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## **Demonstrations, Riots, and Uprisings: mediated dissent in a changing communication environment**

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*Chair, LSE*



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# 'Demonstrations, Riots and Uprisings'

Mediated Dissent in a Changing Communication Environment



*Simon Cottle*





DOUBLE ISSUE

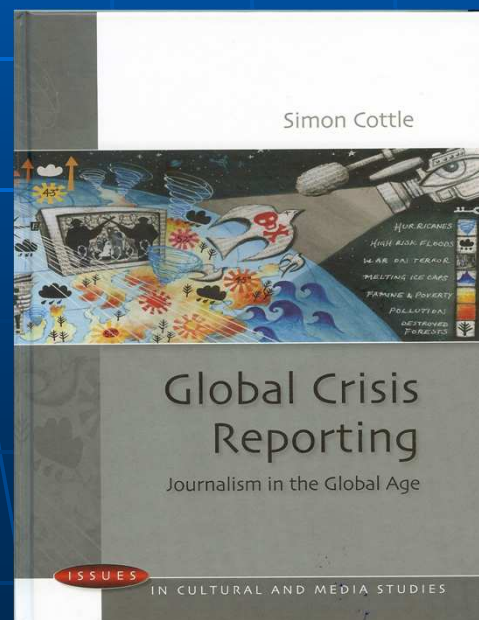
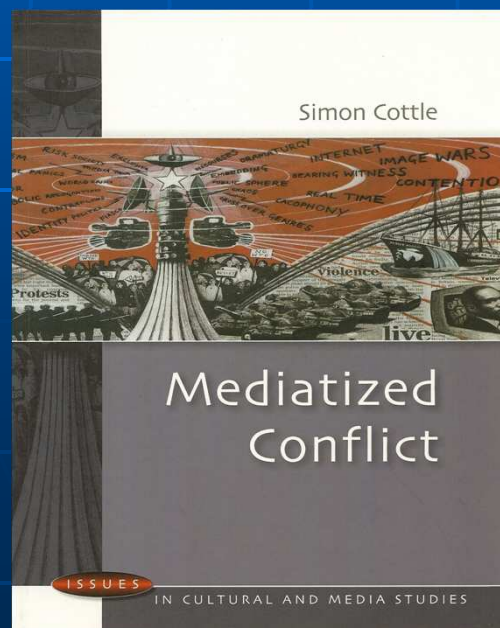
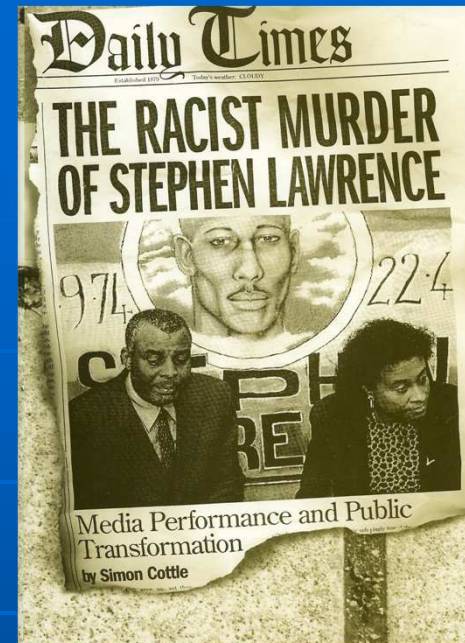
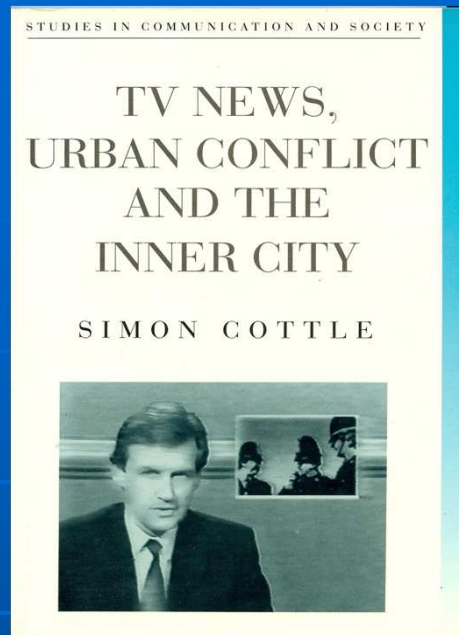
DECEMBER 26, 2011 / JANUARY 2, 2012

# PERSON OF THE YEAR TIME

## THE PROTESTER

FROM THE  
ARAB SPRING  
TO ATHENS,  
FROM OCCUPY  
WALL STREET  
TO MOSCOW

[www.time.com](http://www.time.com)





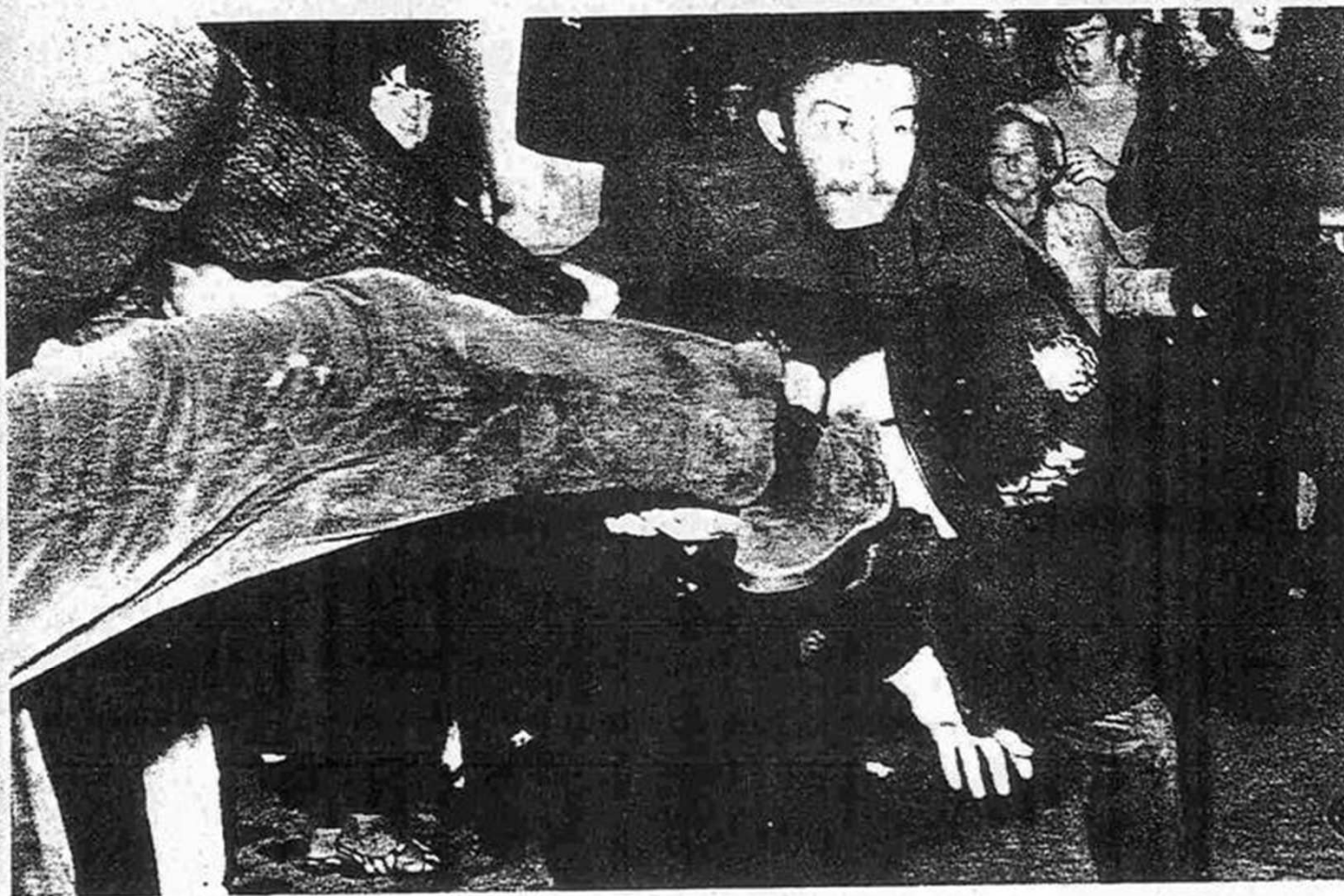
Past findings and beyond?

