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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

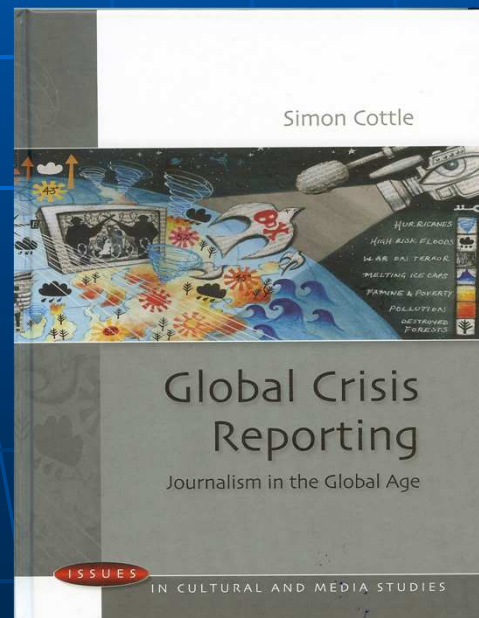
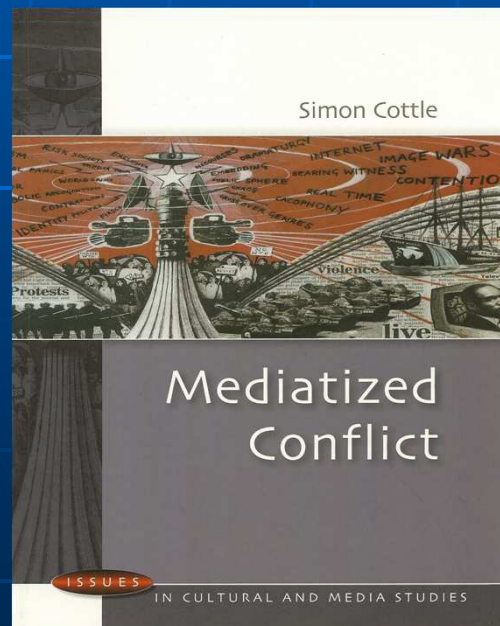
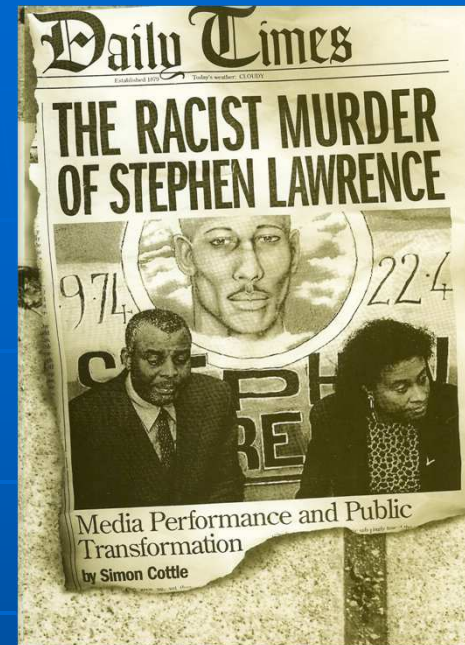
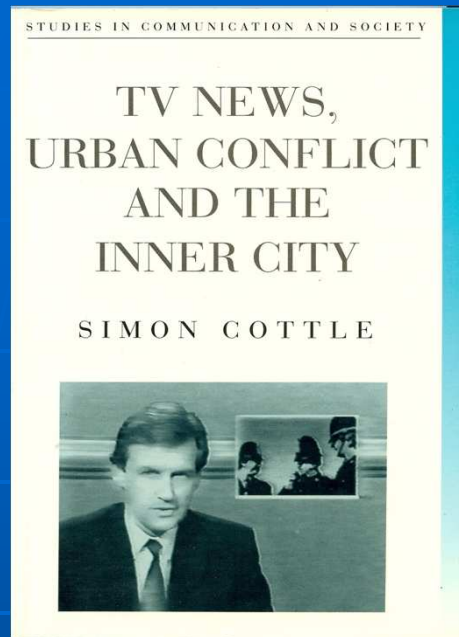
DECEMBER 26, 2011 / JANUARY 2, 2012

