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Anti-Austerity Movements in the UK

Developments in Popular Protest and the Impact of the New Media

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List of Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
DDoS	Distributed denial-of-service
EU	European Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FTT	Financial Transaction Tax
GA	General Assembly
HM	Her Majesty's
HMRC	Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFS	Institute of Fiscal Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
ITN	Independent Television News
LGTBQ	Lesbian, Gay, Transgender, Bisexual and Queer.
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NSM	New Social Movement
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics
OWS	Occupy Wall Street
OxIs	Oxford Internet Surveys
SNP	Scottish National Party
STV	Scottish Television
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
WEF	World Economic Forum

1. Introduction

This is the spectre that now looms large, that has now exited the shadows to enter the limelight; no more is it sat behind its PC, tweeting alone. A mega-underground is reshaping the overground, haunting it globally [...] to form dissenting crowds in urban public space. (Merrifield 2012: 280)

Under the slogan “We are the 99%”, a handful of activists gathered at Wall Street, the heart of America’s financial universe, on 17 September 2011. Within a month, numbers were in the tens of thousands, people around the world connecting via social media and taking to the streets to voice their anger against austerity policies, corporate greed and the global financial system (Adam 2011). No longer a spectre, anti-austerity movements became reality all over the globe.

Indeed, pro-democracy and anti-austerity new social movements (NSMs), i.e. groups, organisations or ideologies that operate outside of the traditional political system, have transcended national boundaries (Della Porta and Mattoni 2014; Cohen and Kennedy 2013): At the end of 2008, Iceland was the first country to be hit with the financial crisis’ effects and subsequent protests, followed by general strikes and trade union action in Ireland. Dissent sprung up in the *Intifadas*¹ in 2010, a wave of non-violent and violent action against oppressive rule in the Arab world – commonly referred to as Arab Spring. 2011 was marked by *Geração à Rasca*² demonstrations in Portugal and the *Indignados*³ movement in Spain which inspired mobilisations in Greece, occupations in the US, Turkey, the UK, Bulgaria, Brazil and Bosnia – a list that is in no way exhaustive.

While recognising that the majority of these protests are separate in terms of time, space and individual national context, recent studies cluster especially European manifestations. They are seen as a “transnational” (Della Porta and Mattoni 2014: 1) response to the deterioration of the welfare state, fiscal policy and political mismanagement of one of the world’s biggest recessions to date – an anti-austerity movement that challenges economic, social or geographical inequalities and marginalisation caused by neo-liberal policies. In the UK, party membership and election turnouts show long-term declines while support for NSMs has increased – a development that seems to be propelled by widespread disillusionment over austerity policies implemented since the 2008 financial crisis.

¹ Arabic *intifāda* for “an uprising”.

² Portuguese for “struggling generation”.

³ Spanish for “outraged”.

“We are all in this together” has been a dominant catchphrase in British political discourse ever since the first austerity announcements. However, continuous confrontation with negative news coverage of political and corporate elites puts the integrity of offices and corporatism in question – more visible than ever since the 2009 MPs scandal around the exploitation of parliamentary allowances and the exposure of high-risk practices in the financial sector leading up to the financial crisis: “Journalists stand accused of phone hacking, NHS managers are guilty of putting corporate self-interest and cost control ahead of patients, MPs are under a cloud for their expenses and bankers have been fiddling the Libor rate. Welcome to Bent Britain” (Cameron 2013).

If not proof, then the fact that some of the largest demonstrations in UK history took place at the beginning of the 21st century, notable here certainly the 2010 student protests in reaction to 80 per cent cuts in higher education and tuition subsidies, indicates increasing discontent with the status quo. Moreover, dwindling trust in political elites and other power holders have wider implications, especially when the number of people participating in different forms of protest action against the government has almost doubled since 1986 (Seymour 2013). Indeed, some academics suggest that the UK is experiencing a “democratic malaise” (Smith 2009: 263), at least with traditional politics. The increasing number of citizens identifying and engaging with the anti-austerity agenda outside of formal politics then might be a sign that NSMs are reshaping politics – or, at any rate, shift political participation to avenues outside of formal politics.

The concept of austerity – in economic terms the policy of reduced government spending to shrink budget deficits – is certainly widely disputed, not only by NSM groups that advocate for alternatives or by those perceived to be most directly affected by its adverse effects. Whereas supporters argue that “austerity based on appropriate spending cuts is the best way to reduce a country’s public debt burden” (Alesina and de Rugy 2013), leading economists contend that public stimulus in the form of increased state expenditure would have achieved more preferable results for the UK’s economy than the course taken in recent years (Krugman 2012; Stiglitz 2014; Blanchflower 2015). Crucially, authorities like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by now share this latter view, with IMF chief economist Olivier Blanchard acknowledging that negative austerity effects were underestimated and that “efforts among wealthy countries to shrink their deficits – through tax hikes and spending cuts – have been causing far more economic damage than experts had assumed” (Plumer 2012).

The pervasive narrative of austerity as economic necessity has been extensively challenged by NSMs and although approaches vary from moderate to radical across the landscape of austerity protests, two broad trends in British anti-austerity responses can currently be distinguished. The former is embodied by movement groups like UK Uncut or the People's Assembly Against Austerity. Social and economic issues are perceived as symptoms of a malfunctioning taxation and a restrictive welfare system. Increased spending is regarded as indispensable for economic growth. As Wilding purports, "theirs can be defined as a broadly *Keynesian* response to austerity" (2014: 1, original emphasis), the understanding being that government intervention through subsidies is envisioned to stabilise the economy and that fair taxation based on income would be an alternative to rigorous budget cuts. The latter trend, exemplified by the Occupy movement, takes a more drastic view: austerity measures levied by the UK government since the financial crisis and the subsequent credit crunch are seen not only as a political, but also as an ideological choice to shift power relations. They are regarded as a form of what Naomi Klein has labelled "disaster capitalism" (2008: 6) in her book *The Shock Doctrine*. A shock to society – read: global financial crisis – is used to impose free market reforms that redistribute wealth and power to the super-rich, while radically increasing the gap between the rich and poor and deepening existing inequalities, "a highly profitable formula bankrolled by debt and heavily subsidized (then bailed out) with public funds" (*Ibid.*: 85-6). Neoliberalism, or, to quote Bourdieu, "the utopia [...] of unlimited exploitation" (1998: 94), serves first and foremost the richest percentiles of the population, with "big business and big government combining their formidable powers to regulate and control the citizenry" (Klein 2008: 307). NSMs are not alone in this perception. As Nobel Prize-winning economist Paul Krugman comments, "policy makers abandoned the unemployed and turned to austerity because they wanted to, not because they had to" (2013). In a radical turn away from the current system, Occupy protest action, notably the running of protest camps as living spaces in urban environments all over the world, therefore takes on a "prefigurative" character, coined and defined by Carl Boggs as a movement's embodiment or rather ongoing practice of alternative forms of decision-making, culture and social interactions and relations as opposed to those of the criticised status quo (1977: 100).

As austerity is imposed from top down, political elites inadvertently attain bogeyman status for those disillusioned with their elected representatives and it is perhaps not too surprising that their articulation of anti-austerity sentiments creates a fertile

ground for NSM groups to mobilise sympathisers and followers. But rather than validating or falsifying existing anti-austerity views, this thesis will be concerned with how movement groups in the UK frame and organise their protest against austerity. One question to be contemplated is in what way NSMs infuse anti-political attitudes and explore alternative forms of governance in an increasingly anti-political climate. In a second step, as the Internet and especially new media applications of the Web 2.0 have been attributed with creating a more open and fluid political opportunity structure (Gibson 2009: 296), this paper attempts to determine in what way the new media have affected or maybe fundamentally changed the way we do, or can, organise protest and, by extension, influence politics.

A look at this chapter's beginning shows Merrifield's assessment of a global underground engaging with political content in a wider collective via the social networking service Twitter. He is by far not the only one who views the Internet as one of the key factors in catapulting protests such as the Arab Spring or the Occupy protests to a global level: A narrative of a Twitter revolution has unfurled (Stokel-Walker 2011; Parmelee and Bichard 2012), ascribing the Internet with democratic properties and arguing that it can, in itself, be political by eradicating the hierarchies of formal politics, facilitating free speech and by allowing people to publicly challenge political leaders as well as easily access and distribute information. Clay Shirky, who studies the social and economic effects of Internet technologies, even goes as far as predicting that "the Internet will (one day) transform government" (2012). A grand statement that may not even be all that far-fetched when taking into account that users are increasingly able to interact and collaborate via social networking sites, video sharing sites, wikis and blogs, engaging in "a social media dialogue as creators of user-generated content in a virtual community" (Zhu 2014: 706) rather than merely being passive receivers of information. Indeed, working off such a broad definition of the Internet which understands it as a medium that enables democratic processes, it seems very plausible that the Internet can not only support and shape the way we engage with political content and how NSMs operate, but perhaps also exert an influence on politics.

However, the task of measuring the Internet's impact on NSM protest is a difficult one and equating likes on a Facebook campaign with active political support is a trap not few have fallen into. Accordingly, the debates in mass media, popular literature and scholarly literature have become polarised. The former two often focus on pro-

democratic capacities of the Internet, the latter, while perhaps more differentiated, frequently concentrates either on social media's mobilising capabilities (Mason 2012; Tufekci and Wilson 2012) or the value of political engagement they facilitate (Castells 2007; Lindgren and Lundström 2011). As Morozov comments,

digital activism has the potential to transform the entire political culture [...], but not necessarily for the better – not if long-term democracy rather than just short-term mobilization is what we are after. [...] Technological determinism – the belief that certain technologies are bound to produce certain social, cultural, and political effects is attractive. (2011: 328)

Attractive, but also informed by many myths and success stories that do not necessarily withstand closer inspection. A more nuanced perspective would be that while the Internet does enable and support protests and the organisation of collective action, many more factors are essential for people to take to the streets – among them education, sufficient technological skill and infrastructure as well as a certain level of dissatisfaction in a specific country or section of the population. It is however very worthwhile to examine the role the Internet has played in both online and offline anti-austerity protests in recent years and not to “confront social media with an obsolete framework of contentious politics” but, as Olcese suggests, to treat them “as windows through which to view the larger protest ecology” (2015: 2070).

By examining the Anti-Austerity Movement in the UK, this thesis seeks to contribute to the multifaceted discussion around the pervasiveness of, and developments in, popular protest in the UK since the financial crisis and the impact of the new media in facilitating this situation. An underlying question to be contemplated throughout this thesis is whether the surge in NSMs can be seen as indicative of a wider shift towards a new politics where political participation increasingly takes place outside of traditional party politics. The author aims to show that anti-austerity movements influence political discourse and “contribute to Britain's ‘national conversations’” (Heffernan 2011: 174). Through horizontal and networked organisation and by framing their actions as the protest of the people against the privileged few, they capitalise on popular disenchantment and present an alternative to formal politics. But while they may have the potential to propel a wider shift in political participation, in the current system traditional politics still functions as gatekeeper to power. Furthermore, it is argued that the Internet can influence and enhance the impact of popular protest as NSMs increasingly integrate the new media into their repertoires of contention. However, to be successful, online and offline action need to be interlinked. Rather than supplanting

non-digital activism, the new media allow NSMs to additionally perform existing strategies and actions in the digital sphere.

To serve a better understanding of the political and socio-economic landscape in which NSMs have risen up, Chapter 2 will elaborate upon the concept of anti-politics in “austerity Britain”,⁴ discussing factors and concepts that influence disenchantment with British politics and critique against austerity. Reflecting the two-part research question, this thesis is then divided into two thematic sections. After a review of NSM literature to establish a theoretical framework for analysis in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 will examine how UK Uncut, Occupy and the People’s Assembly Against Austerity contribute to and shape anti-austerity protests in the UK. Furthermore, attention will be paid to the way they affect the country’s political climate and influence the trend towards a new, alternative politics. Before a conclusion is drawn, the second section of this thesis will turn towards the new media and their potential for NSMs in Chapter 5, which will scrutinise developments in ICT and ensuing tensions between the ‘new’ and the ‘old’ media. Furthermore, the dichotomy between online and offline political activism will be examined and supported by a quantitative analysis of Occupy London’s social media use.

This thesis employs a variety of research methods: Aside from primary sources such as interviews, speeches, reports, surveys or social media entries, it is supported by data collected from social movement and media science literature, newspapers and journal articles. While a number of other movement groups, organisations and protest examples besides Occupy, UK Uncut and the People’s Assembly Against Austerity will additionally inform this paper, this thesis is not intended to be a complete history of the UK’s Anti-Austerity Movement. There exists an abundance of other actors that distinctly intersect with the UK’s anti-austerity landscape but whose inclusion would exceed the scope of this thesis if examined in detail. Indeed, protests of the ‘alter-globalisation’ or ‘counter-globalisation’ movement, e.g. against annual IMF or World Bank meetings starting as early as 1988 or protests against G8 or EU summits at the turn of the 21st century, also exhibit anti-austerity trends. They are critical of international agreements, global financial institutions and globalisation driven by inequitable principles of corporate capitalism (Maeckelbergh 2012: 210), but predate the financial

⁴ Originally the title of David Kynaston’s history of England in the years immediately following the end of World War II, the *Mirror* has dedicated an entire section of its online presence to this headline for austerity-related content.

crisis and thereby this thesis' time frame of post-crisis protests. The selected movement groups under observation have been chosen because they aptly illustrate current events and developments in British popular protest. At different levels, they have entered public discourse and therefore have the capacity to "transform [...] ideas from the margins to the mainstream, and from polemics to policy" (Dreier 2012).

2. Anti-Politics in an Age of Austerity: Paving the Way to a New Politics?

British Conservative leader and Prime Minister David Cameron popularised the term "Age of austerity" in his keynote speech to the Conservative party forum on 26 April 2009, announcing the end of what he called years of excessive government spending (Summers 2009). However, ever since the introduction of the first austerity policies, the government's rhetoric of "We are all in this together" has been firmly pitted against a rhetoric of discontent spurred by NSMs. "We are the 99%" is not only the slogan of the Occupy movement, but summarises the tenor of anti-austerity protests in general, constituting a clear instance of 'othering' – the acknowledgement of a binary opposition. Over a decade's worth of annual surveys on political attitudes within the British society delineate a trend of significant anti-political sentiments in the UK – defined as a "strong negative outlook towards politics and disengagement from the formal institutions and practices of politics" (Stoker 2011, "Anti-Politics in Britain": 152), marked by a decline of political participation (Whitely 2012: 2). Notably, political participation under this definition refers to participation *within* the limits of formal politics, e.g. petitioning, voting, lobbying or party membership. This thesis also understands the political engagement or collective action with the purpose of influencing political issues, practises or outcomes (Verba *et al.* 1995: 38) performed by NSMs as political participation, the distinguishing factor being that the majority of these forms of political participation take place *outside* of formal politics.

The following chapter will reflect upon how austerity measures introduced and implemented by the 2010 coalition government have affected socio-economic developments and public attitudes towards formal politics in the UK and examines factors influencing the widespread impression of an increasingly anti-political mood amongst the British electorate. As wide parts of the British public appear to feel misrepresented and disengaged from the formal political process and others demand a more radical

rethinking of the current system (Brand 2014), are we indeed witnessing a democratic shift towards a new politics?

2.1. Austerity Bites: Socio-economic and Political Effects

Inheriting a deficit budget, the UK's Conservative-led coalition government committed itself to reducing the large deficit that had increased as a consequence of post-financial crisis bailouts in the bank sector and falling tax revenues. In his emergency budget speech to the House of Commons in 2010, Chancellor George Osborne stated:

This emergency Budget deals decisively with our country's record debts. It pays for the past, and it plans for the future. It supports a strong, enterprise-led recovery, it rewards work and it protects the most vulnerable in our society. Yes, it is tough, but it is also fair. [...] In this Budget everyone will be asked to contribute. But in return we make this commitment. Everyone will share in the rewards when we succeed. When we say that we are all in this together, we mean it. (*The Independent* "Budget 2010: Full text of George Osborne's statement" 2010)

Retrospectively, many have questioned the Chancellor's statement, doubting the alleged fairness of austerity cuts and their proclaimed capacity to reward work and share success in the long term. Indeed, the reality of living austerity and witnessing anti-austerity protests decidedly challenged capitalist narratives of prosperity that traditionally legitimised the introduction of austerity measures. These were depicted as *the way out of a crisis*, subsequent inequalities portrayed to be unavoidable (Browne and Susen 2014: 217-20) and for the greater good. The promise of eventual prosperity reinforced capitalism as serving the country's collective welfare, transforming "class struggle" into "class compromise" (*Ibid.* 219). As Osborne stated, everyone would be asked to contribute and everyone would reap the benefits. But with prosperity still being a distant concept for many, even after years of cutting back and facing worsening conditions while others made profit in times of crisis or were not made responsible for causing the crisis in the first place, this narrative has begun to crumble.

The emergency budget's austerity package contained "a combination of tax rises (15% of the total austerity package) and spending cuts (85%), reducing expenditure by £85 billion from April 2010" (Reeves et al. 2013: 1), complemented by wage freezes, the premeditated loss of 900,000 jobs in the public sector until 2018 and a significant decrease in capital spending (Oxfam International 2013: 2). Emphasising that the country could no longer afford it, Osborne announced significant cuts to the British

welfare system – a move that has been interpreted as “a convenient excuse to shrink the welfare state under the smokescreen justification of austerity” (Hamnet 2013: 491), echoing Naomi Klein’s views of disaster capitalism.

The fact that austerity has and still does affect the British population disproportionately has been widely established (Ridge 2013, Hamnet 2013) and especially cuts to welfare serve to illustrate this point. Changed parameters of eligibility for schemes such as Income Support, Jobseeker’s Allowance, Child Benefit, Incapacity Benefit and Housing Benefit have a higher impact on the living standards and welfare of disadvantaged social groups such as the unemployed, the disabled or those with low income. Studies have found that 70 per cent of British households receive benefits (*Ibid.*: 493) which means that potentially 70 per cent of British households have been negatively affected by austerity policies in one way or another. And as a cap to total household benefit payments for working households that piloted in London in April 2013 illustrates, being in work does not necessarily change the picture. Benefits are frozen at £500 per week for couples and lone parents and £350 per week for single adults – with major implications for households that depend on these benefits for rent in London’s competitive and overpriced housing market and that are now forced to relocate. Hamnet even goes as far as labelling this development “indirect welfare policy generated ‘social cleansing’” (2013: 501).

While it cannot be denied that austerity measures did, to an extent, reduce the state deficit, crucially, they have had little impact on economic growth (Oxfam International 2013: 2) and large parts of the population might find it difficult to identify with the optimistic image conveyed by HM Treasury’s *Budget 2015* or the *Conservative Party Manifesto 2015*. The budget reports that the country’s structural deficit has been reduced by more than half between 2010 and 2013 (2015: 1-2). However, the fact that public debt increased to 90 per cent of GDP in 2013, i.e. £1.39 trillion and an increase of 33.4 percent from July 2009 (Oxfam International 2013: 2), and is forecasted to increase further, finds little mention or is enshrouded by technical jargon. Consequently, responses to the budget were swift and critical: Labour leader Ed Miliband commented at length on the apparent divergence between Osborne’s rhetoric and the reality lived by the public (*BBC News* 2015, “Budget 2015: Reaction in quotes” 2015). Shadow Chancellor Ed Balls added that “living standards are lower than in 2010, people are worse off, people are still struggling and in the wider economy our export performance has been poor, our business investment has been weak and yet George Osborne seemed to say it was all fine” (*Ibid.*). Furthermore, the Institute of Fiscal Studies

(IFS) has warned that cuts of the newly elected Conservative government will cause parts of the social security budget to fall to their lowest level in 25 years. In an interview with *BBC News*, Carl Emerson, Deputy Director of the IFS, predicted that while the announced cuts “may turn out to be deliverable [...] they will not [...] require merely ‘£13bn from departmental savings’ as the Conservative manifesto described. While not inaccurate,” he clarifies, “these numbers give a misleading impression of what departmental spending in many areas will look like if the manifesto commitment to eliminate the deficit by 2018-19, largely through spending cuts, while not cutting spending in many areas, is to be met” (2015, “Welfare spending to fall to 25-year low, warns IFS”). A fundamental problem – and at the same time another driving factor for rising distrust in politicians – is the lack of debate and reflection about austerity and potential alternatives among the main political parties. They appear to disagree mainly on issues surrounding the implementation of further austerity measures, not on austerity as a debt-reducing tool as such (Jones 2013). Is estrangement from formal politics the logical consequence?

A significant shift in poverty discourse can be seen as yet another factor that expedites the alienation of large parts of the British public from their elected representatives. Analysing political rhetoric, Tess Ridge, Professor of Social Policy at Bath University, discerns a trend away from structural explanations of poverty and towards stigmatisation of the poor. Rather than interpreting the increasing dependence on benefits experienced as a systemic failure, caused by the erosion of social security under the fiscal policy course of recent decades, poverty is ascribed a moral value (2013: 410-11). Terms such as ‘scroungers’, ‘work shy’ and ‘feckless’ have resurfaced in public discourse and are reinforced by political rhetoric and pertinent media coverage. Continuous reporting of what David Cameron has described as a “Broken Society” effectively creates a narrative in which welfare dependency is demonised and made responsible for escalating tax burdens (O’Hara 2014: 252). The latest *British Social Attitudes* survey has found 50 per cent of all respondents agreeing with the statement “around here, most unemployed people could find a job if they wanted to”. Only 44 per cent believe that spending on “welfare benefits for the poor” should be increased (Curtice and Ormston 2014: 11).

Strikingly, these portrayals often fail to take into account wider socio-economic factors. While the UK may be among the six richest countries in the world, current levels of income inequality have last been measured in the 1920s (Oxfam International

2013: 1)⁵ and work is no longer a guarantee for prosperity. The latest ONS (2014) report on working and workless households in Britain also shows that these claims, despite their pervasiveness, are not necessarily backed by data. The report classed 3.3 million households (15.9 per cent) with at least one person aged 16-64 as workless, meaning either unemployed or otherwise inactive, i.e. retired, disabled or sick, studying or not working due to family commitments. Forty-six per cent of people in workless households were aged 50-64, the majority of these found to be either sick, disabled or retired early, not really fitting the label 'scroungers'. Furthermore the number of workless households was found to be at its lowest level since comparable records began in 1996 (*Ibid.*), contradicting claims of a particularly feckless or workshy generation. Quite significantly, though, data in five consecutive reports clearly highlighted geographic differences between the South East and the North East of England. Rather than delineating a marked aversion to work in the North, as media pundits have been prone to do, it is more likely that the higher chance of worklessness towards the North simply reflects the lack of available work in these regions (Hamnet 2013: 494). The fact that worklessness appears to have a decidedly geographic dimension also implies that austerity affects these parts of the country more than others, furthering inequality.

Moreover, disenchantment with austerity also directly affects political participation in the form of voting. As a comparison across the English regions reveals, electoral participation in the North was lower than in the South during the 2010 general election (Rallings and Trasher 2010: 4). Existing inequalities along the North-South divide could have very well influenced people's decision to vote. A link between the experience of inequalities and the lack of motivation to engage with formal politics is also supported by the Institute for Public Policy Research's (IPPR) analysis of the 2010 spending review, which shows that those who did not vote in the 2010 general election faced significantly higher cuts compared to those who did vote (Birch *et al.* 2013: 2)⁶.

Another example for austerity's political ramifications is the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence. Already in the foreword of the Scottish Government's White

⁵ The UK is now amongst the most unequal OECD countries with regard to income inequality (Oxfam International 2013: 1).

⁶ The IPPR also observed a distinct social class divide in electoral participation. Whereas there was only a four-point gap in the turnout rate between the highest income and the poorest income groups in the 1987 general election, this had increased to 23 points by 2010 (2013: 2).

Paper *Empowering Scotland*,⁷ former First Minister Alex Salmond asserted that Westminster's "decisions to cut capital investment; to impose austerity; to pursue policies that will widen the gap between rich and poor are all working against the goals of creating a more prosperous and fairer Scotland" (2013: 5). And although the 'Yes' campaign for Scottish Independence failed, the fact that the SNP counted 60,000 new members after the referendum (SNP 2014) is quite thought-provoking in times of alleged anti-politics marked by declining party membership. Furthermore, in her first major speech the new SNP leader Nicola Sturgeon made it abundantly clear that austerity continues to influence the post-referendum political landscape, emphasising Labour's dependence on SNP votes in the 2015 general election (Helm 2015). The election certainly proved her right. A landslide win of 50 out of 59 seats has made the SNP the third-largest group in Parliament while Labour suffered heavy losses, losing all but one of its seats in Scotland and prompting Ed Miliband to resign as Labour leader (Wintour and Mason 2015). These developments show that attitudes against austerity impact the UK's political climate on many levels.

In this context Browne and Susen note, "the fact that the state is an agent of austerity gives the impression that what is at stake is not [only] the economic system as such but those who are officially in charge of controlling and regulating it" (2014: 220). The rationale is obvious enough: if wide parts of the population suffer from austerity imposed by the parties in power, a backlash against these parties as soon as the electorate is given the opportunity to influence the country's political course is to be expected. The 2015 general election results contradict such expectations quite blatantly though. Against all pre-election polls and even against their own expectations, the Conservatives who emblematically stand for austerity and whose general election campaign left no doubts that they would cut harder and faster than other parties, won an overall majority. A tit-for-tat response to the austerity policies of the last five years did not occur. But why would people vote them into power if they felt misrepresented in the first place? *BBC* economics editor Robert Preston sees an explanation in "the eccentricities of the British electoral system," commenting that "the Tories' overall majority was won with three-quarters of eligible voters not actually voting for them – and their lead in the Commons is slim" (*BBC News* 2015, "Welfare spending to fall to 25-year low, warns IFS"). Indeed, turnout, entrenched voting patterns and voter de-alignment appear to have been crucial factors. Ipsos Mori, a leading market research

⁷ Full title: *Empowering Scotland: The Government's Programme for Scotland 2013-2014*.

company in the UK and Ireland specialising in social and political research, calculated that eight in ten voters who supported the Conservatives in 2010 did so again 2015, whereas Labour supporters either stayed at home or turned towards the SNP or other so-called third parties. Crucially, the Conservatives were most successful among those groups with the highest turnout, namely voters aged 65 or above (Nardelli 2015). As a *Guardian* editor commented, “the general election result can be summarised in a nutshell: the Conservatives did well with voters that turn[ed] out. Labour did well with voters who don’t vote” (*Ibid.*). It remains to be seen in how far the election results will affect anti-austerity movements in the future – they might be thwarted but they might just as likely continue with vengeance.

2.2. A Disenchanted Public: Spectators, Not Activists?

As the case of the general election 2015 strikingly illustrates, it would be too easy, and frankly false, to attribute the rise of anti-political sentiments merely to the austerity politics of recent years. As the political scientist Gerry Stoker notes, there has been no “golden age of politics in Britain that somehow has been lost” (Stoker 2011, “Anti-Politics in Britain”: 170) and indeed, declining political participation does not necessarily only reflect anti-austerity attitudes. As post-war electoral data shows, it has been a pervasive feature of British politics for decades (Dar and Mellows-Facer 2013: 2): At its highest during the general election 1950 with 84 per cent of the British participating in the vote, electoral turnout remained in the medial and higher 70th percentiles up until 2001, which marked the lowest level with a 59 per cent turnout. While a slight upward trend can be observed since 2005 (Dar and Mellows-Facer 2013: 14) and the general election 2015 marks the highest election turnout in 18 years with 66.1 per cent of the electorate casting their votes (Knapton 2015), numbers still remain low. Notably, survey data on electoral participation indicates that young voters are affected disproportionately. While 73 per cent of those aged 18-24 voted in 1983, only 42 per cent did so in the general election of 2010 (Whiteley 2012: 2). Final numbers for 2015 are still outstanding, but fieldwork conducted by Ipsos Mori aggregated data from election polls and other surveys over the course of the campaign and estimated 18 to 24-year-olds almost half as likely to vote as those aged 65 or above (Skinner 2015).

Not voting can also be a conscious choice and a political act in itself though. Comedian and outspoken activist Russell Brand, for instance, has repeatedly called voting a “tacit complicity” with a system that creates economic disparity and ignores the

needs of the people. “Democracy isn’t working really well,” he said, asking people to “stop voting, stop pretending, wake up, be in reality now” (*BBC News* 2013, “Russell Brand: ‘I’ve never voted, never will’”). While most people do feel a sense of duty to vote, current numbers are down 21 per cent when compared with 1987 (Phillips and Simpson 2014: 137) and survey data indicates not only a distinct generational gap⁸ that has widened over time (Whiteley 2011: 46), but also that electoral turnout is affected by a significant social class divide (Birch *et al.* 2013: 2)⁹. Arguably, the right to vote is one of the greatest goods of modern democracies and one of the most obvious ways in which the electorate can directly influence and respond to political decision-making and the general election 2015 has shown that turnout is crucial. The fact that millions do not exercise this right is quite alarming. Have people become spectators of political events rather than active participants? How can anti-politics be explained?

Whiteley lists declining partisanship, i.e. a voter’s identification with a political party, as key factor. The *British Election Study* series of surveys documents a consistent downward trend between 1964 and 2005, the mean score falling from over 2.2 to less than 1.5 – 0 signifying no support to any party, 1 a not very strong identification with any party, 2 a fairly strong and 3 a very strong level of identification (2011: 60ff.). While the 2010 general election did show a slight upswing, weakening identification with and attachment to parties “goes a good way to explaining declines in traditional forms of participation” (Denver 2012: 728). Political scientists have also observed that, in an attempt to attract a maximum of voters, parties have shifted towards an ideological middle ground rather than exhibiting strong left or right profiles, thereby paradoxically failing to offer the electorate compelling reasons to vote one or the other way (*Ibid.*: 728-29). Combined, these developments have major implications for the legitimacy of the UK’s elected representatives: If not only less people take to the ballots, but if they also tend to increasingly vote for a wider spectrum of parties, governments fail to engage with and no longer represent large parts of the electorate. Influence on political decision-making thus becomes skewed (Lijphart 1997: 1) in favour of those who have been found to be more likely to participate in politics, i.e. those with higher levels of income, education and employment status (Keaney and Rogers 2006:

⁸ In 2014, less than half of all 18-24 year olds thought they had a duty to vote, compared to almost 80 per cent of those aged 65 and above (Hansard Societ 2014: 3).

⁹ Perhaps not surprisingly, these developments have brought up the potential introduction of compulsory voting, or at least the implementation of a system similar to the Australian one. Here, people who do not vote at least need to express their intention to abstain from voting. For more information, see Padmanabhan 2015 and Armstrong 2015.

5, 9; Stoker 2011, *Building a new politics?: 27*), widening existing inequalities even further.

Apart from a diminishing representative claim due to electoral turnout decline and turnout inequality, cynicism and distrust in political elites are further factors that contribute towards greater voter disconnection. In addition to incidents such as the aforementioned MPs expenses scandal or cynicism around austerity, for instance, heavy scepticism of a cash-for-access politics (White 2011) persists despite reform efforts around lobbying in recent years. Certainly not helpful are news of politicians like the Conservative Party's former chief fundraiser Peter Cruddas stating "if you are unhappy about something [...] we'll listen to you and put it into the policy committee at No 10" (qtd. in Jenkins 2012), implying that government favour and influence on decision-making can be bought. The *Transparency of Lobbying, Non-party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act 2014* (UK Parliament 2014) still permits the practice of buying dinner with the Prime Minister for £50,000 a year and parties still make ample use of one of the bill's loopholes that ensures that "unincorporated associations" do not have to declare their donations if they remain below £7,500. In the last quarter of 2014, for example, the Conservatives raised £500,000 and Labour received £263,692 in concealed donations (Syal 2015), contradicting election promises of more transparency and consolidating widespread impressions that party politics have become "synonymous with sleaze, corruption and duplicity, greed, self-interest and self-importance, interference, inefficiency and intransigence" (Hay 2007: 153).

Moreover, data indicates that people feel distinctly alienated from politicians and, by extension, formal politics (O'Toole *et al.* 2003; Sloam 2007; Henn and Foard 2012). 67 per cent of those surveyed in the 2014 *Audit of Political Engagement* agreed with the statement "politicians don't understand the daily lives of people like me" (Hansard Society 2014: 6). Rather, formal politics is seen to be "'sullied' by the compromises and necessary tradeoffs politicians and parties make between office and policy seeking" (Heffernan 2011: 183) and politicians are widely perceived to be apathetic to the needs of the people and far more likely to secure corporate interests than those of 'normal' people. A case in point: When Chancellor Osborne took legal action against the EU's cap on bankers' bonuses in September 2013, stating that such a policy would risk the stability of the UK's financial sector, public and political backlash was immense. "It tells you everything about David Cameron's government that [...] he's sending his chancellor to Brussels to stand up for bankers and bankers' bonuses" said Shadow chancellor, Ed Balls (qtd. in Stewart 2013) and the fact that Osborne paid £43,000 for

external legal advice, as revealed through the Freedom of Information Act, provoked little enthusiasm amongst taxpayers in a “cost-of-living crisis” (Boyle 2014).¹⁰

Another argument commonly brought forward to explain anti-politics is that in addition to feeling alienated, people are no longer interested enough in politics to participate in elections or engage with politics in other ways. Such an assumption is as simple as it is tricky: interest is not only a variable that depends on the ability of those surveyed to self-reflect, but has remained comparatively constant over the last two decades (Lee and Young, 2013: 67). It has also never been exceptionally high to begin with. The Hansard Society’s 2014 *Audit of Political Engagement* found that for the past decade, interest fluctuated around the 50 per cent mark, with an increase to 58 per cent in 2010 and a fast drop to 42 per cent in the following two years (91). In 2010, approximately two thirds of those surveyed even disagreed with the statement that politics is a waste of time (*Ibid.*: 125). Furthermore, one could easily argue that the increasing numbers of politically active people outside of formal politics contradict an alleged lack of interest in political matters. The Power Inquiry found the British to be far from apathetic, with large parts of the citizenry engaging in community and charity work (Power Inquiry 2006: 16-18).

Reflecting on these arguments and assumptions, Stoker concludes the problem to be a systemic one, rooted in a lack of political efficacy, i.e. the belief in being able to influence political decision-making (personal efficacy) on the one hand and confidence in the political system being able to respond to voter’s needs (system efficacy) on the other hand (2011, *Building a new politics*: 51). Survey data appears to prove him right: When asked how much influence on political decision-making they felt, if any, 46 per cent of the 2014 *Audit of Political Engagement*’s respondents answered “not very much influence” and 40 per cent ticked “no influence at all” (Hansard Society 2014: 2014: 95). Lee and Young further detected that for more than two thirds of the public it is inconsequential which party is in power (2013: 70) as they do not have the confidence that any party will change things for the better either way. Quite interestingly, research has found that people do not necessarily desire to be more involved (Hansard Society 2014: 4)¹¹ or have more political power, but instead would prefer what Stoker

¹⁰ The legislation, which restricts bonuses to 100 percent of their pay, or 200 percent with shareholder approval, is aimed at exactly those formd of risk-taking that led to the financial crisis. The UK withdrew its legal challenge in 2014, one day “after the European Court of Justice’s advocate general issued a non-binding legal opinion that the challenge was invalid” (Hanrahan 2014).

¹¹ The 2014 *Audit of Political Engagement* revealed that, overall, 62 per cent of respondents either do not want to be heavily involved in political decision-making or at all. Only 6 per cent want to be heavily involved, 32 per cent fairly involved (Hansard Society 2014: 96).

calls “latent representation”, i.e. the certainty that decisions represent general rather than special interest (Stoker 2011, *Building a new politics*: 36). One possible explanation for this apparent reluctance to be more directly involved in local and national decision-making, and a point where some see citizenship education as a way of engaging people in civic and political matters already early on (Dill 2013), could be the lack of political knowledge felt by a substantial portion of the population (Lee and Young 2013: 71, Hansard Society 2014: 36).