*The Whole World is Watching: Media and The Making and Unmaking of the New Left*

The important point is that the movement paid a high price for the publicity it claimed and needed. It entered into an unequal contest with the media: although it affected coverage, the movement was always the petitioner; the movement was more vulnerable, the media more determining.

(Gitlin 2004: 128)





THE KICK-PHOTO

*Photo: Keystone Agency*



5

OFFICIAL BIG BROTHER PAPER

5

THE NEWS  
THE KIDS  
THE PICKS  
THE SPORT

SERIOUSLY  
PREMIER LEAGUE

LET THE GAMES BEGIN

FREE  
FOOTBALL PULLOUT  
Your ultimate guide to the 2011-12 season

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 2011
WWW.DAILYSTAR.CO.UK
30p

GETTING STEAMY: Star Amy

**Big Bruv's going rude and nude!**

CELEBRITY Big brother stars will go naked this summer, and we'll get to see it. Housemates such as Ruffalo have Amy Child will be shocked by the nude bathroom on the Channel 5 show, which starts in five days. Full story: Page 7

INFERNO: Flashes will be grounded

**Brits face air strike hols hell**

MILLIONS of Brits are facing a summer holiday in nightmare as they face the prospect of being stranded by air strikes. Vouchers are being given to 24-hour waitlists at the busiest time of the season. Full story: Page 11

FLAMING MAD: A rioter in front of a burning car in Hackney, north-east London

ANXIOUS: Premier Cameron

by MARC WALKER

ANARCHY spread across the UK last night as rioters fought police and looted shops and cars. The rioting began in London, then spread to other cities. PM Cameron left for holiday in Italy. Violence even spread to second city Birmingham where rioters looted shops and the main shopping centre. Full story: Pages 4-5

ANARCHY  
IN THE UK

PM dashes back as riot terror spreads

THE  
Sun

Tuesday, August 9, 2011
30p
thesun.co.uk

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TOKEN 3: PAGE 24

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3RD DAY OF MINDLESS VIOLENCE

ANARCHY

- Riots spread across London
- Birmingham hit by looting
- 215 arrests, PM jets back

The ARMY CHIEF and ANTHONY FRANKS

RIOTING spread across London on a third day of mindless violence yesterday. Shops, closed with police as buildings were set alight and looting broke out in Birmingham. Cops have arrested 215 rioters since Saturday. Prime Minister David Cameron was being home from holiday early today to take charge of the crisis. Full story - Pages 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8



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# FLAMING MORONS

**THUGS AND THIEVES TERRORISE BRITAIN'S STREETS**

MINDLESS violence rocked London for a third day yesterday. There were calls for the Army to be brought in to tackle the hooded yobs as rioting spread to other parts of the country, including Birmingham. The Prime Minister was last night cutting short his holiday in Italy to take charge.  
**SEE PAGES 4&5**



**Hard-up OAPs are forced to sell their homes so they can pay the bills**

**EXCLUSIVE**  
 By Sarah O'Grady  
 Social Affairs Correspondent

RISING numbers of pensioners are being forced to sell their homes and move into rented accommodation because they can't pay their bills. Soaring power charges, dearer food, costly property maintenance and pensions being eaten away by inflation leave many no choice but to quit their cherished homes, says a report out today. It reveals a 16 per cent increase in the number of pensioners between 65 and 70 who have sold up and become tenants over the past 12 months. The worrying snapshot survey by tenancy specialists HomeLet's research says 3,266 widows moved into rented property in the 12 months to July this year - up from 2,789 to July 2010. Of those, the number aged 75 plus rose from 1,206 to 1,329. If as expected, the same trend is recorded by other letting companies, it will mean tens of thousands of elderly homeowners are realising their budgets will just not cover costs any further. Dot Gibson, general secretary of the National Pensioners' Convention, said: "A whole generation of pensioners are now being

TURN TO PAGE 7

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**Daily Mail**  
TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 2011 www.dailymail.co.uk 55p

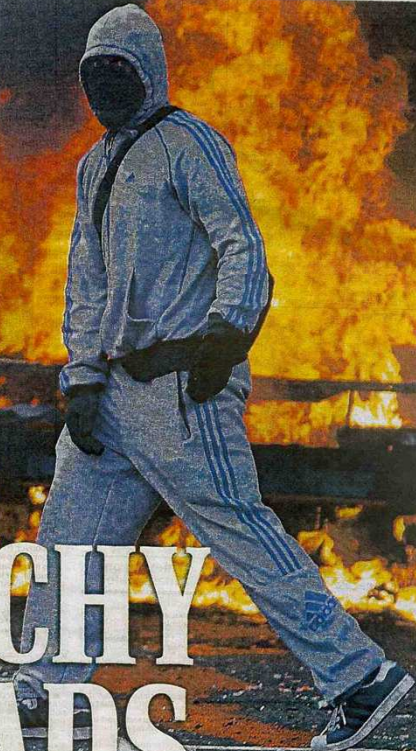


**Daily Mail COMMENT**

*'To blame the cuts is immoral and cynical. This is criminality pure and simple'*

# THE ANARCHY SPREADS

Threatening: A masked rioter in front of a blazing car on the streets of Hackney, East London





Aditya Chakraborty Why Europe's real problem economy is Germany In G2

£1.00 (FR £3.20)  
Tuesday 09.08.11  
Published  
in London and  
Manchester  
guardian.co.uk

newspaper of the year  
**the guardian**

# The battle for London

● Full-scale alert as violent riots spread across capital

● Disorder breaks out in Birmingham city centre

● Mayor and home secretary return, PM still on holiday

Vikram Dodd and Caroline Davies

London's emergency services were on full-scale alert last night as rioting, fires and pitched battles with police erupted around the city from late afternoon. The Metropolitan police poured hundreds of extra officers on to the streets as trouble flared in the north, south and east of the capital.