PERSON OF THE YEAR TIME

THE PROTESTER

FROM THE
ARAB SPRING
TO ATHENS,
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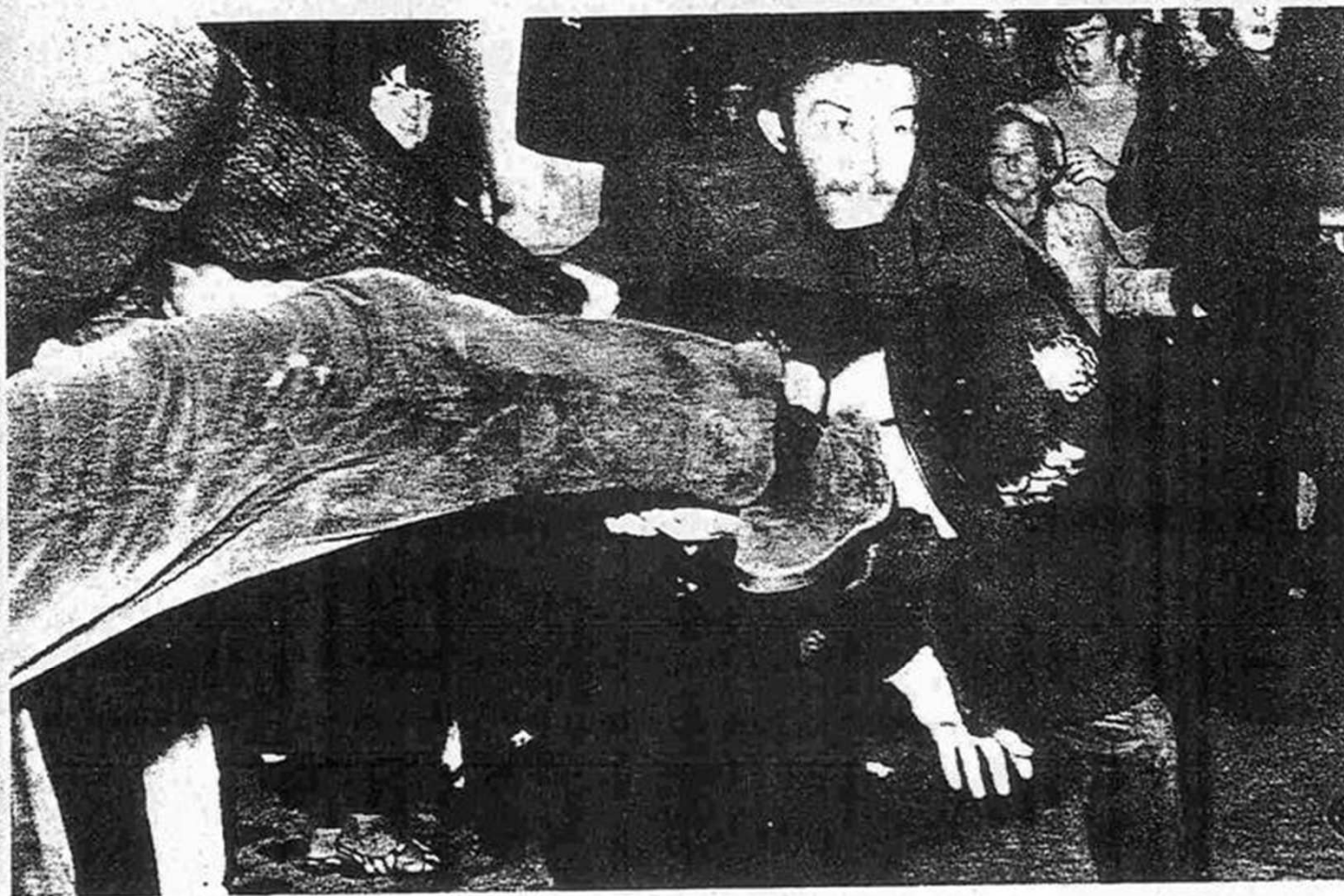


Past findings and beyond?

