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Resilience, Resistance, Reinvention of the Right to the City

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1 ABSTRACT

This paper looks at 're-mixing the city' as a path to sustainability from the other end of the telescope. It argues that 'the good city' - regardless of its definition[1] - requires equitable 'mixing' of both urban populations and urban fabric, to sustain diverse urban spaces with wide access. Key to social and spatial justice in the city is 'the right to the city'[2] for all, as deliberated over the last half century by Henri Lefebvre,[3] Manuel Castells[4] and David Harvey,[5] seminal among many other scholars. The paper examines urban protest movements agaist the divisive effects of the economic crisis and whether such resistance is the requisite context of an inclusive urban constellation[6] fostering the right to the city and a more sustainable and resilient re-mixing of cities.

2 CLARIFYING 'REMIXING', 'SUSTAINABILITY' AND 'RESILIENCE'

The CORP12 conference is asking whether re-mixing the city is contributing to its sustainability and resilience. It states that cities are changing constantly with a quote from Heraclitus: *"there is nothing permanent except change"*. Urban change takes place all the time, driven by complex forces and taking different forms. Some unpredicted changes are inflicted from the outside, by natural or man-made disasters, wars or terrorist attacks. Some are slow and continuous, such as the deterioration of the physical fabric, redundancy of infrastructure, inadequacy of the building stock for new uses. Some recur spontaneously brought about by those who are coming and going and those who use the city every day, "urban dwellers", an urban phenomenon Lefebvre named "habiting".[7].

Re-mixing through large scale spatial interventions in cities tends to be led from the top, predominantly by capital investment into real estate. Traditionally, planning assumed this role in many mature economies, and on occasion politicians or professional visionaries made their mark.[8]

When changes imposed from above by the few on the many become intolerable for the dispossessed they bring revolt into the streets. Using the example of present day London this paper concentrates on people's manifestations for the right to the city, and in particular for their right to use as well as to shape the city.[9] It inquires what civic resistance, demonstrations, riots and occupations may contribute to a more democratic and equitable re-mixing of the city.

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[1] The notion of "the good city" has been explored by many scholars: Kevin Lynch wrote about good city form in 1984, and David Donnison about the good city in Britain with Paul Soto, Heineman1980. In 2006 Ash Amin (University of Durham) argues in favour of the good city as a formative arena in Urban Studies; and John Friedman, pleads for The Good City, in defence of utopian thinking, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research Vol 24, Issue 2, pp 460-472,June 2000.

[2] An example of the most recent revival of the discussion on the right to the city is Andy Merrifield. Here comes everybody? Problematising The Right to the City, 2011, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research lecture.

[3] Henri Lefebvre. 1971. Le droit a la ville I. Editions anthropos. Henri Lefebvre. 1972. Espace et politique, le droit a la ville II.

[4] Manuel Castells Trilogy: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture. 1996. Vol I: The Rise of the Network Society 1997. Vol II: the Power of Identity 1998. Vol III: End of Millennium. Blackwell

[5] David Harvey. The Right to the City. New Left Review 53, September/October 2008. pp23-40. http://occupylsx.org/?tag=david-harvey. David Harvey addressing Occupy lsx on 12/11/11, vhttp://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2011/11/15/david-harvey-at-occupy-london/. David Harvey. 2008. The Right to the City. New Left Review 53 (8): 23-40.

[6] Matthew Grandy (ed). 2011. Urban Constellations. Jovis

[7] Henri Lefebvre. 2003. The Urban Revolution. University of Minnesota Press. p xiv (foreword). Doe comprehensive overview of Lefebvre's work on this theme see. Lukasz Stanek. 2011. Henri Lefebvre on Space, architecture, urban research and the production of theory, University of Minnesota Press.