In Hackney, east London, masked and hooded youths smashed up shops and threw missiles, planks of wood and wheels into the air. Several abandoned vehicles were set alight. There were also violent scenes in Lewisham, south-east London, where petrol bombs were reportedly thrown at officers, and shops looted. A bus was torched in nearby Peckham as police struggled to respond to the spread of sporadic violent incidents.

Witnesses said a mob cheering as a shop in the centre of Peckham was torched and one masked thug shouted: "The West End's going down next." A baker's next door was also lit. One witness said: "The mob were just standing there cheering and laughing. Others were just watching on from their homes open-mouthed in horror."

The unrest had spread beyond London with West Midlands police confirming outbreaks of disorder in Birmingham city centre. Shops including a branch of Louis Vuitton had windows smashed and were looted. Extra officers were being sent into the streets of Britain's second city.

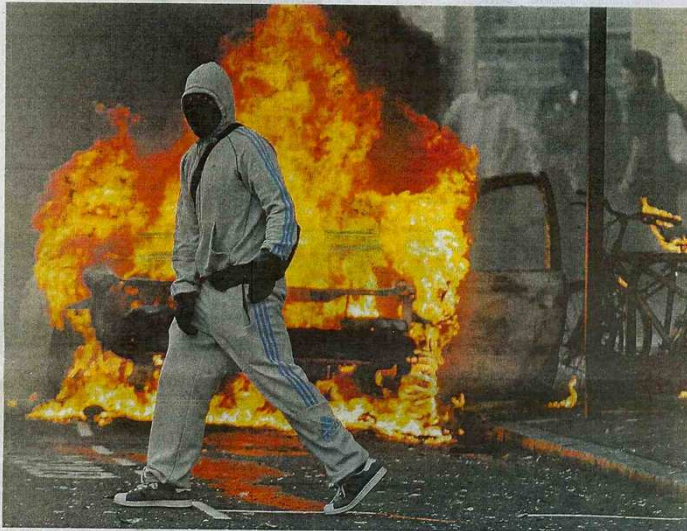
As the home secretary, Theresa May, broke off her holiday to return to London, the number of arrests from three consecutive nights of violence rose to 215, with 27 people charged. It was also announced that London mayor Boris Johnson would be returning early from his holiday. However, the prime minister remained on holiday in Turkey.

Deputy Assistant Commissioner Stephen Kavanagh said one third more officers were available last night than on Sunday, when shops were ransacked and torched in Brixton, south London, and trouble reported in Enfield, Edmonton, Walthamstow and Islington.

Kavanagh vowed to deliver "speedy justice" for Londoners, condemning the waves of looting as "disgusting behaviour, ripping apart people's livelihoods and businesses".

Officers from Thames Valley, Essex, Kent, Surrey and City of London were drafted in to support the Met. But apparent "copycat" fires continued to spread in the wake of Tottenham's riots on Saturday precipitated by the fatal shooting by police of Mark Duggan, 29, father-of-four last Thursday.

It is to contain them, Scotland Yard introduced special powers in four areas - Lambeth, Haringey, Brixton and Waltham Forest, allowing stop and search without reasonable suspicion. The section 50 powers were invoked at midnight on Sunday. One incident of stop and search in Hackney was reportedly the catalyst



A masked man on the streets of Hackney where a car burns out of control on the third day of street disturbances across London. Photographs: Kerm Oken/EPA

## Inside

● Outmanoeuvred: how the Met lost its grip on the streets Pages 2-3

● An A-Z of London's trail of destruction Page 5

● Lizzy Davies talks to young people in Tottenham Page 6

● A profile of Mark Duggan, whose death sparked the riots Page 6

● BlackBerry phones used to co-ordinate riots Page 9

● If the rioting was a surprise, that is because people weren't looking Stafford Scott, Comment, page 25

for violence which erupted in Mare Street shortly after 4pm.

The Guardian understands senior officers are prepared to add more areas to the list. The special powers have been perceived as targeting certain ethnic groups, thus fuelling tensions.

Meanwhile, the maker of the BlackBerry smartphones, Research In Motion, said last night it would co-operate with a police investigation into claims its popular BlackBerry Messenger service played a key role in organising the London riots.

Acting Metropolitan police commissioner Tim Godwin, said: "We need to separate grievance and criminality." The situation was deemed so serious, he said, that he had taken several phone calls from David Cameron.

Groydon, Barnet, Streatham, Clapham and Islington were among a number of areas of London where shops were being advised to close early yesterday amid fears of violence.

After meeting Godwin, May said: "Those responsible for this violence and looting will be made to face the consequences of their actions. So far there have been at least 215 arrests and 27 people have been charged. But as the police take statements from witnesses, as they look at CCTV evidence, more arrests will be made."

Brixton bore the brunt of Sunday's violence. The Lambeth council leader, Steve Reed, said: "We are asking the mayor's office for additional police for tonight and the next few nights." Condemning the "copycat activity", he said: "Somebody

Continued on page 2



THE   
**INDEPENDENT**

www.independent.co.uk  
Tuesday 9 August 2011  
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## Mob rule

David Cameron flies home from holiday as London burns for a third night and riots spread

FULL REPORTS, PAGES 2-6



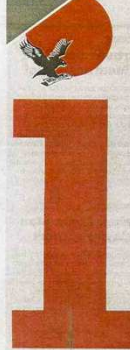
A masked rioter is seen in front of a burning car in Hackney, East London. EPA

Obama's call for urgency fails to prop up plunging shares



20p

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TUESDAY  
9 AUGUST 2011  
Number 282

Young adults are  
creating their  
own parallel  
anti-social  
community with  
different rules'

Camilla  
Batmanghelidjh  
ON DEAN SOCIETY LEAST CONTACT  
WITH THE URBAN YOUNG

P13



The \$3trn  
meltdown:  
financial  
markets in  
freefall  
P6



Is Rebekah  
Brooks  
still on  
Murdoch's  
payroll?  
P7

## Out of control: riots reach crisis point

- Fires burn across London on worst night of violence
- Trouble breaks out in Birmingham as tension builds
- Cameron flies back to confront escalating chaos



A masked rioter is seen in front of a burning car in Hackney, East London

P4



The Ten Best  
**Wheel  
deals**  
The  
ultimate  
folding  
bikes  
P10



Style  
**A step ahead**  
High-fashion  
trainers  
P11



Health  
**Addicted?**  
Break your  
bad habits  
P12



Sport  
**Capello & me**  
Our man  
trains with  
England  
P13

Markets in a tailspin after debt crisis mounts **pages 10-13**

# THE TIMES

Max 20°C, min 4°C  
Tuesday August 9 2011 thetimes.co.uk | No 70333

## Mobs rule as police surrender streets

● Rampaging gangs burn buildings and loot shops ● Cameron flies home to chair emergency meeting

Scott O'Neil, Fiona Hamilton

London was hit by a third consecutive night of rioting and looting and fears that the capital was descending into a summer of lawlessness.