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

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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

WIN THIS £350,000 DREAM COTTAGE

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Daily Mail

TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 2011

www.dailymail.co.uk

55p

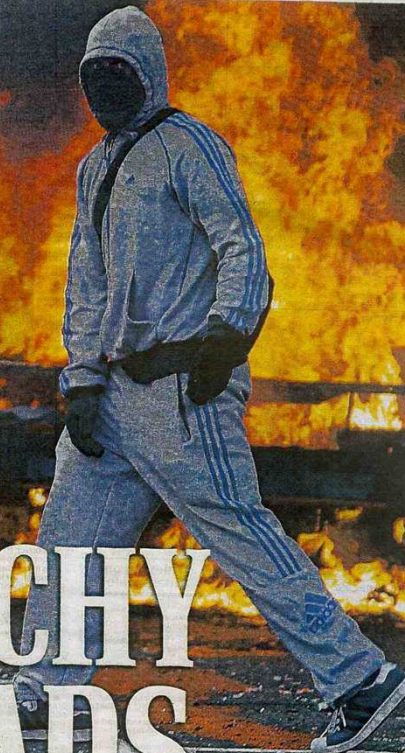


Daily Mail COMMENT

'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

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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 alight. 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.

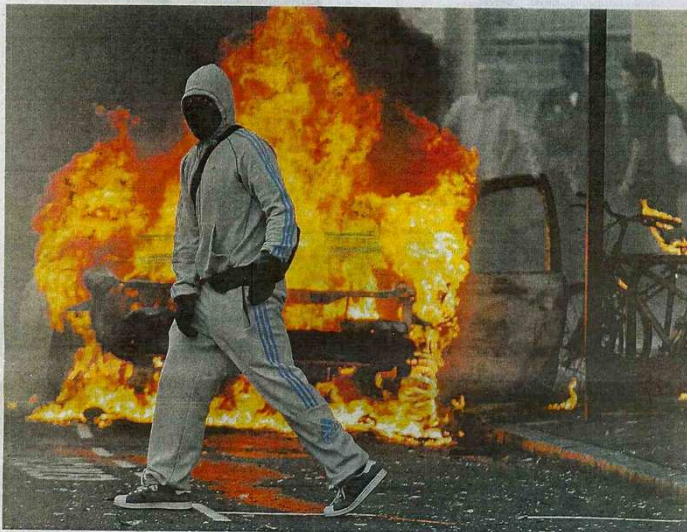
As the home secretary, Theresa May, broke off her holiday to return to London, the number of arrests from three consecutive nights of violence rose to 215, with 27 people charged. It was also announced that London mayor Boris Johnson would be returning early from his holiday. However, the prime minister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



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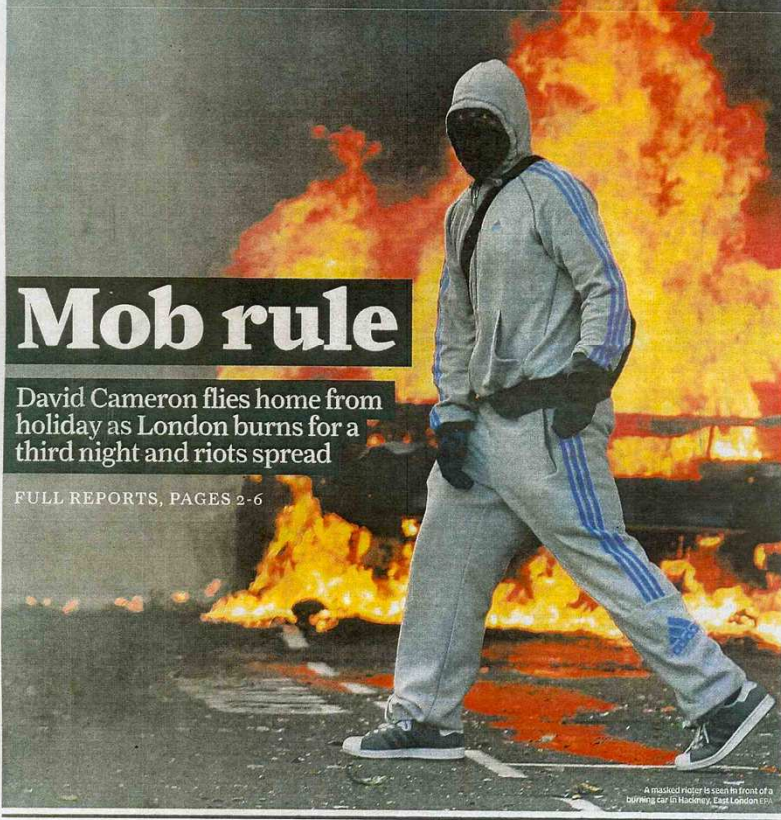
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Mob rule