Moving away from attempts of explanation, academic and political discourse has necessarily turned towards finding ways of counteracting anti-politics. *Building a new politics?* is the title of Stoker’s report on anti-politics prepared for the British Academy, but also the *question du jour*. While it has been established that anti-politics is anything but a new phenomenon, the discussion has also shown that the climate did not improve through anti-austerity sentiments. And if the problem is indeed a systemic one – a downturn in public engagement undermining the legitimacy of political parties and, on a wider level, democracy – it becomes paramount to engage or reconnect people with politics again (Stoker 2011, *Building a new politics*). To this end, Stoker discusses two approaches to finding a solution: Political engineering, i.e. the attempt of improving existing features of representative democracy, on the one hand and democratic design, the search for new mechanisms of participation on the other (*Ibid.*:45). The reduction of the number of MPs in the House of Commons, the provision of five year fixed-term parliaments, the removal of the majority of hereditary peers from the upper house or devolution legislation of recent years are some examples of extensive efforts in political engineering that have aimed at enhancing transparency and securing power beyond the Westminster bubble. Nevertheless, these measures were incapable of reversing current anti-political trends. Even a referendum on changing the much-criticised British voting system from first-past-the-post to an alternative vote system was lost in 2011, indicating that people might simply be too “turned off by the way that formal politics works” (*Ibid.*: 47) for these changes to fundamentally alter perceptions.

Others therefore see deliverance in a new democratic design or an alternative politics hinging substantially on social movements and pressure groups (Stoker 2006: 42). In line with this, Akram *et al.* observe that “a ‘shrinkage’ of the state, through globalisation, privatisation, marketization and deregulation, [...] has meant that decision-making has flowed away from public bodies and official government organisations” (2014: 45) towards social movements that function as “popular avenues for informal

political mobilisation [...] and expression” (*Ibid.*: 43). Especially amongst more radically inclined movement activists, calls for a revolution beyond a paradigm shift in economics, a fundamental overhaul of the current system, are getting louder (Brand 2014). Labelling the British public as mere spectators of politics would therefore fail to reflect the multi-faceted ways in which the anti-austerity movement but also other NSMs increasingly engage with politics outside of the traditional party system. Different groups already “occupy the nooks and crannies of civil society [...] and sometimes wrong-foot politicians, parties, legislatures and governments” (Keane 2009: xxvii). A narrow focus on institutional change and representative government theories therefore excludes the broad range of modes of political participation and informal political action that have developed in recent years and it is perhaps more necessary than ever to reconceptualise what political participation encompasses.

3. New Social Movements: A Framework for Popular Protest

As it is difficult to pinpoint *the* definition for NSMs, a review of NSM literature is a necessary first step in establishing a framework before turning to an examination of anti-austerity protests in the UK. Especially the line between social movements and ‘new’ social movements has been an issue of contention, many studies using both terms interchangeably, others attaching importance to a movement’s structural set-up while neglecting its ideology or vice versa. While traditional approaches have been concerned with resource mobilisation and political process theory (Tilly 1978, McAdam 1982, Tarrow 1989, Gamson 1990) or have conducted collective behaviour research (Smelser 1962), more recent discourse has attached importance to the cultural dimension of NSMs (D’Anjou and Van Male 1998), asserting that “social movements are shaped by culture and at the same time themselves form and transform culture” (Johnston and Kladermans 1995:20). There is, in short, an abundance of overlapping definitions and opaque terminology. Additionally, it is often claimed that “the lines between [...] forms of social movement and NGO blur” (Madlingozi qtd. in Matthews 2014), particularly because of their thematic overlap, e.g. in advancing social justice. Important distinctions are, however, that even though the structure of NGOs can vary, they tend to have stronger hierarchies than NSMs, often have professional staff and commonly “have a ‘stakeholder’ relationship with the state”. Another crucial distinction is that NSMs often operate “at the margins of the *sphere* of civil society” (*Ibid.*)

and tend to be much more fluid and reactive whereas NGOs are viewed to operate within that sphere and on a set of fixed priorities (Earle 2004).

Central features that have been identified to distinguish NSMs from other political actors are horizontal organisation and communication, a lack of leadership as well as spontaneous, autonomous and informal action (Della Porta and Diani 2006, Roos 2013, Schradie 2014, Sotirakopoulos and Rootes 2014). To clarify, spontaneity and informality here do not signify arbitrariness or lack of organisational direction. Quite to the contrary, a high degree of coordination and self-organisation were found to have been essential in collective action and occupations of the post-2011 period (Roos and Oikonomakis 2013), as Occupy protests in over 80 countries illustrate.

Charles Tilly further defines NSMs as “the sustained, organized challenge to existing authorities in the name of a deprived, excluded, or wronged population” (1995: 37), picking up the notion that while ideally broad-based and networked, formal processes of decision-making are not uncoordinated or fragmented, but also indicating that “shared concerns about diverse issues, community building and identity” (Akram *et al.* 2014: 44) formation are paramount. Even though it is certainly necessary to further qualify the notion of scale, as a movement does not necessarily encapsulate the need of an entire population but can also emerge around a specific demographic or issue, this early definition is certainly applicable to contemporary anti-austerity protests. Authorities are challenged by those feeling alienated from their political leaders and frustrated with austerity’s uneven effects. In this context, Della Porta and Diani note that NSMs are “involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents [...] [and] share a distinct collective identity” (2006: 20) that arises in relation to other actors, e.g. political elites or groups that articulate a conflicting ideology. The notion of a clear demarcation of movement groups versus a defined opposition is also echoed in Norris’ wider distinction between “‘agencies’ (the collective organisations through which people mobilise for the political)” that have shifted significantly to encompass NSMs next to interest groups, and “‘targets’ (the actors towards whom participants are attempting to direct their action)” (Akram *et al.* 2014: 43).

Notably, Touraine remarks that “social actors now talk on their behalf instead of on behalf of history and desire their own freedoms and the right of being themselves without getting crushed by government, violence or propaganda instruments rather than desiring to govern the direction of ‘things’” (2000: 47). Even today, this statement echoes Stoker’s aforementioned observation that the British people do not necessarily want to do politics themselves but rather desire to feel adequately represented. Because

this desire is not fulfilled, NSM groups become mouthpieces for demands to change the status quo. The statement also contextualises claims that NSMs constitute “a new form of political participation that [emphasises] project politics and project identities” (Akram *et al.* 2014: 50), meaning that the individual focus of NSM groups, e.g. a specific concern with fracking regulations at local council level, allow for a high degree of identification with specific issues or projects. Perhaps more so than the affiliation with a specific party which often means accepting parts of a manifesto that one does not necessarily identify with.

Issues of contention identified by NSMs are diverse, campaigns ranging from single-issue ones like anti-fracking or anti-airport expansion campaigns from groups such as Plane Stupid, to more general themes like globalisation, environment or equality. Once defined, issues of contention are carried out at “sites of contention” (Olcese 2015: 275), i.e. locations or areas in which movement groups organise actions and engage with sympathisers as well as opponents. For example the courts can be a site of contention for movement groups such as the South Yorkshire Migration and Asylum Action Group that are primarily concerned with restoring and providing legal aid for immigration and asylum cases. The media would be a site of contention whenever a movement group places importance on influencing public opinion.

This thesis’ framework for scrutinising NSMs is based on the different stages in which a movement or movement group creates its own narrative. These are to

- (1) articulate an issue of contention,
- (2) propose an alternative to the status quo, and
- (3) define a movement group’s site(s) of contention and strategies.

These stages are important not only to communicate a movement’s *raison d’être* to power holders or the general public, but also function to consolidate a movement from within, thereby providing a frame of reference to movement activists and supporters (Fine 1995; Snow and Benford 1988; Gamson 1988) that informs the movement’s *modus operandi* and its objectives. As d’Anjou and Van Male comment, social movements and “must accomplish a contradictory task. They must frame their challenges in interpretive packages that are contrary to the dominant culture while at the same time struggle to make these contrary views part of the dominant culture” (1998: 207). ‘Global justice’ or ‘anti-capitalism’ are e.g. frames that frequently appear in anti-austerity discourse. Each emphasises slightly different objectives (Garret 2006: 4) in opposition to the status quo that allow us to make assumptions regarding a movement group’s self-

perception and mode of operation. Simplified for the sake of clarity, a group employing an anti-capitalist frame might be expected to be more adversarial in nature than one operating under a global justice frame. Even though there might be considerable ideological and strategic overlap, the latter stresses its affirmation of an ideal state whereas the former is clearly positioned against a non-ideal state.

It also needs to be noted that not every NSM manages to complete all stages of the framework proposed above. Failure to formulate e.g. a specific aim or potential solutions to the issue of contention can adversely affect the commitment of individual members, or how the public or the media receive a movement, and lead to its quick erosion. Additional factors that influence a movement's lifespan or staying power are both, membership numbers and issue salience. As Heffernan notes, "recognition, inevitably, empowers the organisation as much – and perhaps even more than – its cause" (2011: 183). The amount of people supporting a movement group's agenda as well as the relevance of a specific cause in relation to other concerns in current affairs reflect on a movement's perceived legitimacy and its likelihood of rallying a critical mass of public support (*Ibid.*: 178).

As McAdam and Snow note, NSMs "eschew politics through proper" (1997: 326) channels, often because their members feel marginalised, and, thus, conventional forms of participation give way to unconventional ones:

Protest – or the collective use of unconventional methods of political participation to try to persuade or coerce authorities to support a challenging group's aims – is perhaps the fundamental feature that distinguishes social movements from routine political actors. (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004: 263)

Referring to protest as 'unconventional', though, arguably meets the sheer mass of protests instigated by NSMs with slightly outdated terminology. While historically deemed an outsider tactic, nowadays they are "part of the modern political repertoire available to the left and right, to insiders and outsiders, for a variety of issues" (Caren *et al.* 2011: 125-6).

Protest, whether deemed unconventional or conventional, is only one example of NSMs' "repertoires of contention" (Tilly 1995; Traugott 1995; Tarrow 1998), or action repertoires, i.e. the variety of tactics and strategies employed in collective action to bring about change. These strategies range from non-violent to violent ones, from those operating within the framework of formal politics to those outside of it. Actions like leafletting, petitioning, lobbying or voting are perceived to be more traditional

strategies, methods such as picketing or protest marches, in contrast, as more confrontational. Furthermore, NSMs have discovered cultural strategies such as carnival protests like Reclaim the Streets and music events like Live Aid, and also find political expression through performance interventions connected to art, film literature, poetry or product boycotts.

Social movement groups have traditionally assimilated new technologies into their repertoires – newspapers, magazines or newsletters, the radio, television or film – but especially the use of the Internet is seen to have been revolutionary for NSMs. Terms such as cyberactivism, digital activism or “hacktivism” (McCaughey and Ayers 2003: 5) refer to activism predominantly in the sphere of ICTs. Examples include strategic voting¹² (Schussman and Earl 2004), hacking, online sit-ins, defacing Web pages, email floods in a digital appropriation of culture jamming¹³ practices through memes, viruses and worms, and data theft or destruction (McCaughey and Ayers 2003; Costanza-Chock 2003). However, as the Internet and social media not only become more and more central to our daily lives, but are often integral to NSMs for mobilising support and spontaneous action without incurring any financial costs, sticking to a clear dichotomy between online and offline activism might no longer be in keeping with the times.¹⁴

As this review of NSM and political participation literature has shown, NSMs are anything but homogenous entities (Saunders 2009). The adoption of specific tactics – online and offline – depends on a number of factors, among them a movement’s resources, i.e. funding, income, staff or number of followers or its public profile, status and subsequent access or lack thereof to other networks or political decision-makers. Taking these factors into consideration, the following chapter will examine British anti-austerity protests through the lens of the above presented three-part narrative around which NSM groups frame their protest.

¹² Strategic voting, also referred to as ‘Nader trading’, emerged during the 2000 US Presidential Election. Web sites were specifically designed so that voters could coordinate their votes across states – with significant political ramifications. See Schussman and Earl 2006 for a further discussion.

¹³ Culture jamming is defined as ‘an organized, social activist effort that aims to counter the bombardment of consumption-oriented messages in the mass media’. See Carducci 2006 for a further discussion.

¹⁴ Chapter 5 will provide an in-depth discussion of the possibilities of the new media for NSM.

4. Contemporary Anti-Austerity Protests in the UK

Analysis up till this point has found that, while not the sole drive of anti-politics in Britain, anti-austerity sentiments cannot be ignored when debating ways out of the alleged crisis of democracy. Ever since the global financial crisis, economic questions have been at the forefront of issues that concern the UK's public and larger policy frameworks have become a personal matter for people. The anti-austerity agenda propelled forward by a number of movements and movement groups has entered the mainstream. As many theorists claim NSMs to have a lasting influence on political decision-making and people's engagement with politics (Lentin 1999; Caren *et al.* 2011), it becomes necessary to scrutinise the way in which movement groups organise and frame their protest against austerity and ask if they present valid alternatives to formal politics. Do developments in the British anti-austerity landscape indeed indicate that NSMs have the capability to lastingly influence political participation?

Building on concepts and developments presented in previous chapters, this chapter will assess in what way three groups that exemplify Keynesian and prefigurative trends in the British anti-austerity Movement, specifically Occupy, UK Uncut and the People's Assembly Against Austerity, articulate their objections to contemporary austerity issues and how they organise their dissent. As especially the latter two have not been subject to much scholarly attention, the analysis relies heavily on primary content such as reports, manifestos, action callouts or blogs drafted and edited by the movement groups themselves as well as on media reporting of their activities. Aspects of reception by media, politics and the public will be featured where contextually required, but will primarily be discussed in Chapter 4.4.

4.1. UK Uncut

UK Uncut identifies as a grassroots movement taking action to highlight alternatives to the government's austerity course (UK Uncut 2015, "About") and consists of a network of protest groups and anti-cuts activists who claim that a rigorous collection of corporate tax could render austerity policies superfluous. The group is primarily concerned with rallying public opposition to corporate tax avoidance and the government's austerity agenda. By its own account, it is run entirely by volunteers (*Ibid.* "Donate").

As many NSM groups, UK Uncut emerged spontaneously. In late 2010, just one week after George Osborne announced his emergency budget, a group of friends discussed an article about a settlement on tax payments between HMRC and Vodafone written by *Private Eye* journalist Richard Brooks. The discussion in a London pub inspired the group's first action on 27 October 2010 after a number of liberal-left journalists were asked to announce a meeting place on Twitter and to tell interested people to look for an orange umbrella (Hari 2011).¹⁵ Around 70 people gathered, entered Vodafone's flagship store in Oxford Street and sat down, accusing the multinational telecommunications company of funnelling profits through a Luxembourg subsidiary and coaxing HMRC into letting them off a £6 billion tax bill, so that only £1.25 billion of what was truly owed were paid (Worstell 2011: 23). The so-called 'sit-in's' rationale: "Petitions don't seem to work, so we are stopping them physically" (UK Uncut 2014).

While often portrayed as a left-wing pressure group (Kwei and Stephansen 2014), UK Uncut tries to avoid ideological labels and perceives itself as an inclusive, networked and non-hierarchical movement: "UK Uncut is your movement. There are no centrally planned actions. If you have an idea for an action, or want one on your high street, it's up to you to make it happen" (UK Uncut 2015, "About"). UK Uncut promotes community campaigning, i.e. actions are organised independently by local actors and are often directed at local issues. Guest blogs, action callouts and link-ups via social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook or video-sharing websites like Vimeo and YouTube are actively encouraged, but UK Uncut publicises planned actions on a centralised website to guarantee a coordinated approach to direct actions in line with the group's key protest themes and messages (Joyce and Wain 2014). This strategic approach to communication also allows for synchronised action on a larger scale. One example are the 'Great British Street Parties', an innovative series of parties across the UK's regions on 26 May 2012, one of which took place outside of Nick Clegg's London home (Taylor 2012).

The movement group frames itself as standing in direct opposition to big business and corporate elites that do not pay their fair share, stating that "a cabinet of millionaires have decided that libraries, healthcare, education funding, voluntary services, sports, the environment, the disabled, the poor and the elderly must pay the price for

¹⁵ It should be noted that members of the initial group already were experienced political activists and campaigners and could therefore build upon existing structures and contacts to provide to spark attention.

the recklessness of the rich” (UK Uncut 2015, “About”). Cuts, as previously mentioned, are regarded as political choice rather than economic necessity. Subsequently, the identified issue of contention is an imbalanced taxation system and the “dismantling [of] the welfare state, sending inequality sky-rocketing and hitting the poorest hardest” (*Ibid.*) in the aftermath of the financial crisis. The clearly formulated objectives are, firstly, to put tax avoidance by rich individuals and corporations at the top of the political agenda and, secondly, “to change the public lexicon [...] [by] using direct action” (Kwei and Stephansen 2014), i.e. to inform the public of incongruities in government policies and to highlight alternatives.

A key demand, and constituting stage two of the movement’s narrative – the proposal of alternatives – is a financial transaction tax (FTT), also known as Robin Hood Tax, which is recommended by an eponymous campaigning group consisting of 115 organisations, including charities like Oxfam, Barnardo’s and Friends of the Earth as well as major trade unions and faith organisations. A tax of about 0.05 per cent on transactions of the likes of bonds, stocks, derivatives and foreign currency is estimated to raise £250 billion a year globally and would be cheap to implement as FTTs are already in use (Robin Hood Tax 2014). The concept has many supporters, not least because it is expected to keep in check the practice of risky transactions and is a direct taxation of the financial sector that is made responsible for triggering the financial crisis in the first place. UK Uncut’s enthusiastic support of the Robin Hood Tax also confirms Akram *et al.*’s assertions on community building and identity formation (2014: 44). Specific group identity may be central to UK Uncut’s operations, but appears to come second to building a united anti-austerity front in general and to furthering the anti-tax avoidance agenda through collaboration with other actors. This is also evident in the close working relationship UK Uncut keeps with other tax-focused campaigning groups such as The Other TaxPayers’ Alliance which is primarily concerned with counteracting misinformation about and promotion of regressive taxation policies, especially in the press, or the Tax Justice Network that conducts research and advocates on global taxation evasion, avoidance and taxation havens.

By identifying the High Streets as a main site of contention, the movement group has been able to engage, or at the very least confront, citizens with the anti-austerity agenda. Direct action in the form of a sit-in at Vodafone is just one example of many actions through which the group has disrupted the day-to-day business of individual stores or even forced them to shut down (Boyd and Mitchell 2012: 429). Boots, Tesco, Starbucks and Arcadia, Sir Philip Green’s clothing retail empire, which includes

chains like Dorothy Perkins, BHS, Burton or Topshop, have also been on UK Uncut's extensive target list and weekly grassroots action has thereby raised attention locally and nationally.

One of UK Uncut's main strategies to increase public support for anti-austerity campaigns is the use of simple but illustrative juxtapositions of government policies and their direct consequences for ordinary citizens – through direct action, as shown in the case of Vodafone, and on all available communication channels. For instance, tweets comment on and share topical news articles designed to make people question the current system “Wow. New disabilities minister voted AGAINST protecting disabled childrens [sic] benefits” (@UKuncut Twitter 13 May 2015)¹⁶. Others are designed to subvert the political leadership and rally support for direct action by laying bare double standards, for example when posting “ACTION CALL OUT: Downing Street is getting ready to celebrate £12bn new cuts. Join us on 30th” (@Ukuncut Twitter 12 May 2015)¹⁷ together with a picture of a champagne delivery to 11 Downing Street. Furthermore, video messages provide witness accounts or snapshots of successful actions, legitimising anti-austerity protest and conveying the impression of joint action.

In this context it needs to be noted that traditional news media do not only serve as providers of add-on information for social media posts, but are seen as a vehicle to widen the anti-austerity debate. Olcese's case study of the use of ICT in UK Uncut activities has found that the movement group's own communication channels often directly address the mass media, “establish[ing] a reciprocal interest between social media and mass media” (2015:276). Media channels can therefore be seen as yet another site of contention where UK Uncut diffuses its message. Not all news coverage of UK Uncut's activities is necessarily favourable. Nevertheless, as Olcese's field interviews with UK Uncut activists indicate at least from the side of the movement group “a low degree of antagonism with traditional media, and a rather open desire of building a productive relationship” (*Ibid.*: 277) can be detected.

All of UK Uncut's communication strategies are bolstered by increasingly combative and repetitive rhetoric. Political elites are frequently portrayed as “ruthless millionaires in charge” that want “to destroy the welfare state and privatise our vital public services”. The anti-austerity cause is framed as a crusade to defend public services and the welfare system: “We can't stop this by asking nicely. If we want to win this fight [...] we must make it impossible to ignore our arguments and our demands. We need

¹⁶ See <https://twitter.com/UKuncut/status/598447611029245953>; original emphasis.

¹⁷ See <https://twitter.com/UKuncut/status/598136841565376513>, original emphasis.

to take direct action and build a powerful grassroots mass movement” (UK Uncut 2015. “CALL OUT: Fight the Cuts – Fight for our Future”).

The group’s campaigns have gained visibility especially by engaging people locally in creative and imaginative protest action, so-called Do It Yourself (DIY) activism which originates from the 1990s DIY culture of the free party and the anti-establishment punk movement. DIY activism is characterised by immediate, spontaneous and direct action (Munro 2005: 75) and practices adopted by UK Uncut include the “*dropping out* of existing institutions; *subversion* of existing institutions, through parody; *impeding existing* institutions, via property destruction, ‘direct action case work,’ blockades, and so on” (Day 2005: 19; original emphasis). The Vodafone sit-in would be a clear example of impeding an existing institution by blockading the store’s entrance and showroom. Quite often practices overlap. As a flash mob fittingly titled “iDodge Tax” at Apple’s flagship store in Regent Street led by comedian Mark Thomas in June 2013 shows, they are dynamic and adaptable to meet specific campaign needs. Reacting to Apple CEO Tim Cook’s defence of the company’s subsidiaries in Ireland, allegedly designed to reduce tax exposure, 50 activists gathered for an Irish party, carrying Irish flags and banners that read “Take a tax holiday in Ireland” while a band played traditional Irish music for a sing-along (Trueman 2013). While of course small in scope, the action essentially subverted and impeded Apple’s business through parody and blocked the showroom to potential customers. After its frequent use for marketing purposes or, as Hancox puts it, “gross advertising campaigns seeking ‘spontaneity’ and ‘authenticity’ for their brand [...] [and] doing capitalism’s dirty work” (2011) the flash mob has been re-appropriated for political activism in the post-crisis period. Furthermore, customers present at the time of the protest were advised to purchase their goods in a nearby John Lewis store (Trueman 2013), essentially suggesting them to ‘drop out’ of their current customer behaviour or ‘boycott’ the Apple store.¹⁸

DIY creativity has broadened UK Uncut’s repertoire of contention and can also explain why feedback from fellow citizens has been largely positive. One could expect people to feel inconvenienced by the continued confrontation with disruptive action, but already at the first Vodafone sit-in, UK Uncut struck a core. Passers-by interviewed instinctively sympathised with the movement group’s rationale and condemned tax

¹⁸ The act of ‘boycotting’ – the conjunction of buying and boycotting – the Apple store and instead purchasing the Apple product at a John Lewis store might seem illogical since Apple will still make profit for having their product sold. However, as UK Uncut is primarily concerned with tax avoidance, this particular form of boycott would ensure a proper taxation of these profits.

avoidance as “daylight robbery”. Upon witnessing policing of the action, behaviour of the authorities was criticised as “disgusting” and “terrible” (UK Uncut 2014, “First ever UK Uncut action”). The rationale behind DIY action is simple, catchy and entertaining: If schools and clinics have to be closed because tax is not properly collected from multinational companies, medical treatment and classes will simply take place in these companies’ lobbies. Rock gigs and comedy shows are used to draw attention to cuts in arts funding, read-ins highlight cuts affecting libraries (Hancox 2011). In a creative reverse of the government’s bank bail-outs, so-called ‘bail-ins’ took place at branches of banks like Barclays, HSBC, Lloyds and RSB:

A Bail-In means marching into our broken banks and building something better. Make your silent, sterile Barclays [sic] branch sing, dance, explode with life! Reclaim the space and make it into something thrilling, something that shows how much creativity the anti-cuts movement has. Let’s smash austerity with a smile on our faces. We are Cameron’s nightmare, a real big society with the vision and bravery to transform the institutions at the rotten heart of our system. (UK Uncut 2011, “What is the Big Society Bail-In?”)

UK Uncut also managed to extend its action repertoire targeted at the financial sector to using legal action to challenge tax avoidance and political ignorance or even endorsement of it, marking the courts as another site of contention. Activists of the group’s spin-off campaigning group UK Uncut Legal Action have been primarily concerned with “turn[ing] the table and challeng[ing] the behaviour of the powerful in legal terms” (Birks 2014: 277). Especially the group’s application for judicial review of the so-called ‘sweetheart’ tax deal between HMRC and Goldman Sachs received much attention. The deal permitted the bank to escape an interest payment of £6 to £20 million after it had threatened to remove itself from the Code of Practice on Taxation for Banks. UK Uncut Against Legal Action argued that, amongst other shortcomings, HMRC was in breach of its statutory duty (Aston and Farmer 2013).

When discussing repertoires of contention, it should not go unnoticed that UK Uncut’s action repertoire also involves tactics that go beyond using social media solely to circulate its message or synchronise offline action. Campaigners, for example, hijacked the hashtag #VodafoneAGM, initially created for corporate marketing purposes around the company’s annual general meeting, and appealed for people to “occupy Vodafone online” (Williams and Duggan 2014). In another instance they used the blogging function of Vodafone’s World of Difference website, a figurehead of Vodafone’s corporate and social responsibility, to insist that the company had to pay its taxes (Taylor 2011).

The movement group's website is utilised to synchronise campaign efforts and, reflecting its DIY orientation, provides activists and supporters with resources to organise and structure their actions. Visitors of the website are e.g. asked to check the UK Uncut Action Map for an action listed close to them and a table lists all planned events and provides further details such as the organising group's or individual's name, the name of the action, date, time, location and meeting places as well as the organiser's contact details. A brief manifesto or summary of objectives describes why the action is planned in the first place and potentially offers incentives to join an action (UK Uncut 2015, "UK Uncut Action List"). A section titled "Organise an action!" (UK Uncut 2015) then provides not only an easy to follow "How to" video, but also a 6-step guidance to organising a new action. "Spreading the word", in a first step, entails telling friends, family and colleagues, but also putting up posters in local shops, getting in touch with local groups, e.g. trade unions, student unions or campaigning groups, as well as setting up a Twitter account and using the hashtag #UKUncut. Such a task ensures that organisers carefully think of how they can achieve maximum visibility for their action, but also clearly formulate their aims and strategies, link up to existing efforts and commit to specific times and places. Steps two and three, "calling the local press" and "getting props" also belong to the preparatory stage and are designed to achieve maximum and also, quite importantly, positive impact. As the aim should be to rally public support, a specific and well-formulated pitch to a local paper or radio can avoid negative press reactions. With step four, "knowing your rights", UK Uncut re-emphasises the need to link up and share resources with other movement and activist groups, e.g. the Activist's Legal Project for legal briefings and resources to ensure that those organising an action are aware of their rights, or Seeds for Change, a network of non-profit training and support co-operatives, for advice on consensus decision-making or practical campaigning skills. Briefings and guides on campaign planning, media publicity and outreach or funding and finance are provided on single HTML pages and PDF documents to allow for easy distribution. Step five, "turning up", should be a given, but UK Uncut stresses the importance of every protest, however small, to spreading the anti-austerity message and recommends an inclusive and non-hierarchical approach to every protest action. Finally, "reporting back" is vital for keeping track of successes, lessons learned and informs future action (*Ibid.*). By providing detailed guidance from preparation to execution to follow-up, UK Uncut facilitates individual action, thereby extending its network and spreading the anti-austerity agenda across the English regions.

4.2. Occupy London

The Occupy movement has brought protest in public space to an entirely new level, instantly subsumed in the public's consciousness by targeting public urban space, "constructing an alternative radical lifeworld" (Merrifield 2012: 273) in the heart of cities all over the world. As Murray comments, "the beauty of [Occupy] [...] was the explosion of spontaneous rage and creative energy that refused to be contained or channelled within existing institutions, such as political parties, trade unions or NGOs" (2014). In its form and tactics it owes much to the alter-globalisation movement but the particular context of the bank-induced financial crash of 2008 and its aftermath of austerity policies explain the movement's rise to prominence.

Everything began with a meme, a self-perpetuating cultural unit of thought that mutates and that spreads through imitation (Fraser 2012). Kalle Lasn, editor of the Canadian anti-consumerist magazine *Adbusters*, published an image of a ballerina balancing on top of the Charging Bull, a bronze sculpture symbolic for the New York Stock Exchange. Above it, the question "What is our one demand?", below it the prompt "#OCCUPYWALLSTREET September 17th. Bring tent". Three months later, on 15 October 2011, a Facebook campaign was launched and called for protesters to express their solidarity in a Global Action Day¹⁹ by taking to the London Stock Exchange, marking the birth of the UK strand of the movement, Occupy London. Initially, a crowd of 2,000 to 3,000 people attempted to occupy Paternoster Square, following the hashtag #OccupyLSX. As the privately owned square facing the London Stock Exchange was fenced off because of a High Court injunction obtained by its owners, the paved area in front of St Paul's Cathedral – part public space and part property of the Church of England – became the spontaneous alternative for a peaceful tent occupation. It lasted until 28 February 2012, when bailiffs and riot police removed occupiers and tents from the last remaining high profile camp of global Occupy protests following a High Court rule on 18 January in favour of the City of London Corporation's attempts of eviction (Burgis 2012). As meetings regularly take place until this day, albeit with less frequency, it is necessary to differentiate between Occupy London's occupation and post-occupation stage.

Despite the movement's apparent dormancy post-occupation, it constitutes a defining moment for anti-austerity groups worldwide: Occupy's slogan "We are the 99%"

¹⁹ Protests occurred in over 900 cities in Europe, Africa, Asia and the United States (Adam 2011).

sparked an international debate about the fairness of bank bailouts and austerity policies, and, nationally, about the accuracy of Cameron's claim "We are all in this together". It rapidly established the movement's narrative and self-perception by pitting the 99 per cent, the people, versus the one percentile, i.e. the ruling political and economic elites. The issue of contention:

Ordinary people and communities around the world are being devastated by a crisis we did not cause. Our political elites have chosen to protect corporations, financial institutions and the rich at the expense of the majority. Occupy London is part of a global movement that [...] fight[s] for a new political and economic system that puts people, democracy and the environment before profit. (Occupy London 2012, "An Introduction to Occupy London").

Occupy thereby was both, a proclamation of outrage and a demand for a radical overhaul of the current political system. Unlike UK Uncut, participants were not singularly focused on specific ways to end austerity, but called for a radically new reconceptualisation of democracy itself – a global democracy in which "the citizens of the world must get control over the decisions that influence them in all levels – from global to local" (Suarez and Zameret 2011). The contemporary economic and political system was described as "unsustainable", "undemocratic" and "unjust", while the ideal alternative was seen in a democracy that represents people rather than corporations and in "structural change towards authentic equality" (Occupy London 2011, "Initial Statement"). And according to a poll for the *Guardian*, the message resonated with large parts of the British public: 51 percent of those polled agreed with the statement "The protesters are right to want to call time on a system that puts profits before people" compared to 38 per cent agreeing that "The protesters are naïve; there is no practical alternative to capitalism – the point is to get it moving again" (Boon 2011: 8).

The latter viewpoint may have been exacerbated by the movement's *modus operandi* of "occupy now, demand later" (Phoenecia 2011), not only making it difficult to fit into any given framework, but also providing a reason as to why critics regarded Occupy London as protesting for the sake of protesting, lacking valid strategies to reach its envisioned ideal. As Murray remarks, "in many ways, Occupy [...] sought to be a movement of radical democracy" (Murray 2014) itself instead of using existing means of political participation such as petitioning or lobbying politicians to initiate reforms in line with Occupy's democratic ideas. Unlike UK Uncut, Occupy did not identify individual targets or take legal action to reach its aims but focused on internal processes. Especially the group's long-lasting reluctance to present clearly articulated alternatives has been named as a factor for its erosion, "framed as a failure [...] rather

than as part of a legitimate process of open-minded deliberative debate” (Briks 2014: 228) – the refusal to engage with traditional politics regarded as deficiency rather than as a conscious decision to exist outside the system entirely. Paradoxically, when the group actually started to voice demands that were as diverse as the movement’s multitude of working groups, e.g. concerned with the environment or tuition fees, taxation, the NHS and many more topics perceived as vital for that vast aspiration of global democracy but that were not exactly focused on atrictly one achievable area, critics were disappointed and immediately questioned the strength in the movement’s ideology or in its decision-making processes (Sotirakopoulos and Rootes 2014: 173).

But even though the extent and feasibility of alternatives to the status quo presented by Occupy London might be debatable, it did have clear sites of contention that, strikingly, fulfilled dual roles as site of contention on the one hand and as tactics in Occupy London’s action repertoire on the other hand. First to name here is the protest camp, the occupation that gave the movement its name, which was divided into three sites, each with individual characteristics that played a part in the overall structure of the movement. Creating a number of working groups which were responsible for different aspects of running the camp, from kitchens, sanitation, medical care and sleeping, to media, education, legal issues and outreach (Halvorsen 2014: 402; Keys 2012: 78), the main camp at St Pauls Cathedral set up an alternative living community, a “microcosm[...] of what a future society could look like, actualizing a new set of social relationships and a new way of meeting basic human needs” (Murray 2014). A “Tent City University” provided a space to learn, exchange ideas and share knowledge and was a platform for peer-to-peer education, lectures, debates, films and games. “As formal education becomes more and more commodified and inaccessible,” so the reasoning, “here we have an opportunity to explore alternatives. Because between us we have all the resources we need” (Tent City University 2011), illustrating Occupy London’s conscious decision to remain separate from existing institutions. It also indicates that self-reliance was a core value. Furthermore, an empty building owned by the UBS bank became known as the “Bank of ideas”, a space for workshops and events that was also very important for the simple reason that it provided a solid roof for the movement’s IT base. The Bank of ideas exhibited parallels to UK Uncut’s bank bail-ins and was viewed as a “‘public repossession’ of property belonging to the companies that crashed the global economy” (Occupy London 2011, “Occupy London ‘repossesses’ multi-million pound bank offices”) in retaliation to evictions or relocations caused by the financial crisis. The clear distinction however was that it did not disrupt the bank

in its day-to-day work or draw the immediate attention of its customers through short-term collective action.

A unique feature of Occupy London were, and still are, its General Assemblies (GAs) in which the movement seeks “to prefigure a democracy-to-come” (Murray 2014), actualizing consensual democracy through horizontal, decentralised and non-hierarchical decision-making. An assembly can be called on demand and proposed agenda items are discussed and finalised in an open planning meeting before the GA. They are circulated in advance in order to allow people to form their own opinion. Publicity is generated through social media channels, the movement’s website as well as email lists to guarantee that as many people as possible are given the opportunity to attend. GAs place high importance on equality and freedom of expression in open discussions facilitated by hand gestures, but also require adherence to Occupy London’s “Safer Spaces Policy” which, amongst other items, prohibits alcohol and drugs, but also “racism, as well as ageism, homophobia, sexism, transphobia, ableism or prejudice based on ethnicity, nationality, class, gender, gender presentation, language ability, asylum status or religious affiliation” (Occupy London 2012). Any and all statements released on the website as well as any and all actions taken by Occupy have to be agreed on by all assembly attendants. As soon as a minimum of ten per cent veto a proposal, it is not adopted (*Ibid.*, “How an OL General Assembly works”).

The notion of everyone having their say constitutes an instance of collective identity formation which is perceived as “central to movements practicing pre-figurative counter cultural or alternative lifestyle politics” (Flesher Fomiyana 2010: 396), but which was also one of the movement’s greatest challenges during its occupation stage – for the UK strand and at camps all over the world. On the one hand, a structure like this potentially limits itself by facilitating a project identity that centres on single issues rather than wider strategic frameworks vital for as ambitious a goal as a shift towards a global democracy. Perhaps more problematic for a prefigured democracy, however, was a fixation on – or even a fetishisation of – internal processes. Smucker, for instance, recounts that “each meeting [at Occupy Wall Street (OWS)] collapsed under accusations of illegitimacy, a lack of democracy, and the reproduction of every kind of injustice and exclusion, until the process finally collapsed altogether” (2014). Occupy London activists further described a certain tendency towards an “institutional panic” (Sotirakopoulos and Rootes 2014: 176), i.e. a wariness of mirroring exactly those structures the movement is opposed to. Prefiguration ideally leads to the establishment of alternatives to existing forms and institutions, though, so-called counter-

institutions that, “grounded on material resources and production,” are “ultimately meant to increase participants’ autonomy from the state and capitalism” (Murray 2014; Day 2005: 19). A tent occupation as materialisation of an intact lifeworld *now* can arguably only last so long before it must transcend and become one of multiple strategies within a larger framework of political contention. This is also underlined by Occupy London’s second camp in Finsbury Square, which turned into “something of an overflow camp” (Halvorsen 2014: 413) devoid of purpose beyond the day-to-day tasks necessary for running the camp as living space while the movement’s political hub centred at St Paul’s. In the end, the protest camps provided a space to live and to build new social relationships in, but were not necessarily counter-institutions. As Murray concludes, “few seriously advocated for a future of tent cities [...]. The encampments did not *actualize* an alternative, but rather symbolized one” (2014, original emphasis).