David Cameron flew home on an RAF aircraft from his summer holiday in Italy and will chair an emergency meeting of the Cabinet committee this morning.

With less than a year to go before the start of the Olympic Games, pictures of London in flames were broadcast around the world, leaving the Metropolitan Police facing accusations that they had surrendered control of the inner city to rioting mobs.

Despite mounting thousands of officers, the Met seemed unable to prevent gangs of masked youths from ransacking shops and setting cars, buses and properties alight.

As darkness fell, Tim Godwin, the Met's acting Commissioner, made an extraordinary television appeal to Londoners to "clear the streets" so that police could move in to confront troublemakers.

With political concern about the Met's performance growing, Theresa May, the Home Secretary, and Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, also cut short their holidays to return home.

A Westminster source told The Times: "There are obvious concerns about the way the police are handling things but none is pointing the finger of blame just yet."

Everyone is alive to the Olympics issue and there are discussions going on right across Government. But even given the state of disorder in the Met following the phone-hacking scandal, there is genuine surprise that it seems to be taking so long to restore order.

Later in the night, rioting spread to Birmingham with city centre shops attacked and looted. West Midlands Police had mobilised extra officers after picking up messages calling for a gun riot on an instant messaging network.

But the bulk of the violence was in London where the disorder that began in Tottenham in the north, after a fatal police shooting, spread across the capital, orchestrated through mobile phones and social media.

Clashes broke out in broad daylight late yesterday afternoon and continued into the night with vandalism and fires in Deptford, Lewisham and Peckham in southeast London and Hackney north of the Thames.

In Stratford, East London, the site of the Olympic Park, police were seen to chase rioting shops, restaurants, clubs and



A shop was set on fire in Croydon, South London, last night as riots spread across the capital and youths clashed with police

theaters and cinemas to close early and shutter their doors after officers picked up internet "chats" calling for people to gather to start rioting at 7pm.

The story was the same across the capital, with stores shutting down on police advice, and there were fears the violence would spread to other cities.

Scotland Yard said that it was dealing with "pure criminality" and that the violence would "not be tolerated".

On her return, Mrs May went straight to a meeting with Mr Godwin. "The violence we've seen, the looting we've seen, the thuggery we've seen — this is sheer criminality, and let's make no bones about it," she said. "That's why I say that these people will be brought to justice, they will be made to face the consequences of their actions."

Mr Johnson will return to London from North America today and will be



Streets of fire

News, pages 4-7  
Leading article, page 2  
Thunder, page 10

taken to Tottenham where Saturday night's rioting caused an estimated 15 million of damage. A spokesman for the mayor had claimed that it would be a "knacker's reaction to the actions of criminals" for Mr Johnson to return. He later said that the mayor was flying home as a "show of solidarity to police on the front line".

Of more immediate concern that the Olympics, there were fears that the Notting Hill Carnival at the end of the month will become a target for organised violence. A riot officer told The Times: "We've been briefed to expect more of this. It's not over yet."

The spurs for London's most sustained outbreak of rioting in decades was the shooting dead by police of Mark Duggan, 29, in Tottenham last week.

Despite initial suspicions that Mr Duggan, who was armed, had been killed after opening fire on police, it is now understood that he did not shoot. Continued on page 5, col 3.

## DAILY Mirror

Tuesday August 9, 2011  
REAL NEWS. REAL ENTERTAINMENT 45p

COLEEN NOLAN EXCLUSIVE  
**I'm sad for cheat Shane**  
PAGE 19

Kate's secret terror advice  
EXCLUSIVE  
By RICHARD SMITH  
7.15p, 8.15p and 8.45p  
The Duchess of Cambridge will play a key role in the royal family's efforts to tackle terrorism, to make them feel more secure and safe.

EAT FOR HALF PRICE  
At over 5,000 restaurants  
SEE PAGE 10

Amy wept while I sang  
AMY Winehouse's song 'Love Is a Losing Game'...  
SEE PAGE 11

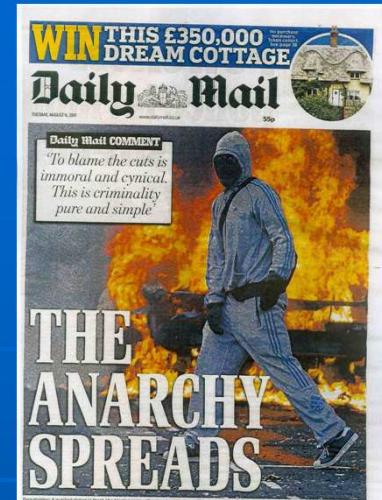
# YOB RULE

ANARCHIST Police car smashed

By TOM PITTORCH  
YOBs rampaged through London last night in a new wave of rioting. As rioters looted shops and set cars on fire, police were seen to chase rioting shops, restaurants, clubs and

London burns as riots spread  
Cops in running battle with thugs  
PM flies back for crisis summit





# Fears grow over excessive sentencing as cases pile up

By Emily Dugan and Matt Thomas

*The Independent, Sunday, 14 August 2011*

As courts struggled to process the cases arising from last week's riots, fears were growing last night that disproportionate sentences were being handed down.

A mother of two was given a five-month sentence yesterday for accepting shorts stolen by someone else. Ursula Nevin, 24, was asleep during the riots, but she took the shorts, which were part of a stash of clothing taken by her flatmate Gemma Corbet from the Vans store.

Greater Manchester Police appeared triumphant at the news, posting on their official Twitter account: "Mum-of-two, not involved in disorder, jailed for FIVE months for accepting shorts looted from shop. There are no excuses!" They later apologised and deleted the message, after widespread criticism.