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

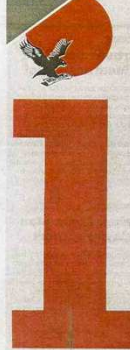
FULL REPORTS, PAGES 2-6



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

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



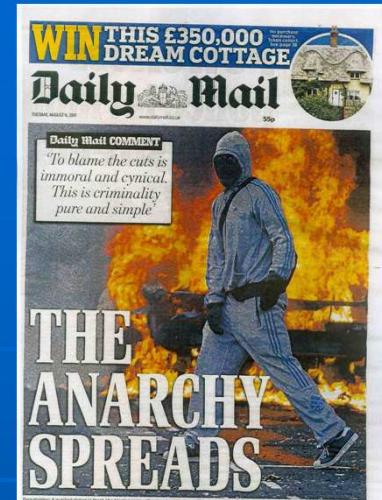
Style
A step ahead
High-fashion
trainers
P11



Health
Addicted?
Break your
bad habits
P12



Sport
Capello & me
Our man
trains with
England
P13



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.

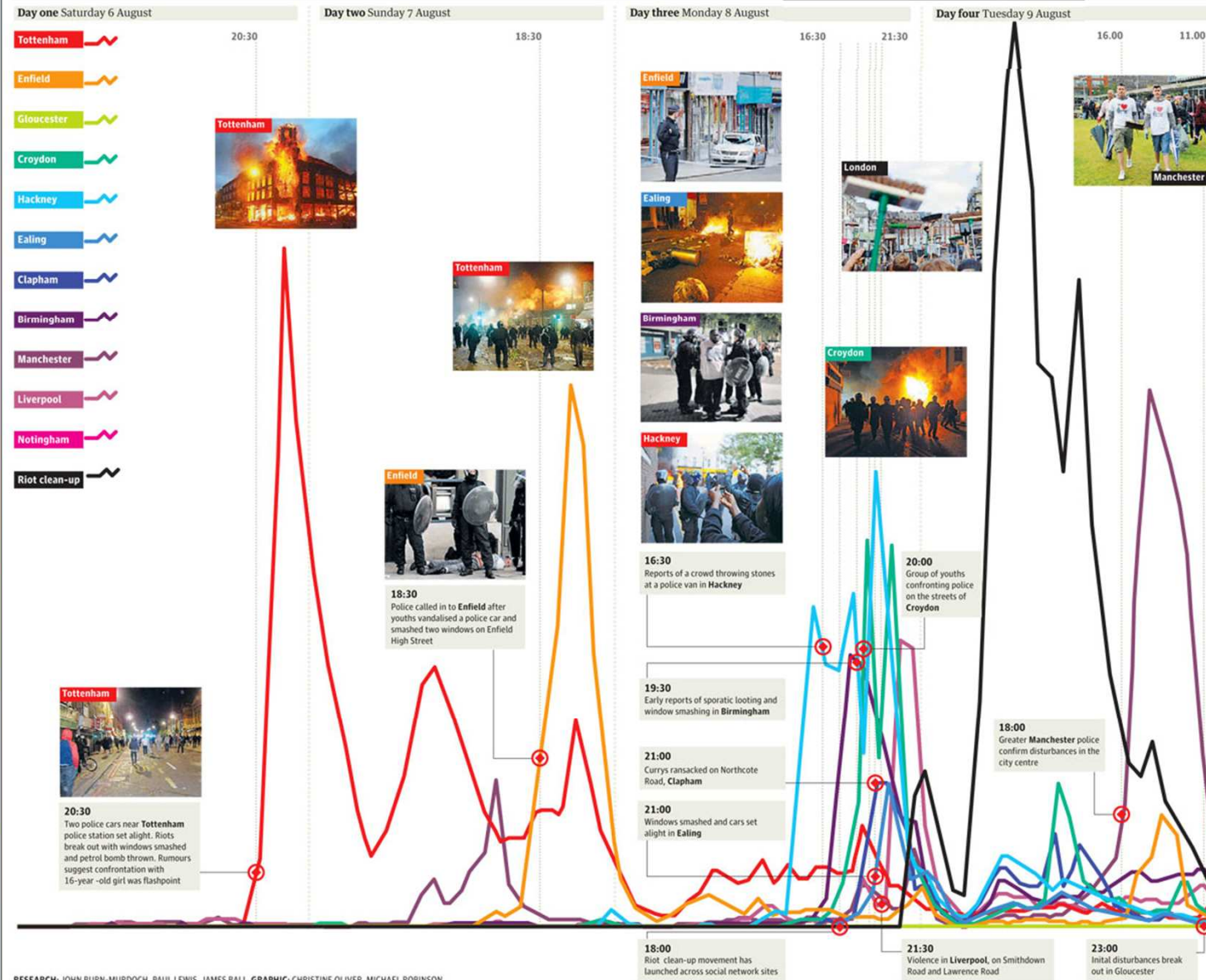
Greater Manchester Police appeared triumphant at the news, posting on their official Twitter account: "Mum-of-two, not involved in disorder, jailed for FIVE months for accepting shorts looted from shop. There are no excuses!" They later apologised and deleted the message, after widespread criticism.

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



RESEARCH: JOHN BURN-MURDOCH, PAUL LEWIS, JAMES BALL GRAPHIC: CHRISTINE OLIVER, MICHAEL ROBINSON

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



The image shows the BBC Two 'Wonderland' website interface for the program 'My Child the Rioter'. The top navigation bar includes 'Home', 'Episodes', and 'Clips'. The main header features the 'BBC' logo and the 'Wonderland' title. The program title 'My Child the Rioter' is prominently displayed, along with 'Episode 4 of 8, Series 4' and 'DURATION: 1 HOUR'. A description follows, detailing the program's focus on families affected by riots. A 'Last on' section shows the broadcast date 'Thu 2 Feb 2012' at '00:00' on 'BBC HD'. A 'More episodes' link is visible on the right. Below the description, there is a 'Credits' section listing the Series Editor, Director, and Producer. A 'Broadcasts' section lists the program's schedule for Tuesday, 31 Jan 2012, on BBC Two. A 'Buzz about this programme' section includes a link to 'On Blogs' and a note about automatic linking. At the bottom, there is a link to 'See all broadcasts of My Child the Rioter (4)'.