[8] In the United States William Penn, Philadelphia plan 1682; Daniel Burnham Chicago plan 1909; Robert Moses New York plan 1939; Rockefeller family involved in New York low cost housing; Eleanor Roosevelt's social reform with national parks, etc; in Spain Ildefons Cerda Barcelona ensanche 1859; Arturo Soria y Mata, linear city Madrid 1882; Madrid regional spatial strategic plan 1997 Pedro Ortiz, etc; in France Baron Georges-Eugene Haussman Paris 1859; EPAD La Defense 1958; Ile de France development plan 2011, etc; in the UK Christopher Wren London 1666; John Nash Regent's Street 1813; Great Estates of London (late 18th early 19th century); Ebenezer Howard, Garden City of Tomorrow 1902 and its influence on new towns; Patrick Abercrombie London plan 1944; Milton Keynes Richard Llwelyn-Davies1971; London World City, 1991, HMSO a report produced by key protagonists of the financial and property sectors; revisited by Greg Clark. 2012. London World City, 20 Years On. forthcoming.

[9] Lukasz Stanek. 2011. Henri Lefebvre on Space. University of Minnesota Press.

2.1 Re-mixing

City structures and functions vary enormously throughout the world due to, inter alia, historic development, cultural context, morphological conditions, urban economy and city competitiveness. Before thinking about remixing the city, it is useful to explore to what extent cities are already mixed. Many cities are getting increasingly diverse, in terms of population, socio-economic status, activities, etc. Often, the renewal of their fabric tends to follow yesteryear's convergent solutions. They are driven by the development industry and their star architects, supported by relaxed planning legislation and urban design postulates, such as high density around transportation interchanges. Such urban change is designed to yield the highest land and property values through considerable increase of density. This is achieved by resorting to skyscrapers[10] and groundscrapers;[11] capturing air rights above public buildings and absorbing rights of way on the ground; producing securitised buildings with segregated uses for ease of trading on the stock market,[12] and in monotonous sprawling suburbia[13] delivered and sold by volume builders.

Of course the urban fabric encompasses a much greater variety of buildings, spaces and places. Quantitatively though these prototypes dominate urban change. While they contribute diversity to the city fabric overall they tend to produce segregated fragments within the city, as they are increasingly gated and inaccessible and even their open spaces are privately owned and controlled.[14] The legacy of zoning planning based on modernist separation of functions is also contributing to spatial segregation. There is thus a need for re-mixing cities with greater social and spatial justice in mind,[15] to provide wider access to more places for a larger number of people living, working and playing in the city.

2.2 Sustainability and resilience

Sustainability[16] has entered the vocabulary of urban change, following environmental and later ecological concerns. This all embracing notion is rarely specified in operational terms and tends to serve political dogma as much as the need for mitigation and/or adaptation to climate change. Here sustainability is interpreted as a feature of inclusion, making sure that re-mixing the cities provides spaces for all city users.

Resilience is the latest newcomer to the virtues required for successful urban change. On the material side, it implies durability, a high quality urban fabric, built to last with proper know-how. On the human side, it means stamina and staying power, also of those who are not well served by mainstream urban regeneration and change. It may infer balance, equity between urban supply and demand, between city uses and city users.

3 FINANCIAL CRISIS AND URBAN AUSTERITY

Referring to Castells,[17] the tripartite power base of neo-liberal capitalism consisting of the financial system, corporate media and the political class has led repeatedly to economic crises. As a palliative, those in power are resorting for citizens' taxes, usually without their consent. The political managers of the economy are imposing austerity with its corollaries of inflation or stagflation and rising unemployment at the cost of citizens' living standards and material security. Economic crises are perceived by many as failure of the market based economy.[18] Far from re-mixing cities towards greater sustainability, understood as a better

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[10] For arguments in favour of skyscrapers see: London Report, Skyscrapers, Clustering 'Improve Sustainability" <http://siteselection.com/ssinsider/snapshot/sf020429.htm> about Tall Buildings and Sustainability, Corporation of London. For arguments against see Simon Jenkins, e.g. the neglect of our heritage is shameful… The Guardian 12 September 2008.

[11] Critique of London's groundscrapers, http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=438095

[12] e.g. Marc Breidenbach. 2003. Real Estate Securitisation as an Alternative Source of Financing for the Property Industry. Pacific Rim Real Estate Society conference, Brisbane Australia.