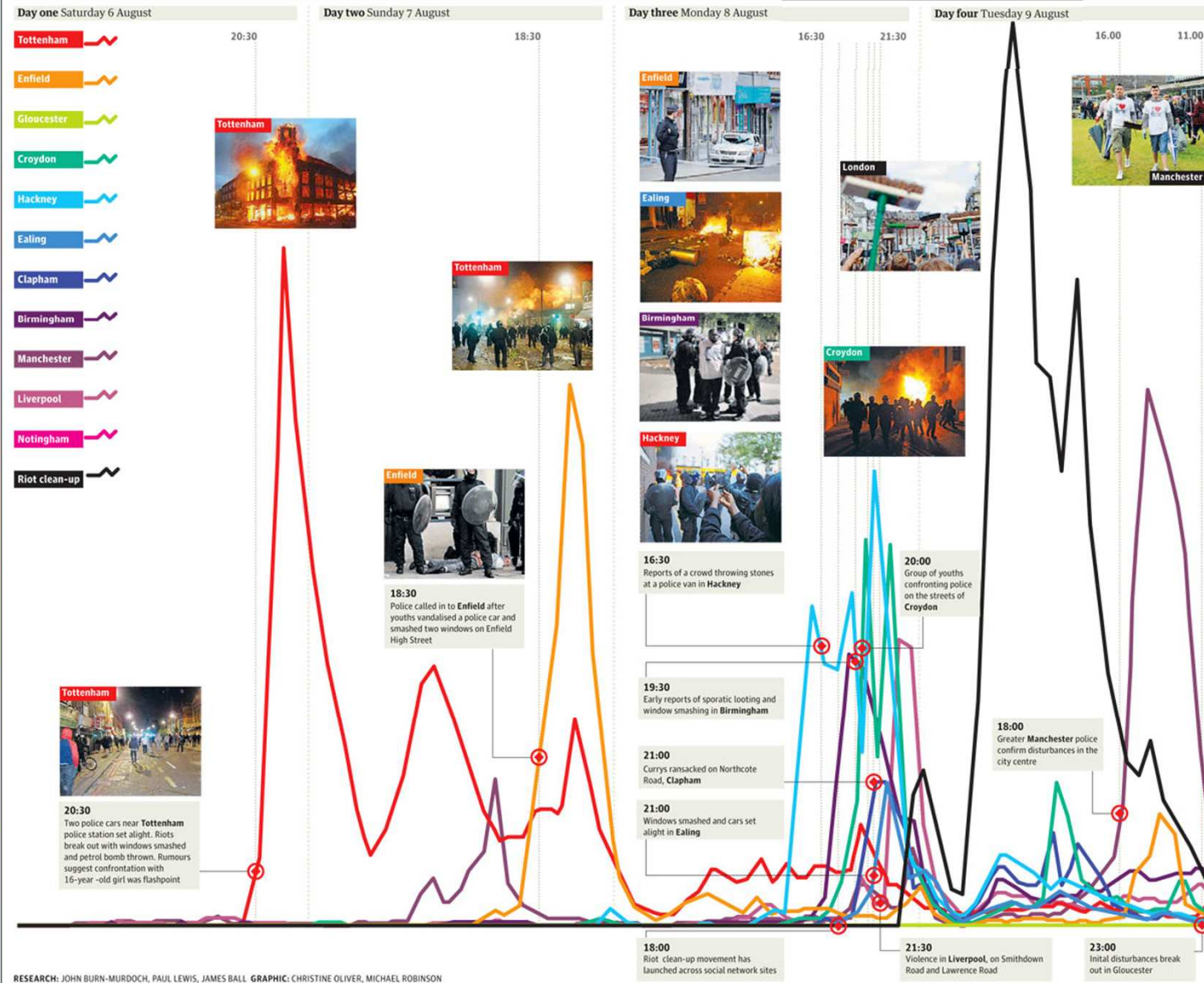
David Cameron made it clear on Thursday that he wanted tough sentencing for those who had taken part in the disorder. "Anyone charged with violent disorder and other serious offences should expect to be remanded in custody – and anyone convicted should expect to go to jail," he said.

Justice and welfare experts are concerned that draconian sentences could be handed out without due thought. On Thursday a 23-year-old was sent to prison for six months for stealing a £3.50 case of water from Lidl. A 43-year-old is still being held in prison for stealing items worth £1 from a newsagent. Others believe the courts have not been hard enough – arguing that sentences of a few days, which some people have been given, do not reflect the seriousness of the harm they caused.

City of Westminster Magistrates' Court was in chaos yesterday, with lawyers describing "a complete shit fight" as hearings were rushed through. One said: "I've been here a day, and what with the heavy press presence too, the atmosphere has been even more pressured than usual."



## Behind the curve Twitter and the rioting



Twitter use during the riots. Click image to see graphic

Amid a growing censorship row, government sources said the home secretary did not expect to discuss closing social networks, but wanted to explore what measures the companies could take to help contain future disorder, including how law enforcement agencies can use the sites more

Riots database of 2.5m tweets reveals complex picture of interaction  
Facebook and Twitter to

calling pupils "inbred"  
More most viewed



# Cameron ditches his pledge to shut down Twitter, Facebook and BlackBerry during riots

By REBECCA CAMBER

Last updated at 7:44 AM on 26th August 2011

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David Cameron's plan to shut down social networking sites to prevent disorder was ditched in a humiliating U-turn yesterday.

The Prime Minister vowed to look at banning thugs plotting violence from communicating on sites such as Facebook and Twitter or via instant messaging services such as BlackBerry Messenger.

All were said to have been used by rioters in the disturbances earlier this month.

But yesterday the Home Secretary Theresa May firmly killed off the prospect of any clampdown in the face of opposition from human rights groups and social networking companies.

In a summit with Facebook, Twitter and Research in Motion – makers of BlackBerry – the Home Secretary indicated that Mr Cameron's plan did not even merit discussion. She told the firms that she was not there to talk about restricting internet services. Instead Mrs May appealed for help, seeking advice on how law enforcement could more effectively use social media.

Social networking firms are said to have advised police to employ internet monitoring firms to help keep an eye on public chatter on the web.



© AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Theresa May met with bosses of social network sites in Westminster today to discuss whether users should be blocked if they are plotting to riot or commit crimes

More...

- [Looter who took one lick of stolen ice-cream is jailed for 16 MONTHS](#)

# Space, time and genre



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## TWO Wonderland

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### My Child the Rioter

Episode 4 of 8, Series 4

DURATION: 1 HOUR

In August 2011, parents all over Britain were waking up to a morning they had never imagined. For some, it was the police knocking on the door, for others, it was the sight of a pile of stolen goods in their child's bedroom. Some simply realised that it was their kid who had been out on the streets, smashing windows, looting shops and attacking the police.

In sitting rooms and kitchens around the country, these families endured some of the most difficult conversations of their lives. Oily Lambert's film takes viewers inside those homes and inside those conversations. Many of these families would find their children facing lengthy prison sentences, and they themselves were singled out by a prime minister who blamed the worst riots in recent British history on 'a lack of proper parenting, a lack of proper upbringing, a lack of proper ethics, a lack of proper morals'.