Yet another site of contention were undoubtedly the media – much of Occupy London’s success in stirring up attention was owed to its accidental and unique location at St Paul’s Cathedral and ensuing interactions with the Church of England and struggles against eviction. As one activist stated:

We are in the middle [...] [...] On the left-hand side you have the financial area. On the right side you have the religious side, which is interlinked with the financial powers ... and they shouldn’t be. On the board of trustees of St. Paul’s cathedral you’ve got Goldman Sachs and HSBC. The fact that we stand between these sides highlights a lot of things. (qtd. in Sotirakopoulos and Rootes 2014: 176)

On the one hand, media coverage was a key factor for diffusing the Occupy message, generating public attention and curiosity that often led to people dropping by spontaneously, donating food and getting involved with lectures (Phoenecia 2011; Jones 2011). Some even suggest that “the absence of clearly defined aims may have helped the newsworthiness” of the occupation as “journalists tried to make sense of the protest” (Birks 2014: 58). On the other hand it was a site of contention because it was a venue that frequently questioned the protest’s legitimacy, maybe more so than critical reporting of UK Uncut’s disruptive sit-ins. Although Occupy largely resisted delegitimising frames and only suffered some critique of activists’ appearance and employment status (*Ibid.*: 215), the movement was criticised for its apparent affiliation with fugitive WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange who appeared in a Guy Fawkes mask at a rally at St Paul’s (Thompson 2011). But especially the fact that activists demonstrated in support of Assange outside the Ecuadorean embassy raised an internal and

external debate over whether he should be backed at all. The criticism persisted despite repeated social media posts that stated that there was “no universal agreement that Occupy London does in fact support Julian Assange” (Quinn 2012). Furthermore, so-called part-time protesters faced strong criticism for leaving the encampments at night, allegedly not being fully committed to the cause. The *Daily Mail* went as far as commissioning an independent thermal imaging company and claimed that 90 per cent of tents were unoccupied overnight, maintaining that “daytime-only protesters make a mockery of the slogan posted on tents and buildings around the camp which declares: ‘All day, all week, we’ll sleep on London’s freezing streets. Solidarity!’” (Kelly and Gayle 2011). It later turned out that the infra-red cameras were hardly reliable, seeing as they were actually unable to penetrate the tent’s canvas (Birks 2014: 216). Additionally, the accusation itself seems absurd when part-time protesters that left the camp, either during the day or at night, predominantly did so to attend work, contradicting portrayals of unemployed protesters who rather protest than work.

A strategy employed by Occupy London as a direct consequence was the creation of counter-media, i.e. continuous real-time documentation through social media posts, and livestreaming services. In fact, the movement has a presence on YouTube called “Occupy UK TV”, Facebook, and Twitter, publishes “Occupy Radio” podcasts, live streams and photos on its website and runs a blogging site titled “Occupy News Network”. Furthermore, these counter-media and other ICTs serve as tactical tools in strategic collective action. Aside from Facebook and Twitter campaigns, initial mobilisation took place via “meetup.com”, an online portal that allows people sharing common interests, e.g. politics, books, hobbies, to find each other online by entering either their interests or postal code, and facilitates offline meetings. It essentially functioned as hub for communities worldwide and supplemented the Occupy London website.

Similar to UK Uncut, Occupy London’s website serves as a platform for information and offers resources. An events section lists Occupy-owned as well events of as what the group refers to as “allies” (Occupy London 2012, “How to get involved”) that reach as far as May 2016. Notably, while Occupy values collaboration, and indeed also lists events of UK Uncut and the People’s Assembly Against Austerity, it sees itself as an autonomous movement, distinct from other movement groups. A “Statement of Autonomy” serves as disclaimer: “Any organisation is welcome to support us with the knowledge that doing so will mean questioning your own institutional frameworks of work and hierarchy and integrating our principles into your modes of action. SPEAK WITH US, NOT FOR US” (2011, original emphasis). This is also reflected

by the website's requirement to submit a form for review by the press working group if activists want to publicise an event. Joining a working group or creating a new one also require permission, ensuring that any and all actions associated with Occupy London are in line with its horizontal ideals.

Other techniques in Occupy London's repertoire of contention owe much to the inventiveness and humour of culture-jamming and the mimetic use of information. An image of a policeman using pepper spray against Occupy activists in the US, for instance, became known as "Casually Pepper Spray Everything Cop" and went viral, reproduced and appropriated by protesters to illustrate the movement's struggle with authorities and policing (DeLuca et al. 2012: 488). Subversive messaging thus occurred via the new media, but was also constantly visible at the protest camps in the forms of banners and signs that played with famous catchphrases such as "Now is the Winter of our Discount Tent" (Kelly and Gayle 2011) or displayed provocative slogans such as "Evict us and we multiply", "I'm not on benefits but your bank is", or "You get £18,426,105. We Get Austerity. Better off now M. Davis, CEO, Xstrata?" targeted at specific individuals (Occupy 2012, "Photos). Also noteworthy in this context is the Guy Fawkes mask, which became emblematic for the Occupy movement. The stylised mask became famous in *V for Vendetta*, David Lloyd and Alan Moore's graphic novel set in a dystopian Britain and adapted for the screens in 2006. "People should not be afraid of their government. [...] Governments should be afraid of their people" states the main protagonist V, face shrouded by his mask, (V qtd. in Merrifield 2012: 274), who finds historic inspiration in the Gunpowder Plot. The mask created a symbol for rebellion that transcended popular culture and found real-life application in anti-establishment protests. Notably, the mask is also linked to the international hacker ring Anonymous, infamous for their online attacks on government agencies and financial institutions.

4.3. People's Assembly Against Austerity

The People's Assembly Against Austerity²⁰ is a national campaign that aims at building the movement against austerity, cuts and privatisation together with trade unions, political organisations, community campaigns and, for lack of a more elegant term, ordinary citizens. With just over two years in existence, it is the youngest of all three

²⁰ Referred to as 'People's Assembly' or 'Assembly' from here on.

main movement groups under scrutiny here. Other than UK Uncut or Occupy, the People's Assembly did not rise from spontaneous action. Instead, it made strategic use of the news media and was launched with an open letter published in *The Guardian* in February 2013:

We are calling a People's Assembly Against Austerity to bring together campaigns against cuts and privatisation with trade unionists in a movement for social justice. [...] The assembly will provide a national forum for anti-austerity views which, while increasingly popular, are barely represented in parliament. A People's Assembly can play a key role in ensuring that this uncaring government faces a movement of opposition broad enough and powerful enough to generate successful co-ordinated action, including strike action. (People's Assembly 2013, *Guardian*)

The publication of what is essentially the People's Assembly's founding statement via the news media signalled that the Assembly was there to stay and imparted a certain sense of legitimacy from the onset, as did its backing by political figures such as the Green Party MPs Natalie Bennet and Caroline Lucas as well as by the Labour MPs Katy Clark, Jeremy Corbyn, John McDonnell and the late Tony Ben (*Ibid.*).²¹ It provided a basis for the Assembly's national organising committee and explicitly formulated chief issues of contention to a wide audience: austerity and privatisation are perceived as principal driving forces of socio-economic injustice and the British electorate is seen to be severely misrepresented by its political leadership. Consequently, the declared and certainly demanding goal is to bring about political change, i.e. to either pressure government into forsaking the austerity programme or see into power a new government that will (West/North Yorkshire People's Assembly 2014). Moreover, the Assembly seeks "to support, encourage, coordinate joint action, and facilitate a transfer of experience" (The People's Assembly 2015, "What is the People's Assembly?") across the entirety of the British Anti-Austerity movement and frequently refers to itself as campaign organisation. By its own account, the Assembly is organised and supported by 50 different organisations and campaigns, ranging from single-issue ones such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament or Keep our NHS public, to political parties and major trade unions. Unlike Occupy London, it therefore makes use of existing organisational and institutional structures.²²

²¹ Further political backers came from the Communist Party of Britain, but none from the Liberal Democrats or the Conservatives. Additionally, it is important to note that the Assembly is outspokenly not linked to any specific political party but rather "committed to open non-sectarian working and dedicated to supplementing, rather than supplanting, trade union, student, pensioner and community opposition to austerity measures" (The People's Assembly 2015, "What is the People's Assembly?").

²² For a complete list of organisers, supporters and affiliates, as published by the People's Assembly, see The People's Assembly 2015, "Supporters".

A “People’s Manifesto” establishes the movement group’s own narrative frame as a fight against the privilege of a few, and for “a people’s Britain, not a banker’s Britain” (People’s Assembly 2015: 2). Phrases such as “austerity is the tool they have invented to beat us with” (*Ibid.* 5) emphasise a point already quite overt in the Assembly’s name, i.e. this is *us*, the people, that pay the price while *they*, “millionaire politicians, fat-cat bankers and tax-avoiding businessmen” (*Ibid.* 4) gain from the austerity lie. Or, in the words of Owen Jones, journalist and signatory of the launch letter, “the biggest organised mugging in generations” (2013). The tone is inevitably polemic, but serves to consolidate a campaign identity similar to that of UK Uncut and Occupy London: The People’s Assembly is ideologically opposed to a political and economic system guided by neoliberal principles, emphasised by the proclamation that a left-wing movement unified by the Assembly will “fill a chasm” in “the cartel of modern politics” (*Ibid.*). Unlike UK Uncut the People’s Assembly thereby consciously identifies as left-wing and compared to Occupy London, it is prepared to operate within the system.

Following the articulation of issues of contention, a charter then makes policy recommendations in six key areas intended to alter the status quo. These are an unbiased economy, more and better jobs, higher living standards, the improvement and protection of public services, fairness and justice as well as a secure and sustainable future (People’s Assembly 2015, “People’s Charter”: 2). Crucially, recommendations evade vagueness and are linked into existing and topical debates about policies such as the much-criticised bedroom tax²³ and build on conversations driven forward by other campaigning groups, e.g. the closing of tax loopholes and tax havens (Jones 2013) advocated by UK Uncut. The charter thus offers a pre-formulated script for activists to articulate their views to external parties and a playbook to structure their own protest efforts.

Similarly to UK Uncut and Occupy London, the People’s Assembly tactically utilises juxtapositions and provocative messaging in its communication strategy to uncover the perceived hypocrisy of political discourse and to rally support. “Austerity has worked” is stated in the manifesto, for instance, and is immediately followed by

²³ Under the *Welfare Reform Act 2012*, housing benefit payments now depend on the number of rooms and the number occupants, i.e. they are restricted to allow for one bedroom per person or per couple. If this number is exceeded, a so-called “under-occupancy penalty” reduces housing benefits by 14 per cent for one extra room and by 25 per cent for two or more extra bedrooms (National Housing Federation 2013).

“TRUTH: Austerity was meant to reduce the deficit – the gap between the government’s spending, and what it gets from taxes. In fact, the deficit has grown 10% in the last year to over £100bn” (People’s Assembly 2015, “People’s Manifesto”: 24). Furthermore, an outlook at anticipated scenarios such as NHS fragmentation, an education system only affordable for the affluent and a worsening housing crisis confronts the readers with their own personal austerity costs if nothing changes. Besides establishing a narrative and providing activists, the charter therefore creates incentives to join the anti-austerity cause.

To reach its goal of consolidating British anti-austerity efforts under one banner in a broad-based, national effort, the People’s Assembly fulfils several roles: it leads on national direct actions, promotes the anti-austerity campaign to the public, the media and politics and, lastly, supports industrial action and national demonstrations organised by other movement groups or its own local branches through its communication channels, and by offering resources. It thus operates at multiple sites of contention, i.e. its own, those of currently 40 affiliated national trade unions and campaigns, and more than 150 local campaigning organisations (*Ibid.*, “Affiliate”). Public space is one of the People’s Assembly’s main sites of contention. More specifically, and aside from supporting local Assemblies in direct action, it focuses on large-scale and nationally synchronised events. On 21 June 2014, for example, a protest march from the *BBC*’s New Broadcasting House in London to the Houses of Parliament presented a massive front against the austerity measures introduced by the coalition government. The estimated 50,000 demonstrators in attendance were addressed by speakers who included representatives of the Assembly’s national organising committee, comedians Russell Brand and Mark Steel as well as Caroline Lucas MP and journalist Owen Jones (Rawlinson 2014), illustrating the Assembly’s strategic use of famous figures to draw attention to its cause and mobilise followers but, as the collaboration with leading economists and like-minded political figures shows, also to legitimise anti-austerity arguments.

Other events listed on the Assembly’s events website, which is essentially a comprehensive database of planned in-house or supported events, display a versatile repertoire of contention and a high degree of synchronisation. Especially the latter is exemplified by a callout for local events in a national day of action preceding the “End Austerity Now” demonstration in June. Local campaign groups are asked to help build up support for the upcoming event by choosing an action of their liking. Already

scheduled actions range from traditional forms of political participation such as leaf-letting or setting up a stall to creative ideas like a ‘lock-out’, i.e. “a gathering outside Manchester Royal Infirmary to symbolically lock the NHS into public hands” (People’s Assembly 2015, “National Day of Action”). Yet another planned event asks visitors of the website to bring pans and “MAKE SOME NOISE about food poverty in the UK” (Spence 2015, original emphasis), mirrors the creative DIY action of UK Uncut.

Aside from public space action, found to sustain the consolidation of a movement group’s collective identity through shared experience and interests (Flesher Fominaya 2010: 396), group identity is also built at delegate conferences. As such, 700 representatives from local People’s Assemblies, trade unions, community and national campaigns and organisations participated at the last conference, were able to influence and shape the direction of the anti-austerity campaign through consensus decision making (People’s Assembly 2015, “Supporters”; *Ibid.* 2014, “The People’s Assembly National Delegate Conference”).

The People’s Assembly also emphatically encourages local Assemblies and campaign groups to participate in driving the anti-austerity conversation forward through direct action. Across the UK, the Assembly already counts more than 70 local branches (*Ibid.* 2015 “Local People’s Assembly Groups”). New local Assemblies are welcome, but are obliged to stay within a set of guidelines. They must “be broad and action focussed” and “need to reflect the communities they seek to represent” (*Ibid.* 2014, “Guidance for local People’s Assembly groups”). As the accumulated experience and the large number of contacts can only be beneficial, there should not be any reason why a new group would refuse additional support, but new groups are also required to tie in with the already existing network and involve or at least invite people from a prescribed list of national organisations and a suggested number of local organisations and individuals supporting the anti-austerity agenda, e.g. Local Labour, an independent MPs opposing austerity or any local anti-cuts group (*Ibid.*). Such a guideline guarantees a cohesive approach in communication and also serves to feed the existing network, connecting anti-austerity efforts across the UK.

A second site of contention, and as the examples of UK Uncut and Occupy London have shown, indeed a site of contention for every NSM that attempts to establish itself as a serious contender in the landscape of anti-austerity protests, are the media. At first glance, the Assembly’s vow to fight against “false solutions [...] peddled in the corporate media [controlled] by the rich and powerful” (*Ibid.*, “People’s Manifesto”: 5)

appears combative, perhaps owed to the fact that the *BBC* barely covered the 2014 protest march despite the fact that it was the largest mobilisation of the year in London and, incidentally, took place right outside the *BBC*'s broadcasting house. The public-service broadcaster was subsequently accused of being biased against the left (Hooper 2014). To generalise this instance as the Assembly's attitude towards all media would be false, though. Instead, the Assembly follows UK Uncut's approach and encourages supporters and activists to make use of all channels available, asking them to "add comments supporting the Charter on-line to appropriate websites – particularly those of the news media, write to local and national newspapers, and take part in radio phone-ins promoting the Charter" (People's Assembly 2015, "People's Charter": 2). News media reporting is therefore recognised as an important factor in propelling the anti-austerity cause forward.

Like UK Uncut and, to a degree, Occupy London, the People's Assembly's uses its website as a tool to consolidate and reinforce collective identity, engage interested visitors and activists in local actions and to coordinate mobilisation. A search function allows visitors to find events in their vicinity by entering their postal code and, perhaps acknowledging different degrees of personal commitment, offers option for entering a geographical radius. When no action is taking place, a button suggests that one can host a new event. Here, the connectivity of new media channels is shown to be a valued resource, as anyone who is interested in signing in is asked to either do so with their email address, or can also sign in with their Facebook or Twitter accounts so that they can immediately connect with other activists or start spreading the word.

As was the case for both other movement groups under scrutiny, a resource website reflects elements of horizontalism by declaring that "the People's Assembly is an organisation led by it's [sic] supporters. In providing Resources we seek to empower our supporters and improve the work of the People's Assembly" (People's Assembly 2015, "Resources"). The site then offers a selection of campaign tools and information, documents and motions, graphics and visuals and a forum for exchange. The forum allows activist to share content and exchange lessons learned, offering interactive functions that exceed those of other campaign groups such as UK Uncut, where blog posts are allowed, but editorial content is controlled by administrators. In line with observations made for UK Uncut (Olcese 2015), the forum demonstrates that community and identity building happens online. It also shows that the Assembly engages with diverse issues that range from taxation, disability and employment to themes like government and democracy or election mobilisation, again underlining that traditional avenues of

political participation are seen to be just as important as informal ones. This is also underlined by the “People’s Charter” which recommends as follows: “Write to your MP and local councillors supporting the Charter, ask their views, and tell them that you will use the Charter in deciding how to vote” (People’s Assembly 2015: 2).

Of all three analysed movement groups, the Assembly’s website is the most sophisticated one, which can be explained by the People’s Assembly’s goal-oriented approach to funding and donations. “Money,” as Heffernan comments “is the principal resource enabling groups to professionalise themselves” (2011: 178) and there are only few instances in which the Assembly does not ask for donations. As “the professionalization of movement actors and the institutionalization of movement repertoires” have been found to trigger “cultural shifts in the acceptance of protest as a legitimate means for expressing opinions” (Caren *et al.* 2011: P127-8) this also has wider implications for the planned and continued existence of an anti-austerity coalition of resistance against the current political leadership of the UK.

4.4. Evaluation: A New Politics Revisited

When attempting to assess whether NSMs are capable of initiating a paradigm shift towards an alternative politics, it is certainly necessary to evaluate in what way the Anti-Austerity Movement has already affected public and political debate since the financial crisis. Charles Tilly remarked that “nothing was more common at the turn of the 21st century than to hear a social movement rhetorically summed up as the solution to any given issue”. He further asked whether this was “a tribute to the versatility of the new movement form or, in a malign twist on the same point, a mark of the basic emptiness of the form?” (qtd. in Seymour 2013). Are NSMs capable of making a difference?

4.4.1. Staying Power and Prospects for a Unified Movement

One way of approaching the question of whether NSMs in general, and the Anti-Austerity Movement in particular, have made a difference, is to assess the staying power of individual movement groups in relation to the opposition they face. Predating the UK strand of the Occupy movement by almost a year and still active, UK Uncut, by time alone, has had the highest staying power of all three movement groups presented. Whereas Occupy has been criticised as “spontaneous but unsustainable

radicalism” or even “a blip” (Seymour 2013) with respect to the days overall lost to strike action, UK Uncut activists still regularly appear on mainstream news channels. As the analysis has shown, Occupy London was, in a sense, a “paradoxical protest” (Sotirakopoulos and Rootes 2014: 174), i.e. it was relatively contained in its scope once its encampments were staked off and formulated no initially obvious strategy to transform the self-created lifeworld into political change in the real world. Nevertheless, it “attracted an unusual level of media attention and captured the imagination of legions of sympathisers” (*Ibid.*). It is also important to note that Occupy London still remains very much active even after its occupation stage. Activists regularly reconvene at the steps of St Paul’s Cathedral and publish minutes and livestreams of GAs. The scale is certainly different to past efforts, but a closer look at the minutes shows that Occupy London still remains fixed on its horizontal democratic structure and engaged with diverse issues, discussions ranging from TTIP to internal finance and a re-evaluation of decision-making processes to the treatment of specific party lines on Occupy’s communication channels ahead of the 2015 General Election (Occupy London 2014).

In contrast to Occupy London, UK Uncut especially attracts attention locally and displays a “narrower focus, denouncing tax avoidance and cuts in public spending for social programs” (Drucker 2013). Its structured articulation of alternatives to the status quo, packaged so that they are comprehensible for passers-by, as well as its creative DIY tactics, are crucial in galvanising public support. Occupy, in its intensity, might seem a little bit intimidating for the ordinary citizen, the threshold to get involved accordingly higher. Another perhaps more obvious explanation for Occupy London’s relatively limited staying power is its *modus operandi* itself. A long-term occupation naturally faces entirely different resistance and conflict – internal and external – and is more open to attack than brief occupations in High Street stores or registered large-scale demonstrations that are limited in time. Arguably, it demands a much higher degree of individual commitment to become part of a tent community during winter than taking over a store to sing for an hour and then leave. Additionally, policing, which, for reasons of scope, can only be glossed over in the analysis at hand, has been and continues to be a constant challenge. For instance, a bylaw in the 2011 *Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act*, which came into effect as a reaction to Occupy London’s long-term encampment in public space, allows authorities to seize items that count as sleeping equipment or structures and, as *Guardian* reporter Perraudin comments, “the police are getting creative with their interpretation of the bylaw,

confiscating backpacks and pizza boxes [...]. Umbrellas have similarly been confiscated because they count as a structure” (2014), as have tarpaulin sheets laid out on Parliament Square. This latter incident was live streamed by activists and trended as #tarpaulinrevolution on Twitter (*Ibid.*).

On a broader scale, it is safe to say that the individual groups or organisations of the anti-austerity movement in the UK share common ground and, to a certain extent, collaborate via media outreach or in direct action and identify similar sites of contention: All three movement groups examined value horizontal and collective decision-making. All three frame themselves in a struggle of the people against socio-economic inequalities and top-down imposed neo-liberal policies that serve the few and burden the many. Undoubtedly, all three movement groups have also set new standards and have bolstered action of other groups such as the Focus E15 Moms, 29 young mothers who were served with eviction notices to move out of the exact council estate that was supposed to protect them from homelessness in the first place. When ignored by their council, they drew inspiration from the tactics of anti-austerity campaigns and occupied a flat in the almost totally abandoned estate. They are, as Chakraborty notes, a story “about how the apolitical get radicalised” (2014) and highlight that previous protests by Occupy and UK Uncut might have lowered the threshold of engaging in more radical action – that while politicians pledge to “close the chasm between the rich and the rest of us by a whole couple of centimetres, a bunch of young women in east London just got on and did it” (*Ibid.*). To this day, the group continues to work on the anti-austerity agenda with movement groups such as Carpenters Against Regeneration Plans, UK Uncut or the People’s Assembly.²⁴

Nevertheless, as the analysis has furthermore shown, Occupy London, the People’s Assembly and UK Uncut also exhibit fundamental differences and have not necessarily presented one cohesive approach. Whereas the latter’s actions encourage people to drop out of existing institutions and frameworks and their teach-ins or impromptu medical centres express prefigurative tendencies, they have more of an event character, as do nationally coordinated protests by the People’s Assembly. Occupation or consensus GAs as means to prefigure change in creative and tangible ways are Occupy London’s *raison d’être*. Occupy London, in this sense, is the odd one out. It

²⁴ Focus E15 Moms has, for example, linked up with UK Uncut and connected its social housing campaign with demonstrating against the tax avoidance strategies of Vodafone and similar corporations. Their banner “Vodahomes” drew attention to the fact that tenants are being evicted due to housing benefit cuts while public funds lose millions through corporate tax avoidance (Cooper 2014).

resolutely distances itself from formal political processes and institutions and safeguards its autonomy while both other movement groups promote political participation outside of formal politics but also engage with existing structures, i.e. lobby ministers, encourage citizens to vote or petition. Moreover, Occupy London, with its aspiration of global democracy and its specific context of being one strand in a plethora of Occupy protests across the world, is naturally oriented more towards global concerns than e.g. UK Uncut, whose activists aim at changes on a national level which then may be expanded later on. The People's Assembly, youngest movement group under scrutiny here, presents a particularly interesting case due to its explicit aim of establishing and leading a joint, organised movement that still values consensus decision-making and aspires to "synchronis[e] with mobilisations across Europe" (People's Assembly 2013). In a sense, it is the most professionalised out of the three movement groups examined. It constitutes a planned and deliberate effort of building an anti-austerity "opposition broad enough and powerful enough to generate" (*Ibid.*) change and capitalises on existing structures, i.e. charities, trade unions or other established campaigns. In his analysis of the Civil Rights Movement, Seymour notes that existing "infrastructures [...] – parties, unions, churches, civil society organisations – which pre-dated the civil rights struggle itself [...] provided [...] forums in which rival strategies and tendencies could be contested, and vehicles through which they could be pursued" (2013) and that these were vital to the movement's long-term success. The People's Assembly mirrors such an approach and furthermore incorporates fundraising in every activity, be it to ask for donations in a petition, in a callout on its website or during protest action.

Arguably, individual traits can be lost in a broad-based national movement. Occupy London was disruptive exactly because it did not fit into existing frameworks and refused to make compromises that would perhaps be necessary to adapt to the People's Assembly's vision.

[However,] one particularly interesting aspect of contemporary practice is that many of the most effective tactics are *non-branded*, that is, they tend to spread in a viral way, with no one taking ownership or attempting to exercise control over how they are implemented [...] and thus are beginning to display the kind of diversity and differentiation that is required for 'survival' in the hostile environment of neoliberal societies of control. (Day 2005: 19-20)

It remains to be seen how the People's Assembly will shape its efforts under the newly elected Conservative government. As long as a unified movement refrains from becoming too restrictive and remains spontaneous and diverse enough to encourage

the individual particularities of different movement groups under its banner, the new government might indeed face “a many-headed hydra” (Seymour 2013) of anti-austerity protests. The likelihood of Occupy merging with other movement groups into one ‘meta-movement’ is relatively low when considering its unscripted nature, resolute dedication to open-end processes and consensus model which allows a single block to prevent a proposal from going forward.²⁵ Nevertheless, it has built “alliances [...] across movements and various coordinated direct actions have taken place – some anti-capitalist, some in solidarity with students, workers and global resistance movements” (Bornshlegel 2011). A unified national campaign could perhaps identify further areas of collaboration, coordinate resistance effectively and maximise impact.

One of the challenges for such a campaign, if headed by the People’s Assembly, could be the fact that the movement group has received comparatively little media coverage. Occupy London’s presence in the press, as discussed, largely hinged on the controversy around its actual demands and its location. Similarly, UK Uncut held high-profile action by targeting the UK’s High Streets, taking multinational corporations to court and continuously confronting passers-by with their anti-austerity agenda, thus providing news stories especially for local media. The fact that individual activists were trialled for aggravated trespass after over 150 people occupied a Fortnum & Mason luxury shop in March 2011 (Malik 2011) also guaranteed media attention. Naturally, critics used the opportunity to denounce the UK Uncut agenda as “unfounded and ill-conceived” (Worstall 2011: 23) and furthermore suggested the tax avoidance campaign was largely based on emotive arguments rather than on logic, business reality, or accurate facts. While “unlikely to influence change in the legitimate tax strategies of large companies” (Feetham 2011: 83), such action would rather succeed in driving business into other locations. Whether ill-founded or accurate, criticism, controversy and policing thus far have been key factors in keeping movement groups in the news. They are “an important barometer of the political opportunities available for social movements” (Della Porta 1995: 80). A unified movement would need to be carefully balanced to establish itself as a serious contender on the one hand, while remaining relevant on the other hand.

²⁵ However, Occupy Democracy demonstrates that not only tactics, but also more deeply embedded strategies can change. For all its fluidity, the movement sometimes seems restrictive exactly for its resolute dedication to open-end processes and consensus model which allows a single block to prevent a proposal from going forward. In its spin-off Occupy Democracy, decisions can go ahead with 70 per cent of GA attendants in agreement.

4.4.2. NSM Influence on Political and Corporate Elites

When deliberating impact, there are ample indicators that the anti-austerity conversation propelled forward by NSMs' multifaceted protests have reached and to a certain degree influenced politics and corporations. Most notably, the National Audit Office (NAO) investigated HMRC for its alleged preferential treatment of large corporations only shortly after UK Uncut's first protests in reaction to Vodafone's settlement on tax payment with the HMRC. As the *Financial Times* reported, "in the age of austerity there is a perception – whether fair or not – that HMRC is selling out to big business" (qtd. in Cameron 2011). The investigation was celebrated as a major victory by UK Uncut and positioned NSMs as forces to be reckoned with: "The pressure coming from people on the streets has made this an issue – an issue the government can no longer avoid" (UK Uncut 2011, "Major victory: NAO to investigate HMRC's dodgy deals"). In this context, a World Economic Forum (WEF) report even cited large-scale movements and popular protest amongst the top global risks for business leaders and policy makers because of their capacity to exert considerable influence on decision-making processes, stating that the case of Occupy "underscores the danger that could arise if declining economic conditions jeopardize the social contract between states and citizens" (WEF 2012: 10).²⁶

Others have commented on possible repercussions for business and business culture in the UK. Judith Freeman, professor of tax law at Oxford University and director of legal research at the Centre for Business Taxation, acknowledged UK Uncut's contribution to the national conversation around austerity, but remarked that they are "polarizing the debate and demonizing business", adding that "they are highly selective in their targets, which is invidious" (Drucker 2013). Professor Freeman is certainly not the only one concerned with adverse effects on the UK economy, however, a look at the Centre's corporate funding website is rather illuminating. Sponsors listed include e.g. Barclays, HSBC Holdings, Lloyd's and Tesco (Oxford University Centre for Business Taxation 2015) – all companies that have been UK Uncut targets. One would expect the director of legal research is not only inclined but almost obliged to officially criticise UK Uncut's actions.

Interestingly, especially campaigns targeted specifically at the public's heightened consciousness of corporate practices and trust lost since the financial crisis have made

²⁶ The WEF's report is based on a survey of 469 experts from government, industry, academia and civil society and examines 50 global risks across five categories. These are economic, environmental, geopolitical, societal and technical risks.

an impact that is measurable in numbers. One example is the Move Your Money campaign, an initiative originating from UK Uncut protests and launched in 2012, which lobbies strongly for an enhanced understanding that a better banking system can be built by targeted buying power or withdrawal of such. It appeals to those discontent with dubious business practices and high bonus payments to bankers to remove themselves from big banks, to *drop out*, and points out a “hidden architecture of better banking [...] with explicitly social and environmental objectives” (Simms 2013) such as the Cooperative Bank, building societies, credit unions or community development financial institutions. The campaign was highly successful in the US, with over 4 million accounts estimated to have left the big Wall Street banks in only one and a half years (*Ibid*). In the UK, Move Your Money claimed that as many as 2.4 million customers quit the five biggest banks, Lloyds, Royal Bank of Scotland/NatWest, Barclays, HSBC and Santander in 2012 and “local, ethical and mutual financial service providers were among those that [...] increased their customer base significantly” (Jones and Brignall 2013). The campaign capitalised on existing structures and channels, and announced its launch in a guest post on the UK Uncut website. Arguably, it constitutes an instance of empowerment for people who want to reclaim control over their money through their spending decisions.²⁷

Other initiatives are the already discussed Robin Hood Tax, but also the Rolling Jubilee or Positive Money. The Rolling Jubilee is a project of the Occupy offspring Strike Debt that understands itself as “a bailout of the people by the people” (Rolling Jubilee 2015) – essentially a crowdsourced project that buys debt and then abolishes it rather than collecting it. In 2014, for instance, Occupy activists bought \$3.8 million worth of student loans of 2,700 students at Everest College in the US for a total of \$106,709.48 (Kasperkevic 2014). While the gesture is largely symbolic, seeing as student debt in the US has now surpassed \$1 trillion, such an initiative could also be rolled out to the UK and shows “that debt can be conquered – and at a discount” (*Ibid.*). Positive Money, on the other hand, is a movement that seeks systemic solutions. The not-for-profit organisation based in London works with partners in 19 countries and seeks to democratise money, i.e. to remove the ability to create money from banks and return it to a transparent and accountable body, thereby creating a “‘sovereign money’

²⁷Furthermore, Move Your Money is an example for a campaign transitioning to a stage of professionalisation. It was re-launched with funding from, amongst others, the Joseph Rowntree Trust, ahead of Payments Council regulations that now allow bank customers to switch their current accounts from one bank to another within seven working days. Previously, the process could take up to more than a month. (Walker 2013).

system” (Positive Money 2015). The research and campaign organisation has already published several proposals to reform the banking system as well as an unofficial draft bill that details how these could take effect in the UK. Together, all these initiatives show that there is not only a demand for alternatives, but that valid solutions are already formulated and decisively propelled forward by NSMs.

Undeniably, anti-austerity NSMs have managed to enter political discourse, if not to influence politics – tax avoidance is firmly on the political agenda. Margaret Hodge MP, for example, accused Google of being “evil” for dodging UK taxes and stated that UK Uncut has “played an important role in articulating some of the anger people feel” (Drucker 2013). The former head of Parliament’s Public Accounts Committee led multiple committee hearings on corporate tax avoidance, no doubt incentivised by UK Uncut’s continuous action and subsequent positive feedback on its position. Furthermore, a government inquiry into corporate tax avoidance overseen by a Treasury select committee was regarded as yet another “victory of UK Uncut action against multinational corporations like Vodafone and Barclays” (Hancox 2011). As George Mudie, Labour MP for Leeds East and Chairman of the Commons Treaty sub-committee under the 2010 Coalition government, commented, “when people see their standards of living fall and are paying their tax, and see huge salaries and questions over tax avoidance then quite rightly are they interested in the issue” (qtd. in Hawkes and Warden 2011).

Moreover, especially demands for proper taxation driven forward by the Robin Hood Tax campaign and other anti-tax evasion groups have made an impact: For one, the Liberal Democrats sought to push for a bank tax that would charge financial institutions with £1 billion a year to aid in eliminating the budget deficit (MacLellan 2015). Additionally, the Green Party went as far as fully incorporating the Robin Hood Tax in its campaign proposal ahead of the general election 2015. Instead of cutting government spending, the Greens proposed increased spending which would be paid by a tax on financial transactions and a “‘wealth tax’ on individuals whose wealth exceeds £3m” (McSmith and Wright 2015), amongst other tax increases. All examples show that especially UK Uncut arguments against austerity have successfully reached political discourse.

Other implications of the anti-austerity agenda for politics were illustrated by the general election 2015. Already in 2013, People’s Assembly activist Owen Jones observed a heightened pressure especially on the Labour party and commented that while austerity has been challenged by organised strike action of teachers and public sector

workers as well as other direct actions from movement groups like UK Uncut or Occupy, “there has been no sustained, permanent movement to take on the whole austerity consensus. Most pressure on Labour’s leaders comes from the right. But the appetite for a far more confident, courageous voice of opposition to the Tories’ ideological hijacking of the financial crisis exists” (2013). As already discussed in Chapter 2.1., Labour, not distinguished from the Conservatives with regard to austerity views, lost its voters either to the SNP, a party that made its anti-austerity views quite overt in its election campaign, or to other smaller parties. As such, the anti-austerity agenda propelled forward by NSMs can be seen to have had an effect on the general election, exacerbating the effects of established parties shifting towards an ideological middle ground and the voters’ long-term disillusionment with formal politics. Voter turnout in the constituency Manchester Central was the lowest in the entire UK, with only 44 percent of those who registered taking to the ballots. One constituent’s statement illustrates the larger problem quite clearly: While always having voted for Labour, she insists that politicians “spin a web of lies, and then six months later they’re doing the complete opposite. [...] Why should we vote for this?” (Shirley qtd. in Ailes 2015). Among other decisive factors were David Cameron’s strategic and repeated warnings of a potential post-election deal between Labour and the SNP under which a second referendum on Scottish independence would be very likely (Watt *et al.* 2015) as well as the peculiarities of the British electoral system. Under the first-past-the-post system, the Conservatives won with a 36.9 per cent majority which at the same time means that 63.1 per cent of the British population did not vote for the new government.