[13] e.g. Edward L Glaeser and Matthew E Kahn. 2003. Sprawl and urban growth. Working Paper 9733. National Bureau of Economic Research. Definition of Suburban Sprawl http://www.ehow.com/about_5097558_definition-suburban-sprawl.html

[14] Anna Minton. 2012. Ground Control. Penguin Books

[15] See Edward W Soja. 2010. Seeking Spatial Justice. University of Minnesota Press; and David Harvey's many writings on this topic, including with emphasis on the cultural experiential dimension. David Harvey.1985. Consciousness and the Urban Experience, studies in the history and theory of capitalist urbanisation. Blackwell.

[16] The classic definition has been coined in the 1987 Bruntland Report 'Our Common Future' as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs": " but it has been criticised as being too diffuse to be meaningful.

[17] Manuel Castells. 1978. City, Class and Power. MacMillan. Manuel Castells M. Corby. S Cohen FH Cardoso. 1993. The New Global Economy in the Information Age. Penn State University Press.

[18] e.g. elaborated in the work of the New Economic Foundation. e.g. How did We Get There? The Great Transition, tackling climate change and inequality together will help us all. Free download publication http://neweconomics.org/publications

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balance between economic, social and environmental wellbeing, the current financial crisis, is socially and spatially divisive.

As physical spatial entities, cities are a construct of social relations, not a given determining social behaviour by reactions to a particular physical environment. Nevertheless, cities are affecting social practices in turn.[19] Cities appear to take the brunt of the current economic crisis. Many austerity measures imposed by nation states have direct repercussions on urban services. Rising unemployment particularly among the young, high fee paying university education, lower social support systems all contribute to youth unrest. Cuts of public sector jobs and expenditure, wage freezes, shrinking pensions and higher, often progressive taxes reduce propensity to consume and threaten economic recovery.

The need of debt repayment and scarce credit availability is affecting the development industry, except for a limited amount of urban infrastructure projects which exercise a Keynesian effect on urban development. They are not offsetting the sub-prime mortgage collapse and its dramatic effects on the housing market, forcing people out of their homes and putting increased pressure on housing, especially low cost dwellings in cities. Slum landlords are already renting out sheds with beds[20] and squatters are occupying whole rows of houses.[21] The expectation that the financial and corporate sectors will return to 'business-as-usual', together with breathtaking salary inflation of the richest is a graphic expression of rampant polarisation between the 1% and the 99% as Occupy[22] is putting it. Not surprisingly cities are becoming the privileged place of urban contestation and unrest. The economic crisis has mobilised protest among those who believe in a more equitable social order, in inclusive, participatory democracy, in economic and spatial justice as discussed by Soja.[23] Conversely, those in power resorted to top down interventions by repressing such movements.

4 LONDON PROTESTS AND THEIR EFFECTS

In London, four main types of protests have taken place recently, expressing grievances about economic hardship and violations in the protesters' view against the right to the city. They include long term pacific peace camps, student protests against fee rises, spontaneous riots triggered by a police shooting, and Occupy lsx, a global resistance movement taken up in London. Other 'direct actions' in cities include those driven by necessity (use of intermediary and abandoned spaces, sleeping rough and squatting) and whatever the establishment understands under the notion of 'improper behaviour in public places'.[24]

4.1 Long term pacific protests in peace camps

Peace camps are not new in London. Their aim is to stay until they have obtained change. A memorable long term protest against apartheid was held in front of the South African embassy. The peace camp against various wars entered by the UK unjustly in the perception of the protesters was started by Brian Haw[25] in 2001. He and followers have settled in front of the parliament until February 2012, when the government has finally managed to change the law to evict the protesters, [26] a move very much contested by those who defend freedom of speech and human rights.

Peace camps are deliberately non aggressive. Exposed to seven million tourists per year, the camp on Parliament Square was disturbing for the establishment which sometimes clamped down on protesters disproportionately.[27] Haw claimed that "the question is not what is wrong but when are we all going to stop what we know is wrong". He called for evolution, not revolution. Yet, the war in Iraq went ahead, UK

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[19] This reversal of the environmental determinist paradigm has been developed by Manuel Castells. (1972) 1977 (translation by Alan Sheridan). The Urban Question, a Marxist approach. Edward Arnold.