Eileen and Alan Bretherton's son Liam had recently served in Afghanistan, and was at the beginning of a promising career in the army. He got caught up in the events of last summer while home on leave; consequently, his parents now have to face the fact that the son in whom they took so much pride is now an ex-offender whose military career is in ruins.

In Manchester, childhood sweethearts Kerry and Liam Parkes looked on as their 19-year-old son defended the riots and took pride in what he did on the streets of Manchester. And in Willesden, David Clark watched his son break down in tears in fear of what his future may now hold.

This simple film cuts to the heart of families at the frontline of rioting Britain. < Show less

10 Share f t

### Credits

Series Editor: Nick Mirsky  
Director: Oily Lambert  
Producer: Oily Lambert

### Broadcasts

Channel	Date	Time	Region
BBC HD	Tue 31 Jan 2012	21:00	UK
BBC Two	Tue 31 Jan 2012	21:00	ONLY ON ENGLAND, NORTHERN IRELAND, WALES
BBC Two	Tue 31 Jan 2012	23:20	ONLY ON SCOTLAND

See all broadcasts of My Child the Rioter (4)

### Buzz about this programme

On Blogs

- My Child the Rioter

Links are found automatically and then selected for relevancy. Find out more or report a problem.

See all buzz for My Child the Rioter





## Developments and debates

- Political mediated control and transnational communications
- From the local to the global: scaling up and down
- Delegitimizing framing and political dramaturgy
- Public sphere or public screens
- Old media, new media (the politics of representation and politics of connectivity)
- Media systems and communication networks (for media ecology)

# Political mediated control and transnational communications



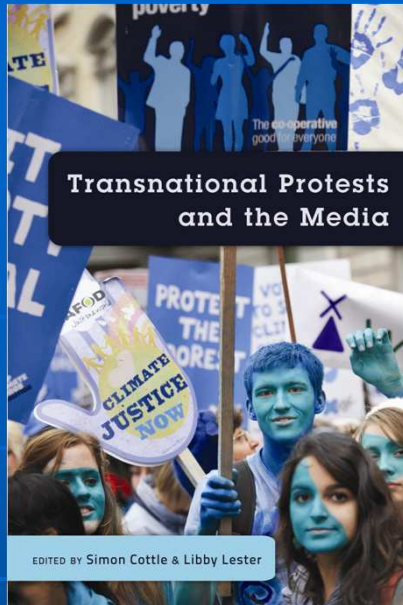


## From the local to the global: scaling up and down

1. Local actions resonating with transnational charge
2. Seeking international legitimation and support
3. Transnational issues mobilized in and through the local/national – ‘rooted cosmopolitans’
4. Global/transnational – ‘unrooted cosmopolitans’

# Piracy Up-Linked: Sea-Shepherd and the Spectacle of Protest on the High Seas

David Crouch and Katarina Damjanov



... almost instantaneously images are spread across the globe via satellite up-links, webcams, and around-the-clock internet blogging. Sea Shepherd takes their environmental protest in this remote and unforgiving location, impossibly beyond everyday reach, and broadcasts it back to the world, disseminating it through the Internet and blogosphere; they constantly send out fresh broadcast-quality images and a barrage of news releases, twitters, and updates of events ... by staging their anti-whaling protest as spectacular “pirate” attacks, they also exploit elements of popular culture, tapping into the social imagination of a potentially transnational public sphere.



# Delegitimizing framing and political dramaturgy





# Delegitimizing framing and political dramaturgy

16 *The Guardian* Monday August 1 2005

## The Editor

guard

### *The Sunday columnists*

Those who believe the Mail and Times newspapers are becoming increasingly interchangeable could have pointed to yesterday's editions of the Mail on Sunday and the Sunday Times as evidence. Pondering militant Islam's disgust with the west in the former, **Bel Mooney** said "even I am sickened by our debased, sex-obsessed society," while **Minette Marrin** said in the latter we had been "confronted with our own decadence".

"There is no such thing as restraint," said Mooney. "Children are not taught it. So-called celebrities do not show it, and the idea of it is detested by those with power over our mass media ... The aggressive materialism — which deludes us into thinking we have the right to own virtually anything we want — breeds ignorance and self-importance. Ignorance rules."

"We have somehow created a society that is characterised by growing disorder, uncertainty and loss," added Marrin. "For a long time now, Britain — or rather many of its institutions — has been suffering from a

### **Dance macabre** A techno fan faces Czech riot police



A techno fan appeals to anti-riot police following a free techno party near the village of Mlynec, 80 miles west of Prague, on Saturday. Czech police used water cannon and tear gas to disperse an annual gathering of thousands of such music fans, known as CzechTek Photograph: Michal Cizek/AFP/Getty Images



# Public sphere or public screens

The Habermasian public sphere, which is based on the dialogic articulation of ideas and interests, establishes the ground for the formation of public opinion. Shared ideas form as interacting private individuals search for recognition ... I suggest that cyberspace provides its participants with more or less fair conditions for this kind of interaction. It moreover provides participants with the information they need to evaluate the validity of claims made in the course of this interaction. And it gives them the opportunity to participate anonymously, with limited fear of social or political threat. In fundamentalist societies in particular, as in the example of Iran, cyberspace provides its users with more reliable and significant means of participation in the formation of public opinion.

(Nazanin Ghanavizi, chapter 18)

# Public sphere or public screens

In comparison to the rationality, embodied conversations, consensus, and civility of the public sphere, the public screen highlights dissemination, images, hypermediacy, spectacular publicity, cacophony, distraction, and dissent. We have focused on the image event as one practice of the public screen because it highlights the public screen as an alternative venue for participatory politics and public opinion formation that offers a striking contrast to the public sphere.

(DeLuca and Peeples, 2002: 145)