The election results also rather forcibly point out internal and external limitations of the British anti-austerity Movement that has been successful largely when campaigning for local issues. Campaign “success” on a higher political level, i.e. achieving a marked shift away from the austerity course, did not occur. No one who supports the anti-austerity agenda could have wanted the Conservatives to win with an overall majority. As especially young people, disillusioned by high student loans, housing prices and a lack of perspective – the NINJA generation: No Income, No Jobs and Assets (Merrifield 2012: 276) – have been found to be less likely to vote (Skinner 2015) and to sympathise with and support NSM campaigns and non-conventional forms of action (Feixa *et al.* 2009), some even regard NSMs as a threat to politics and election turnouts. The understanding is that because “many activists think they provide a better, more specialised alternative to political parties [...], particularly the young, may thus consider politics is better pursued by [...] ‘single issue’ group activity” (Heffernan 2011:

183). Furthermore, scholars have observed that the more professionalised a movement group becomes, i.e. the more resources it mandates, the more it is made up of professional activists that dedicate all their time towards fighting for the cause. This does not only mean that such groups tend to be skewed towards the radical, but also that they are rather *for* citizens than *of* interested citizens (Stoker 2006: 105), thus, to a degree, paradoxically following trends observed in formal politics. But while these arguments need to be noted, it would also be illusory to expect NSMs to entirely eschew such developments when professionalising themselves. NSMs have become important influencers of national conversations and “by challenging the status quo, [they] have often been more concerned with consciousness raising and only then securing changes in public policy” (Heffernan 2011: 180). Professionalization and resulting legitimacy and political clout, arguably, are crucial for initiating political change.

The general election 2015 quite clearly answers the question whether the UK is currently experiencing a shift towards a new politics. Movement groups, at this point, “inevitably engage with traditional politics. The state – not least the government charged with its affairs – remains – alongside national and international economic and social processes – the ultimate arbiter of what happens in Britain” (*Ibid.*: 194). But, as the reaction of anti-austerity groups after the general election demonstrates, NSMs are far from burying the hatchet. Hundreds of anti-austerity protesters marched on Westminster and gathered outside Downing Street the day after the election results were announced. A UK Uncut demonstration in late May which only fell short of the original 4,700 protesters that had signalled their participation on Facebook, stopped traffic on Westminster Bridge in London when activists suspended a 20 metre banner that declared “12bn more cuts. £120bn tax dodged, Austerity is a lie” and faced Parliament (Gayle 2015). The People’s Assembly’s End Austerity Now rally on 20 June 2015, which was expected to be “the biggest anti-government demonstration for four years” (Weaver 2015), constituted a massive statement against the Tory government. Organisers claimed that up to 250,000 people marched from the Bank of England to Parliament Square. Speakers who rallied against austerity included Len McCluskey, General Secretary of Unite, Martin McGuinness, Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland, comedians Mark Steel and Russel Brand as well as journalist and activist Owen Jones (Khomami and Wyatt 2015). Returning to Charles Tilly’s question posed at the beginning of this chapter, referring to NSMs as an empty form would therefore be inaccurate. British anti-austerity NSMs continue to seek for alternatives to the status

quo and continue to be the opposition movement to austerity that, in their view, is not represented in formal politics.

As the analysis has shown, it cannot be denied that NSMs have had an impact. It would be unrealistic to expect the entire British democratic system to be overhauled within the next years, or even decades. But NSMs are certainly influencing public and political discourse and shape the population's awareness and perception of political and economic issues. As such, there is undoubtedly potential for them to bring about social and political change.

5. The New Media: Transforming Popular Protest?

Historically, the media have had an influence on countries' political processes, by circulating and revealing news and spreading information that enables citizens to make informed decisions, and, if necessary, form an opposition to political leadership. As Peter Dahlgren purports, it is the role of the media "to facilitate informed opinion and participation in democratic politics" (2009: 34) by providing access to information about current affairs, illuminating different positions in topical debates and holding power-holders accountable. However, in addition to increasing tabloidization, accusations of sensationalist writing, lacking transparency and lacking accountability are ever more pervasive. The *News of the World* phone hacking scandal in which employees of the now defunct newspaper were accused of hacking peoples' phones and bribing the police to pursue the next big scoop cut deeply into Britain's national consciousness. Subsequently, the impression that the media rather "undermin[e] the practice of democracy" (Corner and Pels 2003: 4) has taken hold. However, especially developments in the 21st century, the rise of the Internet and the Web 2.0 have renewed the belief in the media's importance for the democratic process. Today, more than ever, people are aware of political and economic mechanisms that affect them and their daily lives (*BBC News* 2013, "Russell Brand: 'I've never voted, never will'"). Or if they are not, the information is but a click away. Citizen journalism as well as the speed and extent of news distribution have major implications for the political process and the opposition to political elites. NSMs as well as other pressure or activist "groups now have, thanks to the Internet and its related forms of social media, more power than ever before to access and address the public, both nationally and internationally" (Heffernan 2011: 195). While many regard this as a positive development, others remain sceptic and are wary of "further disengagement between traditional oppositional forces

who practice real politics, no matter how risky and boring, and the younger generation, passionate about campaigning on Facebook and Twitter” (Morozov 2011: 304). The question is, have developments in ICTs made a difference in that they transformed popular protest methods or do they indeed rather weaken opposition movements and further disengagement?

5.1. Developments and Tensions: The ‘New’ and the ‘Old’ Media

The term “new media” has gained currency because it captures the phenomenon of wide “technological, textual, conventional and cultural” (Lister 2009: 13) changes in the way we produce, disseminate and use media. It is, by definition, a relative concept because the development of new media is perforce forward-facing. When theorists like McLuhan or Mills analysed the television or the radio, they analysed the new media of their time. But McLuhan also already predicted the World Wide Web three decades prior to its invention (Levinson 1999). Newer new media will always be the logical consequence of technological progress. Following Robert K. Logan’s research, “new media”, in this thesis, “will in general refer to those digital media that are interactive, incorporate two-way communication, and involve some form of computing as opposed to ‘old media’ such as the telephone, radio, [...] TV” (2010: 4) and newspapers. An important distinction between the “new media” and the “old media” in this context is that the latter are commonly associated with traditional mass media outlets such as newspapers or TV which are characterised by a passive audience.²⁸ The former, e.g. social networking sites, collaborative sites such as Wikipedia or discussion forums, are, in contrast, interactive and allow the creation of online content. Naturally, the lines get less distinct when taking into consideration that TV channels as well as newspapers nowadays also operate in the digital sphere.

Notably, scholars of cultural and media studies see a causal link between the decline in audience shares in traditional media outlets, especially broadcasting and daily newspapers, and the rise of the new media (Mythen 2010: 45). Internet usage in the UK has significantly increased to 78 per cent of the population aged 14 and older and next generation users, i.e. those who own several internet-capable devices, have risen to 67 per cent (OxIS 2014: 3). A large majority of the British public goes online when looking up information of professional, academic or personal nature, but, interestingly,

²⁸ In this thesis, the terms “old media” and “traditional media” are used synonymously.

only 20 per cent of the respondents of the OxIS study on Internet access, use and attitudes in the UK replied that they use the Internet for civic or political activities. These include finding information, sending a message in support of a political cause, commenting on politics in social media or contacting a politician. Nevertheless, more than half of all users believe that the Internet positively affects their influence on politics (*Ibid.*: 26-34). This can be explained by the way that the Internet lowers the barriers of entering political discourse (Stoker 2011, *Building a new politics*: 54) and allows people not only to access information, but also to create content in a setting in which they feel comfortable and at ease.

In this context, it is important to note that while the Internet may indeed have the potential to positively influence political engagement in that sense, the realisation of this potential is not a *fait accompli*. In fact, the motivation to pursue political information and to participate in the political sphere remains low among younger generations (Street 2011: 267). Additionally, critics contend that Britain's digital divide, i.e. unequal access to and a lack of skills to use ICTs within a community, society or geographic area, still persists and have found that "the strongest predictors of not using the Internet have remained constant: age, educational attainment, and socio-economic status" (Chadwick qtd. in Chadwick and Staney 2011: 221). While the Internet is a vital source of political information for many, it remains irrelevant for a substantial part of the British population. It follows that people with access to the Internet and those without, obtain their information in different ways, which only deepens the divide. While there is ample political coverage on TV, modern advances such as multiple channels and schedules or TV web players have dispersed audiences across different streams, which, in turn, has significantly affected news production of media conglomerates. Advertisement is progressively scattered across these streams and has increasingly moved online. Quality news production has become expensive and less profitable than entertainment programmes that guarantee larger audience shares. Non-Internet users as such tend to consume more entertainment content than informational content (Chadwick and Staney 2011: 222-3).

As Chadwick and Staney purport, the "old media, [...] given the size of their audiences and their centrality to the life of the nation, are rightly referred to as 'mainstream', but the very nature of mainstream is changing" (*Ibid.*: 215-6) and long-standing assumptions need to be adjusted as news consumption habits have changed, especially through user-generated content propelled by the onset of the Web 2.0. Due to competition from television and the Internet, readership of print media has declined

substantially. Media regulator Ofcom's report *News Consumption in the UK* (2014) found that more people access their news via the Internet than via printed newspapers. To remain competitive, traditional media increasingly attempt to develop new interactive features. *Guardian Witness*, for instance, is a website for user-generated content that asks readers to engage with and contribute to news content through writing assignments, e.g. prompting readers to share their experience and photos (Howard 2014, "Have you ever been part of a political campaign?"). However, while *Guardian Witness* might be interesting for aspiring journalists or bloggers as being published by a newspaper still holds esteem, such websites cannot compete with networking sites such as Facebook which are by far more embedded in people's daily lives and which receive much more traffic and visibility.

Another argument brought forward to explain the decline of the print media, aside from the competition with new possibilities of user-generated content and the embeddedness of the new media in people's lives, is encapsulated by the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence – or rather, by news media reporting around the referendum. Many were alienated by the fact that none of the Scottish daily newspapers outspokenly supported the 'Yes' campaign while, at the same time, news content was systematically placed or omitted to convey the impression that Scottish independence was the false choice: "The BP boss who thinks independence will lead to 'uncertainties' is front-page news. But when [...] the boss of global investment company Aberdeen Asset Management says he's relaxed about independence – news editors look elsewhere" (Meek 2014). As a University of the West of Scotland study titled *Fairness in the First Year?* that analysed 730 hours of TV news coverage around the referendum showed, this behaviour was not exclusive to print media. The study found that the *BBC* and the *STV* in Scotland clearly favoured the 'No' campaign in their evening TV news output (Robertson 2014). While devolution has changed Scotland in many ways, it seems the country's traditional media have failed to transform. Interestingly, all Scottish daily national papers are owned either in the US or in England. Taking this information into account, the lack of support for the 'Yes' campaign is hardly surprising (Meek 2014). As Oakes further comments, the 'Yes' campaign had a significantly larger online presence which led supporters to expect an entirely different outcome than the one they received: "On Twitter, Yes had an impressive 103,000 followers compared to 42,000 for Better Together. Alex Salmond had 95,000 followers whilst poor old Alistair Darling had only 21,000. The story was the same on Facebook" (2014). This example shows that it becomes increasingly problematic when the old media fail to

reflect the views of large parts of their audience, especially when the new media do and create false expectations.

The influence of new media outlets on public perception necessitates a re-evaluation of long-standing assumptions as “the stage on which the drama of British politics unfolds is in the process of being redesigned, partly by political and media elites and partly by ordinary citizens” (Chadwick and Staney 2011: 215), i.e. political bloggers or citizen journalists. The public now actively participates in the collection, analysis and distribution of news and information through blogs or wikis, i.e. webpages that can be edited by anyone with access. As the previously noted curious shortage of media coverage around e.g. the People’s Assembly’s large-scale demonstrations has shown, and as research by DeLuca *et al.* indicates, traditional media sometimes tend towards marginalising activist groups, meaning they either elect not to cover their activities, or frame protest action, and often protesters themselves, negatively (2012: 483). It is therefore not surprising that especially political activists make use of new media channels and blogs to create their own media so that “outside what is traditionally understood as the mainstream, genuinely new media players such as political bloggers make frequent interventions in the political arena” (Chadwick and Staney 2011: 216). As Iain Dale, best known for his blog *Iain Dale’s Diary* on British politics, already noted seven years ago, the UK blogosphere is thriving, readership in individual cases doubling annually and leaving newspapers far behind (2008: 36). Richard North, blogger on defence and foreign policy issues, has gained a high standing with the Ministry of Defence and illustrates that many bloggers become highly specialised and therefore often influential (*Ibid.* 34). Interestingly, and despite so-called “cyberbalkanization,” in which political blogs tend to link overwhelmingly to other blogs of the same political persuasion” (DeLuca *et al.* 2012: 492)²⁹, the interaction of traditional media and blogosphere has created a state of hybridisation in which both sides are “parasitical” on each other, i.e. blogs depend on traditional news outlets for content and newspaper run their own mainstream political blogs and take inspiration from independent blogs (Dale 2008: 32-35; Chadwick and Staney 2011: 216) or pick up on trending topics on social networking sites.

Undoubtedly, advances in communication technology have not only affected news production, but also drastically changed people’s context: Information is available everywhere at any given time and both spatial and temporal barriers have become

²⁹For more information on the phenomenon of “cyberbalkanization” see Adamic and Glance 2005 and Hargittai *et al.* 2008.

increasingly blurred, if not non-existent. Especially smartphones have enhanced this development and made mobile users a force to be reckoned with. In 2010, Facebook registered over 500 million users globally and in 2011, the corporation revealed that their social networking site was used by half the UK's population (Barnett 2011). Twitter registered over 10 million users in the UK and further found that 80 per cent access the micro-messaging service via mobile devices (Chow 2014). Social networking sites have become integral parts of everyday life and have transformed the way we consume, handle our relationships, plan and shape our free time or even how we educate our children. A study of behavioural trends with regard to social media usage conducted by Oxygen Media and Lightspeed Research further found that one third of women between the age of 18 and 34 "check Facebook when they first wake up, before even going to the toilet" (Barnett 2010). Similarly 50 per cent of mobile Twitter users log on at bedtime, 1 in 3 during their commute to work and 66 per cent at home in front of the TV (Chow 2014). The phenomenon of the "second screen", which exploded in the last two years, is but a logical consequence of this embeddedness. People increasingly use mobile devices while watching television, commenting on content, trend on Twitter when prompted by hashtags displayed on television or prompt their friends to switch to a certain programme or product. The possibilities for advertising and marketing are endless, but the "second screen" also translates into habitual behaviour in other situations. Sharing news, thoughts, photos or experiences has become second nature for people and shows how integral connectivity and interactivity have become.

Everything, be it mere entertainment or political information, is but a click away – a state which DeLuca *et al.* have referred to as "panmediation", a world mediated by media, language, culture and ideology (2012: 486). The implications for NSMs are manifold, but are perhaps best described with the following scenario:

With a smartphone in her pocket, an Occupied activist camping in Zucotti Park or Chicago or Oakland can become a panmedia outlet, a decentered knot of video, photographs, and blogging that documents and creates and circulates the Occupied events. At the speed of the Internet, events move from one person's tent to millions of people throughout the Twitterverse and Facebook and YouTube and the world. (*Ibid.*: 487)

Furthermore, the new media are distinguished from other media in that information is hyperlinked. Clicking on links, e.g. participating in a survey or a quiz or signing a

petition and automatically sharing said activity on one's Facebook timeline can be regarded "as nano-endorsements" (Morozov, 2011: 99) that are increasingly important for NSMs to spread their message or mobilise followers for direct action.

This chapter has shed light on developments in communication technology and media production and the tensions these have created with existing media. It has also highlighted areas of impact for NSMs in 21st century "convergence culture, where old and new media collide, where grassroots and corporate media intersect, where the power of the media producer and the power of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways" (Jenkins 2006: 2).

5.2. Changing the World with a Simple Click?

Recent political participation literature has paid much attention to the way in which the new media affect people's behaviour with regard to political action. It is undisputed that with the rise of the Internet, new forms of political activism have emerged in the digital sphere. One such example is hacktivism, i.e. "politically motivated use of technical expertise like coding" (Milan 2013: 193) by groups such as Anonymous, who are infamous for defacing websites or launching DDoS attacks³⁰ on corporate websites, religious organisations such as Scientology or government agencies like the FBI. As analysis up to this point has shown, neither UK Uncut, Occupy London nor the People's Assembly employ notable hacktivist tactics in their repertoire of contention aside from the hijacking of hashtags or the spamming of corporate websites via their own blogging functions.³¹ Digital activism performed by the movement groups under scrutiny is largely limited to using the Internet and especially social networking sites for purposes such as increasing awareness of the anti-austerity agenda, mobilising followers and coordinating direct action.

A very common means of engaging with political content online – for NSMs as well as politically interested individuals – are online petitions. Online-petitioning organisations such as Avaaz and 38 Degrees register millions of followers and activists worldwide and as such, warrant further examination. "38 degrees", according to the organisation, refers to the tipping point at which a pile of snow transforms into an

³⁰ Distributed denial-of-service (DDoS) attacks render online services unavailable to other users by overwhelming them with traffic from multiple sources. In a recent operation titled #OpISIS, Anonymous activists claimed a cyber-attack against Twitter and Facebook accounts used by ISIS for propaganda and recruitment purposes (Wei 2015).

³¹ See Chapter 4.1, p. 31.

avalanche and thereby symbolises the power of masses. On their website, the organisation labels itself as a British not-for-profit political-activism organisation that campaigns on issues ranging from the environment, climate change and democratic media ownership to political reform. (38 Degrees 2014, “About 38 Degrees”). It was listed as “a powerful political force” (Jenkins 2012) in *Wired*’s list of top digital influencers ‘Wired 100’. Similarly, Avaaz has been lauded as “the globe’s largest and most powerful online activist network” (Pilkington 2012) and stands for “voice”. The organisation proclaims that it has a “simple democratic mission: organize citizens of all nations to close the gap between the world we have and the world most people everywhere want” (Avaaz 2014, “What is Avaaz?”). Avaaz operates in fifteen languages on six continents and takes online action like petitioning, emailing government officials and funding media campaigns as well as and direct actions, calling and lobbying governments. Both organisations are member-funded and can name a number of successes, including stopping plans of the British government to sell off state-owned forests or hindering multinational corporations like eBay from selling bee-killing pesticides (Kingsley 2011).

Digital campaigning’s alleged influence over policymakers and especially the apparent flexibility and ease of involving people with political content via online petitioning as an act of political engagement has received particular attention from scholars and activists alike. The model for this form of activism is simple. Everyone with Internet access can access the sites and find a petition according to their interest. Participation is as easy as entering one’s email address which also subscribes the user to alerts regarding this and future campaigns. Every signatory can maximise distribution by clicking on the social media tabs which automatically post a pre-set message detailing information about a specific petition or campaign on the user’s social media feed and which can be personalised – “cheap and ubiquitous, and it doesn’t require much training” (Morozov 2011: 173). And NSMs certainly make use of this tool. On the “Act Now” section of its website, the People’s Assembly for instance emphasises that it values direct action “in the street, such as protest marches, but sometimes [...] use[s] online actions like petitions to show the strength in numbers of [its] movement” (2015).

Debates around online-petitioning campaign organisations and the potential of peer-to-peer social media for NSMs tend to be very much polarised. While individual studies find that “social media are blurring the distinction between online and offline activism” (Olcese 2015: 270), critics often either view online acts as integral for the

future of participatory democracy (Dahlgren 2009; Shirky 2011) or refer to them as “clicktivism” or “slacktivism” (White 2010; Genzmer 2014). The latter terms are frequently used synonymously and clearly distinguish online activism as inferior to the notion of proper, committed and meaningful activism like that of the Civil Rights Movement which “puts bodies on the line” (Stern *et al.* 1999: 82). Allegedly, clicktivist acts are merely mouse clicks and keystrokes devoid of political intent and pose little to no cost or risk for those who commit them (Seay 2014).

[T]he danger [...] is that it may give young people [...] the wrong impression that another kind of politics – digital in nature but leading to real-world political change and the one underpinned entirely by virtual campaigns, online petitions, funny Photoshopped political cartoons, and angry tweets – is not only feasible but actually preferable to the ineffective, boring, risky, and, in most cases, outdated kind of politics practiced by the conventional oppositional movements in their countries. (Morozov 2011: 201)

The reasoning expressed here is that social networking sites may enable people to easily share content and therefore achieve sometimes explosive short-term effects – content ‘going viral’ or creating ‘shitstorms’ – but that sharing said content is exactly the point where engagement and, crucially, commitment end. Quality of content becomes secondary if political activism facilitated by social networks is principally about impressing peers rather than personal commitment to politics or political activism (*Ibid.*: 186). Furthermore, Iranian journalist Soheil Asefi purports that slacktivism in the form of an unfiltered sharing of news online often rather distorts current events in that background information, historical and socio-political contexts are eclipsed or reduced to a minimum to satisfy the consumer need for short, distilled information (Genzmer 2015). The sheer amount of content dilutes the message or, as Morozov concludes, it is “easy to mistake quantity for quality” (2011: 187). If a movement, in a first step, simply wants to raise visibility regarding a specific issue, this phenomenon is unproblematic. Quantity is welcome. It becomes problematic, however, as soon as the movement aims at taking effect beyond that, i.e. if specific goals require personal commitment, interaction away from the screen or focussed and meaningful discussions to formulate strategies.

Nevertheless, it would be too easy to simply disregard clicktivist acts and other developing modes of online participation because they fail to fit into long-standing concepts of ‘meaningful’ social and political engagement. “Clicktivism is not so much a contested notion, as an ill-defined one” (Halupka 2014: 11-2). It is also not particularly new. Long before the Web 2.0, wearing badges, pins or T-Shirts was derided as a form of jumping on the bandwagon without taking personal risk. Some might

argue that it does take commitment to shoot a video, edit it and then submit it to a video stream to engage with a protest idea, and that such an act expresses support of a cause. Others then might counter that this hardly qualifies as commitment in a day and age where social media channels are flooded with selfies and Instagram snapshots of food or, really, anything anyone comes across and deems nice enough to take a picture of.

A common clicktivist critique is that such “activism uncritically embraces the ideology of marketing” (White 2010). Indeed, Avaaz is a model example for driving marketing-oriented campaigns. Subscribers are frequently contacted via emails that boast latest achievements and impressive metrics. Equating impact and, by extension, political influence, only with metrics on how many emails were opened, what links people clicked on or how much time a recipient actually spent reading an email is certainly flawed because there is little in the way of monitoring whether these clicks have also translated into offline actions or political change. White even goes as far as stating that “clicktivists damage every genuine political movement they touch. They are the Wal-Mart of activism: leveraging economics of scale, they colonise emergent political identities and silence underfunded radical voices” (2010) by distracting attention away from e.g. local organisations that act as a mouthpiece for their communities. One has to agree; expecting the Internet to be a magical shortcut around needing to develop ideas and organising strategic opposition to political elites would be “technological determinism” (Jones 2011). But portraying digital activism in the form of online petitioning as “danger to the left” that ultimately ends “political passivity” (White 2010) seems equally biased an opinion.

Much criticism is certainly owed to the fact that success of online activism is difficult to measure or is measured with outdated frames (Joyce 2011) and the fact that normally a campaign’s success is judged by evaluating whether its goal has been achieved. If it does not, it is assumed to have been unsuccessful. But success can be more complex: Shortly after the British coalition government introduced severe cuts to the welfare state, *BBC Radio 4*, following an interview with a benefit recipient who, as a direct consequence of these cuts, lived on £53 per week, asked Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith if he could manage living on that allowance – the equivalent to 3 per cent of his income. Only shortly after he replied that he would if he had to, an outraged listener created an online petition calling for Duncan Smith to make true on his words and live on £53 per week for a year. After one day, the petition

counted 100,000 signatures, within a week more 450,000. (Hill 2013 “Digital Revolutions–The record-breaking petition”). The online petition site Change.org confirmed that the petition was the fastest-growing one they had ever hosted (Rawlinson 2013). Unsurprisingly, it was not successful. At least not if success is measured solely in tangible results. But even if Iain Duncan Smith did not have to live with a 97 per cent decrease of his income for one year, he was on the defensive when two national newspapers featured the story (Hill 2013 “Digital Revolutions–The record-breaking petition”) and when it went viral in social media networks.

As this example shows, the Internet, the new media and the sheer mass of information publicly available have made challenging political figures easier. Twitter or Facebook allow people to enter two-way or multi-way conversations that are visible to everyone. Politicians are therefore approachable in entirely new ways and, arguably, sending a provocative tweet that receives multiple endorsements in the form of re-tweets might draw more attention than sending a constituent letter. However, this is not always without problems. A recent online communication study coins the term “digital citizens” which describes a new generation of Internet users in Western societies that predominantly obtain political information online and that will only engage with politics online (Emmer *et al.* 2011), a development which would not only change the structure of political communication, but also increase pressure on politicians. Already, Stoker notes that “politicians need to accept that citizens are more demanding and more capable of challenging them and their slowness in accepting this reality is the main cause of anti-politics” (2011: 162).

Interestingly, likes on Facebook pages or posts and nano-endorsements in the form of re-tweets have been found to “have long-term consequences by defining which sentiments are ‘normal’ or ‘obvious’” (Tufekci 2014). Due to their centrality to people’s daily lives, social media content can therefore influence public perception. Avatar campaigns, i.e. campaigns in which users are prompted to change their profile pictures in support of a political cause, have been branded as clicktivism simply because making changes to one’s personal profile involves only minimal effort and the idea that it can immediately affect politics or court decision seems far-fetched. But taking into consideration the fact that the British, on average, spend eight hours and 41 minutes a day on media devices, as Ofcom’s *Communications Market 2014* report has found (5), one needs to ask whether network effects might not propel a wider cultural change. Furthermore, people can consciously devote time to seeking out petitions and share news with their friends in an effort to involve others in a cause they believe worth

bringing to attention (Halupka 2014: 119). Pro-LGBTQ campaigns such as the It Gets Better Project have become global, internet-based and award-winning phenomena. Only recently, after a Supreme Court ruling on 26 June has legalised same sex marriage in the entire US, Facebook became colourful when an app allowed users to add a rainbow filter to their profile image. One can only agree with Morozov when he argues that the effect of social-media solidarity on political change is an unknown quantity, but even though showing support with a rainbow-coloured profile pictures cannot be compared to physically chaining oneself to rail tracks, it may, in the long term, indeed contribute to changing social acceptance through continuous confrontation on social media feeds that display support. As activism consultant Mary Joyce concludes, “it’s not slacktivism if it changes culture” (2013). Similarly, even though the People’s Assembly’s or Occupy’s social media messaging might not have facilitated real-world political change in the form of an anti-austerity government, it has, in combination with direct action, influenced general awareness and mobilised followers for the anti-austerity agenda.

This chapter has shown that the world cannot be saved with individual clicks. “In an era of hashtag activism, clicktivism, or whatever you want to call digital politics, it still takes [...] organization/s to create and sustain a movement, even an online movement” (Schradie 2014). Successful activism is about building up grassroots support, and new media tools can undoubtedly assist in providing people with information and focus, but “if you pull back the online curtain in the digital activism land of Oz, you will see that it is often a very structured organization pulling the levers” (*Ibid.*). Avaaz, 38 Degrees but also the anti-austerity NSM groups under scrutiny operate online *and* offline to maximise their impact. Condemning one form of activism from the onset would be naïve. A more balanced viewpoint would be that online activism needs to be one tactic in a wider framework to be truly effective. It can market a movement’s ideas but also needs to facilitate non-virtual, offline activism.

5.3. “The Revolution Will Be Tweeted”: Of Net Delusions and Bridging Gaps

The headline of the first blog post of the *Atlantic*’s Andrew Sullivan (2009) in which he portrayed Twitter as *the* vital instrument for organised resistance in Iran was the source of heavy criticism. However, Sullivan was not alone in his assertions. Historian and *Guardian* columnist Timothy Garton Ash added that “Twitter counts more than armouries in this new politics of people power” (2009). *Los-Angeles Times* author Tim

Rutten went on to proclaim Twitter to be “tyranny’s new nightmare” (2009). The fact that such proclamations were based on trending hashtags on Twitter rather than on sound data seemed inconsequential. While researching the Green Movement in Iran, a social media analysis company detected that merely 0.027 per cent of the Iranian population were registered on Twitter and that many Westerners changed their Twitter location status to Teheran in support of the protests, distorting what was actually happening (Morozov, 2011: 15). In early March 2011, googling the phrase “Twitter Revolution” achieved 203,000 hits (Jones 2011). A Google search in early June four years later yields an impressive 67.900.000 entries, in early July already 68.400.000. But the simple fact that so many people write about a Twitter revolution does not automatically prove that a revolution is taking place.

Evgeny Morozov, who researches political and social implications of technology, is certainly one of the fiercest and most outspoken critics of what he deems to be a naïve believe in and a prevalent misinterpretation of the Internet’s political character and potentials. He cautions against a “false sense of ‘participation’ [...] where sharing online has no real political or social repercussions other than making one feel ‘part of the action’” (Rodriguez 2013: 1054). However, his critique moves beyond clicktivism and, in his book *The Net Delusion* (2011), he discusses wider systemic discrepancies: “Currently, we start with a flawed set of assumptions (cyber-utopianism) and act on them using a flawed, even crippled, methodology (Internet-centrism). The result is what I call the Net Delusion” (2011: xvii). Cyber-utopianism is defined as the belief that the Internet culture is intrinsically emancipatory for Internet users whereas Internet-centrism encapsulates the belief that any given societal or political issue “can be framed in terms of the Internet” (Chatfield 2011).

A central claim is that, aside from overstating outcomes of alleged low-risk online activism such as online petitioning or commenting on, sharing and retweeting political content in social networks, activism facilitated by social media is “unable to create stable ties between activists that are necessary for sustained collective action” (Van Laer *et al.* 2010: 1146). This can be ascribed to a sense of “virtual proximity” (Morozov 2011: 5) to national as well as international causes such as the Green Movement as the Internet eradicates spatial and temporal borders. It can also, as some warn, encourage the expectation “that we can produce instantaneous movements [...] modelled after fast food delivery” (Angela Davies qtd. in Morozov 2011: 197). Occupy now, demand later. Another example is an event planned by a UK Uncut activist that aimed at praising the co-operative John Lewis, which has been lauded as role model for a

company owned by all its partners. Spontaneous action in this case was thwarted by ideological differences that could only be resolved through face-to-face interaction. The problem: the co-operative has a reputation of being anti-union and as such, is not in line with UK Uncut's agenda (Jones 2011). In light of this, one has to concede that there are certain limits to the spontaneity of action organised online, but the numbers of participants in the People's Assembly's marches also show that mobilisation via the new media can be highly successful if a movement operates on an established online and offline infrastructure.

Nevertheless, the value of what some perceive to be weak ties cannot be dismissed entirely. The sociologist Mark Granovetter asserts that weak ties are, in fact, very valuable and reportedly claims that "our acquaintances – not our friends – are our greatest source of new ideas and information" (Gladwell 2010) and can prompt spontaneous action. Furthermore, political activism does not need to be premeditated to be 'meaningful'. Obi, an Occupy London activist, indicated that he did not consciously decide to become an activist prior to the fact: "I was here, like many on 15 October, just to see what's happening and then go home. But police starting [sic] kitling us, so I decided, 'Ok, I'll stay.' Next day I got my sleeping bag" (qtd. in Sotirakopoulos and Rootes 2014: 175). Just the fact that Obi spontaneously decided to join the protest camp does not render him a slacktivist. It follows that people who took direct action after reading a Twitter callout cannot be derided as slacktivists either. In some instances, seeing a Facebook post or a tweet can prompt the decision to join direct action if it strikes a chord and finds the right recipient. As Jasper argues, "the decision of joining a protest requires the investment of emotions by the participants" (1998: 401). According to his research, sudden and shocking news or events can trigger a sense of indignation and compel someone to join a political action regardless of the fact that they may not have any friends or acquaintances in the movement group that organises the action (1998: 401, 409). Global Occupy protests in 2011, for instance, may have sprung up because many were attracted to the uniqueness of OWS, but were first and foremost a reaction to widespread social, political and economic dissatisfaction.

Authors like Morozov criticise especially that the Internet is idealised to the extent that corporate mechanisms behind the Internet are often entirely forgotten. A Nobel Peace Prize nomination for Twitter by the editor-in chief of *Wired Italy* seems indeed like the epitome of cyber-utopianism, particularly when the justification for the nomination was that the Internet constitutes "the first weapon of mass construction [...] to destroy hate and conflict and to propagate peace and democracy" (Wallace 2009).

Against the backdrop of the micro-blogging service's refusal to join the Global Network Initiative and thereby a "pledge [...] to behave in accordance with the laws and standards covering the right to freedom of expression and privacy embedded in internationally recognized documents like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (Morozov 2011: 22-3), *Wired's* claim seems faulty. Paradoxically, activism is often directed against the control and policies of multinational corporations but uses technologies of exactly these corporations. In December 2015, a charity committed to tackling poverty in the UK campaigned against Facebook by using Facebook. Because the social networking service had only paid a fraction of its sales in UK corporation tax the charity boycotted the website for 24 hours after having used it for mobilising others to do the same (Hill 2013 "Digital Revolutions - Fighting Facebook on its own ground").

Another critique against cyber-utopianism is that many citizens, organisations and politicians tend to ignore that Internet access to information is a two-way street and not only creates unprecedented opportunities for activists but also allows states to censor information or to monitor activists. For instance, authoritarian regimes can use the Internet just as well, if not better, for their own propaganda. Facebook profiles, Instagram photos or YouTube videos perfectly lend themselves to police investigations and governments can commandeer telecommunication providers to send mass text-messages to blight protest action and threaten potential protesters before they have even joined an action (Morozov, 2011: 10-11). Crucially, Western governments are not exempt from this practice, as David Cameron's announcement in a House of Commons debate on public disorder shortly after the 2011 UK riots aptly illustrates:

More than 1,200 people have now been arrested across the country. We are making technology work for us, by capturing the images of the perpetrators on CCTV, so even if they have not yet been arrested their faces are known and they will not escape the law. As I said yesterday, no phoney human rights concerns about publishing the photographs will get in the way of bringing these criminals to justice. (House of Commons 2011: 1052)

Quickly, social media were identified as accelerators of the protests and Cameron was quick to inform that the government was investigating whether it could hinder people from using these websites in the future as soon as there was reason to suspect "they are plotting violence, disorder and criminality" (*Ibid.*). Such an utterance of course has major implications for the basic human right to freedom of speech, but interestingly, was backed by Cameron's political opposition under the claim that public safety and security were just as important to democracy as free speech (Halliday and Garside,

2011). The Prime Minister even demanded television broadcasters *BBC* and *ITN* to hand unused footage of rioters to the investigating authorities (Douglas, 2011).

As these selected examples show, adapting a fully net-delusionist stance certainly forecasts a bleak future for popular protest and political activism. However, previous discussion and individual examples of the way in which UK Uncut, Occupy London and the People's Assembly's employ the new media in their repertoires of contention also give rise to hope, should hope be crushed. Neither do these movement groups appear to glorify digital activism, nor do they operate only online or only offline. However, as particularly the Occupy movement has been criticised for "start[ing] with protests and think[ing] of political demands and further steps later on" (Morozov 2011: 196) and given the widespread use of social media by its activists and associates, Occupy London provides ample ground for further analysis of whether and how NSMs avoid cyber-utopianism and bridge the gap, i.e. move beyond the online-offline dichotomy.

Because Twitter prohibits the use of automated web scraping software, data for a quantitative analysis of Occupy's social media use were gathered manually by using the site's enhanced search function. In total, 831 tweets featuring the hashtags #OccupyLondon and #OccupyLSX from the movement group's own Twitter account in the period from October 2011 to June 2015 were collected. Because this thesis is primarily concerned with how groups organise themselves and employ new media tools, re-tweets and tweets of other users were disregarded. As Olcese *et al.* (2012) purport that social media do not only serve for recruitment or mobilisation purposes, but that NSMs increasingly carry out a broader range of activities in the digital sphere in-between mobilisations, the selected period of data collection covers the entire timespan of Occupy London's occupation stage as well as three months after the eviction of the main protest camp at St Paul's Cathedral to gain insight into social media usage at all movement stages. Among this wider range of activities are "the consolidation of group identity, [and the] evaluation of tactics and goals" (Olcese 2015: 273). Building on these, Occupy London's tweets were divided into four different categories: *Raising awareness, mobilisation, identity and prefiguration* as well as *support and collaboration*.