[20] Evening Standard. 23/01/12. p 19

[21] Evening Standard 18 January 2012, p 9

[22] http://occupylsx.org/

[23] Edward W Soja. 2010. Seeking Spatial Justice. University of Minnesota Press.

[24] James Q Wilson. The Urban unease. In: The Public Interest, Summer 1968, pp 26-27 based on a survey carried out in Boston in 1967, quoted by Manuel Castells in The Wild City.

[25] Brian Haw was an astute protester who managed to contest the various attempts of government to evict him. He died of cancer in 2011 at 62. He said that 'The marchers should not just have one day out in the sunshine, they should stay".

[26] The central government and now the mayor of London are prohibiting even taking photographs, something which may not be enforceable on millions of yearly tourists.

[27] Two young women, Maya Eans and Milan Rai who read out names of civilian victims of the Iraq war in front of 10 Downing Street, the seat of the Prime Minister were arrested.

soldiers stay on in Afghanistan and political positions regarding Iran and other countries 'of national interest' remain open.

What have peace camps achieved? Concerning South Africa it could be argued that peace camps in front of embassies were creating political consciousness and embarrassment, thus contributed to the end of Apartheid. In the case of the anti-war protests, they have irritated politicians, the London mayoralty and the local authority, but whether and to what extent they contributed to the change of mind of some politicians on military interventions is doubtful. Nevertheless, peace camps prolong the debate on the right to protest in the public realm against the right to space of others.

4.2 Student protests

The London student protests were triggered by a single interest, the massive increase of university fees. This differed from the far wider claims made by the 1968 student revolt in France which aimed at social change perceived as a common cause with workers.

Forcing students into high debts at a time when political austerity measures were seeking to curb state and personal debts was considered an indefensible contradiction. The students staged sit-ins at universities and took to the streets in organised marches sanctioned by the establishment. The tactics used during the marches differed. The police ignored the initial march until opportunistic infractions into buildings and street fights got out of hands. During the second march police presence was overwhelming and interventionist, but during the third march nimble IT assisted protesters in dispersing into several smaller demonstrations and disbanding them before the police could respond.

The protesters were not a homogeneous group, nor were their perceived opponents, university administrations and the police on behalf of the state. Represented only in part by their trade union, students did not agree on a unified approach to their protests, as became apparent during the marches. While the majority was in favour of peaceful demonstrations, some factions resorted to scuffles, and anarchists, agents provocateurs and other trouble makers infiltrated the marches to use them as an opportunity for violent behaviour. Police kettling was denounced as unjustified institutional violence and draconian punishments were considered disproportionate.

What had student protests achieved? The fee increases were implemented, many universities even used the maximum £ 9,000 fees per annum as a norm. Grants and other support systems were cut and the only concession was that fees did not have to be paid up-front and that repayment was conditional to future income, no guarantee to attract more students from modest backgrounds.

4.3 Summer riots

In August 2011 an initially peaceful local protest march was organised in London against police killing a local inhabitant Mark Duggan to demand justice for the family. This was soon followed by rioting, looting, arson, physical attacks and civil disorder. Aided by BlackBerry Messenger services news and rumours sparked off violent riots in several other London districts, destroying homes, businesses and vehicles and looting shops for four days leading to millions of pounds of damages, injuries, two deaths and spreading to England albeit not to Scotland. A greatly increased police presence made hundreds of arrests, the courts issued harsh punishments and the riots eventually died down.

Although these riots reminded the 1980s confrontations with the black population in Brixton, the current events were not seen to being racially motivated. The riots were unanimously condemned and many were taken aback by their intensity, motivation and mixed participation. Not everyone agreed with the instant judgement of the government that the cause was "a broken society in moral collapse"[28] and many contested the notion of a 'feral underclass'. Academic debates identified contributing factors as socio-economic causes, unemployment and spending cuts, social media and gang culture, as well as criminal opportunism, but also chronic worklessness, illiteracy, truancy, drug abuse and youth alienation, multiple deprivation, poverty and increasing gap between rich and poor. Poor policing and political indecisiveness were also seen as contributors, but fewer references were made to racial tensions, family breakdown and lack of male role

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[28] the words used by the Prime Minister David Cameron.

model, and David Lammy, the MP for Tottenham where the riots originated saw a connection with fatherless families which lack male role models.[29]

The popular press was quick to single out black male youth with criminal records but evidence proved that rioters with previous convictions were overestimated.[30] Feedback showed a very complex participation in the riots, including youngsters from wealthy backgrounds and adults, as well as parents who looted with their children, opportunistically joined by bystanders. While there was vigilantism and the popular press demanded punitive intervention, a large number of volunteers undertook clean-up operations in their local areas, some sign of social cohesion when in need.

