments it is clear that this is a group which is a mixture of academics, students, activists, re-actionists and much in-between.
Although the majority of those who participate by speaking to the group are in support of the speakers' desire to 'hold the police to account for their actions' there is a vocal corner who are fearful of the possibility of creating the notion of a 'golden age' of protest which never existed, and by doing so there is the danger of pursuing a concept of the public realm which has not ever and could not ever exist…

The second part of the talk starts around 30 minutes late, partly because the speakers are late to arrive and partly because there are two small children having a sword fight with a man (who seems to be their father) at the back of the room. He is winning.

Teresa Hoskyns spoke first on the notion surrounding defining public space and Doreen Massey about alternative modes of producing space; most notably by referring to models of representation formed around the economic crash in Argentina and the rise of the 'pink tide.' An apt time to raise the topic and the possibility of viable alternatives to an outmoded version of capitalism.
At the end of each talk it was difficult to get the discussion started beyond those who were willing to interrupt during the initial delivery; although the more relaxed setting (no chairs) and no physical hierarchy, and with us all sat in circles or around 30 people; the gathered group were still resistant to challenge or engage speakers in a confrontational manner, perhaps testing the notion of how for horizontality can really be created and pursued whilst still attracting people to participate in meaningful events which question the nature of protest, and public space.

[xvii] *Spending Review Presented to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

(Her Majesty's Treasury 2010)

Table 2: Departmental Capital Budgets (Capital DEL)

	£ billion					Per cent
	Baseline[1]	Plans				Cumulative
	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	real growth
Capital DEL						
Education	7.6	4.9	4.2	3.3	3.4	-60
NHS (Health)	5.1	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.6	-17
Transport	7.7	7.7	8.1	7.5	7.5	-11
CLG Communities	6.8	3.3	2.3	1.8	2.0	-74
CLG Local Government	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-100
Business, Innovation and Skills	1.8	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.0	-52
Home Office	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5	-49
Justice	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	-50
Law Officers' Departments	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	-46
Defence	8.6	8.9	9.1	9.2	8.7	-7.5
Foreign and Commonwealth Office	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-55
International Development	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.9	2.0	20
Energy and Climate Change	1.7	1.5	2.0	2.2	2.7	41
Environment, Food and Rural Affairs	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	-34
Culture, Media and Sport	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	-32
Olympics[2]	1.0	1.1	0.2	0.0	-0.1	-
Work and Pensions	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.2	-5.5
Scotland[3]	3.4	2.5	2.5	2.2	2.3	-38
Wales[3]	1.7	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.1	-41
Northern Ireland[3]	1.2	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.8	-37
HM Revenue and Customs	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	-44
HM Treasury	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	-30
Cabinet Office	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	-28
Single Intelligence Account 4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	-2.8
Small and Independent Bodies	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	-52
Reserve	2.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1	-
Special Reserve	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	-
Total Capital DEL	**51.6**	**43.5**	**41.8**	**39.2**	**40.2**	**-29**

1 As at all spending reviews, baselines exclude one-off and time-limited expenditure and therefore may not sum to 2010-11 total. Cumulative real growth is calculated using the 2010-11 baseline.

2 Olympics is included within DCMS DEL.
3 The Government agreed that as part of the £6.2bn cuts to 2010-11 budgets the Devolved Administrations could defer their cuts to 2011-12. The settlements presented here assume the Welsh Assembly Government and the Northern Ireland Executive take their cuts in 2010-11 and the Scottish Executive take their cuts in 2011-12. These settlements are subject to change as the Devolved Administrations finalise their spending plans.
4 Includes SIA contribution to National Cyber Security Programme

[xviii] *Organised Crime Bill 2005*

The establishment of Serious Organised Crime Agency which significantly extended and simplified the powers of arrest of a constable and introduced restrictions on protests in the vicinity of the Palace of Westminster.