Perhaps unsurprising, half of all analysed tweets were categorised as *raising awareness*, encompassing a variety of actions such as drawing attention to upcoming actions and events (Appendix 1 T90), informing followers of ongoing process within the protest camps or regarding policing issues (*Ibid.* T55; T58 respectively), but also included

links to news coverage to reflect the movement's impact and influence public opinion: "There's going to be a feature on #occupylsx on BBC's This Week tonight at 11.15pm" (*Ibid.* T138; raw text). The fact that the majority of tweets fall into this category and that they are equally distributed across pre-occupation, occupation and post-occupation stage, illustrates that NSMs employ the new media to continuously sustain their narrative and stay visible.

Nine per cent of tweets fall into the category *support and collaboration* and fulfil two basic functions. Firstly, to endorse collective actions of allies such as UK Uncut with announcements like "11am tomorrow. We will join @ukuncut 4 Austerity Isn't Working Queue outside Downing St. See u there!" (*Ibid.* T727; raw text) that demonstrate a shared commitment to the anti-austerity agenda and, secondly, to publicly thank others for supporting Occupy London, highlighting especially the appearance of famous figures and artists (*Ibid.* T506; 613; 668). As the example of T727 shows, support is not restricted to social media endorsements, but also translates into direct action.

Mobilisation constitutes 19 per cent of all tweets and, like *raising awareness*, summarises a range of activities. These include calling for action with tweets like "The public assembly is about to start, come and join us! #olsx #occupylsx" (*Ibid.* T116) or "High Court proceedings tomorrow - come show your support at #OccupyLSX at 10 am and march down to the courthouse. Let's keep it peaceful!". Furthermore tweets are employed to assist the organisation of the day-to-day running of the camps, e.g. announcing the need for technical support or in-kind donations (*Ibid.* T267; T269) and to live-coordinate action: "Police kettling protectors at the guildhall. Get there and support if you can #occupylsx #tenticityuniversity" (*Ibid.* T259). Especially tweets in this category illustrate that Occupy London's physical manifestation was, and is, interlinked with its virtual presence. Mobilisation occurs at camp, i.e. the decision to take action is, as previously explained, made collectively in the movement group's GAs and subsequently, to maximise impact and reach those that could not participate, circulated via Twitter. Calls to action are thereby targeted at activists in the camps as well as the general public.

Drawing on qualitative and quantitative data gathered at the London Occupy protests, Roth *et al.* comment that "what [...] activists shared was an interest in creating inclusive prefigurative structures where the path was the destination" (2014). Interestingly, this is also reflected in the Twitter data analysed in this thesis. Twenty-two per

cent of the analysed tweets were categorised under the heading *identity and prefiguration*. Statements such as “Real-world impact of #occupylsx: we’re changing the terms of the national conversation. Inequality is back on the agenda” (*Ibid.* T208, raw text) show that group identity is reinforced online by evaluating the group’s performance. Often video-feeds or photos are attached to enhance this effect and digitally represent the atmosphere at the camps in the digital sphere (*Ibid.* T349; T716). Furthermore, tweets like “Interesting day at #occupylsx discovering how we’re going to work. Balancing inclusivity with effectiveness no easy matter” (*Ibid.* T95) as well as the continuous tweeting of “activist perspectives” or blogs that invite activists to share their opinions online and offline and explain individual reasons for joining reinforce Occupy London’s core values and reflect that prefigurative practices can also be executed online (T575; 556; 662).

Due to shortage of space, a quantitative analysis of only one social media channel can, of course, only offer a glimpse at the many different activities that Occupy London performs online. Further research, especially research that could determine in how far weak-tie and strong-tie activism interact would not only need to analyse all social media channels operated by Occupy London, but also to qualitatively examine the movement group’s online interactions with other users and, ideally draw on interviews with Occupy activists to contextualise these findings. However, the analysis at hand has offered a valuable insight into how Occupy London uses the new media to link online and offline activism and engages at all sites of contention. “In the digital era of so-called Facebook revolutions or hashtag activism [...] building and sustaining a political movement, even an online movement, still requires organization” (Schradié 2014).

In our age of globalisation and panmediation, any revolution will undoubtedly be tweeted. At the same time, a shift towards an alternative politics would need more substance than trending topics on Twitter. It has been shown that Occupy London has moved beyond the online-offline dichotomy and, in a significant percentage of its tweets, bridges the gap between online activism and direct action to mobilise followers, coordinate action and reinforce group identity. Dismissing digital activism and the possibilities that the new media hold for NSMs is therefore just as inviable as taking a wholly cyber-utopian stance.

6. Conclusion – New Old Politics?

This thesis has shed light on two central themes – the way anti-austerity movements in the UK frame and organise their dissent against post-financial crisis austerity policies on the one hand and in what way the Internet has the capacity to transform such forms of popular protest on the other.

UK Uncut, the People’s Assembly and Occupy London have been shown to embody two broad trends in British anti-austerity protests. The former two can be regarded as *Keynesian* responses to the government’s management of one of the biggest financial crises in history and, first and foremost, demand equitable taxation and increased spending to foster a healthy welfare system. The latter embodies a *prefigurative* approach through actualizing a model participatory democracy, an intact lifeworld, which symbolically diverges from the current system. At different levels, all three movement groups have entered the mainstream and capture the spirit of their time – they give a voice to those that regard themselves as the 99 per cent and who have found David Cameron’s “Age of Austerity” to be lacking.

Especially UK Uncut and the People’s Assembly have been shown to place emphasis on a networked approach to anti-austerity activism. Both value spontaneous, direct action and horizontal decision-making, but also build on and expand existing structures through collaboration with charities, unions and other campaign organisations as well as lobby politicians. As Seymour comments, “whether we scry into the past, or take a longing look abroad, the answer seems to be the same: successful social movements thrive and avoid the limits of spontaneity [...] on the basis of tenaciously constructed infrastructures [...] of political combat linked to grassroots democracy” (2013). Occupy London, in contrast, strictly refuses to engage with formal politics and aspires to remain distinct from other movement groups. Combined with its “open source” (Bray 2014) approach to formulating demands, the movement’s insistence of practicing democracy now and its mobilisation of large quantities of people in public space primarily “through viral flows of information distributed via social media” (*Ibid.*) have caused much criticism. Nevertheless, especially the Occupy movement and its viral quality catapulted the anti-austerity agenda to a transnational level.

All three movement groups under scrutiny have been found to employ a wide repertoire of contention and engage with a diverse range of issues to rally public support for their cause. Despite ideological differences, the media and public space are shared sites of contention. Through continuous confrontation in the High Streets, large-scale demonstrations, the occupation of public space as well as creative DIY action, anti-

austerity movement groups continue to “contribute to Britain’s ‘national conversations’” (Heffernan 2011: 174) by driving forward their anti-austerity agenda. Notably, it was shown that especially focussed and tangible campaigns such as Move Your Money that directly enable people to drop out of existing institutions were successful.

This thesis has further sought to determine whether the use of new media applications, have transformed popular protest. Especially aspects of interactivity, connectivity and the assumption that the Internet can “lower [...] the barriers of entry for ordinary citizens into politics” (Stoker 2011, *Building a new politics*: 54) have led to the portrayal of Web 2.0 “tools as pro-democratic agents” (Chatfield 2011) and to narratives of Twitter revolutions. Indeed, it has been established that in today’s panmediated world, second screens and social interactions in the digital sphere have become integral to every-day life and thus, unavoidably, also affect popular protest. Especially social networking sites such as Twitter or Facebook enable users to be active creators of content – political or other – and provide additional channels for NSMs to distribute information, as well as to organise and synchronise protest action. Consequently, “the internet [...] is often seen as a potential carrier of a new politics [...] [in which] the old politics [...] are giving way to a new politics of blogs, social networking and video-sharing sites that [...] radically pluralise the political process by providing multiple options for the expression of interests and ideas” (Stoker 2011, *Building a new politics*: 52-53). To a certain extent, this perspective holds true. While a single click may not change the world, multiple intentional clicks by a large number of people that engage with politics online cannot be dismissed. By using Web 2.0 applications to create their own media, NSMs embed their anti-austerity agenda in users’ live feeds so that content can be liked, shared and retweeted and, through continuous confrontation and network effects, may change perceptions and thereby induce change.

Nevertheless, there are cautionary themes, e.g. enhanced state monitoring of activist activity, widening disparities in political engagement through Britain’s digital divide or politics’ failure to fulfil expectations and constructively respond to the mass of inquiries, now that NSMs can challenge political elites via new channels. “The internet has created the biggest citizen megaphones ever, but not [necessarily] the headphones to help MPs listen and engage” (Brie Rohers Lowery qtd. in Howard 2014, “How ‘clicktivism’ has changed the face of political campaigns”). However, just like NSMs, politics may also find a way to positively capitalise on developments in ICTs and media usage behaviour and revive political participation within the frame of formal politics. A first step could be the Digital Democracy Commission led by John Bercow,

Speaker of the House of Commons, which explores how the government can incorporate digital developments to become more effective in scrutinising its own processes, creating laws and engaging citizens.³²

The polarised debates around the value of online activism – criticism of cyber-utopianism or clicktivism – and the democratic capacities of the Internet have shown that the new media do not automatically offer a formula for better and more successful activism. The analysis of Occupy London’s social media use exemplified that tweets can spread news, mobilise and coordinate action as well as reinforce group identity or prefigure participation, thereby performing acts that commonly take place in offline, face-to-face interaction, in the digital sphere. However, the combination of online and offline activism has been found key for sustained activism. Online activism can “help [...] transform a virtual presence into a physical presence; and vice versa” (Merrifield 2012: 277) but needs to be one strategy in a wider repertoire of contention that is based on an offline infrastructure. To determine the impact of the new media on political activism, a first step needs to be defining what actions, strategies and qualities ‘successful activism’ entails within a particular context and to further understand how the new media affects them. “The lesson to be drawn is that the Internet is here to stay, it will continue to grow in importance, and those concerned with democracy promotion need” (Morozov 2011: xv-xvi) to refrain from confronting digital activism with obsolete and outdated frameworks of traditional and meaningful activism, but also to acknowledge corporate mechanisms behind the Internet.

Finally, an underlying question throughout this thesis has been in what way developments in popular protest have affected or can affect the UK’s political climate and in how far they might indicate a shift towards new, alternative politics. Undoubtedly, today extra-parliamentary politics are ubiquitous, a circumstance that has been demonstrated to interact with the long-term decline of party membership and election turn-outs – “the public’s belief in the utility of those processes and mechanisms associated with *traditional* representative politics” (Flinders 2009: 337; original emphasis) – in multiple ways. Austerity has been at the heart of election campaigning in 2015 and will most likely be central to political and public discourse in the coming years. Interestingly, former *Adbusters* editor and co-creator of OWS recently gave an interview and stated “in addition to a crisis in representative democracy, there is a crisis in the

³² For more information, see House of Commons 2015: Digital Democracy Commission. *Open Up! Report of the Speaker’s Commission on Digital Democracy*.

model of activism, how people protest” and contended that innovation in the form of creating “social movements that can also function as political parties” (White 2015) would be the only way in which activism could propel social and political change. This study has shown that the anti-austerity agenda driven by NSMs did indeed have an impact on the UK’s political, climate. Nevertheless the general election results also illustrate that, currently, NSMs do seem to find their limit in formal political processes. However, that does not automatically signify a crisis of activism. Despite being a co-creator of OWS, White appears to have forgotten, or simply disagrees, with the movement’s prefigurative principles. In a way, the People’s Assembly with its declared aim of establishing a unified movement and its engagement with formal politics comes closest to White’s vision, but it is precisely their quality of operating outside of the political system that distinguishes NSMs. Anything else would be a political party rather than a NSM that also operates as political party.

As immediate protests in reaction to the Tory majority in the 2015 general election show, anti-austerity protests are back at full force now that the party associated mostly with austerity is back in office. They currently operate in what can be termed a hybrid environment, a ‘new old politics’ where political elites still are the gatekeepers of power, but in which existing movements are increasingly consolidating their efforts. Only one week after the general election results 2015, protestors assembled across the English regions to voice their outrage at the election results and any planned cuts. In this hybrid state of new old politics, political leaders face “that latent capability, that contingent possibility that people might still encounter other people, lots of them, millions and millions of them, to form dissenting crowds in urban public space” (Merrifield 2012: 280) as NSMs continue to capture public moods and mobilise followers via online activism and direct action to lever social and political change.

Statutory Declaration

I hereby declare the following:

(1) that this work has never been submitted, on whole or in part, for any other degree, examination, or thesis;

(2) that it is my own work;

(3) that all the sources, including online sources, cited, reproduced, or referred to herein – especially the sources of quotations, images, and tables – have been acknowledged as such.

With my signature, I acknowledge that any violation of these declarations will lead to an investigation for cheating or attempted cheating.

This thesis contains 31,258 words.

Berlin, 13 July 2015

Clara Mehring

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Appendix: Occupy London Twitter Data

Key:

Category	Tweets	%
1 Raising awareness	411	50
2 Mobilisation	159	19
3 Identity & prefiguration	184	22
4 Support & collaboration	77	9

Data set: October 2011-June 2012

#	Category	Date	Tweet from @OccupyLondon
T1	1	02.10.2011	@Adbusters Thanks for spreading the word! Much appreciated! #OccupyLSX starting Oct 15!! #OccupyLondon #OccupyWallStreet
T2	1	02.10.2011	@Thekdawggg Deal! Let's re-name the scotch pies into occupiers :) #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T3	1	04.10.2011	Occupy London is next! Join the discussion on our Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/occupylondon #OccupyLondon #OccupyLSX
T4	1	05.10.2011	@EmilyMaryDavis Awesome! Hope to see you Sunday! #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T5	1	05.10.2011	@TomPatCat Let's hope not!! Oct 15th, here we come :) #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon #OccupyWallStreet #occupy
T6	1	06.10.2011	General Assembly, Sunday Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon #OccupyWallStreet
T7	1	06.10.2011	General Assembly Sun Oct 9th, Westminster Bridge, at BlockTheBill protest of @UKuncut, plz b there at 1pm, look out for our banner! #OccupyLSX
T8	1	06.10.2011	All are welcome to the General Assembly. Location: Westminster Bridge. See flyer for more. #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T9	2	06.10.2011	General Assembly taking place on 09/10/11 to discuss and organise the occupation. #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T10	1	07.10.2011	General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon #OccupyWallStreet
T11	1	07.10.2011	General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon #OWS
T12	1	07.10.2011	@billybragg General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T13	1	07.10.2011	@MMFlint General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T14	1	07.10.2011	@democracynow General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T15	1	07.10.2011	@NaomiAKlein General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T16	1	07.10.2011	@Mruff221 General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T17	1	07.10.2011	@BiancaJagger General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T18	1	07.10.2011	@Adbusters General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T19	1	07.10.2011	@OccupyWallSt General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T20	1	07.10.2011	@KeithOlbermann reads the statement released by #OccupyWallStreet protestors: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N8o3peQq79Q ... #OccupyLSX
T21	1	07.10.2011	General Assembly, Sun Oct 9th, 1pm, Westminster Bridge. Details: #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon #OccupyWallStreet
T22	2	08.10.2011	Look out for this banner on Westminster Bridge tomorrow and join our first general assembly! http://yfrog.com/kkbqkqlhj #occupylsx #occupylondon

T23	3	09.10.2011	RT @leente Video of the #OccupyLondon #OccupyLSX first General Assembly http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nj7po7NDE2M ... cc: @OccupyLSX
T24	2	09.10.2011	"Let's do this in the UK! Occupy London!" #occupylsx #ows
T25	3	09.10.2011	RT @hexdoll @OccupyLSX I will be there because people should not suffer for the greed and recklessness of others. #occupylsx #OWS
T26	2	09.10.2011	Calls for solidarity with other protests - let's bring the UK's disparate movements together! #ows #occupylsx
T27	2	09.10.2011	London addition to General Assembly protocol: jazz hands means "I agree" #occupy #OccupyLSX
T28	1	09.10.2011	RT @GyptianDee We must unite against economic terror, environmental rape and militarism. The time is now to get up off our knees! #occupylsx
T29	2	09.10.2011	http://yfrog.com/kgzg0ceqj one of many #occupylsx working groups. Reporting back to the GA in a few minutes! #occupy #occupylondon
T30	3	09.10.2011	RT @tinalouiseUK I will #OccupyLSX for my reasons..alongside&in solidarity with others who stand for theirs.It's the standing,that unites us
T31	3	09.10.2011	We're going to start discussing *why* we need to #occupylsx If you're not at the GA, you can join in here on twitter.Tell us what you think!
T32	3	09.10.2011	http://yfrog.com/ntlklcj address from #occupymcr Manchester, now staging a permanent occupation of the peace gardens #occupylondon #occupylsx
T33	3	09.10.2011	http://yfrog.com/nymtjyj general assembly officially underway! We're hearing reports from #ows We'll do it here too! #occupylondon #occupylsx
T34	3	09.10.2011	http://yfrog.com/kksintjij we're getting ready to go. If you're on Westminster Bridge, join our first GA! #occupylsx #occupylondon #occupy
T35	2	09.10.2011	Exciting scenes on Westminster Bridge... and there's still time to join us for our first GA. #occupylsx #occupylondon
T36	3	10.10.2011	Video of the first General Assembly!! http://vimeo.com/30284361 #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon #OWS #OccupyWallStreet @OccupyWallSt
T37	1	11.10.2011	Press Release went out tonight: http://occupylsx.org/ Let's get ready for Saturday! :) #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon #OccupyWallStreet #ows
T38	2	12.10.2011	#OccupyLSX Callout - Let's DO this!! 15 Oct - 12pm/noon - St Pauls Cathedral. Details here: http://occupylondon.org.uk/?p=96 #OLSX #OWS #OccupyLondon
T39	2	12.10.2011	If you're looking for people to travel/carpool to #OccupyLSX take a look at this FB event: https://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=204095902997715 ... #OSW #OccupyLondon
T40	1	13.10.2011	Bank Protesters to Target the City (The Sun) http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/money/3869563/Bank-protesters-to-target-the-City.html ... #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows #occupyeverywhere
T41	3	13.10.2011	Wall Street Protests Inspire London Offshoot (New York Times) http://dealbook.nytimes.com/2011/10/13/wall-street-protests-cross-the-pond/ ... #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows #occupy
T42	2	13.10.2011	If you come down to #OccupyLSX be aware of many tube closures this weekend: http://www.tfl.gov.uk/tfl/livetravelnews/realtime/track.aspx?offset=weekend ... #OLSX #OccupyLondon #OWS
T43	2	13.10.2011	Be prepared! Bring tent, sleeping bag, warm clothes, food and water + energy and excitement! #OccupyLSX #OLSX #OccupyLondon #OWS
T44	2	13.10.2011	#OccupyLSX Callout - Let's DO this!! 15 Oct - 12pm/noon - St Pauls Cathedral. Details: http://occupylondon.org.uk/?p=96 #OLSX #OWS #OccupyLondon
T45	3	13.10.2011	RT @jodymcintyre My thoughts on the movement to occupy the London Stock Exchange: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BTXjiBQ3ta4 ... #OccupyLSX #OLSX #OccupyLondon #OWS
T46	1	13.10.2011	EU Commission source on #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows and march to Brussels "How does that concern us?" #getaclue http://www.euractiv.com/euro-finance/wall-street-protests-spread-brussels-news-508310 ...
T47	3	15.10.2011	Its official we are occupying st pauls! The vicar has given his blessing and asked the police to move :D #occupylsx #occupylondon
T48	3	15.10.2011	Photos from Day 1 have been posted HERE: http://facebook.com/occupylondon #OccupyLondon #OccupyLSX
T49	2	15.10.2011	anyone able to help with police station support? Pls contact @GBCLegal 07946541511 #occupylsx #occupylondon
T50	1	15.10.2011	Relaxed happy vibe at #occupylsx, people free to come in and out #globalchange
T51	3	15.10.2011	Rumours that #occupylsx will be cleared in next hour are unconfirmed. But know where your friends are,stick together, look after everyone.
T52	1	15.10.2011	Dear @bbcnews,@kevinbakhurst why are headlines saying 'hundreds' of protesters are #occupylsx when your own reporters said 3000-5000?
T53	2	15.10.2011	Come join us! You can still make your way in to #occupylsx on the south side of st Paul's steps #globalchange
T54	1	15.10.2011	We're dancing to the mighty samba band on the steps of st Paul's for the occupation launch party #occupylsx #globalchange
T55	1	15.10.2011	#occupylsx still going strong, assembly meeting 12pm Sunday at st Paul's #globalchange
T56	2	15.10.2011	at the occupation? stay calm, video everything & if you're a witness, note details & email footage etc to GBC Legal & us #occupylondon
T57	2	15.10.2011	Police charged up the stairs of the Cathedral throwing people down the stairs. People peacefully resisting. Pls tag media #occupylsx
T58	1	15.10.2011	Police using shields and batons against peaceful seated protestors. #occupylondon

T59	1	15.10.2011	People are still trying to access #OccupyLSX but are being prevented by police.
T60	3	15.10.2011	#OccupyLondon #occupylsx http://twitpic.com/70sije
T61	2	15.10.2011	Can any St Paul's staff please get in touch? We'd like to say hi. General@occupylsx.org #occupylsx
T62	2	15.10.2011	Call-out: The camp needs FOOD & WATER, tents, sleepingbags/warm stuff, tarp/rope/gaffatape, first-aid kits & YOU!! #occupylsx #occupylondon
T63	1	15.10.2011	General assembly is still continuing. #occupylondon #occupylsx
T64	1	15.10.2011	Peaceful general assembly disturbed by police...rumors of tents being removed. #occupylsx
T65	1	15.10.2011	General assembly at st Pauls taking place now to organise food distribution, donations etc. #occupylondon #occupylsx http://twitpic.com/70q80w
T66	2	15.10.2011	If you are a journalist and want to receive a press release, please email press@occupylsx.org #occupylsx
T67	2	15.10.2011	Food kitchens, tents etc going up to the left of St Pauls at Temple Bar: our new home! #occupylsx
T68	2	15.10.2011	#OccupyLSX is in need of: Toilet Paper, thick bin bags, rope, cardboard, tarps, blankets, food and water. Help if you can. Spread the word
T69	2	15.10.2011	Come and join #OccupyLSX at the steps of St Pauls. Bring blankets, tents food and water. Get comfortable, we'll be here for a while #150
T70	2	15.10.2011	The assembly is now coordinating a comfortable #occupation in the heart of the city, outside St Pauls. Everybody's invited #occupyLSX
T71	2	15.10.2011	To the people who can't get in - try to get in and if you can't hold your own assembly! let us know how you're getting on! #occupylsx #015
T72	2	15.10.2011	If you're coming to join #OccupyLSX you can still get in by Ludgate Hill. Bring water, bin bags, food, tents, blankets 4 #globalchange
T73	2	15.10.2011	People are still able to get in to #occupylsx by Ludgate Hill, only letting people in a few at a time, worth a try #OccupyLSX #globalchange
T74	1	15.10.2011	Julian Assange now speaking at the Assembly #occupylsx #globalchange
T75	3	15.10.2011	Assembly has formed into over 50 small groups to discuss our next move. This is what real democracy looks like #occupylsx #globalchange
T76	3	15.10.2011	200,000 marching in Rome. We are the 99% #occupylsx #globalchange
T77	2	15.10.2011	Get over to the Cannon St side of St Pauls and help hold the space. Spread the word #occupylsx #globalchange
T78	2	15.10.2011	Assembly happening right now in front of St Pauls. Get involved #occupylsx #globalchange
T79	2	15.10.2011	Peoples assembly at the steps of St Pauls starting 1.30pm, spread the word #occupylsx #globalchange
T80	2	15.10.2011	Huge numbers are now building in protests against corporate greed across the world. Join the movement for #globalchange and #occupylondon
T81	2	15.10.2011	People are moving. Join the crowd, keep together as one long march #occupylsx #globalchange
T82	2	15.10.2011	Front is blocked. Try the back entrance to the square. People are moving #occupylsx #globalchange
T83	2	15.10.2011	Note for those at St Pauls: There are other entrances to Paternoster Sq round the sides #occupylsx #occupylondon #globalchange
T84	2	15.10.2011	If you're at St Pauls, Get into Paternoster Square and bring everyone around you with you #OccupyLSX
T85	2	15.10.2011	Get into Paternoster Square and #occupylsx #occupylondon gates are still open! If you're not there already, get in quick!
T86	2	15.10.2011	There are already 1000+ at St Pauls, plenty more on their way. Get ready to #occupylondon #occupylsx #globalchange
T87	3	15.10.2011	http://yfrog.com/h8nzcjoj a scene of great beauty #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows
T88	2	15.10.2011	numbers are already building at St Pauls, make sure you're there for 12 #occupylondon #occupylsx #globalchange
T89	3	15.10.2011	RT @billybragg Oh well....time to switch of the rugby and head to St Pauls and #occupylsx
T90	1	15.10.2011	Today's the day, friends. We will proceed to #OccupyLSX. #OccupyLondon #ows #OccupyBritain #OccupyEverywhere
T91	3	16.10.2011	The only authoritative source on decisions taken at #OccupyLSX is our media team reporting the deliberations of the General Assembly.
T92	3	16.10.2011	After today's assembly, #OccupyLSX has released an initial statement. Read it here: http://occupylsx.org/?p=221
T93	2	16.10.2011	Please help us stay through the night RT toilet situation with info about public toilets #occupylsx #occupylondon #olsx #ows
T94	3	16.10.2011	But, difficult though it can be, it feels like an investment in the future. #occupylsx
T95	3	16.10.2011	Interesting day at #occupylsx discovering how we're going to work. Balancing inclusivity with effectiveness no easy matter.
T96	2	16.10.2011	@counterfireorg if you have info or map of toilet locations please RT and spread word! #occupylsx #occupylondon

T97	2	16.10.2011	Looks like a map of community toilets: http://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/Corporation/LGNL_Services/Transport_and_streets/Street_care_and_cleaning/ToiletMap.htm ... #occupylsx pls RT and let us know of other toilets for occupiers near St. Paul's
T98	2	16.10.2011	pls RT Police promise of toilet return now denied. local pubs providing access to toilets look for this sign #OccupyLSX
T99	3	16.10.2011	Assembly has just finished - lots of headway made, main points to be finalised and announced later tonight #OccupyLSX
T100	2	16.10.2011	#Occupylsx made it through the first night, in the morning meeting making the occupation comfortable, come and join us! #Globalchange
T101	2	16.10.2011	Siarad Cymraeg? Anyone at the occupation speak welsh? please contact us! #occupylsx #occupylondon
T102	3	16.10.2011	Morning Campers! Lovely vimeo of yesterday http://tiny.cc/xlpdi Please bring food water warmth & paper/pens/funstuff to #occupylondon today
T103	2	17.10.2011	#OCCUPYLSX - MEDIA+TECH TENT NEEDS LIGHTING FOR TENT AND A WINDPROOF MICROPHONE FOR LIVESTREAMING AND SUCH. CHEERS FOR YOUR SUPPORT! RT
T104	2	17.10.2011	#OCCUPYLSX CALL OUT FROM THE KITCHEN. WE DESPERATELY NEED A BUTANE (BLUE CYLINDER) GAS CYLINDER TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE COOKING. WE PAY U BACK
T105	1	17.10.2011	#OCCUPYLSX LIVE STREAMING FROM MEDIA&TECH TENT @ http://LIVESTREAM.COM/OCCUPYLSX
T106	2	17.10.2011	The schedule of events has been updated, you can find it here - http://occupylsx.org/?page_id=176 #occupylsx
T107	2	17.10.2011	Donations page has been updated, please help out anyway you can! Visit http://occupylsx.org/?page_id=192 for more information! #occupylsx
T108	2	17.10.2011	Kitchen needs canisters of BUTANE (7KG+) for cooking equipment! #OccupyLSX - Old canisters can be collected/refilled, or new ones donated
T109	1	17.10.2011	Polly Toynbee: "Everybody is suffering apart from the people who caused this" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u4iLOP1WCVk ... #occupylondon #occupylsx #ows #occupy
T110	1	17.10.2011	Polly Toynbee faces off against the Taxpayers' Alliance; takes no prisoners (Sky) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u4iLOP1WCVk ... #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows #occupy
T111	3	17.10.2011	Do you support #OccupylSX? Guardian poll gives us 87.2% approval ratings (!) - not far off that magic 99% :D http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/poll/2011/oct/17/occupy-london-poll ... #ows
T112	3	17.10.2011	David House (@lockean) on RT: "The energy at #occupylondon is much like the energy here [#ows]." http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-qcOn4M7G0M ...
T113	2	17.10.2011	Anyone with a van fancy help us pick up 40 pallets from Wandsworth today? #occupylsx #occupylondon
T114	2	17.10.2011	Direct action workshop - "Tired of talking? Let's put our bodies in the way! @ 4pm behind the black RBS profit banner!" #OccupyLSX
T115	2	17.10.2011	Also need tables, gaffer tape, tents, blankets (it's freezing!), gas for the kitchen! Please reply if you can help #olsx #occupylsx
T116	2	17.10.2011	Rain soon! Need loads of pallets, large tarps, sandbags, ropes! Please reply if you can help #olsx #occupylsx
T117	2	17.10.2011	Any donations would be appreciated - we need tables, vegan food, containers - for a full list please visit http://cot.ag/nFM7Jc #occupylsx
T118	2	18.10.2011	#OccupyLSX still here and going strong. Meet at 6:45 for demo/strike action with striking electricians on steps of St Paul's cathedral.
T119	3	18.10.2011	Submit and vote on ideas for #occupylsx here: http://tinyurl.com/lxideas
T120	2	18.10.2011	We have a wiki. Help us build this thing: http://olsx.wikia.com/ #winning #wishlist #events #maps #hacktivism #occupyeverywhere #occupylsx
T121	3	18.10.2011	#OccupylSX live-streaming from the general assembly: http://www.livestream.com/occupylsx
T122	3	18.10.2011	#OCCUPYLSX STREAMING LIVE @ http://WWW.LIVESTREAM.COM/OCCUPYLSX - ALL NIGHT HOPEFULLY! :) RT
T123	2	18.10.2011	RevolutionTruth launch their #Occupy campaign: send them your stories! http://revolutiontruth.org/campaigns @RevTruth @tangerinebolen @MMFlint #occupylsx
T124	2	18.10.2011	#OccupyLSX needs RCA phono to stereo jack + stero->mini jack adapter @ socialmedia+tech tent
T125	2	18.10.2011	Kitchen tent is collapsing, we desperately need up to 50 sandbags or something else heavy!! Asap! Please let us know #olsx #occupylsx
T126	4	19.10.2011	#OccupylSX GA declares solidarity with Dale Farm @LetDaleFarmLive - Check the website! http://occupylsx.org/?p=233
T127	2	19.10.2011	#OccupylSX updated wishlist for supplies - check it out @ http://olsx.wikia.com/wiki/Wishlist - Thanks for all your support!
T128	2	19.10.2011	#OccupylSX needs water @ food tent, check http://olsx.wikia.com/wiki/Wishlist for more! Cheers!
T129	2	19.10.2011	#OccupylSX wishlist (supplies, donations) UPDATED @ http://olsx.wikia.com/wiki/Wishlist - Please review and help if you can! Thanks!
T130	1	19.10.2011	Guardian #Occupy debate going on RIGHT NOW. #OccupylSX #ows #OccupylFrankfurt http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/blog/2011/oct/19/occupy-live-debate-london-frankfurt-wall-street ...
T131	2	19.10.2011	We have motor oil now! #OccupyLSX
T132	1	19.10.2011	Really cool @guardian link up going on RIGHT NOW between #occupylsx peeps and their #ows counterparts. Pretty useful for us too!