# Old media... new media



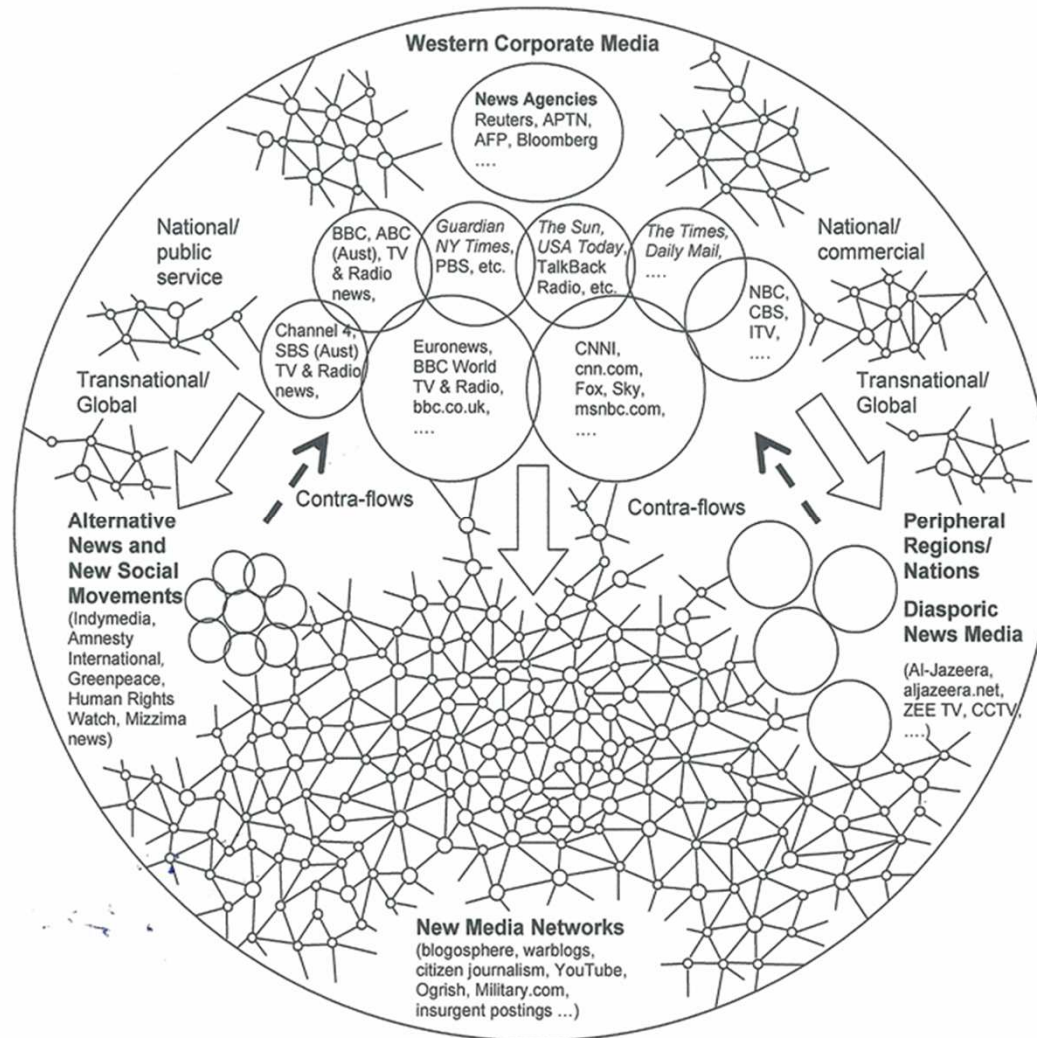
## Old media, new media





# Media systems and communication networks

Figure 1.1: World News Ecology



## Throwing punches and mowing them down with motorbikes: The shocking videos which 'prove brutal police overstepped the mark with Wall Street protesters'

- Videos show police 'attacking protesters, punching them and mowing them down with their motorbikes'
- Shocking images suggest authorities have 'gone too far'
- Officers now gear up for weekend of violent clashes across the country
- Protesters jubilant after trying to confront NYC Mayor Bloomberg last night
- Attempted to deliver a petition while he was at Manhattan restaurant Cipriani

By [MARK DUELL](#) and [PAUL BENTLEY](#)

Last updated at 6:16 PM on 15th October 2011

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The police has been accused of shocking brutality after videos emerged showing officers in New York punching Occupy Wall Street protesters and mowing them down on motorbikes.

As demonstrations turned bitterly violent, hundreds of protesters clashed with police as they marched in Manhattan - jumping over barriers, pushing over police scooters and blocking traffic.

Officers in turn seem to have responded in the most draconian manner. In one clip a policeman appears intentionally to run over a protester, trapping his leg under his motorbike's back wheel.

**Scroll down for videos**



Heavy handed? Police have been accused of brutality after footage has emerged showing officers mowing down protesters on their motorbikes



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NUMBER 6,536



'...Riot police and soldiers are beating monks... I saw a truck full of police with guns... They are using tear-gas bombs against the crowd... Buddhist monks are now chanting: "All humans be free from killing and torturing"... A monk was beaten to death while he was praying... The military has been ordered to shoot... About 200 people were hauled off on to the trucks and driven away... One patient died on arriving in hospital – four are still in a bad way... They are starting a crackdown... The junta is reducing the internet connection bandwidth... I think they will cut off communication... We are so afraid...'



## INSIDE THE SAFFRON REVOLUTION

VOICES OF THE PROTESTERS PAGE 5; REPORTS PAGES 2&3; GORDON BROWN PAGE 2

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## Bahrain's secret terror

Desperate emails speak of 'genocide' as doctors who have treated injured protesters are rounded up

By Jeremy Laurence  
Health Editor

THE INTIMIDATION and detention of doctors treating dying and injured pro-democracy protesters in Bahrain is revealed today in a series of chilling emails obtained by *The Independent*.

At least 32 doctors, including surgeons, physicians, paediatricians and obstetricians, have been arrested and detained by Bahrain's police in the last month in a campaign of intimidation that runs directly counter to the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



**Julie Burchill**

If only every woman could have Cindy Crawford's brains

NEWS, PAGE 13

**Steve Richards**

When did republicanism become taboo in the UK?

VIEWSPAPER, PAGE 3

**John Sentamu**

Is the Big Society big enough for those fleeing repression?

VIEWSPAPER, PAGE 5



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# *Cell phones, camels and the global call for democracy*



# Camels – symbolism and dramaturgy for democracy





## The global call *for* democracy: journalism getting close-up and personal



# Here Are The Journalists Who Have Been Harassed, Attacked, Or Detained In Cairo

Joseph Alexiou | Feb. 4, 2011, 6:58 PM | 🔥 4,423 | 💬 5

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The other nigh CNN's **Ben Wedeman**, the [network's](#) correspondent in Cairo, tweeted that it was likely there was going to shortly be a crackdown on media in Egypt. And sadly he was correct.

Many of the stories coming out Cairo this week were about journalists being threatened, arrested, assaulted or detained.

Fox's **Greg Palkot** and **Olaf Wiig** appear to have suffered the worst: On Wednesday they were severely beaten and hospitalized.

But it's sadly not limited to them.

ABC's Erin McGlaughlin and Joanna Suarez compiled a list of journalists who have been in some way [threatened, attacked or detained](#) while reporting in Egypt.

It's a lot of people (at least 40). Let's hope it doesn't get any bigger.

[Click here to see the journalists >](#)

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## Cross-section of Egyptian society attend protests



1 February 2011 Last updated at 19:41



Egyptian protesters are holding huge rallies in Cairo and other cities as they step up their efforts to force President Hosni Mubarak from power.

Journalists at the scene estimated that hundreds of thousands of people - men, women and children from a cross-section of Egyptian society were there, although in the absence of official estimates, there is no way of finding out the exact numbers.