How do these events equate with localism[31] and the Big Society, the twin prongs of the current coalition government? No public inquiry is planned to understand the complexity of these riots and how they could erupt so unexpectedly and violently. Nevertheless, the London School of Economics and Political Science has launched an investigation with the Guardian newspaper with a grant from a charitable trust.[32] Meanwhile the metropolitan police is engaging in a campaign against gang culture. Both the peace camps and the student protesters distanced themselves from the riots while some social interest groups and individuals attempted to understand their causes.

Many made a link between the behaviour of the establishment, the ruthlessness of the financial sector which brought about the economic crisis and the impunity with which the rich and powerful were able to return to privileges and unearned rewards. Many were outraged by the light touch members of parliament received for fiddling their expenses, the callousness with which phone hacking was trivialised, the cosy relation which prevailed between power bases, politicians, the police and the media, the ostentatious exposure of wealth and ease of writing off a lost generation, all factors which are cumulatively eroding authority among the silent majority.

For a number of critics this amounts to resentment of the establishment. For Alan Woods[33] riots are an expression of impotent rage which wears off as the state apparatus recovers its poise, although in his view none of the political parties are on the right track to tackle the causes of these riots. For Dick Pountain[34] the fact that the establishment was helping itself to public goods led the excluded to justify their disrespect for property of others. In his view, the digital economy is contributing to this as it erodes the concept of property "as a relationship between persons about things", thereby blurring the vision of the young between digital and material reality. Competitive consumerism and brand fetishism reinforces public perception of a two track justice system, unfair sharing of the austerity burden, and breeds a feeling of individual powerlessness.

What was the outcome of these riots? Vox populi was demanding repression to counter the erosion of the established order. The establishment was clamping down harder on the 'undeserving' poor and the idle, increasing deregulation and curbing health and safety measures. Ironically, both sides accuse each other of greed and criminality.[35] Both sides also call for more self-governance, albeit with different meanings: on the government side to shrink the state and reduce redistribution, on the revolt side to achieve greater personal empowerment.

4.4 Occupy lsx London

Occupy lsx (London Stock Exchange) forms part of a global protest movement which started on 15 October 2011 in many cities throughout the world,[36] the most visible being OWSm Occupy Wall Street in Zuccoti Park in New York. In London Occupy wanted to establish itself in front of the stock exchange, but the square

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[29] David Lammy. 2011. Out of the Ashes, Britain after the riots. Guardian books.

[30] e.g statistics quoted on BBC New UK on 24 October 2011. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-15426720

[31] Localism Act 2011. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/20/contents/enacted

[32] http://londonist.com/2011/12/analysing-the-london-riots.php

Analysis of London riots, LSE and Guardian, supported by the Josef Rowntree Trust. (Interim report 05/12/11).

[33] http://www.neocodex.us/forum/topic/108651-the-london-riots-a-marxist-analysis/. Alan Woods, 9 August 2011, The riots in Britain, a warning to the bourgeoisie

[34] http://www.pcpro.co.uk/features/371011/london-riots-why-pirates-share-the-blame-with-parents. Dick Pountain, 7 November 2011, London riots, which pirates share the blame with parents

[35] http://www.neocodex.us/forum/topic/108651-the-london-riots-a-marxist-analysis/

[36] e.g. in Europe: Amsterdam stock exchange, Rotterdam Beurs World Trade Center, Ljubljana Congres Square, Dusseldorf Deutsche Bank, London St Paul's.