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

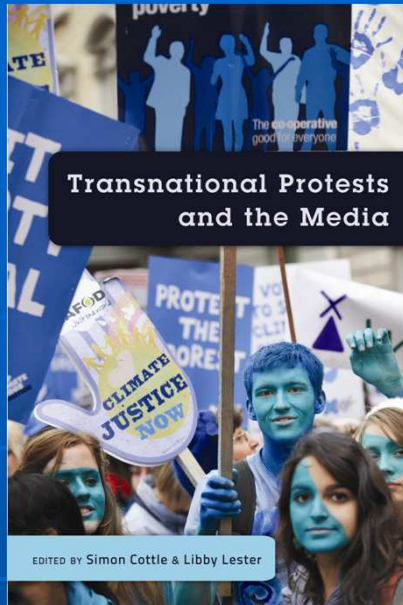


From the local to the global: scaling up and down

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

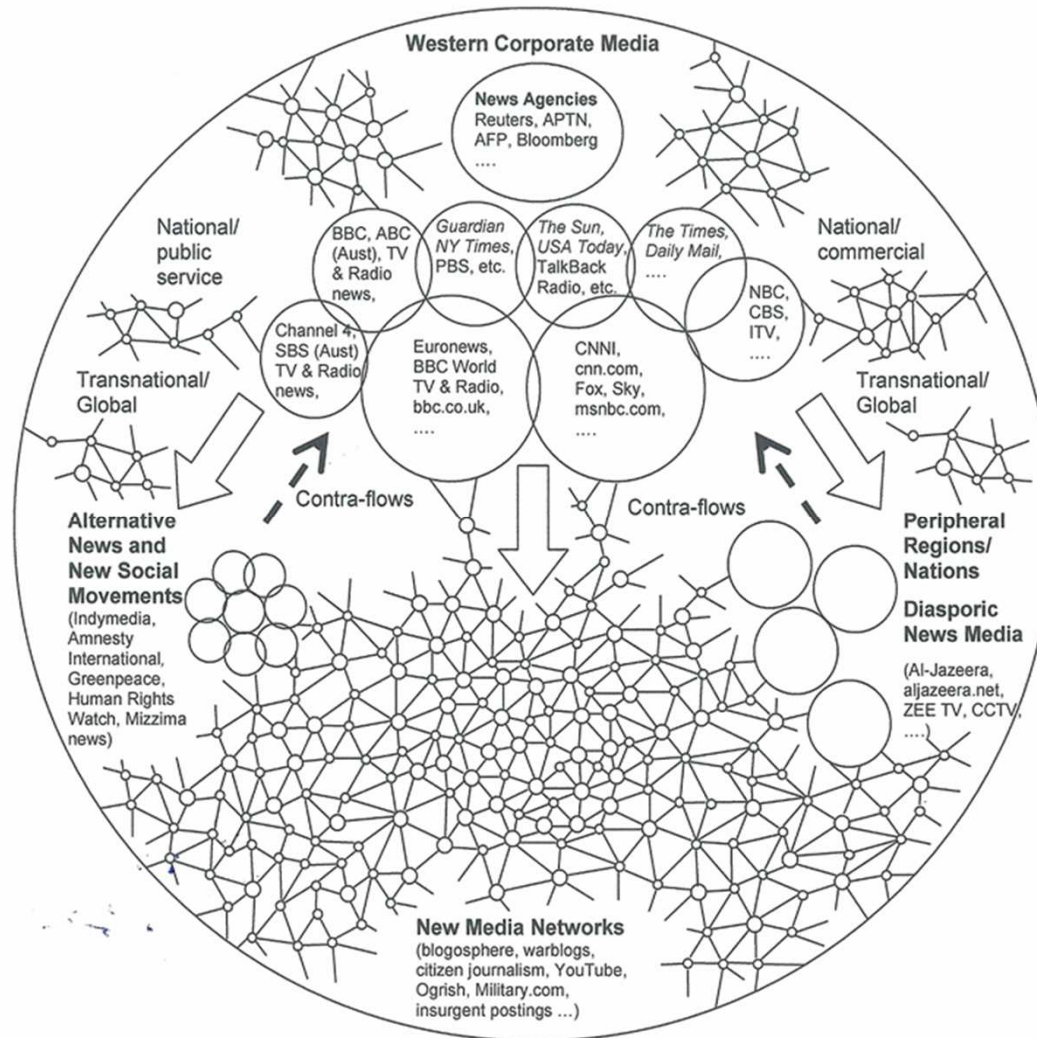


Old media, new media



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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'...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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A A A

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 >](#)

[View As One Page](#)

Please follow [The Wire](#) on [Twitter](#) and [Facebook](#).