Powers exercisable

110 Powers of arrest
(1) For section 24 of PACE (arrest without warrant for arrestable offences) substitute—
"24 Arrest without warrant: constables
(1) A constable may arrest without a warrant—
(a) anyone who is about to commit an offence;
(b) anyone who is in the act of committing an offence;
(c) anyone whom he has reasonable grounds for suspecting to be about to commit an offence;
(d) anyone whom he has reasonable grounds for suspecting to be committing an offence.
(2) If a constable has reasonable grounds for suspecting that an offence has been committed, he may arrest without a warrant anyone whom he has reasonable grounds to suspect of being guilty of it.
(3) If an offence has been committed, a constable may arrest without a warrant—
(a) anyone who is guilty of the offence;
(b) anyone whom he has reasonable grounds for suspecting to be guilty of it.
(4) But the power of summary arrest conferred by subsection (1), (2) or (3) is exercisable only if the constable has reasonable grounds for believing that for any of the reasons mentioned in subsection (5) it is necessary to arrest the person in question.
(5) The reasons are—
(a) to enable the name of the person in question to be ascertained (in the case where the constable does not know, and cannot readily ascertain, the person's name, or has reasonable grounds for doubting whether a name given by the person as his name is his real name);
(b) correspondingly as regards the person's address;
(c) to prevent the person in question—
(i) causing physical injury to himself or any other person;
(ii) suffering physical injury;
(iii) causing loss of or damage to property;
(iv) committing an offence against public decency (subject to subsection (6)); or
(v) causing an unlawful obstruction of the highway;
(d) to protect a child or other vulnerable person from the person in question;
(e) to allow the prompt and effective investigation of the offence or of the conduct of the person in question;
(f) to prevent any prosecution for the offence from being hindered

by the disappearance of the person in question.
(6) Subsection (5)(c)(iv) applies only where members of the public going about their normal business cannot reasonably be expected to avoid the person in question.

130 Designated sites: powers of arrest
(1) A constable in uniform may, in England or Wales, arrest without warrant any person he reasonably suspects is committing or has committed an offence under section 128.
This subsection ceases to have effect on the commencement of section 110.
(2) An offence under section 128 is to be treated as an arrestable offence for the purposes of the Police and Criminal Evidence (Northern Ireland) Order 1989 (S.I. 1989/1341 (N.I. 12)).
(3) A constable in uniform may, in Scotland, arrest without warrant any person he reasonably suspects is committing or has committed an offence under section 129.

Demonstrations in vicinity of Parliament
132 Demonstrating without authorisation in designated area
133 Notice of demonstrations in designated area
134 Authorisation of demonstrations in designated area
135 Supplementary directions
136 Offences under sections 132 to 135: penalties
137 Loudspeakers in designated area
138 The designated area

132 Demonstrating without authorisation in designated area
(1) Any person who—
(a) organises a demonstration in a public place in the designated area, or
(b) takes part in a demonstration in a public place in the designated area, or
(c) carries on a demonstration by himself in a public place in the designated area,
is guilty of an offence if, when the demonstration starts, authorisation for the demonstration has not been given under section 134(2).
(2) It is a defence for a person accused of an offence under subsection (1) to show that he reasonably believed that authorisation had been given.
(3) Subsection (1) does not apply if the demonstration is—
(a) a public procession of which notice is required to be given under subsection (1) of section 11 of the Public Order Act 1986 (c. 64), or of which (by virtue of subsection (2) of that section) notice is not required to be given, or
(b) a public procession for the purposes of section 12 or 13 of that Act.
(4) Subsection (1) also does not apply in relation to any conduct which is lawful under section 220 of the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Consolidation) Act 1992 (c. 52).
(5) If subsection (1) does not apply by virtue of subsection (3) or (4), nothing in sections 133 to 136 applies either.
(6) Section 14 of the Public Order Act 1986 (imposition of conditions on public assemblies) does not apply in relation to a public assembly which is also a demonstration in a public place in the designated area.
(7) In this section and in sections 133 to 136—
(a) "the designated area" means the area specified in an order under section 138,
(b) "public place" means any highway or any place to which at the material time the public or any section of the public has access, on payment or otherwise, as of right or by virtue of express or implied permission,
(c) references to any person organising a demonstration include a person participating in its organisation,
(d) references to any person organising a demonstration do not include a person carrying on a demonstration by himself,
(e) references to any person or persons taking part in a demonstration (except in subsection (1) of this section) include a person carrying on a demonstration by himself.