T133	2	19.10.2011	Also if you have any footage shot from #OccupyLSX, come and see us in the tech tent.
T134	2	19.10.2011	Tech Tent at #OccupyLSX *urgently* needs generator oil / light motor oil. Only a litre or two will be sufficient to keep us up for days
T135	2	19.10.2011	Guys, we urgently need more blankets, pallets and the like tonight, we gwan freeze. #occupylsx
T136	2	19.10.2011	If anyone can help we're looking to get some more lights for the kitchens.. We'd greatly appreciate it if you can help. #occupylsx
T137	4	19.10.2011	Also, massive thanks to Cho Horpe for the Camp Bistro delivered to our address. St Bloomin' Pauls..Amazing #occupylsx
T138	3	20.10.2011	General Assembly minutes are now online, more updates to come - http://occupylsx.org/?cat=21 #occupylsx
T139	1	20.10.2011	There's going to be a feature on #occupylsx on BBC's This Week tonight at 11.15pm http://twitpic.com/735tke
T140	2	20.10.2011	#OccupyLSX needs a PA and a microphone @ Tent City University, right by the information point. Cheers!
T141	2	20.10.2011	Tent University Children's School for secondary school age: From 2pm every day next week starting Monday at University Tent. #OccupyLSX
T142	2	20.10.2011	Straw bales (or silent generators) required! Can someone help us out here? #olsx #OccupyLSX
T143	3	20.10.2011	This is what democracy looks like: http://bit.ly/DirectDemocracy #DirectDemocracy #occupylsx
T144	2	20.10.2011	#OccupyLSX - A gent called Earthian would like a lift to/from Tottenham Court Rd @ midday in order to bring some heavy batteries for solar
T145	3	21.10.2011	@E_Ginge as you know #Occupy is not party political, but UK pirates are represented at #occupylsx
T146	1	21.10.2011	Nawal el Sadaawi coming down to #OccupyLSX at 11am tomorrow bringing greetings from Tahir Sqaure
T147	3	21.10.2011	Our latest press release is now available at http://occupylsx.org/?page_id=119 #occupylsx #meetthemovement #occupy #ows
T148	1	22.10.2011	Our tech people are just getting started at this time of the night :) #olsx #occupylsx
T149	3	22.10.2011	This is what democracy looks like! #occupylsx #olsx
T150	1	22.10.2011	Projecting things onto St Pauls Cathedral :) #olsx #occupylsx
T151	2	22.10.2011	We need warm blankets and sleeping bags at Finsbury Square for tonight #olsx #occupylsx
T152	1	22.10.2011	First General Assembly at Finsbury Square - our second site #olsx #occupylsx
T153	1	22.10.2011	Setting up the kitchen tent at new site/Finsbury Square #olsx #occupylsx
T154	2	22.10.2011	#OccupyLSX Act II: Our second site at Finsbury Square EC1 is now occupied. London is ours.
T155	1	22.10.2011	An important announcement from #OccupyLSX http://occupylsx.org/?p=349 #weareoccupy #deempluz
T156	2	22.10.2011	Please come and spend the night in our second camp at Finsbury Square!! #olsx #occupylsx
T157	1	22.10.2011	Tour Of Corporate Greed at #occupylsx starting now #olsx
T158	2	22.10.2011	Samba band playing at the start of our Tour Of Corporate Greed! Come and join us! #olsx #occupylsx
T159	1	22.10.2011	RT @TentCityUni Time for debate down at bank of England #tcuteachout #OccupyLSX
T160	3	22.10.2011	We move, we inform, we occupy. #occupylsx
T161	1	22.10.2011	All-star teach in at @TentCityUni starting soon - we'll be live tweeting proceedings for those who can't make it to St Paul's. #Occupylsx
T162	1	22.10.2011	Rachel from #occupyhalfterm "every mom should be down here with us for the sake of our children" #olsx #occupylsx
T163	1	22.10.2011	Rachel from #occupyhalfterm speaking now "banks took over our government" #olsx #occupylsx
T164	1	22.10.2011	Amazing turnout at #occupylsx Public Assembly happening now! #olsx
T165	1	22.10.2011	Danny speaking, he was working in finance: "the game is not fair" #olsx #occupylsx
T166	2	22.10.2011	The public assembly is about to start, come and join us! #olsx #occupylsx
T167	2	22.10.2011	Come down to #occupylsx sit in the sun and read a book at our Starbook Occupation Library :) #olsx
T168	1	22.10.2011	Nawal el Saadawi at #occupylsx it's her 80th birthday today! Occupiers were singing Happy Birthday for her :) #olsx
T169	1	22.10.2011	Nawal el Saadawi from Egypt just gave a speech, what an inspiring woman! #olsx #occupylsx
T170	1	22.10.2011	Coming to @OccupyLSX today? We've got loads planned - here's the schedule! http://occupylsx.org/?p=320 #occupy #occupylondon #ows @UKuncut

T171	1	23.10.2011	Look, @davidallengreen likes us! http://jackofkent.blogspot.com/2011/10/idiocy-at-cathedral.html?spref=tw ... We're looking forward to talking to @stpaulslondon again soon #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T172	4	23.10.2011	Christian solidarity with #OccupyLondon : http://occupylsx.org/?p=388 We're thrilled by this and would love for other faith groups to show support!
T173	2	23.10.2011	ATTN re hashtags: we have #OccupyLSX and #OccupyFS now please add #occupylondon as the common hashtag :)
T174	3	23.10.2011	Our #OccupyLSX story box :) #olsx
T175	2	23.10.2011	One of our core techies doesn't have a laptop on-site. Can someone help out? #olsx #occupylsx
T176	2	23.10.2011	Legal Observer training at 3pm/Finsbury Square by the Green & Black Cross legal team! Please come :) #olsx #occupylsx
T177	1	24.10.2011	Guess who just donated this to #OccupyLSX ?! #occupylondon #olsx
T178	1	24.10.2011	The newspaper 'Occupy Times of London' is going to be printed tonight, yay! #olsx #occupylondon
T179	1	24.10.2011	Tmrw 5pm, meeting for working on the mission statement, at the huge banner #olsx #occupylondon
T180	2	24.10.2011	C'mon folks, GA happening now! #olsx #occupylondon
T181	3	24.10.2011	@WotOBunty #occupylsx #occupyfs #occupylondon that's how we roll. Agreed in committee, no less!
T182	1	24.10.2011	#Wikileaks press conference on the bad bad things banks do about to start at @frontlineclub Here's a message with relevance to #occupylsx :
T183	3	24.10.2011	RT @scrapperduncan How & why I have organised a team of barristers to advise #OccupyLSX #OccupyFS #occupylondon http://bit.ly/nPXtDx
T184	3	25.10.2011	@westreefing #OccupyLSX is at the centre of national conversation atm. If we weren't making waves, we wldn't STILL be getting attn @5_HATS
T185	3	25.10.2011	We have just released a statement: http://occupylsx.org/?p=408 #occupylsx #ows #occupy
T186	1	25.10.2011	2-3pm a talk on banking in the UK by Lydia Prieg from NEF in front of the library #occupylsx #olsx #occupylondon
T187	1	25.10.2011	2-4 pm all children are welcome to our children's school in tent city university at st pauls #olsx #occupylsx #occupylondon
T188	1	25.10.2011	Just posted: Action Report from #OccupyLondon / @UKUncut (Tuesday 25th October) http://occupylsx.org/?p=402
T189	1	25.10.2011	Today 6pm @TentCityUni (St Paul's) Doreen Massey sparks off debate on 'neoliberal city and occupation of space' #occupylondon
T190	1	26.10.2011	Upcoming talks on #occupylsx : (1) tomorrow from @centraldebating https://twitter.com/ (7.30pm at Old Cocke Taverne, Fleet St).
T191	4	27.10.2011	RT @OccupyLondon Solidarity demo with Guildhall cleaning staff for a Living Wage - Monday 7th November 10 am at Guildhall #OccupyLSX
T192	2	27.10.2011	Let the City of London Corporation know what you think about eviction proceedings vs #occupylsx 10.30am Livery Hall, Guildhall - please RT.
T193	1	27.10.2011	Canon of St Paul's: church cannot answer peaceful protest with violence - http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/oct/27/st-pauls-canon-occupy-london-camp?CMP=tw_t_gu ... #SaveGilesFraser #OLSX #OccupyLondon
T194	1	27.10.2011	A statement regarding police attendance at St Paul's Churchyard this evening - http://occupylsx.org/?p=505 #occupylsx #olsx #occupylondon
T195	1	27.10.2011	RT @15mlondon Tonight after the ga at #occupylsx there will be a screening on the Spanish 15m movement. Come and join @OccupyLSXCinema
T196	1	27.10.2011	RT @OwenJones84 #saveGilesFraser http://www.facebook.com/pages/Save-St-Pauls-Canon-Giles-Fraser-occupyLSX/250977911617114 ... (via @LaurenceDurnan) Spread the word! #OccupyLSX
T197	3	27.10.2011	Portes: people criticise #occupy for not having specific demands, but people like me don't have all the answers either. #OWS #Occupylsx
T198	1	28.10.2011	Monopoly Bike Ride: Ready...set...GO!! #olsx #occupylondon
T199	1	28.10.2011	The general assembly has accepted @libertyuk's offer to mediate between #occupylsx @Stpaulslondon and the Corporation
T200	1	29.10.2011	#OccupyLondon could be protected by Christian ring of prayer (Observer) http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/oct/29/christians-defend-occupy-london-protest?newsfeed=true ...
T201	1	29.10.2011	Do remember that the Bishop of London and Dean Knowles will be meeting #occupylsx supporters from 9.30am tomorrow. Join our special GA!
T202	3	29.10.2011	#OccupyLSX suggests that, on the contrary, the timely release of this report would mean it gets debated very widely.
T203	1	29.10.2011	Shhh! Super secret rumour. @rootsmanuva may well be at #occupylsx tonight from 9pm Shhhhhhhh!
T204	3	29.10.2011	#OccupyLondon protesters DO camp at night while holding down jobs (The Mirror) http://bit.ly/uMB30C
T205	1	29.10.2011	http://yfrog.com/h680mvqj free hugs action team at #occupylsx *hugs*
T206	1	29.10.2011	Today at #OccupyLSX : our Sermon on the Steps starts at 3pm, just after General Assembly. Theme: Celebration of (cont) http://tl.gd/dsq4q0
T207	1	30.10.2011	Ever seen inside a Corporation of London council meeting? #OccupyLSX have a treat for you: http://www.youtube.com/user/OccupyLSX#p/u/0/e7YWIZT2o6w ...

T208	3	30.10.2011	Real-world impact of #occupylsx : we're changing the terms of the national conversation. Inequality is back on the agenda http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/oct/30/the-rich-and-the-rest-intensely-relaxed-no-more ...
T209	1	30.10.2011	RT @Petercoville: ENVIRONMENT GROUP MEETING MEET 5PM INFO TENT GOING TO YE OLD LONDON PUB DWNSTAIRS LUDGATE HILL #occupylsx
T210	3	30.10.2011	@LeeJasper The demo was also publicised in the info tent. #OccupyLSX is not a homogenous mass, but we made ppl aware it was going on.
T211	1	30.10.2011	St Paul's bishop 'shares #OccupyLondon protesters' views' http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-15510444 ...
T212	2	30.10.2011	Come join #occupylsx on the Zombie Bank Run – 3pm Monday 31st October @ St Paul's - http://occupylsx.org/?p=659
T213	1	30.10.2011	The Bishop of London has agreed to return for a second assembly meeting with #occupylsx . We'll let you know when that happens.
T214	1	30.10.2011	#occupylsx invited the Bishop and Dean to join in our workshops at @TentCityUni, where that in-depth discussion is ongoing.
T215	1	30.10.2011	The Bishop and Dean have promised #occupylsx that the St Paul's Institute report on executive pay "will be published."
T216	1	31.10.2011	Today's resignation has evidently moved the mayoral debate forward. http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2011/oct/31/boris-johnson-occupy-london-ken-livingstone?newsfeed=true ... #occupyLSX @broadleft
T217	2	31.10.2011	LIVE Join in the global discussion of occupations all over the world bit.ly/OccupyConnect #ows #olsx #occupylondon
T218	1	31.10.2011	#OccupyLondon responds to the resignation of the Dean of St Paul's www.occupylsx.org/?p=669 #olsx
T219	1	31.10.2011	Zombie Bankers everywhere!! #olsx #occupylondon
T220	1	31.10.2011	#Occupylsx Inside Out mini documentary on BBC1 tonight at 7.30pm. It'll be on iplayer afterwards too.
T221	1	31.10.2011	RT @PriscillaAroso Another opportunity to learn the Thriller dance from 1pm at St. Paul's today! Don't be square. #occupylfs #occupyLSX
T222	1	01.11.2011	We apologise for inconvenience during essential global improvement works #olsx #occupylondon
T223	1	01.11.2011	Zombie Bank Run vs Government of the Dead!! vimeo.com/31406567 #olsx #occupylondon
T224	1	01.11.2011	The Guardian have the Bishop of London's full statement - @StPaulsLondon are suspending legal action against #occupylsx http://bit.ly/vAjr4A
T225	1	01.11.2011	There is still no sign of an eviction notice. @cityoflondon #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T226	1	01.11.2011	Corporation of London (@cityoflondon) officials have now been in a meeting in the Guildhall for over two hours. #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T227	1	01.11.2011	Wrap up from yesterday's Zombie Bank Run - http://occupylsx.org/?p=673 #OccupyLSX #OccupyLondon
T228	1	02.11.2011	There will be a cross-cultural solidarity protest with the Syrian people on Thursday outside St Pauls, 5pm. Please RT. #occupyLSX
T229	2	02.11.2011	Is there a good list of #occupylondon twitter accounts out there? If not, it's about time we compiled one! Send your suggestions this way!
T230	1	03.11.2011	Donation from REPROCOPY: printing of 1000 flyers, yay! #olsx #occupylondon
T231	1	04.11.2011	tomorrow at @tenticityuni: Egyptian revolution, international democracy, + prejudice against children: http://bit.ly/sDMJ83 #occupylsx #olsx
T232	1	04.11.2011	See @TentCityUni 's (our education arm) opinion piece in the Independent today: http://ind.pn/sLOAXi #occupylsx #olsx #occupylondon
T233	3	04.11.2011	We invite all those with relevant experience and expertise to help us make #occupylsx the welcoming, supportive community we want it to be.
T234	1	05.11.2011	An important announcement from #OccupyLSX will be coming up shortly.
T235	3	05.11.2011	http://yfrog.com/h24b5cvj Ian from #occupylsx : we cannot be ignored
T236	1	06.11.2011	Happy Sunday! It's going to be another busy one for us at #occupylsx : http://occupylsx.org/?p=799
T237	1	07.11.2011	Just issued: #OccupyLondon Statement on Release of St Paul's Institute "Value and Values" Report http://occupylsx.org/?p=812
T238	2	07.11.2011	Help us improve communication between our 20+ working groups: Donate mobile/smart phones & chargers at the info tent :) #olsx #occupylondon
T239	1	08.11.2011	Meet at 1pm at St Paul's for the feeder march! #RiseAgainst and #TomMorello are going to join us! FB event: on.fb.me/sZ4nXF #occupylondon
T240	1	08.11.2011	Check out @tenticityuni's 'teach-out' before the education demo tomorrow http://tenticityuniversity.occupylsx.org/?p=107 fb: http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=212149632189696 ... #nov9 #olsx #occupylsx
T241	1	08.11.2011	Tomorrow: 'Whose crisis, who pays?', Derek Wall (@anothergreen), Tax Avoidance and more: http://tenticityuniversity.occupylsx.org/?page_id=4 #occupylsx #occupylondon #olsx
T242	1	09.11.2011	@TentCityUni have Riccardo Bellofiore (Italian economics prof) talking tomorrow at 11. He wrote this: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/sep/21/crisis-of-capitalism?fb=optOut ... #occupylsx #olsx
T243	2	09.11.2011	There's a LOT of plainclothes police officers around. Please be aware of that, spread the word, and stay calm #olsx #occupylondon
T244	3	10.11.2011	Eyewitness report of last night's battle of trafalgar: http://www.scriptonitedaily.org #occupylondon #ows #occupyeverything @OccupyX @OccupyTSQ

T245	1	11.11.2011	Awesome #occupyLondon cartoon generator courtesy of @corrugation . We like. A lot.
T246	2	11.11.2011	watch this: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQP2V_np2c0 ... then come see david harvey talk in person @TentCityUni , 5.30 tomorrow. #occupylsx #olsx #occupylondon
T247	2	11.11.2011	Tomorrow at #OccupyLSX - come and join "NOT the #LordMayorsShow " with @zalts cricket @christlite David Harvey & more! http://n0.gd/ux6mFS
T248	4	11.11.2011	Leeds City Square is occupied! Inspiring work and big respect from #OccupyLondon! *victory dance*
T249	1	11.11.2011	Occupy the London Stock Exchange http://occupyLSX.org/?p=995 Announcing the NOT the #LordMayorsShow at #OccupyLSX this Saturday.
T250	1	11.11.2011	violence from undercover cops on #nov9 education demo: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V_kCB54oi04 ... & http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2evPg1RrDg ... not justice, no peace... #occupylsx #olsx
T251	4	11.11.2011	Occupy the London Stock Exchange http://occupyLSX.org/?p=972 Solidarity action this Saturday to Defend the the Egyptian Revolution. #OccupyLSX
T252	3	11.11.2011	Two minutes silence observed at St Paul's as #OccupyLSX join together in love, in peace, in solidarity.
T253	1	11.11.2011	@TentCityUni have just confirmed @profdavidharvey to speak at 5.30 tomorrow (sat)!! see this: http://www.versobooks.com/blogs/777-david-harvey-the-party-of-wall-street-meets-its-nemesis ... #occupylsx #olsx
T254	4	13.11.2011	RT @exiledsurfer Musicians and poets perform at Not The Lords Mayor Show - #OccupyLSX - @Demotix News http://bit.ly/rLmbUf #ows #om
T255	1	13.11.2011	Vince Cable expresses sympathy with #OccupyLSX http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-24009292-cables-sympathy-for-st-pauls-demo.do ...
T256	1	13.11.2011	"We dare to dream of a world at peace" - Remembrance Sunday events at #occupylsx #occupylondon http://occupylsx.org/?p=1064
T257	4	14.11.2011	Occupiers are supporting those kettled at Guildhall with food and blankets. It's cold out there. #occupylsx
T258	1	14.11.2011	Mr Cameron will soon make his appearance outside the Guildhall. #OccupyLSX is there to meet him. Watch on livestream! http://www.livestream.com/occupylsx
T259	2	14.11.2011	Police kettling protectors at the guildhall. Get there and support if you can #occupylsx #tentcityuniversity
T260	3	14.11.2011	Why are #occupiers in tents across the globe?Voices from the Occupation: http://bit.ly/vsO01F #ows #occupylsx #occupytogether #occupyx
T261	1	14.11.2011	RT @ReclaimtheCity Don't miss Banquet for the 99% this evening http://on.fb.me/t1tDRU #OccupyLSX @OccupyLSX #ReclaimtheCity
T262	1	15.11.2011	Big piece on #OccupyLondon in the New York Times (yikes!) http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/16/world/europe/london-protesters-watch-warily-the-crackdown-in-new-york.html?_r=2 ... @OccupyWallStNYC #ows #occupy
T263	1	15.11.2011	#OccupyLondon expresses solidarity with #OccupyWallStreet at the US embassy http://occupylsx.org/?p=1127 #ows @OccupyWallSt @OccupyWallStNYC
T264	1	15.11.2011	On the 20th anniversary of his release from captivity, Terry Waite shares the concerns of #occupylsx http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2011/nov/15/terry-waite-20-years-freedom?newsfeed=true ...
T265	2	15.11.2011	Support those arrested 5th November: https://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=187097691375001 ... #occupylsx #occupylondon #occupyx #occupybritain
T266	4	15.11.2011	Police blocking entrance for American citizens to go into US Embassy! #olsx #occupylondon #OccupyLSX
T267	2	15.11.2011	URGENT: Food stocks at #OccupyLSX have diminished. Anyone got access to a car/van for urgent supermarket run because mealtime is 6:30.
T268	4	15.11.2011	3pm Action at the US Embassy in London in solidarity with @OccupyWallSt called by #OccupyLondon #olsx #occupylsx
T269	2	15.11.2011	We need three huuuuge and waterPROOF (not only water-resistant) marquees! Anyone? #olsx #occupylondon #occupylsx
T270	3	15.11.2011	Livestreams are the lifeblood of #Occupy . #Occupylondon #occupylsx #ows #occupyeverywhere
T271	1	15.11.2011	On the first month anniversary of #OccupyLondon , we are occupying the Guardian's comment is free today: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/nov/15/occupy-london-occupies-cif ...
T272	1	16.11.2011	TODAY 9am outside City Hall - #OccupyLondon have enabled bankers and the 1% to host a 'Thank you' party for their chum Boris :D #occupylsx
T273	2	16.11.2011	Our lawyers have been informed. #occupylsx @cityoflondon
T274	1	16.11.2011	This does not come as any great surprise to us, but we are surprised to hear outgoing policy chief Stuart Fraser say so in public #occupylsx
T275	1	16.11.2011	About an hour ago on LBC outgoing @cityoflondon policy chief Stuart Fraser said something very interesting - and very revealing. #occupylsx
T276	1	17.11.2011	Economic justice campaigners #OccupyLSX will be making a very important announcement at 10am. http://occupylsx.org/?p=1224
T277	1	17.11.2011	RT @rogerchisnall I refuse the UK Government permission to sell Northern Rock at a loss. #Notmydebt #OccupyLSX @OccupyLSX
T278	2	17.11.2011	#OccupyLSX Info needs volunteers! Anyone with any availability between 10am and 10pm v welcome. Training and love will be provided.
T279	4	17.11.2011	@ows occupy crowds have pulled down the barricades to Zucotti park (southside)..not enough police to stop them! #occupylsx #ows
T280	1	17.11.2011	#occupylondon response to Eviction Notice: http://bit.ly/tTRn7O #keepcalmandcarryon #occupylsx #occupylfs #occupyx #ows

T281	2	17.11.2011	REMINDER to support #occupylsx arrestees https://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=187097691375001 ... #occupylondon #occupyeverything #occupylfs
T282	1	17.11.2011	We'll let you into a big #OccupyLondon secret: sometimes we wonder if the @cityoflondon PR team are secretly on our side.
T283	2	17.11.2011	Tpday at #OccupyLondon : Reimagining the City. What has happened to our public space? Meet outside TCU at 1pm http://occupylsx.org/?p=1191
T284	1	17.11.2011	Bankers4Boris feel they've been misrepresented by mainstream media. #OccupyLondon is pleased to put the record straight http://occupylsx.org/?p=1163
T285	4	17.11.2011	John McDonnell MP calls on MPs, councillors, trade unionists to form "ring of democracy" to defend #OccupyLSX http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2011/nov/16/must-fight-occupy-london- eviction ...
T286	1	18.11.2011	Our friend Jamie talks to Reuters about #occupylsx #occupylondon http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CsaITdYq8Kw ...
T287	1	19.11.2011	RT @PaddyGillen: Citizens labelled criminals by government for daring to protest against criminals. #OccupyLSX #occupydamestreet
T288	3	19.11.2011	http://yfrog.com/h0hx2nvj #OccupyLSX street art!
T289	1	19.11.2011	Jeremy Corbyn MP will be speaking at #occupylsx today at 4.15/30 by St Paul's Steps (just after Vivienne Westwood)
T290	1	20.11.2011	RT @DavidAllenGreen Just gone thrgh 88 page #OccupyLSX 'proceedings' doc.If @cityoflondon thought case strong, 10 pages wld have been enough
T291	2	20.11.2011	RT @DavidAllenGreen Glad to hear from any law geeks who can make anything of http://bit.ly/uTgSKk (pdf) and http://bit.ly/sz8209 #OccupyLSX "
T292	1	21.11.2011	FB event for Manuel Castells speaking at @TentCityUni , Friday, 12 noon: http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=293420017359071 ... Really exciting! #occupylsx #olsx
T293	1	21.11.2011	UPDATE ON UK ARRESTS: http://bit.ly/ushkhS #occupylondon #occupylsf #occupylsx #ows #humanrights #egypt #arabspring #occupyx
T294	1	22.11.2011	#OccupyLSX Case Management Conference Tomorrow Occupy the London Stock Exchange http://occupyLSX.org/?p=1363 #OccupyLondon #OccupyUK
T295	2	22.11.2011	High Court proceedings tomorrow - come show your support at #OccupyLSX at 10 am and march down to the courthouse. Let's keep it peaceful!
T296	1	22.11.2011	Patrick Hayes needs a big hug. If he came to #OccupyLSX , he'd find one very quickly! http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php/site/article/11648/ ... @p_hayes
T297	1	22.11.2011	#occupybritain arrested in court again today 2pm. Westminster Magistrates 181 Marylebone Rd #occupylsx #occupyLondon
T298	2	23.11.2011	#Occupy callout: be in the city early in the morning for N30 #N30 #occupylondon #OccupyLSX #olsx
T299	1	23.11.2011	The City versus the tented city of #OccupyLondon - trial date set for 19 December http://occupylsx.org/?p=1388
T300	1	23.11.2011	Events on Sat @TentCityUni in the build up to #N30 : 'What is Work?' + 'What does it mean to Strike?' http://tentcityuniversity.occupylsx.org/?p=152 #occupylsx #olsx
T301	1	23.11.2011	RT @NewStatesman Today's court hearing on evicting #OccupyLSX , by @DavidAllenGreen http://bit.ly/vEx2KZ
T302	1	23.11.2011	Another massive name this weekend @TentCityUni - John Holloway looking at crack capitalism + #occupy : http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=226923354040565 ... #occupylsx #olsx
T303	4	23.11.2011	UK ARRESTS UPDATE #occupylondon day in court ,Judge Snow Strikes Again http://bit.ly/t19Ggg #Occupylsx #occupyx #ows #ukuncut #f&m #liberty
T304	1	24.11.2011	Also @TentCityUni will be hosting this on sat at 2.30: http://tentcityuniversity.occupylsx.org/?p=152 #occupylsx #olsx
T305	1	24.11.2011	Reminder: THE John Holloway will be talking to us on Sat at 5.30: http://tentcityuniversity.occupylsx.org/?p=159 http://www.facebook.com/event.php?eid=226923354040565 ... #occupylsx #olsx
T306	3	24.11.2011	#OccupyLondon responds to the Evening Standard http://occupylsx.org/?p=1421
T307	1	24.11.2011	@photoactivist The day after the clearance of Zucotti Park, several American #OccupyLondon were denied entry to their embassy.
T308	3	25.11.2011	#OccupyLondon library spreads its wings http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/booksblog/2011/nov/25/occupy-london-library-spread?newsfeed=true ... Huge props to Nathan!
T309	1	25.11.2011	@TentCityUni have confirmed @ewajasiewicz and a rep from the #sparks for thier #n30 event tomorrow: http://bit.ly/uZ1BaC #occupylsx #olsx
T310	1	25.11.2011	Tea and empathy with Alan Bennett happening at #OccupyLSX right now. He is a lovely, lovely man. #ows
T311	1	25.11.2011	Right now at #OccupyLondon - Alan Bennett!
T312	1	25.11.2011	Alan Bennett, British author and playwright, is going to be at #OccupyLondon at 14:30 #occupylsx #olsx
T313	3	25.11.2011	Where is the Occupation Movement Going? http://bit.ly/t1YcRz Today's edition of Scriptionite Daily #occupybritain #occupylondon #occupylsx
T314	3	25.11.2011	http://yfrog.com/kjqk2llkj today at #occupylsx , st Paul's
T315	3	25.11.2011	http://yfrog.com/gzcvnij Manuel Castells st #occupylsx tight now. See it happen on http://livestream.com/occupylsx #OWS
T316	3	25.11.2011	#OccupyLondon respond to media 'junkie' smear (Ekklesia) http://www.google.com/url?sa=X&q=http://www.ekklesia.co.uk/node/15788&ct=ga&cad=CAEQARgAIAAaATAAOABAqG69gRIA VAAWABiBWVuLVVT&cd=rQG4HkcBF0Q&usg=AFQjCNGPcR57cxbDI2wW28jFrwCbD070Q ...

T317	1	25.11.2011	Today at #occupylsx - carol singing for the one per cent! http://OccupyLSX.org/?p=1443 mark the coming of bonus time, 5-6pm Liverpool st station
T318	3	26.11.2011	Anyone hungry? This should do #OccupyLSX for tonight... :D
T319	1	27.11.2011	Benjamin Crellin performs two back-to-back shows at #OccupyLondon today: LSX at 5pm and @bankofideas at 6.10pm http://occupylsx.org/?p=1513
T320	1	27.11.2011	Jarvis Cocker on #OccupyLSX http://www.guardian.co.uk/music/2011/nov/27/jarvis-cocker-pulp-readers-questions?newsfeed=true ... Come down and see us, sir! <3
T321	3	28.11.2011	#occupylsx puts tax justice, tax havens and ending tax abuse at the core of its demands http://shar.es/ohNN6
T322	1	28.11.2011	Upcoming events at #OccupyLondon including #n30strike actions, Danny Dorling, Robert Skidelsky http://occupylsx.org/?p=1625
T323	3	28.11.2011	RT @alburyj @guardian Im a window cleaner not a hippy. Proud to have stayed at #occupylondon since #o15 :-) #olsx #olfs #BoI #occupy #ows
T324	2	28.11.2011	Final call for #OccupyLondon logo competition - all submissions by 2nd December. Then a public vote! http://occupylsx.org/?p=1581
T325	1	28.11.2011	What #N30 means http://bit.ly/sf2Ptk Strike While the Irony is Hot #occupylondon #ows #occupylsx #occupybritain #occupylsf
T326	1	28.11.2011	Alan Bennett pops into camp http://occupylsx.org/?p=1553 - with some really lovely photos from Friday! #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T327	1	29.11.2011	RT @TimeOutLondon We went down to @bankofideas and chatted to the @OccupyLSX protesters http://bitly.com/vuFFKD #occupylondon
T328	1	29.11.2011	RT @SOASLabour Our General Meeting has voted to support @occupyLSX #occupyLondon
T329	1	29.11.2011	Bankers4boris at parliament ;) #occupylsx http://twitpic.com/7ll1sa
T330	1	29.11.2011	Why Strike on #n30 ? http://bit.ly/sf2Ptk #ukuncut #pensions #strike #nov30 #occupylondon #occupybritain #occupyuk #ows #osborne #occupylsx
T331	1	30.11.2011	Hearing some people getting out me pizza express. Occupiers #occupylsx
T332	1	30.11.2011	Hearing that snatch crews are being sent in, near the corner of pizza express #occupylsx #n30occupy
T333	1	30.11.2011	Hearing that snatch crews are being sent in #occupylsx #ows #n30occupy
T334	1	30.11.2011	Occupy London targets Mick Davies of Xstrata - the UK's highest paid FTSE CEO http://occupylsx.org/?p=1725 #occupylsx #n30occupy #ows #occupy
T335	3	30.11.2011	Images from the #occupylondon #occupyn30 #n30strike feeder march: http://occupylsx.org/?p=1715
T336	2	30.11.2011	Occupy London - the movement for social & economic justice - calls concerned citizens to b at Piccadilly Circus at 3pm #occupylsx #n30occupy
T337	1	30.11.2011	March leaving st pauls any minute. See http://WWW.livestream.com/occupylsx #occupylsx #n30occupy #n30strike
T338	1	30.11.2011	Hearts to the sparks #occupylsx #n30strike #n30occupy
T339	2	30.11.2011	Gathering at St Paul's at 11am for feeder march to N30Strike main march. Come join us #occupylsx #n30strike #n30occupy
T340	2	30.11.2011	Be ready! Occupy London N30Strike action at 3pm today. Spread teh word http://occupylsx.org/?p=1690 #occupylsx #n30strike #ows
T341	1	30.11.2011	Section 60 in place covering bank of ideas and finsbury square #occupylsx #n30strike #n30occupy
T342	2	30.11.2011	Action at 3pm ;) Call 07440449236 at 2pm for details or follow #occupylsx
T343	1	30.11.2011	On southwark bridge. About to meet the sparks #n30strike #occupylsx #n30occupyn30
T344	1	30.11.2011	Fab morning. See on the streets. Now at queen street #n30strike #occupylsx #n30occupyn30
T345	1	30.11.2011	Queen Victoria street #n30strike #occupylsx #n30occupy
T346	1	30.11.2011	Going down mansion house street #n30strike #occupylsx #n30occupyn30
T347	1	01.12.2011	Now at Harrow Road police station. 4 released, 6 to go #occupybritain #occupylsx #occupyLondon #N30
T348	1	01.12.2011	One more released from Kilburn Police station. 4 to go #N30 #occupybritain #Occupy #occupylsx
T349	3	02.12.2011	Updated with footage of march & police force - #N30 , corporate greed, Xstrata and the right to protest http://occupylsx.org/?p=1755 #ows #occupylsx
T350	3	02.12.2011	Updated with video of march and police force - #N30 , corporate greed, Xstrata and the right to protest http://occupylsx.org/?p=1755 #ows #occupylsx
T351	4	02.12.2011	National Peace and Justice Netowek supports #OccupyLondon http://www.totalcatholic.com/tc/index.php/uk-and-ireland-news/1943-catholic-group-backs-occupy-london-stock-exchange ...
T352	4	02.12.2011	Solidarity with workers at Chile's Collahuasi mine (which happens to be owned by Xstrata) http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/11/30/chile-collahuasi-stoppage-ends-idUSN1E7AT02M20111130 ... #ows #occupylsx #occupy
T353	1	02.12.2011	Occupy London calls Occupy Everywhere - D15 http://occupylsx.org/?p=1797 #ows #occupylsx #occupy
T354	1	02.12.2011	for those arrested on #Nov30 : arrestee meeting SAT 10th DEC 3-6pm, Bank of Ideas, 17-29 Sun St, London EC2, #N30 #occupylsx

T355	1	02.12.2011	Tomorrow at St Paul's - Lord Robert Skidelsky on the Crises of Capitalism http://occupylsx.org/?p=1783 #occupylsx
T356	1	02.12.2011	http://bit.ly/uPnWIO UK ARRESTS LIVE REPORT from Panton Street and N30 #occupylsx #occupylondon #occupybritain #ows #occupy
T357	1	03.12.2011	.@CityofLondon Police: #occupylondon are "terrorists/domestic extremists," cast aspersion on innocent psychogeographers https://twitpic.com/7nu4b2
T358	1	03.12.2011	Need ideas for Occupy Everywhere on D15? Might be worth watching The Great British Property Scandal http://www.channel4.com/programmes/the-great-british-property-scandal/articles/home/ ... #occupylsx #occupy
T359	3	04.12.2011	Do the City of London Police really see #Occupylondon's peaceful protesters as domestic extremists? http://occupylsx.org/?p=1924 Docs *are* genuine.
T360	3	04.12.2011	Occupy London representative to speak at Ethical Capitalism? debate http://occupylsx.org/?p=1905 #occupylsx
T361	1	04.12.2011	Occupy London to meet UK regulator - the Financial Services Authority http://occupylsx.org/?p=1895 #occupylsx #ows #occupy #occupylondon
T362	1	04.12.2011	#Occupylondon is 50 days old – now it's time to Occupy Everywhere Naomi Colvin (@auerfeld) and Bryn Phillips http://gu.com/p/33p5b/tw
T363	3	04.12.2011	Gr8 story from Bank of Ideas & lovely familiar faces http://youtu.be/eyNwRy6s_cw #occupylondon #ows #occupybritain #occupyuk #occupy
T364	3	05.12.2011	Occupy related paper, take a read: http://paper.li/OpPinkPower/1308160334 ... #occupy #occupylondon #occupybritain
T365	3	05.12.2011	Is the #occupy movement naive? http://bit.ly/s6mKMq #occupylsx #occupylondon #occupyx #occupybritain #ows #occupyeverything #n30 #ukuncut
T366	2	05.12.2011	Bank of Ideas court proceedings - Today 2pm. Do come and show them your solidarity x http://occupylsx.org/?p=1935 #bankofideas #occupy #occupylsx
T367	1	05.12.2011	Spread the news! Occupy London launches Guided Tours of London's Financial Centres http://occupylsx.org/?p=1892 #occupy #occupylsx #ows
T368	1	06.12.2011	Today - Boot out Boris: #occupylsx event outside Conservative Future's 'Back Boris Student Bootcamp' http://occupylsx.org/?p=2165 #occupy #ows
T369	1	06.12.2011	You are watching our livestream, right? http://www.occupylsx.org - enjoy the show! #occupylsx #occupy #ows #extreme awesome
T370	3	06.12.2011	Voices from the Occupation: Occupy Propaganda http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-occupy.html ... #occupylondon#occupyeverywhere @OccupylTV @OccupylUSA @OccupylWallSt
T371	3	06.12.2011	Occupy Propaganda? http://bit.ly/va6iSI Today's edition of ScriptoniteDaily #occupylsx #occupylondon #occupybritain #ows #occupy
T372	4	06.12.2011	for those arrested on #Nov30: arrestee meeting SAT 10th DEC 3-6p, Bank of Ideas, 17-29 Sun St, London EC2 #N30 #occupylsx
T373	1	06.12.2011	Jesus would be "there [at #occupylsx], sharing the risks, not just taking sides." http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2070448/Jesus-St-Pauls-protestors-Christmas-says-Archbishop-Canterbury.html?ito=feeds-newsxml ... Read more: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2070448/Jesus-St-Pauls-protestors-Christmas-says-Archbishop-Canterbury.html#ixzz1fjwD6fzK ...
T374	1	07.12.2011	#Occupylondon Christmas Party currently featured on @Guardian front page - including video pop-pickers! http://www.guardian.co.uk/ #ows
T375	1	07.12.2011	What a night! Surprise thank you gig for Occupy with Thom Yorke, Massive Attack & Tim Goldsworthy http://occupylsx.org/?p=2170 #occupy #occupylsx
T376	2	08.12.2011	Help us in the High Court! Deadline for witness statements - 3pm tomorrow. More info at http://bit.ly/w2dzdG #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T377	1	08.12.2011	Next week: Marking WTO conf; Richard Murphy; William Blake & revolution; War on Want dir John Hilary http://occupylsx.org/?p=2227 #occupy #occupylsx
T378	1	08.12.2011	Video @cityoflondon vs @occupylsx http://vimeo.com/33265888 - 3pm Friday - deadline for witness statements http://occupylsx.org/?p=2177 #occupy #occupylsx
T379	3	08.12.2011	Inside #OccupylSX: Emily Young Visits #OccupylLondon and sees her handiwork in a whole new context http://vimeo.com/33101742
T380	3	08.12.2011	Inside #OccupylSX: The City of London vs Tammy Sameoli http://vimeo.com/33265888
T381	1	08.12.2011	Saturday 10 December – Occupy Our Neighbourhoods at #occupylsx http://occupylsx.org/?p=2207 #occupy #ows
T382	3	08.12.2011	A Day in the Life of #occupylondon : http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-what-next-for.html ... @OccupylWS @TheYoungTurks @OccupiedTimes @theprogressive @OccupylSF
T383	3	08.12.2011	#OccupylLondon meets FSA and engages with the City; First statement of Economics Working Group http://occupylsx.org/?p=2204
T384	1	08.12.2011	for those arrested on #Nov30: arrestee meeting SAT 10th DEC 3-6pm, Bank of Ideas, 17-29 Sun St, London EC2 #N30 #occupylsx
T385	3	08.12.2011	What Next For Occupy? http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-what-next-for.html ... #occupybritain #occupylondon #ows #occupyx #ukpolitics #housing #occupyournhomes @OccupylWS
T386	1	08.12.2011	#OccupylLondon & the City engage: Polly Toynbee (Guardian) in convo w John Wilkes, Director Anglo-Suisse Capital, 9/12 12.30pm @TentCityUni
T387	1	08.12.2011	20 minute conversation at #OccupylSX between a representative of Anonymous UK, and students from City of London School http://postdesk.com/blog/anonymous-uk-occupy-london-interview ...
T388	3	09.12.2011	#OccupylWord - What is your one word to describe the #Occupyl movement? Let's set some #Hashtag trends today! #OccupylSX #OccupylOnline #OWS
T389	1	09.12.2011	Events today: Occupy Our Neighbourhoods, Cobden Partners, plus artists http://occupylsx.org/?p=2256 #occupylsx #occupy #ows #bankofideas