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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

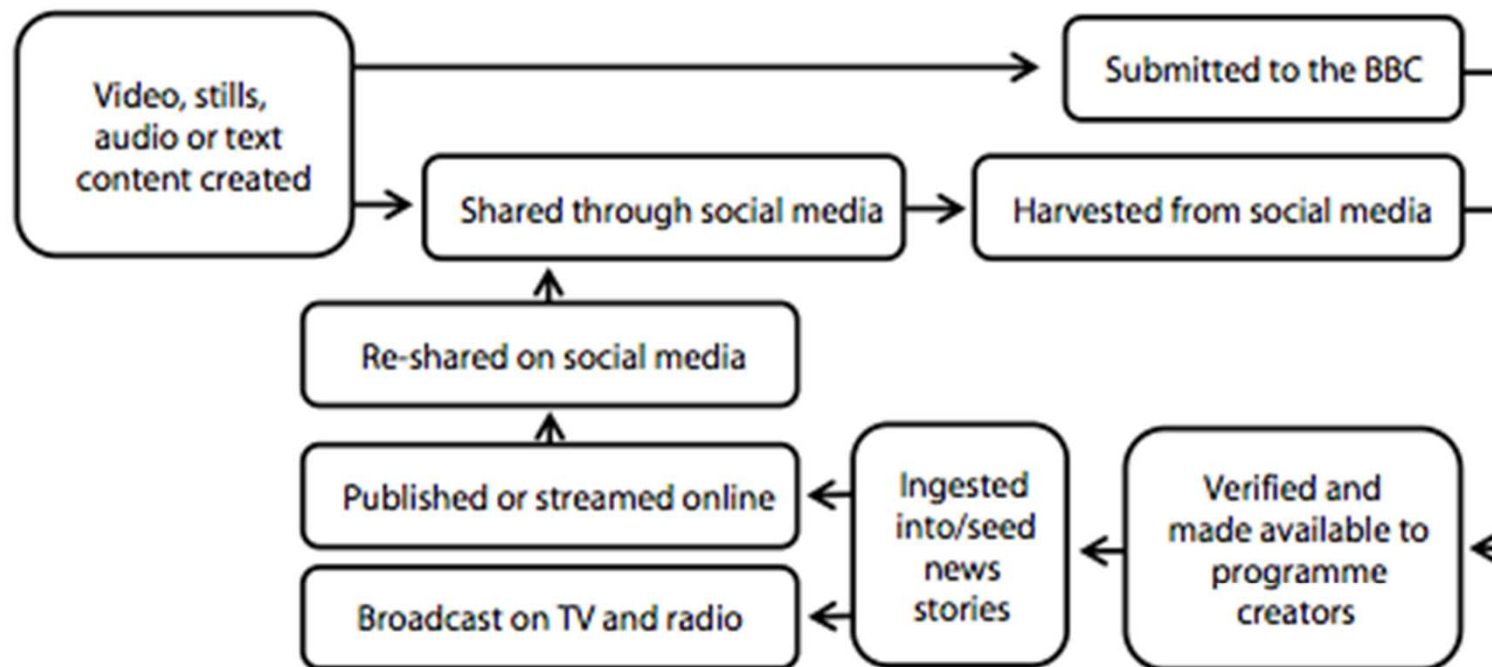


FIGURE 1
UGC life cycle

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.



IN THIS SECTION:

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Avaaz is closing the gap between the world we have and the world we want, one campaign at a time

SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY



YOU CAN FOLLOW LATEST REPORTS FROM AL JAZEERA ON TWITTER @AJENGLISH

Worldwide Solidarity for Egypt



FEBRUARY 2011

600,000 SIGNATURES TO SUPPORT EGYPTIANS

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>



MEDIA@LSE
Department of Media and Communications

Department of Media and Communications public lecture

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

Professor Simon Cottle

General editor, "Global Crisis and the Media"

Dr Bart Cammaerts

Chair, LSE



LSE events

Suggested hashtag for Twitter users:
#lsecomms