George Alagiah went to meet some of the protesters.

**Read More**

[Mass protest fills central Cairo](#)

[Egypt protesters use voice tweets](#)

**- End -**

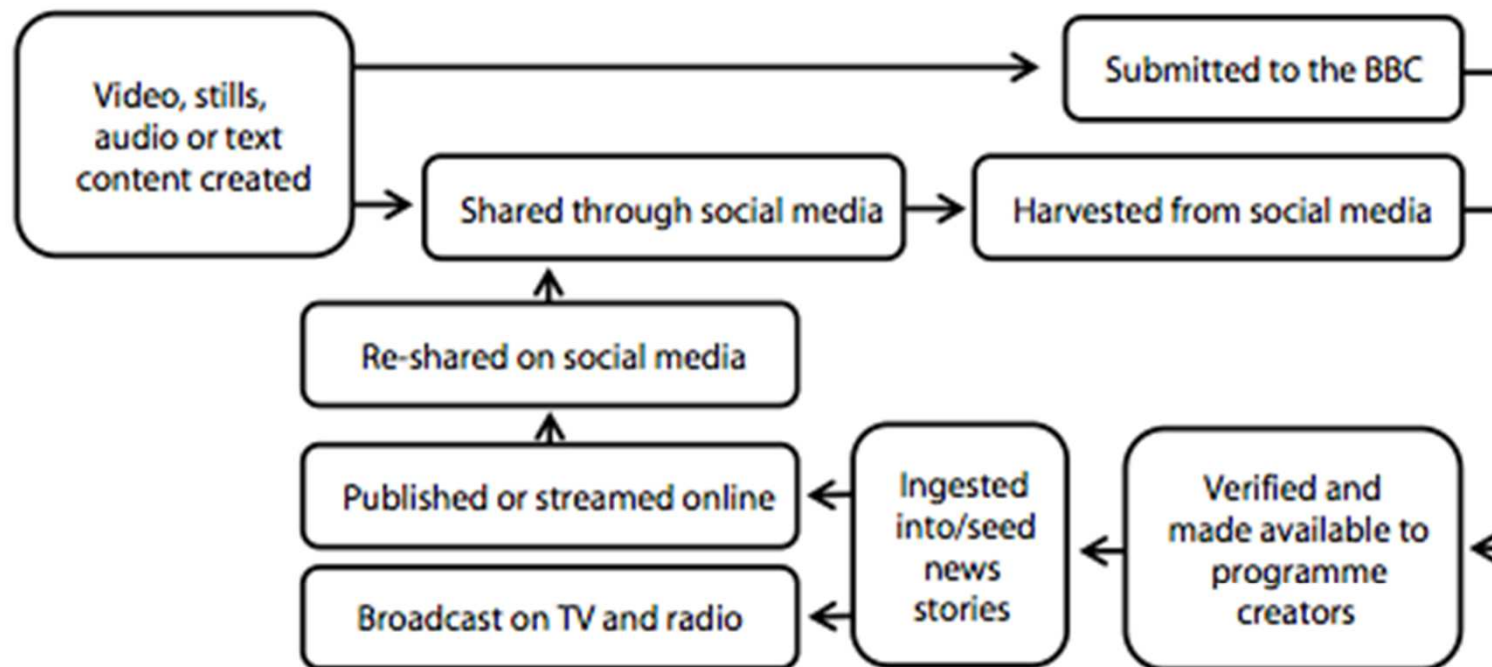


# Media and the Arab Uprisings of 2011

- State controlled Arab media, blind western media
- Media, consumerism and democracy
- Media conviviality in everyday life
- Facilitating/communicating protest
- Facilitating repressive state responses
- Media contagion
- International recognition and protest legitimation
- Media and the global village of repressive states
- Human rights surveillance and the responsibility to protect
- Media systems & communications maintaining democratic momentum

# Who's Reporting the Protests? Converging practices of citizen journalists and two BB World Service newsrooms, from Iran's election protests to the Arab uprisings.

Maximillian T.Hänska-Ahy and Roxanna Shapour



**FIGURE 1**  
UGC life cycle



**Table 6.2** *Social groups labelling Handsworth 1985: the event*

	Criminal	Riot	Trouble	Incident	Rebellion	All
Media	13.9	73.4	10.3	2.4	0.0	77.5
Police	17.1	71.4	8.6	2.8	0.0	8.2
Community	17.6	29.4	23.5	17.6	11.8	4.0
Politician	38.1	42.8	4.7	14.3	0.0	4.9
Other	34.8	39.1	26.1	0.0	0.0	5.4
Overall usage	(n)71 16.6	(n)291 68.2	(n)48 11.2	(n)15 3.5	(n)2 0.5	(n)427 100.0

*Note:* percentages indicate frequencies in usage of event terms in each social group; overall usage indicates each term's occurrence as percentage of all event terms.

### Descriptive

Criminal/violence

Riot

Trouble/disturbance

Incident/event

Rebellion

### Examples

'violence', 'orgy of looting'

'riots', 'rioting', 'Handsworth riots',

'troubles', 'disturbances', 'disorder'

'incident', 'event', 'occurrence'

'rebellion', 'revolt', 'protest', 'uprising'

HIGHLIGHTS / EMERGENCY RESPONSE

Success stories from the Avaaz movement worldwide

CITIZEN JOURNALISM



Breaking the Middle East Blackout

Funded by donations from almost 30,000 Avaazers, an Avaaz team is working closely with the leadership of democracy movements in Syria, Yemen, Libya and more to get them high-tech phones and satellite internet modems, connect them to the world's top media outlets, and provide communications advice. We've seen the power of this engagement -- where our support to activists has created **global media cycles with footage and eyewitness accounts that our team helps distribute to CNN, BBC, Al Jazeera and others**. The courage of these activists is unbelievable -- a skype message read 'state security searching the house, my laptop battery dying, if not online tomorrow I'm dead or arrested'. He's ok, and together we're helping to get his and many other voices out to the world.



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In the darkest hours of their struggle for liberation from Mubarak, Egyptians told the world they needed solidarity -- and Avaaz members answered the call. **600,000 of us around the world signed messages of support** carried by Al Jazeera broadcasts straight into Tahrir Square -- helping to sustain a movement fueled by hope through some of its darkest and most uncertain hours.

GLOBAL JUSTICE



Mubarak's Billions, Frozen



FEBRUARY 2011

500,000 SIGNATURES TO G20 FINANCE MINISTERS

When Mubarak left power in Egypt, he tried to take his stolen fortune with him -- but within days, more than half a million of us **petitioned the G20's Finance Ministers to immediately freeze his billions**, delivering the message with a 'protest pyramid' built opposite the Eiffel Tower during the ministers' meeting. In the weeks following, the EU



<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12339344>



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