T390	1	09.12.2011	This weekend: Re-Thinking Human Rights events at #occupylsx http://occupylsx.org/?p=2253 #occupy #ows
T391	1	09.12.2011	This weekend at #OccupyLSX : human rights day and Middle East outreach http://www.facebook.com#!/events/302109946490456/ ...
T392	2	09.12.2011	Attention: bring your art materials, your inventiveness, your joy to #OccupyLondon tomorrow. We'll be getting creative :)
T393	4	09.12.2011	Please sign this petition to support #ositamba #hmrc #whistleblower http://chn.ge/sCpSX0 #occupylondon #occupylsx #ukuncut #strike #politics
T394	4	09.12.2011	Solidarity with our friends up north #BBC : Sheffield Cathedral fearful of bank reaction http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-16110648 ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupy
T395	2	09.12.2011	Can anyone help transcribe? #occupylsx video with Radiohead's Thom Yorke & Massive Attack's Robert '3D' Del Naja http://occupylsx.org/?p=2240 #ows
T396	1	09.12.2011	#occupylsx video with Radiohead's Thom Yorke & Massive Attack's Robert '3D' Del Naja; Get involved in #Occupy http://occupylsx.org/?p=2240 #ows
T397	1	09.12.2011	Today @ Bank of Ideas. End of the NHS as we know it? Andrew Lansley's Health Bill with Colin Leys http://occupylsx.org/?p=2233 #occupylsx #occupy
T398	4	10.12.2011	Videolink with #Syria started here at #occupylsx . Watching live protests and chanting. #d10 #globaldemocracy #globalchange
T399	1	10.12.2011	Come tomorrow 2-7pm to #occupylsx : meetings about #globaldemocracy as a human right; rethinking human rights. #d10
T400	4	10.12.2011	#hartnett & #cameron - I'd rather more of #ositamba http://bit.ly/uNGU5A #hmrc #whistleblower #occupy #occupylondon #occupybritain #ows #d15
T401	4	10.12.2011	#DavidCameron, #Davehartnett & #Ositamba http://bit.ly/uNGU5A The Lowdown #occupylsx #occupylondon @markthomasinfo @gleeandcakes @ukuncut
T402	4	10.12.2011	#occupylsx is setting up for #syria video link on #d10 day of action. Come join us at #London's st Paul's for #globalchange
T403	4	10.12.2011	#Amnesty head at #occupylsx : "we support corporations accountability and global governance reforms like the #ICC " #globaldemocracy #d10
T404	4	10.12.2011	SG of Amnesty at #occupylsx : "this day is a day of hope, people globally r standing up for their social rights" #globaldemocracy #d10
T405	4	10.12.2011	SG of Amnesty International at #occupylsx : "we call governments to stop impunity for corporations" #globaldemocracy #d10
T406	4	10.12.2011	SG of Amnesty at #occupylsx : "we demand that governments should stop abusing power against #occupy " #globaldemocracy #d10
T407	4	10.12.2011	Breaking: Secretary General of Amnesty International at #occupylsx : "your friends at #occupyws suffered hard repression"
T408	4	10.12.2011	Secretary general of Amnesty International talking at #occupylsx speech: "thanks for standing up for all of us"
T409	1	10.12.2011	#Nov30 arrestee meeting today, SAT 10th DEC 3-6pm, Bank of Ideas, Room 2.1 #occupylsx
T410	1	10.12.2011	Not to be missed. This Tuesday #occupylsx presents The Canary Wharf Experience http://occupylsx.org/?p=2270 #occupy #ows
T411	1	10.12.2011	Head of Amnesty Int defends freedom of expression at 2pm, the week @ cityoflondon police catalogue #occupylsx as 'domestic terrorists'
T412	4	11.12.2011	"Voices of Resistance", hosted by Felix, with Dan and George from #OccupyLSX , airs on Resonance FM 104.4 today http://occupylsx.org/?p=2312 #occupy
T413	1	11.12.2011	Welfare in the City – an update from #occupylsx http://occupylsx.org/?p=2309 #occupy #occupylondon
T414	3	11.12.2011	So many familiar features... yet more portraits from #OccupyLSX : http://izzybody.blogspot.com/ (if only twitter accs had faces!)
T415	3	11.12.2011	Thanks to all the speakers for a great day! Keep up the fight for a just and democratic global system y'all! Battery dead here at #occupylsx
T416	3	11.12.2011	Kofi, speaking at #occupylsx : individual rights are a western idea; we need to restore the notion of people's rights. #globaldemocracy #d10
T417	3	11.12.2011	Aboriginal Speaker at #occupylsx : people with the money are our enemy. #d10 #globaldemocracy
T418	1	11.12.2011	'whose rights are human rights' session starting at tent city university at #occupylsx . #globaldemocracy as a human right' finished.
T419	3	11.12.2011	Richard Laming from #federalunion , at #occupylondon : occupy should continue to occupy and be a space for discussion #globaldemocracy #d10
T420	3	11.12.2011	Richard Laming from #federalunion at #occupylondon : UN and IMF are as important to our life as our national government #globaldemocracy #d10
T421	3	11.12.2011	Chowla at #occupylondon : my advice to #occupy : you power is by being a general threat to the global political system #globaldemocracy
T422	3	11.12.2011	Peter Chowla at #occupylondon : my advice to #occupy : don't have concrete demands on international Institutions. #globaldemocracy #d10
T423	3	11.12.2011	Peter Chowla, #amnesty at #occupylsx : if you are looking for a #globalmubarak , connect with victims of rights violations #globaldemocracy
T424	3	11.12.2011	Fanny Malinen at #occupylondon : reforms of international institutions will not change the global power structure. #globaldemocracy #d10
T425	3	11.12.2011	Richard Laming at #occupylondon : europe became peaceful because they wanted it and because they took small steps #globaldemocracy #d10
T426	3	11.12.2011	chowla at #occupylsx : target banks where they are undemocratically regulated - #basel committee on #banks regulations. #globaldemocracy #d10
T427	3	11.12.2011	Peter Chowla at #occupylsx : power in global economic institutions based on monetary contributions 60 years ago #globaldemocracy #d10

T428	3	11.12.2011	Lse proffesor at #occupylsx: we need to go back to slow and small politics
T429	3	11.12.2011	Peter Frankental, amnesty: #humanrights could be used to increase citizens voice in international institutions. #occupylsx #globaldemocracy
T430	3	11.12.2011	Peter Frankental, from #amnesty: rewriting declaration of human rights is not the answer; it is fundamental #occupylsx #globaldemocracy #d10
T431	3	11.12.2011	Fanny Malinae from #occupylondon: must be careful of how we discuss #globaldemocracy- we are the 1% in many ways! #d10 #occupylsx
T432	3	11.12.2011	Richard Laming, federal union: #globaldemocracy is not just a set of rules to apply, and there are no simple answers #occupylsx #wfm
T433	3	11.12.2011	Jan Aart Scholte at #occupylsx: national identities do matter to some #d10 #globaldemocracy
T434	3	11.12.2011	Camillo Kasas: discrimination based on nationality is at the core of the global democratic deficit #occupylsx #globaldemocracy #d10
T435	1	11.12.2011	Speaker: Local community self realization trust- check it out! #occupylsx #globaldemocracy
T436	3	11.12.2011	Kofi Mawuli Klu, pan afrikaan thinktank: take action on #globaldemocracy by dealing with the problems on your doorstep first! #occupylsx
T437	3	11.12.2011	Kay Badibanga: Declaration of #humanrights provides for individual rights-answer is not rewriting it #occupylsx #globaldemocracy #d10
T438	3	11.12.2011	Jan Aart Scholte at #occupylsx: re-think local; solidarity is not just found within 1 km of you #d10 #globaldemocracy
T439	3	11.12.2011	Richard Laming, #wfm at #occupylsx: decentralization of power and redistribution of wealth is a difficult balance...
T440	3	11.12.2011	Colin Bex: global government is local control-no sovereign power bigger than the smallest community on the planet #occupylsx#globaldemocracy
T441	3	11.12.2011	Richard Laming at #occupylsx: I support a global parliamentary assembly as a first step towards #globaldemocracy.
T442	3	11.12.2011	Richard Laming currently speaking- institutions must be transparent, democratic and accountable #occupylsx #d10 #globaldemocracy
T443	3	11.12.2011	Richard Laming, federal union at #occupylondon: " IMF works on one dollar one vote. That's completely undemocratic" #globaldemocracy #d10
T444	3	11.12.2011	Event at #occupylsx. Richard Laming, Federal Union: "disagree with Andres. We need democratic international institutions."
T445	3	11.12.2011	Jan Aart Scholte, #occupylsx: #globaldemocracy should not be a western cultural export but sensitive to plural identities and cultures
T446	3	11.12.2011	Jan Aart Scholte, from Building #GlobalDemocracy at #occupylondon: world democracy means plurality of identities and ideologies.
T447	3	11.12.2011	Anders Lustgarten, Bretton Woods Project, at #Occupylondon: I am against #globaldemocracy, power should be local.
T448	1	11.12.2011	#Occupylondon asks @StPaulsLondon: which side are you on? http://occupylsx.org/?p=2294
T449	4	12.12.2011	Please sign petition to support #hmrc #whistleblower #ositamba http://www.change.org/petitions/hmrc-dont-scapegoat-whistleblower-ositamba# ... #occupy @occupybritain @occupytogether #occupylondon
T450	1	12.12.2011	How #RBS cost us £45bn http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-rbs-how-to-rob.html ... #occupylondon #occupyeverything #occupybritain #occupylsx #occupy #fredgoodwin @OccupymELBOURNE
T451	1	12.12.2011	Tomorrow 6pm - The Canary Wharf Experience - http://occupylsx.org/?p=2270 #occupylsx #occupy
T452	1	12.12.2011	#RBS : How to Rob a Bank http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-rbs-how-to-rob.html ... #occupylondon #FSA #fredgoodwin #ositamba @uknucut #crisis @markthomasinfo @chunkymark
T453	1	12.12.2011	Welfare in the City – an update from #occupylsx http://occupylsx.org/?p=2309 #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T454	1	13.12.2011	@bankofideas tomorrow: Richard Murphy on The Courageous State: Rethinking Economics, Society & Role of Gov http://bit.ly/vFnnNQ #occupylsx
T455	1	13.12.2011	Jesse Jackson to visit Occupy London this Thursday #occupylsx http://occupylsx.org/?p=2416 #ows #occupylondon
T456	1	13.12.2011	See you shortly! Occupy London to hold "villains" tour of Canary Wharf http://www.eastlondonadvertiser.co.uk/news/occupy_london_to_hold_villains_tour_of_canary_wharf_1_1152886 ... #occupylsx #ows #occupy
T457	1	13.12.2011	Occupy London heads to Canary Wharf - http://www.wharf.co.uk/2011/12/occupy-london-head-to-canary-w.html ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T458	2	14.12.2011	#occupylsx calls for financial support for The Occupied Times as it expands coverage and analysis http://occupylsx.org/?p=2435 #occupy #ows
T459	4	14.12.2011	Make a stand for #ositamba #hmrc #whistleblower http://bit.ly/tnlMCy Santa NEEDS YOU! #occupylondon #uknucut #d17 #d15 #occupy #ows
T460	1	14.12.2011	@bankofideas this Friday - launch of 'Save our Shelter' Exhibition http://occupylsx.org/?p=2449 #occupylsx #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T461	1	14.12.2011	Santa needs YOU this Saturday: https://www.facebook.com/events/217567631653205/?context=create ... @Occupylondon @OccupylondonC @OccupylondonNow #occupylondon #occupylsx @uknucut
T462	1	14.12.2011	Santa needs YOU this Saturday: https://www.facebook.com/events/217567631653205/?context=create ... @Occupylondon @OccupylondonC @OccupylondonNow #occupylondon #occupylsx #occupy

T463	1	14.12.2011	Updated plans for tomorrow's #occupyeverywhere #D15 . Check out http://occupylsx.org/?p=2416 #occupylsx #ows #occupylondon #occupy
T464	4	14.12.2011	Some folks from #occupylondon will be supporting the Congolese demo today. Join them and others http://www.tmponline.org/2011/12/13/congolese-march/?utm_source=wordtwit&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=wordtwitx ... #occupylsx #occupy
T465	2	14.12.2011	Help support our newspaper - The Occupied Times - as it expands coverage and analysis http://occupylsx.org/?p=2435 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T466	1	15.12.2011	We are holding an important press conference at @bankofideas this morning at 10am. Further details soon. #ows #occupylondon #ubs
T467	3	15.12.2011	Watch this and share - BBC: #Occupy is a word which has taken on new meaning this year http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-16210940 ... #occupylsx #ows #occupylondon
T468	2	15.12.2011	Enough is Enough! Rehearsals this Sunday for mass sing-up for @occupylsx . See u at 3-6pm @bankofideas http://occupylsx.org/?p=2439 #occupylsx
T469	2	15.12.2011	#OccupyHackney - #D15 update http://occupylsx.org/?p=2524 Do let us know about other #OccupyEverywhere events and we can add them here! #occupylsx
T470	1	15.12.2011	RT @libdemchild @RevJJackson It was an honour to share the stage with you at Occupy St Paul's #occupylsx @OccupyLSX
T471	1	15.12.2011	#d15 and we are off. On Jeremy street #occupylsx
T472	4	15.12.2011	Jesse Jackson joins #OccupyLSX! To see him log on to Livestream!
T473	3	16.12.2011	FULL COVERAGE inc Video of yesterday - marches, jesse jackson, street party - go #d15! http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation.html ... #occupylondon #occupyeverywhere
T474	4	16.12.2011	@OccupySoA Q: Oh Romeo Oh Romeo. Wherefore art thou Romeo? A: In my tent Occupying ;) Welcome Occupy Stratford Upon Avon #occupylsx #occupy
T475	1	16.12.2011	Logic fail. UBS claims rateable value of @bankofideas has fallen from around £100,000 to £1 per floor http://occupylsx.org/?p=2540 #occupylsx #ows
T476	3	16.12.2011	Watch this and share - BBC: #Occupy is a word which has taken on new meaning this year http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-16210940 ... #occupylsx #ows #occupylondon
T477	1	16.12.2011	Pensioner: "UBS have left me and many others totally helpless" http://occupylsx.org/?p=2540 #occupy #occupylsx #ows #occupylondon
T478	1	16.12.2011	Corporate fiddling alert. UBS says current rateable value of Bank of Ideas building is £5 http://occupylsx.org/?p=2540 #occupylsx #ows #occupy
T479	2	16.12.2011	share this @bankofideas and @occupylsx offer UBS a fiver for the building http://occupylsx.org/?p=2540 #occupylsx #ows #occupylondon #occupy
T480	1	16.12.2011	@bankofideas launches Save Our Shelter exhibition http://occupylsx.org/?p=2540 #occupylsx #ows #occupylondon #occupy
T481	1	16.12.2011	Friday surprise @bankofideas offers UBS £5 for use of its building; Save Our Shelter exhibition http://occupylsx.org/?p=2540c #occupylsx #ows #occupy
T482	1	17.12.2011	Peace Walk later on Sunday from St Paul's to the peace camp at Parliament Square http://occupylsx.org/?p=2556 #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T483	1	17.12.2011	@giles_fraser : 'Economic justice is the number one moral issue in the Bible' http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/dec/18/giles-fraser-faces-2011-occupy ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T484	3	17.12.2011	Rehearsals for mass sing up in support of @OccupyLSX happening tomorrow. All welcome! @bankofideas http://occupylsx.org/?p=2439 #occupylsx #occupy
T485	4	17.12.2011	Thanks to @ukuncut for highlighting these issues. £10.9bn in corporate tax written off in a year http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/banksandfinance/8963398/Dealing-with-the-taxman.html ... #occupylsx #ukuncut
T486	1	17.12.2011	City banks 'cheat' Europe in €600m tax avoidance trading scheme http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2011/12/17/city-banks-cheat-europe-in-e600m-tax-avoidance-trading-scheme/ ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T487	2	17.12.2011	Do RT @occupylsx accuse police of inflating crime figures http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/dec/17/saint-pauls-protesters-occupy-london?newsfeed=true ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T488	1	17.12.2011	#occupylondon Santa pays a visit to the HMRC today http://www.demotix.com/news/971588/uk-uncut-santa-delivers-bag-coal-hmrc ... @ukuncut @markthomasinfo @billybragg #ositamba #hmrc #whistleblower
T489	1	17.12.2011	#OccupyLondon gathers today for #BradleyManning and this Sunday walks for peace http://occupylsx.org/?p=2556
T490	1	17.12.2011	Tomorrow @occupylsx . workshops on climate justice, renewable energy, tar sands, biofuels & gas fracking http://occupylsx.org/?p=2553 #occupylsx #ows
T491	4	17.12.2011	@UKuncut See you on the streets today. Feeling like popping to Oxford Circus' Topshop for some browsing at around 1pm ;) #occupylsx #ukuncut
T492	1	17.12.2011	Rehearsals for mass sing up in support of @OccupyLSX happening tomorrow. All welcome! @bankofideas http://occupylsx.org/?p=2439 #occupylsx #occupy
T493	1	17.12.2011	Big Green Day this Sunday @ @OccupyLSX – Occupying for people and planet http://occupylsx.org/?p=2553 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T494	4	19.12.2011	#occupylondon in court - while the banks keep crashing http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-city-of-london.html ... @ukuncut @ukuncutlegal @markthomasinfo @billybragg
T495	1	19.12.2011	The City of London is the Money Launderer of the World http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-city-of-london.html ... #occupy #ows #occupybritain #occupylondon #mfglobal #corzine

T496	1	19.12.2011	The City of London is the Money Laundered of the World http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-city-of-london.html ... #occupy #ows #occupybritain #occupylondon #mfglobal #corzine
T497	1	19.12.2011	@bankofideas RT " @JamieKelseyFry : #olsx #OccupyLSX Bank Of Ideas eviction proceedings postponed until January 11th"
T498	2	19.12.2011	If you are around and fancy helping with some tidying of camp, do come over now #occupylsx #occupy
T499	2	19.12.2011	Help decorate our #OccupyLSX camp @ St Paul's. Donations of Christmas decorations welcome! Drop them off at info tent ;) #occupy #occupylsx
T500	4	19.12.2011	City of London Guildhall cleaners support #OccupyLondon . http://occupylsx.org/?p=2580 We'll be staging #solidarity actions for each other today.
T501	1	20.12.2011	Video: Jesse Jackson at @OccupyLSX http://occupylsx.org/?p=2609 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T502	1	20.12.2011	Occupy everywhere meditation for winter solstice https://www.facebook.com/events/196505483773116/ ... #occupylsx
T503	3	20.12.2011	Do welcome to twitter @occupylsx ' economics working group. chat to them at @Occupyecon . Also on Facebook at https://www.facebook.com/groups/162985643802807/ ... #occupylsx
T504	1	20.12.2011	Tomorrow - mass sing-up on steps of St Paul's Cathedral in support of #occupy - Enough is Enough http://occupylsx.org/?p=2439 #occupylsx #ows
T505	1	20.12.2011	Looking forward to seeing @LowkeyMusic1 & @forgetcape tomorrow eve at @occupylsx #occupy #occupylsx #ows
T506	4	20.12.2011	Very excited - We've got Get Cape Wear Cape Fly and Lowkey coming to @occupylsx tomorrow for our General Assembly #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T507	3	20.12.2011	Photos from Occupy Justice today - http://www.flickr.com/photos/zoesoldout/sets/72157628499592153/show/ ... #occupyjustice #occupylsx #occupy
T508	4	20.12.2011	@occupylsx liberates abandoned East End magistrate's court to put the one per cent on trial http://occupylsx.org/?p=2602 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T509	3	20.12.2011	#OccupyLondon has a new Occupation! http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-putting-1-on.html ... @democracynow #occupy #ositamba @ukuncut @billybragg #occupyeverwhere #ows
T510	3	20.12.2011	Occupy London to put the one per cent on trial as it brings abandoned court back to life http://occupylsx.org/?p=2597 #occupylsx #ows #occupy Do RT
T511	1	20.12.2011	Slight time change #OccupyLSX will make a very important announcement at 11am. Time to put the one per cent on trial #1%ontrial #occupy #ows
T512	1	20.12.2011	#OccupyLSX will make a very important announcement at 10am today. It's time to put the one per cent on trial. Pls RT #1%ontrial #occupy #ows
T513	1	21.12.2011	Hearing that Bez from the Happy Mondays might be coming tonight #occupylsx
T514	1	22.12.2011	Reuters: In shadow of protests, UK banks rekindle ethics debate http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/12/22/us-banks-ethics-idUSTRE7BL19X20111222 ... #occupylsx #occupy #occupy
T515	1	22.12.2011	2nd #Occupy UK National Conference - #Occupy will win; next conf 21-23 January 2012 at @occupysheffield http://occupylsx.org/?p=2627 #occupylsx #ows
T516	1	22.12.2011	@rodstanley @scriptonite @rozybear2370 @miffychanchoo thanks all. Jesse Jackson speech transcript up at http://occupylsx.org/?p=2609 #occupylsx
T517	1	22.12.2011	Here til 2012. Maybe more. Let's make it count ;) Londoners, all - Come down for a community Christmas. Details coming #occupylsx #occupy
T518	2	22.12.2011	We've just received the following from Evershed LLP on behalf of @TfLOfficial . Can people please take note http://occupylsx.org/?p=978 #occupylsx
T519	2	22.12.2011	Big ask. Anyone be able to help transcribe Jess Jackson's speech at @occupylsx ? http://occupylsx.org/?p=2609 #occupy #occupylsx
T520	1	23.12.2011	Oh @lbc973 - where is the Christmas cheer! http://www.lbc.co.uk/no-decision-on-st-pauls-camp-until-new-year-49017 ... Its community Christmas time at @OccupyLSX http://occupylsx.org/?p=2651 #occupylsx
T521	1	23.12.2011	Facebook event for Christmas and New Year's at @occupylsx @bankofideas & @OccupyLFS https://www.facebook.com/events/297220133647389/ ... spread the word #occupylsx #occupy
T522	1	23.12.2011	#occupylsx activists free to stay at St Paul's until January. Come on down. Mince pies welcome ;) http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/dec/23/occupy-activists-stay-st-pauls ...
T523	1	23.12.2011	Festive reprieve for #occupylsx http://www.stamfordmercury.co.uk/news/festive_reprieve_for_st_paul_s_camp_1_3365175 ... #occupy
T524	1	23.12.2011	Tonite @occupylsx - The Complete Bankers Minifest - great music and poetry night https://www.facebook.com/events/326796404011448/ ... #occupylsx #occupy #occupylondon
T525	3	23.12.2011	REPORT of #occupylondon and our week in court - http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-occupy-justice.html ... @democracynow @ajenglish @occupybristoluk @occupylsx #occupy
T526	3	23.12.2011	#Occupyjustice - from Old Street to the High Court http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2011/12/voices-from-occupation-occupy-justice.html ... #occupy #ows @OccupyWS #occupybritain #occupylondon @markthomasinfo
T527	1	23.12.2011	Time for City of London to be more transparent about its City Cash accounts - New Year's resolution? http://occupylsx.org/?p=2657 #occupylsx #ows
T528	3	24.12.2011	Call for papers - We Are Not Just The 99%: Queering the Occupy Movement, Reimagining Resistance http://www.lambdaliterary.org/writers/subs/12/21/we-are-not-just-the-99-queering-the-occupy-movement-reimagining-resistance/ ... #occupylsx #occupy #ws
T529	3	25.12.2011	http://yfrog.com/gyykwwkj Happy Occupy Christmas from your friends at #occupylondon

T530	3	27.12.2011	Sign this & RT - Drop the Health Bill - time for the Government to drop Health & Social Care Bill https://submissions.epetitions.direct.gov.uk/petitions/22670 #occupylsx #occupy
T531	1	27.12.2011	RT @giles_fraser: I missed this. Archbishop of Wales on @OccupylSX @StPaulsLondon . http://bit.ly/tf61jm #OccupylSX #OccupylLondon #OSLX"
T532	1	28.12.2011	Occupy protester 'banned' from flight home for Christmas http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/occupy-protester-banned-from-flight-home-for-christmas-6282555.html ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T533	3	28.12.2011	Can you match the placard with the protest? http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/quiz/2011/dec/28/protest-occupy-wall-street ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T534	1	28.12.2011	Watch out for some occupiers featuring in Jon Snow's 2011 on Channel 4 right now - http://www.channel4.com/programmes/jon-snows-2011/articles/home ... #occupylsx #occupy
T535	1	30.12.2011	@RichardJMurphy An Occupy reading of Charles Dickens' 'A Christmas Carol' http://www.taxresearch.org.uk/Blog/2011/12/26/an-occupy-reading-of-charles-dickens-a-christmas-carol/ ... #occupy #occupylsx #ows
T536	1	30.12.2011	Today 4-5pm @bankofideas – Poetry for 2012, with Helen Moore and Niall McDevitt http://occupylsx.org/?p=2693 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T537	1	30.12.2011	Today @TentCityUni at 3pm. Daphni Leef speaking about Israel's Tel Aviv Tent City. http://occupylsx.org/?p=2693 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T538	1	31.12.2011	#OccupylSX would like to wish everyone a Happy New Year! #Occupyl2012
T539	1	31.12.2011	Happy new year. Big love to occupiers and all around the world as we welcome in 2012. Let's make it count #occupylsx #occupy #occupynye
T540	3	01.01.2012	New video - @occupylsx says 2012 - let's make it count - http://occupylsx.org/?p=2722 #occupy #occupylsx #bankofideas #occupyljustice #occupylfs #ows
T541	3	02.01.2012	Video - What is next for @occupylsx? http://vimeo.com/34451942 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T542	3	03.01.2012	#OccupylLondon is particularly pleased tht Mastcraft reached *agreement* with the Occupy Justice team - others pls note! http://occupylsx.org/?p=2692
T543	1	03.01.2012	Charles Dickens' A Christmas Carol at #OccupylLondon http://occupylsx.org/?p=2740 - video clips here if you missed it!
T544	1	03.01.2012	The Great British Train Robbery http://bit.ly/w4ha4x #farefail #trains #occupy #trainrobbery #fgwfail #trainfares #ukpolitics #occupylsx
T545	3	03.01.2012	Video – Occupy London – What is next? http://occupylsx.org/?p=2738 #occupylsx #occupylfs #bankofideas #occupyljustice #occupy
T546	1	04.01.2012	Busy time coming up! Events at @occupylsx @bankofideas and @OccupylLFS http://occupylsx.org/?p=2806 #occupy #occupylsx #bankofideas #ows
T547	3	04.01.2012	Interested in #OccupylLondon's accounts? Of course you are. Get the full details here: http://occupylsx.org/?p=2808
T548	1	04.01.2012	Newsnight just beginning on BBC2 now. @giles_fraser will be speaking about #OccupylSX
T549	4	04.01.2012	Tonight on @BBCNewsnight - @giles_fraser vs Paxman re: @OccupylSX. Plus some occupiers. One not be missed! #occupylsx #occupy #olsx
T550	2	05.01.2012	Petition - Stop the great British tax scandal http://www.avaaz.org/en/goldman_sachs_pay_your_tax/?cqirNab ... #occupylsx #occupy #ukuncut
T551	1	05.01.2012	Sat 15 Jan - #OccupylLondon's Economics Working Group presents Beyond Capitalism? with @RichardJMurphy @anothergreen http://tentcityuniversity.occupylsx.org/?page_id=205
T552	1	05.01.2012	Saturday - London Short Film Festival @occupylsx. Check the programme at http://shortfilms.org.uk/events/2012-01-07-occupy-london ... #occupylsx #occupy @bankofideas @OccupylLFS
T553	2	05.01.2012	Donations of cleaning equipment (gloves, bin bags etc) welcome at @OccupylSX. Help tidy after the windy storm #occupylsx @bankofideas
T554	1	05.01.2012	What's happening at Occupy London? New events list up at http://occupylsx.org/?p=2806 #occupylsx #occupy #olsx @bankofideas @OccupylLFS
T555	1	06.01.2012	First 2012 edition of @OccupiedTimes now out http://occupylsx.org/?p=2815 #occupylsx @OccupylLFS @bankofideas
T556	3	07.01.2012	An occupier's perspective: Letter to the Leveson Enquiry http://occupylsx.org/?p=2825 #occupylsx #occupy #ows #olsx
T557	1	09.01.2012	FT: Cameron belatedly signs up to the Occupy movement http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/9b69787a-3ab8-11e1-a756-00144feabd0.html#axzz1iuvh2Ecq ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T558	2	11.01.2012	Please RT. Indymedia - URGENT - assault on right to protest (part 1) http://london.indymedia.org/articles/11434 #occupy #ows #occupylsx #occupylondon
T559	4	11.01.2012	Amazing. Check out Jarvis Cocker writing about #occupy in latest edition of The Big Issue. Big thanks to him #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T560	1	12.01.2012	This Sunday @bankofideas. @OccupylLFS Working Group presents Beyond Capitalism? http://occupylsx.org/?p=3050 #occupylsx #bankofideas #occupy
T561	1	12.01.2012	@OccupylSX to deliver message to Brookfield Asset Management in protest at the one per cent http://occupylsx.org/?p=3043 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T562	1	12.01.2012	This Sunday: @OccupylSX celebrates life of Dr Martin Luther King - #occupylthedream http://occupylsx.org/?p=3031 #occupy #occupylsx #ows
T563	2	13.01.2012	Spread the word ;) Call for designers: The Occupied Times Poster Edition http://occupylsx.org/?p=3089 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T564	1	13.01.2012	Video - Alan Moore, writer of V for Vendetta / The Watchmen, at @OccupylSX http://occupylsx.org/?p=3085 #occupy #ows #anonymous #occupylsx
T565	1	13.01.2012	A busy weekend! Martin Luther King Day, melting Arctic ice on steps of St Paul's and much much more http://occupylsx.org/?p=3078 #occupylsx #occupy
T566	1	13.01.2012	Amazing. 2pm Saturday @OccupylSX – #Occupylthelimate Arctic ice to melt at the steps of St Paul's http://occupylsx.org/?p=3073 #occupylsx #occupy

T567	1	13.01.2012	Sunday 11.30am at @OccupyLSX : Back to Work - Diagnosing the Emotional State of the Nation http://occupylsx.org/?p=3059 #occupylsx #occupy
T568	4	14.01.2012	Pulp's Jarvis Cocker lends his support to the #Occupy movement http://www.nme.com/news/pulp/61423 #occupylsx #ows @bankofideas @OccupyLFS
T569	1	14.01.2012	Block of Arctic ice melts on the steps of St Paul's cathedral http://www.demotix.com/news/1002508/block-arctic-ice-melts-steps-st-pauls-cathedral ... #occupytheclimate #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows
T570	1	14.01.2012	Fab video of Ani DiFranco's visit to @occupylsx http://occupylsx.org/?p=3101 @anidifranco @blurbpr #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T571	1	15.01.2012	Events today at @OccupyLSX @bankofideas as we mark 3 months! http://occupylsx.org/?p=3078 Come down, so much going on #occupylsx #occupy
T572	1	16.01.2012	Yesterday's monsters - Today's maytrys http://bit.ly/wR3BOP @jonsnowc4 #ukpolitics #mlk #occupy #occupylsx #occupyjustice #happymlkday
T573	1	16.01.2012	Preview of upcoming edition of @OccupiedTimes http://occupylsx.org/?p=3124 #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows #occupy
T574	2	17.01.2012	Sign the Petition - Ring of Prayer in event of potential eviction of @OccupyLSX http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/ring-of-prayer-at-eviction-of-ocupy-lsx.html ... #occupy #occupsx #ows #occupylondon
T575	3	17.01.2012	An Occupier's Perspective: the police, the press & the corporations http://occupylsx.org/?p=3158 #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T576	1	17.01.2012	Our High Court judgment tomorrow (Weds) at 2pm, court 25 RCJ. Come show support, bring banners, samba crew and gusto! #occupylsx
T577	3	17.01.2012	#Occupy - A #Revolution in our Sense of Self http://bit.ly/y33KvB #occupylondon #j17 #righttoprotest #leveson #citizenoftheworld @oprah
T578	1	18.01.2012	Judge Rules Against @OccupyLSX - Updated with judgment documents http://occupylsx.org/?p=3177 #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T579	1	18.01.2012	#occupyjustice Tomorrow - Inquiry into war crimes committed by Tony Blair & British government in Iraq http://occupylsx.org/?p=3183 #occupylsx #pws
T580	1	18.01.2012	10am Thursday 19 January - Trials of one per cent to begin at #OccupyJustice http://occupylsx.org/?p=3183 #occupylsx #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T581	1	18.01.2012	Judge rules against @occupylsx http://occupylsx.org/?p=3177 thanks @OccupiedTimes for pulling together #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T582	1	18.01.2012	Guardian: @occupylsx result raises the thorny issue of property v protest http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/libertycentral/2012/jan/18/occupy-london-eviction-freedom-expression-private ... #occupylsx #ows #occupy
T583	2	18.01.2012	The decision is in - come and support #occupylsx at 1.30pm at the High Court, bring your banners! http://occupylsx.org/?p=3100
T584	4	19.01.2012	@righttoprotest We Stand by the Occupy Movement - Trade union petition http://defendtherighttoprotest.org/we-stand-by-the-occupy-movement/804/ ... #occupylondon #unions #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T585	1	19.01.2012	Ring of Prayer at eviction of @OccupyLSX petition link http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/ring-of-prayer-at-eviction-of-ocupy-lsx.html ... #occupylsx #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T586	1	19.01.2012	@JeromeTaylor for @TheIndyNews : 'Ring of prayer' to fight @OccupyLSX eviction http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/ring-of-prayer-to-fight-st-pauls-eviction-6292069.html ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T587	4	19.01.2012	#Anonymous - #OperationBlackout video http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Smb-cFSDXrw&feature=player_embedded ... #occupylsx #occupy
T588	3	19.01.2012	Great animation on rethinking education -what went wrong? http://youtu.be/zDZFcdGpL4U #occupy #occupylsx #olsx @occupybristoluk @occupylfs
T589	3	19.01.2012	An Occupier's Perspective: Interview with George Barda, litigant-in-person http://occupylsx.org/?p=3239 #occupylsx #occupylondon #occupy #ows
T590	1	19.01.2012	RT @OccupyLFS : #Occupylondon evicted? I think not http://bit.ly/zVGF5s @occupywallstreetnyc @theother99 @indymedia @giles_fraser #occupy
T591	3	19.01.2012	RT: #Occupylsx & The Case of the Cowardly Court http://www.scriptonitedaily.org/2012/01/voices-from-occupation-case-of.html ... @occupywallst @occupybristoluk @occueye @bankofideas @guardian @c4news
T592	1	19.01.2012	TODAY: Mario Joseph to speak at @occupylsx at 2.30pm, Tent City Uni http://tentcityuniversity.occupylsx.org/?page_id=69 #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T593	1	19.01.2012	Today schedule for #occupyjustice and the the case for and against the prosecution of Tony Blair - now at http://occupylsx.org/?p=3200 #occupylsx
T594	1	19.01.2012	Today from 10am onwards - @OccupyLSX begins putting one per cent on trial. All welcome at #occupyjustice http://occupylsx.org/?p=3200 #occupylsx
T595	1	20.01.2012	Jesse Jackson at #occupylsx' tent city university
T596	3	20.01.2012	@openDemocracy article on #Occupy - A Revolution in our Sense of Self http://bit.ly/yXSvL2 #occupylondon #olsx #occupylsx @occupywallst #ows
T597	1	20.01.2012	This sounds fab - new Occupy Design collective putting on a workshop @bankofideas this weekend http://blog.eyemagazine.com/?p=10577 #occupylsx
T598	1	20.01.2012	RBS trial cancelled tomorrow; instead @OccupyTours launches guided tour of Mayfair. This will be good ;) http://occupylsx.org/?p=3257 #occupylsx
T599	1	21.01.2012	Update on Roman House occupation; Teach out: the City's secret finances & lobbying activities http://occupylsx.org/?p=3281 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T600	1	22.01.2012	Tune into @Swrightstuff at 9.15am this morning to see @JamieKelseyFry of @OccupyLSX talking about Occupy's outreach into schools #occupylsx

T601	2	23.01.2012	@OccuRecords launches crowd-funding initiative. Send them some love! http://www.sponsume.com/project/occupation-records-99-cent-launch-record-label ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T602	1	23.01.2012	News from @OccuRecords about first album - Folk the Banks http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/jan/23/occupation-records-city-protest-album?newsfeed=true ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T603	3	23.01.2012	Designer of fab @occupylsx logo explains why he backed us http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/blog/2012/jan/23/designer-occupy-london-logo-jonathan-barnbrook ... #occupylsx #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T604	3	24.01.2012	101 days of Occupy London today. 101 reasons to Occupy! Help us collate them collaboratively http://piratepad.net/hlxnkq9KyD #occupy #occupylsx #ows
T605	1	26.01.2012	'Sack Boris' oyster card wallets have gone like hot cakes at bank station at rush hour! It must be the #occupylsx factor :) @sack boris2012
T606	4	26.01.2012	Guest blog: @ukuncut - All out Saturday to oppose 'cruel and unnecessary' welfare bill http://occupylsx.org/?p=3336 #occupylsx #occupy #ukuncut
T607	1	26.01.2012	Tomorrow at noon @occupylsx Fuel poverty action - time to warm up! Spread the word http://occupylsx.org/?p=3330 #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T608	1	28.01.2012	Occupy protestors sing 'something inside so strong' at steps of st pauls - very warm and uplifting on this cold day! #OccupyLSX
T609	4	28.01.2012	Cynikal getting the place jumping with sweet acoustic hip hop! #OccupyLSX
T610	4	28.01.2012	The Dirt Urchins perform at the occupation of london stock exchange #OccupyLSX
T611	4	28.01.2012	Jubilee Debt Campaign speaker condemns arms trade where Egyptian people paid for weapons used against them #occupylsx
T612	1	28.01.2012	'War with Iran...? Wake up!' tent at Occupy London Stock Exchange #OccupyLSX
T613	4	28.01.2012	Jay Carter from new rising performs 'slumber' at celebrate the right to protest at St Paul's #OccupyLSX
T614	1	28.01.2012	Yardy superstar now at the celebrate the right to protest event at #OccupyLSX calls on us to look in to the light
T615	1	29.01.2012	Just to clear up any confusion, livestream currently streaming Earl Street and NOT the bank of ideas http://occupylsx.org/?page_id=11 #occupylondon
T616	1	29.01.2012	Section 60 in place as of 01:45am but bailiffs still covering their faces. Bailiffs also don't have any SIA cards. #occupylondon
T617	1	29.01.2012	Live feed from inside Earl Street http://bambuser.com/channel/Anarcocurious/broadcast/2325973 ... #occupylondon
T618	1	29.01.2012	15 - 20 people resisting eviction on the roof at the bank of ideas!. Will update if arrests are made! #occupylondon
T619	1	29.01.2012	@bankofideas being evicted RIGHT NOW! Follow on livestream: http://occupylsx.org/?page_id=11 RT to show support #occupylondon
T620	1	29.01.2012	@timeoutlondon: Should @occupylsx be given the heave-ho or not? http://now-here-this.timeout.com/2012/01/29/fac ... #occupylsx #occupy #ows #occupylondon
T621	3	30.01.2012	My tent for your bonus. occupy protestor at RBS london reminds Hester his millionaire salary is our money #OccupyLSX
T622	3	30.01.2012	'My tent for your bonus' occupy protestor at RBS reminding Hester its our money still paying him millions #OccupyLSX
T623	1	30.01.2012	Video - Attempting to speak with the police post bailiff incident... http://bambuser.com/channel/ronanshaun/broadcast/2326093 ... #occupy #occupylsx #occupylondon
T624	1	30.01.2012	Tune into @ResonanceFM @ 3pm 4 Voices of Resistance (@VORGlobal) with #occupylsx talking about @OccuRecords #RBS +more http://resonancefm.com/
T625	3	30.01.2012	@sarahsonglines yes we do, we invite people to come peacefully to support #occupylsx #occupiers this week & provide witness
T626	1	31.01.2012	RT @OccupyLondon: Catch one #occupiers diary of last week-Day 2 @occupylondon http://bit.ly/yooGyV #occupylsx #occupyeverything @scriptonite
T627	3	31.01.2012	5 Feb at @OccupyLSX - How the global 1% is trashing the planet and stealing your future http://occupylsx.org/?p=3372 #occupylsx #occupy
T628	1	01.02.2012	Mayor of the 1% Boris Johnson's laws to outlaw dissent in parliament & tralafgar square http://sturdyblog.wordpress.com/2012/01/30/thou-shalt-not-demonstrate/ ... email in to stop it #OccupyLSX
T629	1	02.02.2012	Protest against bankers bonuses this Friday. Meet 5pm at steps of St Pauls. Please retweet! #OccupyLSX
T630	1	03.02.2012	Thirteen coordinated protests outside of Syrian embassies https://docs.google.com/document/d/1wF2Yqcx4AC-yWZJFO7RVG9x-149DttDEtyvjg3t3w/preview?hl=en_US&pli=1&sl=true ... check back to the live document for updates #occupylondon
T631	1	03.02.2012	Protest outside Syrian embassy in Washing D.C. being streamed http://www.ustream.tv/channel/occupy-d-c-coverage ... #occupylondon
T632	4	03.02.2012	Coordinated protests outside embassies in London, America and Egypt. Protests inside embassy in Cairo http://www.ustream.tv/recorded/20202511 ... #occupylondon
T633	4	03.02.2012	Protest action happening globally at Syrian embassies in Washing D.C. and London. Possibly more coordinated action to come! #occupylondon
T634	3	03.02.2012	Hey @HeyyImRyan i'm afraid you've fallen for some bad journalism by the Evening Standard. Pls read this http://occupylsx.org/?p=3422 #occupylondon
T635	3	03.02.2012	hey @soundwords please check out the following press release which clears up any confusion occupylsx.org/?p=3422 #occupylondon
T636	3	03.02.2012	hey @blue_burmese please check out the following press release which clears up any confusion http://occupylsx.org/?p=3422 #occupylondon

T637	2	03.02.2012	#GAONTOUR Parliament Square - check! Just walking past Westminster Abby now #occupylondon
T638	2	03.02.2012	#GAONTOUR currently at Downing Street addressing the PM #occupylondon
T639	2	03.02.2012	#GAONTOUR makings it's way past trafilgar square. Follow for updates to work out where we will stop! #occupylondon
T640	3	04.02.2012	RT @OurKingdomUK: Is there such a thing as ethical capitalism?, Kerry-anne Mendoza http://bit.ly/AsaIVv #occupylondon #occupylsx #occupy
T641	3	05.02.2012	Sign post at #OccupyLSX heaven points to the cathedral, hell points to the stock exchange Very narnia-esque in snow!
T642	3	05.02.2012	'Courage' in snow at occupy london stock exchange. defiantly opposing the 1% no matter what the weather is #OccupyLSX
T643	3	05.02.2012	Defiant sign at occupy london stock exchange in the snow. (whole thing reads 'courage' !) #OccupyLSX
T644	3	05.02.2012	Sign at snowy occupy london. hell points to stock exchange, heaven points to the cathedral. very narnia #OccupyLSX
T645	4	06.02.2012	Public meeting this Thursday: race & racism after Lawrence trial verdict. Read guest blog by NUS rep #OccupyLSX http://occupylsx.org/?p=3527 pl RT
T646	4	09.02.2012	Lots of props to occupy movement & #OccupyLSX at the Black Activists Rising Against the cuts meeting in london tonight - stop racism now!
T647	3	10.02.2012	Why are they going after #nhs and #wrb? Here's why Today's edition of Scriptionite Daily bit.ly/AqNyYs #dropthebill #occupylsx #olsx #occupy
T648	1	10.02.2012	Today at 4pm at @occupylsx occupy - the silent scream! Where theatre meets life http://occupylsx.org/?p=3553 #occupylsx #occupy
T649	1	10.02.2012	Guest blog: Record label for Occupy - call out to occupiers from Occupation Records http://occupylsx.org/?p=3567 (@occorecords) #occupy #occupylsx
T650	1	12.02.2012	The Occupy London School of Ideas opens to local Islington community! http://occupylsx.org/?p=3607 (@OLSchoolofIdeas) #occupy #occupylsx #ows
T651	3	13.02.2012	#TammySamede, primary defendant at #OccupyLSX gives an occupiers perspective - read her poem at occupylsx.org/?p=3615 RT & show support!
T652	1	13.02.2012	Court of Appeal accept Paul Randle #Jolliffe & Steve #Moore as parties to the case though warn they may be subject to costs. #OccupyLSX
T653	3	13.02.2012	Tammy #Samede, primary defendant at #OccupyLSX gives an occupiers perspective - read her poem at occupylsx.org/?p=3615 RT & show support!
T654	2	13.02.2012	1 week left to support occupy records' crowdfund effort - lots of sweet swag for donators! http://www.sponsume.com/project/occupation-records-99-cent-launch-record-label ... #musicmonday #OccupyLSX #mm
T655	1	16.02.2012	Time to #occupytesco. Every little doesn't help. Pay fair wages to all. Enough is enough #occupy #occupylsx https://www.facebook.com/pages/Occupy-Tesco/131870616935475 ...
T656	1	17.02.2012	At roving general assembly in euston station talking about future plans #occupylsx #occupy #ows
T657	3	18.02.2012	Aint Nothin' Fair About Workfare: An Occupier writes up the #Workfare Scandal http://bit.ly/zGCa3N #boycottworkfare #occupy #ows #occupylsx
T658	1	19.02.2012	Monday @OccupyLSX: Occupy Law panel - the role of law in time of protest with John Cooper QC & more http://occupylsx.org/?p=3617 #occupylsx #occupy
T659	1	20.02.2012	Tune in to #OccupyLaw event in #TCU at #OccupyLondon St Pauls. http://www.livestream.com/occupylsx
T660	3	21.02.2012	@occupylsx eviction: 'Protest Movement Will Live On After St Paul's'. It ain't over till we're done http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/articles/302176/20120221/occupy-london-eviction-st-paul-s.htm ... #occupylsx #occupy
T661	1	21.02.2012	Judgment on @cityoflondon v @occupylsx will be handed down @ 9.30am @ court 71 Royal Court of Justice, Master of the Rolls Court #occupylsx
T662	3	21.02.2012	An Occupier's Perspective: Why respect authority when authority disrespects you? http://occupylsx.org/?p=3643 #occupy #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows
T663	3	22.02.2012	Our blogger @Scriptionite with a call to arms: Britain for sale. EVERYTHING MUST GO http://www.scriptionitedaily.org/2012/02/voices-from-occupation-britain-for-sale.html ... #Occupy #occupylsx #iamspartacus
T664	1	22.02.2012	#OccupyLondon grounds for appeal dismissed: statement from John Cooper QC now online at http://occupylsx.org
T665	1	22.02.2012	Today and upcoming: Occupy London - Stay or go? Vince Cable. RBS. Occupy Workfare http://occupylsx.org/?p=3638 #occupy #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows
T666	3	23.02.2012	Occupy London vows to symbolically and peacefully mark eviction http://occupylsx.org/?p=3721 #occupylsx #occupylondon #ows #occupy
T667	2	24.02.2012	Now that we've closed the kitchen, donations of food and hot drinks are especially appreciated. #OccupyLSX
T668	4	24.02.2012	Amazing. Patrick Stewart just visited out tech tent! Pic coming #occupylsx #occupy
T669	1	24.02.2012	Meet 6pm today @occupylsx for Occupy Workfare roving General Assembly. Leaving about 6.30pm to venue nearby http://occupylsx.org/?p=3737 #occupylsx
T670	1	26.02.2012	#OccupyLSX stands strong for another day. #OccupyWillNeverDie
T671	1	26.02.2012	As we await eviction, @olschoolofideas receives support from our neighbours http://bit.ly/wlMFNi #occupy #ows #occupylsx #olsx #occupation
T672	3	27.02.2012	A promise from #OccupyLondon: this is only the beginning - http://occupylsx.org/?p=3786
T673	1	27.02.2012	Map of visitors to http://occupylondonosos.org over the past couple of hours - Spread across the whole world! #occupylondon

T674	1	27.02.2012	Arrests have been made at the request of St Paul's who are asking for protesters to be removed from the safety of it's steps! #occupylondon
T675	1	27.02.2012	Several arrests have been made for aggravated trespass. More details to follow #occupylondon
T676	1	27.02.2012	Protesters Praying on the steps of St Paul's Cathedral are being dragged and thrown to the ground! #occupylondon
T677	2	27.02.2012	Our livestream has now been restored http://www.occupylondonsos.org/livestream.htm #occupylondon
T678	2	27.02.2012	An alternative stream on the ground http://bambuser.com/v/2407333 #occupylondon
T679	2	27.02.2012	We are trying to get our livestream coverage back up - apologies for the break. Trying to restore stream right away! #occupylondon
T680	4	27.02.2012	Hundreds of supports trying to get to St Paul's to show support - being blocked by police #occupylondon
T681	1	27.02.2012	For a broader picture on what is going on please follow our eviction stream at http://www.occupylondonsos.org #occupylondon
T682	1	27.02.2012	Arrests being made on the ground. More details to follow #occupylondon
T683	1	27.02.2012	Just a reminder - the School of Ideas is a legal squat and is currently being ILLEGALLY evicted! http://schoolofideas.org.uk/ #occupylondon
T684	1	27.02.2012	For coverage of events as they unfold please visit http://www.occupylondonsos.org #occupylondon
T685	3	27.02.2012	Occupy London is made up of people from all walks of life! We are the 99%! #occupylondon
T686	3	27.02.2012	BBC Coverage is disgusting! People on the ground represent millions at home. This is not about the few, but about the many! #occupylondon
T687	3	27.02.2012	Interviewer live on the BBC is clearly trying suggest that the Occupy Movement is over. This will not end until we get change! #occupylondon
T688	1	27.02.2012	http://yfrog.com/oc58299882j #occupylsx
T689	1	27.02.2012	Police getting ready to move in! #occupylondon
T690	1	28.02.2012	The first post eviction general assembly at st Paul's is in session - the end really is the beginning #OccupyLSX
T691	2	28.02.2012	GA: Before breaking into groups chant 'Whole World is Watching' & 'Who They Watching? Occupy!' #occupylsx #olsx
T692	1	28.02.2012	GA: News that Ken Clarke MP intervened to sign off eviction & demolition of @olschoolofideas - someone shouts 'Muppet!' #occupylsx #olsx
T693	1	28.02.2012	GA: #Occupier informs group of eviction & demolition of @olschoolofideas overnight and today -'Its Not Right' #occupylsx #olsx
T694	1	28.02.2012	GA: 1 person going to court, taken to Bishopsgate, need to find out what time he's going to court tomorrow morning #occupylsx #olsx
T695	2	28.02.2012	GA: callout for more info on DOB and emotional state of arrested young girl #occupylsx #olsx
T696	3	28.02.2012	GA: crowd applauds the arrested, 1 under 18 girl arrested last night #occupylsx #olsx
T697	1	28.02.2012	GA: Five have been released to safe spaces but injunctio against their return to St Pauls #occupylsx #olsx
T698	2	28.02.2012	GA: Callout to people with info on arrested - 6 at Paddington Green charged with Obstructing, 2 possible charges of Affray #occupylsx
T699	4	28.02.2012	GA: @jamielkelseyfry Attended University this morning to discuss #Occupywith 150 media students #occupylsx #olsx
T700	4	28.02.2012	GA: @jamielkelseyfry applauding Legal Observers support last night calling for them to be shown respect (applause) #occupylsx #olsx
T701	1	28.02.2012	GA: Daniel Ashman Now recapping the eviction last night using the human mic #occupylsx #olsx #occupy
T702	1	28.02.2012	GA up and running, applause from large crowd pleased to be back so soon #occupylsx #olsx #occupy
T703	3	28.02.2012	Live @occupylsx GA on steps on St Pauls http://bit.ly/wh2NuZ #occupylsx #occupy #olsx
T704	3	28.02.2012	Our blogger @scriptonite on eviction & transformation of #occupylsx http://bit.ly/zyLwTr @occupywallst @olschoolofideas @ukuncut #ows #wrb
T705	1	28.02.2012	Occupier Catherine Brogan live on bbc tv news sometime between noon & 12:20. join us at our meeting tonight at 7pm at St Paul's #OccupyLSX
T706	3	28.02.2012	Now occupy london trending on twitter in london ;) occupy the twitosphere with messages to the 1% and the 99% #OccupyLSX #occupylondon
T707	3	28.02.2012	St Paul's trending right now on twitter - get in your tweets about occupy, the financial crisis and the 99% ! #OccupyLSX
T708	3	29.02.2012	Extraordinary footage of the eviction http://youtu.be/Q_gKuWhAdpU @occupywallst #occupy #occupylsx #olsx @occupylondon @olschoolofideas
T709	1	04.03.2012	Tomorrow 7pm @occupylsx lead defendant Tammy Samede at Defend the Right to Protest event. Come support http://www.defendtherighttoprotest.org/public-forum/ #occupylsx
T710	1	04.03.2012	Occupy London: Olympics is 'Topic of Interest' http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/articles/308156/20120302/occupy-london-olympics-camp-2012.htm ... #occupylsx #occupy ows #occupylondon
T711	3	05.03.2012	A good example of corporate justice - how companies / banks should be run! http://boingboing.net/2011/02/25/japan-airlines-ceo-p.html ... #occupylondon

T712	3	05.03.2012	Share! Great short doc about democratic deficiency in @cityoflondon by @bellerosefilms http://vimeo.com/37906696 #occupy #occupylsx #ows
T713	1	08.03.2012	7pm Friday @ Covent Garden. Roving General Assembly focusing on "The end of Government?" http://occupylsx.org/?p=3890 #occupylondon #occupylsx
T714	1	08.03.2012	Mic Check for Boris! http://occupylsx.org/?p=3884 #occupylondon #occupy #ows
T715	3	10.03.2012	Emotional roller coaster of a video of @occupylondon eviction. Big thanks to Inka http://occupylsx.org/?p=3786 #occupylsx #occupylondon
T716	3	10.03.2012	Now updated with beautiful video - A promise from Occupy London: this is only the beginning http://occupylsx.org/?p=3786 #occupylondon #occupy
T717	1	13.03.2012	Noon tomorrow. Higher ed teach out. With David Graeber (Goldsmiths/OWS), Polly Toynbee (Guardian) http://occupylsx.org/?p=3907 #occupylondon
T718	1	13.03.2012	Noon Wednesday - @occupylondon's @TentCityUni to hold teach out focusing on Higher Education http://occupylsx.org/?p=3907 #occupylondon #nus #ncafc
T719	4	13.03.2012	Wednesday: Occupy our Higher Education - Occupy London to support student day of action http://occupylsx.org/?p=3907 #occupylondon #occupy
T720	1	16.03.2012	Cost of new squatting law could be £790m http://www.squashcampaign.org/2012/03/cost-of-new-squatting-law-could-be-790m/ ... #occupylondon
T721	2	16.03.2012	To keep up to date on @Occupylondon General Assemblies, text 86444 with "Follow @OccupylondonGA". U only pay 4 first text #occupylondon
T722	4	17.03.2012	Direct Action today for the NHS http://ukuncut.org.uk/actions/847 #occupylondon #savethenhs
T723	1	17.03.2012	2.30pm Dept of Health. Be there today for the NHS https://www.facebook.com/events/107457682717979/ ... #occupylondon #savethenhs
T724	4	18.03.2012	Mothers day die-in for the #nhs outside parliament #SaveourNHS #savethenhs stop killing our public services #OccupyLSX
T725	1	20.03.2012	Liverpool street commuter take #sackboris oyster holders that #OccupyLSX are giving out & say 'I hope we do sack him!'
T726	1	20.03.2012	Sack Boris oyster card holders going like hot cakes at Liverpool street station! #OccupyLSX #sackboris
T727	4	20.03.2012	11am tomorrow. We will join @ukuncut 4 Austerity Isn't Working Queue outside Downing St. See u there! https://www.facebook.com/events/321251107937780/ ... #occupylondon
T728	4	20.03.2012	Put your MP on notice over the NHS Bill http://www.goingtowork.org.uk/put-your-mp-on-notice-over-the-nhs-bill/ ... #occupylondon
T729	4	20.03.2012	Who supports these NHS reforms? http://www.whosupportsnhsreforms.org.uk/#.T2eS4KS8N_E.facebook ... #occupylondon
T730	1	21.03.2012	This Friday - Roving General Assembly & Disrupt Dirty Power https://www.facebook.com/events/255697251186406/ ... #occupylondon #occupy
T731	3	21.03.2012	Occupy London responds to the 'millionaires' budget' http://occupylsx.org/?p=3961 #occupylondon #budget #budget2012 #grannytax
T732	4	21.03.2012	What a beautiful day! Join #OccupyLondon & #UKUNCUT across from Parliament in a protest against the budget.
T733	1	21.03.2012	The green shoots of Spring are beginning to appear in London. Very excited about Occupy Limehouse http://occupylsx.org/?p=3954 #occupylondon
T734	1	21.03.2012	@seanrr1982 @MayhemH @thebadcock @JoshiSidhu Details on Occupy Limehouse! http://occupylsx.org/?p=3954 #occupylondon #springishere #morecoming
T735	1	21.03.2012	Occupy London announces Occupy Limehouse – Springtime for London! http://occupylsx.org/?p=3954 #occupylondon #springishere #moreofthiscoming
T736	2	21.03.2012	Help support Occupation Records - the record label being created for the Occupy movement http://www.sponsume.com/project/occupation-records-99-cent-launch-record-label/ ... #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T737	1	21.03.2012	Is Boris working? http://www.isborisworking.com/ @Bankers4Boris #occupylondon
T738	1	21.03.2012	@Rosie_Parkin #springishere :) Time to get ready for Occupy May! https://www.facebook.com/events/288620067873162/ ... Sending good thoughts to Naomi there #occupylondon
T739	1	21.03.2012	#springishere. London get ready for Occupy May! https://www.facebook.com/events/288620067873162/ ... Spread the word #occupylondon #occupy #ows
T740	2	21.03.2012	Help support our paper - The Occupied Times: http://www.sponsume.com/project/support-occupied-times/ ... #occupylondon
T741	4	21.03.2012	Not one more cut ! Coalition of resistance budget day protest this morning 11.30am outside downing st #OccupyLSX http://www.coalitionofresistance.org.uk/2012/03/not-one-more-cut-protest-on-budget-day-wed-21-march/ ...
T742	4	21.03.2012	UK Uncut 'austerity isnt working' dole queue at 11am this morning against the budget for the 1% - PL RT #OccupyLSX http://www.facebook.com/events/321251107937780/ ...
T743	1	22.03.2012	Spring is here! Get ready for Occupy May London https://www.facebook.com/events/288620067873162/ ... #occupylondon #occupy #ukuncut #budget2012 #savethenhs
T744	1	22.03.2012	2pm - Saturday 24 March - Occupy London General Assembly by the steps of St Paul's http://occupylsx.org/?p=3966 #occupylondon
T745	1	22.03.2012	5.30pm Friday 23 March - Disrupt Dirty Power Roving General Assembly visiting Tate Modern & Southbank http://occupylsx.org/?p=3966 #occupylondon
T746	1	22.03.2012	@occupylondon events this weekend: Corporations v communities; education & activism http://occupylsx.org/?p=3966 #occupylondon #occupy
T747	4	23.03.2012	Fortnum and mason final verdict today, 2pm westminster magistrates court. come along to support. #ukuncut #OccupyLSX
T748	1	23.03.2012	5.30pm today - Community v corporations roving General Assembly visiting Tate Modern and the Southbank http://occupylsx.org/?p=3966 #occupylondon

T749	4	23.03.2012	We are all Alfie Meadows - Show your support for him and others who've suffered from political policing http://www.defendtherighttoprotest.org/support-floods-in-for-alfie-meadows/ ... #occupylondon
T750	2	27.03.2012	Help inform choice for @occupylondon's target for direct action on 15 May https://www.facebook.com/questions/374089015958502/?notif_t=question_answer ... #occupy #occupylondon #spingishere
T751	2	28.03.2012	Help choose @occupylondon's target for direct action on 15 May https://www.facebook.com/questions/374089015958502/?notif_t=question_answer ... #occupy #occupylondon #spingishere
T752	1	30.03.2012	Stop & Search Yourself Street dance action Sat 31 March 12pm - Meet: Royal Festival Hall Level 1 greenside for rehearsal & route #OccupyLSX
T753	1	30.03.2012	Lovely article about the tremendous @OccupYTours gang in the Evening Slander about their Mayfair tours http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/lifestyle/esmagazine/tall-tales-occupational-hazards-7603851.html ... #occupylondon
T754	1	30.03.2012	Old street tube commuter with his new oysterholder 'does that say sack boris? Marvellous!' we love meeting Londoners:) #sackboris #OccupyLSX
T755	1	30.03.2012	Giving out free #sackboris oyster holders at old street tube with #OccupyLSX protestors is a piece of cake!
T756	1	30.03.2012	7pm today: OL Roving General Assembly @ with Save Leyton Marsh campaign http://occupylsx.org/?p=3995 #occupylondon #saveleytonmarsh #olympics2012
T757	4	30.03.2012	Video - Save Leyton Marshes, don't destroy it for the corporate Olympics http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-3xYHhfLNok ... #occupylondon
T758	1	30.03.2012	Independent - The protest Games: demonstrators target Olympics http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/olympics/the-protest-games-demonstrators-target-olympics-7601129.html?fb_source=ticker&fb_action_ids=10150638304581401&fb_action_types=news.reads ... #occupylondon #occupy
T759	4	30.03.2012	Protest in support of Bloomberg cleaners (5pm, Bloomberg HQ, 50 Finsbury Square, EC2A 1HD) http://iww.org.uk/node/696 #occupylondon #occupy
T760	1	01.04.2012	Government wants to monitor the calls, emails, texts and website visits of everyone in the UK... http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-17576745 ... #occupy #occupylondon
T761	1	03.04.2012	Save the dates & spread the word for Occupy May! May Day. 12 May. 15 May http://occupylsx.org/?p=4003 #occupy #springishere #occupylondon #ows
T762	1	03.04.2012	Open Day for Occupy London. Let's get ready for Occupy May http://occupylsx.org/?p=4003 #springishere #occupylondon #occupy #ows
T763	1	03.04.2012	Spring Awakening: Occupy London prepares for second wave http://occupylsx.org/?p=4003 #occupylondon #occupy #ows #occupyeverywhere #london2012
T764	4	05.04.2012	Student Commuters at Liverpool st tube join #OccupyLSX in saying #sackboris as we give out free easter oyster holders!
T765	1	05.04.2012	happy Easter! Giving out free #sackboris oystercard holders at Liverpool st tube - going like Easter eggs! #OccupyLSX
T766	1	07.04.2012	Ohm for justice. Noon today at royal courts of justice. @OccupFaith_UK https://m.facebook.com/event.php?eid=378882598811556 ... #occupy #Occupylondon
T767	1	09.04.2012	Welcome to the corporate Olympics... VIP Lanes: we'll take the low road and they'll take the VIP lanes http://www.gamesmonitor.org.uk/node/1495 #occupylondon
T768	3	11.04.2012	Great Open Day for Occupy yesterday! Minutes up soon. Excited about Occupy May here :) #occupylondon #occupy #indignados
T769	1	16.04.2012	Over a third of Londoners polled say Boris is a 'mayor for the rich'. he was cheerleading our eviction. Time to #sackboris #OccupyLSX #olsx
T770	1	19.04.2012	With #solidarity from #occupylondon "The 'F' Word: How to Know When You Live in a Fascist State" http://bit.ly/lpfg5 @occupywallst #ows
T771	1	20.04.2012	Starting soon - Roving General Assembly at British Bankers Association ... lobbyists for the bankers http://occupylsx.org/?p=4049 #occupylondon
T772	1	21.04.2012	The #OccupyLego men on London stand in solidarity with #OccupyLondon at #StPauls #OccupationInstallation
T773	1	23.04.2012	Time to Occupy May Day - here's teh Facebook, let's spread the word x https://www.facebook.com/events/291445027604703/ ... #occupylondon
T774	1	23.04.2012	May Day May Day. Let's make this a day for all. Fun things happening in London http://occupylsx.org/?p=4054 #occupylondon
T775	1	26.04.2012	@occupylondon to Occupy the Tube on May Day - details at https://www.facebook.com/events/291445027604703/ ... #occupymay #bbcqt #occupylondon
T776	2	26.04.2012	Occupy May Day. This is going to be good. Wear work wear and bring white flowers ;) https://www.facebook.com/events/291445027604703/ ... #occupylondon #bbcqt #occupymay
T777	2	26.04.2012	Please share - Guest blog from Hands of Somalia campaign: Public meeting to discuss ways forward http://occupylondon.org.uk/archives/8222 #occupylondon #ows
T778	3	26.04.2012	After Occupy - what next? event. Here is the livestream link http://bambuser.com/v/2588557 #occupylondon
T779	2	26.04.2012	Please RT. Statement from Save Leyton Marsh protestor served with an Olympic ASBO http://occupylsx.org/?p=4064 #occupylondon #saveleytonmarsh
T780	2	26.04.2012	Facebook folks - here's the May Day event page - https://www.facebook.com/events/291445027604703/ ... Do share and let others know #occupylondon #ows #occupymay
T781	1	28.04.2012	Occupy london protester gets warm reception @HandsOffSomalia public meeting - no to wars, racism and poverty of the 1%! #OccupyLSX #OLSX
T782	3	01.05.2012	Greetings to all city workers in the corney and barrow bar next to the london stock exchange who support us. you are the 99% too #OccupyLSX
T783	3	01.05.2012	Occupy london finally take the london stock exchange - a may day for the 99% - this is just the beginning #OccupyLSX
T784	3	01.05.2012	As #OccupyLondon enjoys finally taking Paternoster, thousands are gathering in NYC. We're so proud of you guys. #ows #occupy #occupymay

T785	1	01.05.2012	Come to paternoster square occupation. Bring tent #occupymay #OccupyLondon
T786	4	01.05.2012	#OccupyLondon join #Unite and others and take to the streets down...
T787	1	01.05.2012	#OccupyLondon at High Holburn/Southampton Row crossroads waiting for Unions march to catch up...
T788	1	01.05.2012	#occupylondon opens #MayDay with flower power - http://occupylsx.org/?p=4087
T789	1	03.05.2012	Excellent article about protest and civil disobedience by Kerry-anne Mendoza http://www.opendemocracy.net/kerry-anne-mendoza/we-sympathize-with-your-cause-but-non-violent-civil-disobedience-in-21st-century... #occupylondon
T790	2	04.05.2012	12 May: #OccupyLondon strikes back! Help us make it bolder and louder than ever. Please RT and DONATE HERE: http://www.sponsume.com/project/meet-1-0...
T791	2	04.05.2012	#OccupyLondon calling for official formation of TECH OPERATIONS WORKING GROUP. Know CSS, PHP, MySQL? Join us. http://ow.ly/aHhB4
T792	1	05.05.2012	@ occupylsxenvtgp thrown off Shell land by security/police today, for daring to show anti #tarsands film #freespeech #occupylondon
T793	2	07.05.2012	12 MAY: #OccupyLondon strikes back. Be part of this. BRING A TENT Details: http://on.fb.me/lc4XyU
T794	2	08.05.2012	#OccupyLondon is back! You evict us, we multiply! Help us make #12M and 15# louder and bolder than ever. Donate here http://www.sponsume.com/project/meet-1-0...
T795	2	08.05.2012	12 MAY: #OccupyLondon strikes back. Be part of this. BRING A TENT / 1pm, St Paul's / Details: http://on.fb.me/lc4XyU #12m
T796	1	11.05.2012	RT @ commentisfree . @ auerfeld lays out the London plans for Occupy's international day of action tomorrow http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/may/11/occupy-london-meet-the-one-per-cent... #occupylsx»
T797	1	12.05.2012	Arrestees held overnight at bishopsgate station, get there for 8.30am if you can, opposite liverpool street station #occupymay #occupylondon
T798	2	12.05.2012	Come down to bank station if you can, twenty people still on the steps #occupymay #occupylondon
T799	1	12.05.2012	Teach out happening at bank. With tents #occupymay #OccupyLondon #12mlondon
T800	2	12.05.2012	Are you following @ occupymay ? Follow @ occupymay , it'll be so much more fun if you do... #12MLondon #occupy #ows #occupylondon #globalspring
T801	2	12.05.2012	Meeting the one per cent? Your hash tag for today: #12MLondon We follow #12M #occupylondon #ows #GlobalSpring
T802	4	12.05.2012	Its begun! 'Occupy' goes Russian: Anti-Putin protesters set up camp in Moscow http://observers.france24.com/content/20120511-occupy-goes-russian-anti-putin-protesters-set-camp-moscow-abai-abay-election-vote-fraud-statue-arrests... #occupymay #12m15m #occupylondon
T803	1	13.05.2012	First person is out of the police station, given a caution, no asbo. #occupymay #occupylondon
T804	1	14.05.2012	Total Policing or a Total Lockdown? Sunday 20 May - Kettle Police Powers – Netpol Conference (http://kettlepolicepowers.wordpress.com/) #occupylondon #occupymay
T805	1	14.05.2012	'Pre-crime' revisited: this is #London in #2012 - http://occupylondon.org.uk/archives/8408 #occupylondon #12mlondon #occupy #ows
T806	4	15.05.2012	Hearing great things about Swindon Literature Festival where 3 occupiers spoke last night http://www.swindonadvertiser.co.uk/news/9706042.Words_from_the_steps_of_St_Paul_s/ ... #occupymay #occupylondon
T807	1	15.05.2012	23 June - The People versus the Banks, WDM activist conference 2012 @ UL https://www.facebook.com/events/421530714525467/ ... #occupylondon
T808	2	16.05.2012	Spread the word! Tuesday 22 May – #OccupyOil – RIP Shell http://occupylondon.org.uk/archives/8528 @ OccupyOil #occupylondon #occupy #ows
T809	4	22.05.2012	Looking forward to the @ UKUncut Great London Street Party this Saturday! https://www.facebook.com/events/232452506855123/ ... #ukuncut #occupylondon #occupy
T810	1	24.05.2012	This Monday @ the High Court: Royal wedding protesters challenge police over 'pre-crime' arrests http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/video/2012/apr/29/royal-wedding-protesters-challenge-police-video... #occupy #occupylondon
T811	1	24.05.2012	Theatre time! This Monday. Occupy: the Silent Scream. 7.45pm at the Phoenix. http://playerplaywrights.blogspot.co.uk/2012/05/occupy.html?m=1 ... #occupy #occupylondon
T812	1	27.05.2012	May 12 #OccupyLondon Global Spring Day http://vimeo.com/42924210
T813	4	28.05.2012	Top vid of @ ukuncut 's Great London Street Party from @ youandifilms http://www.youandifilms.tv/gallery/ukuncut-london-street-party/ ... #occupylondon #ukuncut
T814	3	28.05.2012	Great detailed video showing what happened on 12M in London by Inka Stafrace http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=8376... #occupylondon #occupy #indignados
T815	1	01.06.2012	Finsbury Square eviction looms post Jubilee Bank Holiday weekend http://bit.ly/JYyREj #occupylondon #jubilee
T816	2	01.06.2012	Alternate link. Occupy the Jubilee! @ OccupyLondon invites you to Occupy Democracy this Jubilee weekend http://bit.ly/Me2V3W #occupylondon
T817	1	02.06.2012	Precrime is back... Olympic Games: police plan pre-emptive arrests to stop disruption http://bit.ly/Km9PDP #occupy #occupylondon #olympics
T818	3	02.06.2012	#occupylsx G.A. Sat. 030612 @ occupylondon @occupynnuk - LIVE at http://bambuser.com/v/2699096
T819	3	02.06.2012	#occupylsx G.A. Sat. 030612 @ occupylondon @occupynnuk - LIVE at http://bambuser.com/v/2699053

T820	1	02.06.2012	Occupy London supports Occupy Rio+20 Peoples' Petition http://bit.ly/KoMOQ0 @ OccupyRio20 #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T821	1	03.06.2012	NME: Occupation Records to release debut compilation 'Folk The Banks' June 4 http://bit.ly/JfMDB5 #occupy #occupylondon #ows #folkthebanks
T822	3	08.06.2012	Check out the new look Occupied Times of London! @ occupiedtimes http://theoccupiedtimes.co.uk/ #occupy #occupylondon
T823	3	09.06.2012	# occupylsx g.a. Saturday 090612 @occupynnuk @ occupylondon - LIVE at http://bambuser.com/v/2728703
T824	3	09.06.2012	# occupylsx g.a. Saturday 090612 @occupynnuk @ occupylondon - LIVE at http://bambuser.com/v/2727951
T825	3	10.06.2012	# occupylsx g.a. Saturday 090612 @occupynnuk @ occupylondon - LIVE at http://bambuser.com/v/2727951
T826	1	12.06.2012	Simon Moore of # OccupyLondon # SaveLeytonMarsh # Diggers2012 facing jail for breach of Olympic asbo, arrested attempting to start ecovillage.
T827	2	12.06.2012	Finsbury Square occupation in High Court today (2pm not 10am). Court 37 in front of Mr Justice Edward Stuart #occupy #occupylondon
T828	2	13.06.2012	URGENT. Eviction of Finsbury Square occupation is starting. Please spread the word and send support down #occupylondon #occupy #ows
T829	2	13.06.2012	URGENT - Support needed now. Announcing new Hampstead Heath community occupation http://bit.ly/LlvAyL #occupylondon #cityoflondon
T830	2	14.06.2012	Police have just left Shoreditch Park, which remains occupied. #occupy #occupylondon #ows
T831	1	15.06.2012	Simon Moore of # SaveLeytonMarsh # Diggers2012 # OccupyLondon makes statement to court re Olympic ASBO http://livesrunning.wordpress.com/2012/06/15/simon-moore-speaks/ ...