Paris Bourse, Brussels (8000 people), Antwerp, Berlin (8000 people), Zuerich Paradeplatz, etc. In Spain the indignados occupied Barcelona (400,000 people), Madrid (500,000 people) and other cities.

which has been privatised during urban regeneration was cordoned off as indicated by the poster "Paternoster Square remains closed indefinitely".[37] Occupy settled opposite the neighbouring St Paul's Cathedral instead. They also created a tent site in Finsbury Square and set up the 'Bank of Ideas'[38] nearby in an empty building owned by UBS, a Swiss bank. Except in New York and London most Occupy groups managed to stay only for a short period. Many continue online though and are networked globally.

The goal of the Occupy movement was to deal with inequality between the rich and powerful, the 1% and the other 99%. Occupy contests concentration of power in the banks, organisation of society around the accumulation of wealth, consumerism, violence, conformity and lack of real democracy in political decision making. Paul Mason wrote for the BBC that "what Occupy wants to do is much bigger than any single-issue campaign or cause. Its followers mean to limit the power of finance capital and build a more equal society, while rejecting the hierarchical methods of the political parties that once claimed to do so. In this sense the movement is a kind of replacement social democracy".[39] What others understood from the protestors is "that Occupy lsx is about creating a space for people to articulate arguments about the government's economic policy and its consequences: unemployment, increasingly expensive education, and the privatisation of the NHS. The vague sense of unease many of us feel is here, amplified and expressed".[40] Politicians and bankers remained conspicuously absent while many known figures agreed to speak in front of St Paul's[41] and many more participated in debates and self-management sessions in the Tent City University set up by Occupy lsx.

Deliberately bottom-up without identifiable leaders,[42] Occupy disoriented the Press which was expecting spokes persons, press releases and sound bites.[43] The politicians and the media accused them of having no demands, no proposals and no urgency, although they had reached consensus on ten principles early on.[44] Police branded Occupy lsx and UKuncut as terrorists.[45] When Occupy got media exposure politicians tried to fob them off by saying that they had made their point. Their persistence disturbed both the church which was ambiguous about its position and led three senior clerics to resign and the City Corporation which claimed that Occupy was obstructing the highway which was patently untrue. Although some officials showed up in

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[37] When I stood by the security barrier peering in, armed only with an iPhone, a security guard approaches menacingly. Curiously, the press release from Mitsubishi Estate – Paternoster Square's owners – is describing the square as a "public space." http://occupylsx.org/

[38] http://www.bankofideas.org.uk/events/

[39] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-15326636

[40] http://frontierpsychiatrist.co.uk/occupy-lsx-report/. 21/11/2011

[41] Among them Jesse Jackson, http://occupylsx.org/?p=2748 / Video – http://occupylsx.org/?p=2609; the Arch Bishop of Canterbury; Manuel Castells, http://www.thepolisblog.org/2011/11/manuel-castells-speaks-at-occupy-london.html; David Harvey, http://occupylsx.org/?p=1119 12/11/11; Doreen Massey at Bank of Ideas; Anna Minton in front of the royal courts of justice; Julian Assange,; Rob Hopkins from the Transition Movement and many more.

[42] For writings about such alternative governance structure see Carne Ross. 2011. The Leaderless Revolution. How ordinary people will take power and change politics in the 21st century. Simon & Schuster

[43] http://www.totalpolitics.com/blog/268367/what-occupy-lsx-are-getting-wrong.thtml

[44] This initial statement was collectively agreed by over 500 people on the steps of St Paul's on 26 October 2011. Like all forms of direct democracy, the statement will always be a work in progress and is used as a basis for further discussion and debate. http://occupylsx.org/?page_id=575

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

[45] http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk

the camp[46] the City finally managed to obtain an eviction order. Besides very visible personalities speaking up for Occupy in public, others participated in teach-outs, including the odd banker. Occupy also encouraged fun by accommodating music bands and welcomed other protest movements. They went out of their way to keep the camp orderly with chemical toilets, recycling bins, a kitchen,[47] a first aid facility, maintaining through passages, cleaning the space and trying to keep drugs and alcohol abuse at bay but accommodating the homeless.

Occupy refuted violence, remained courteous, obtained material help from sympathisers and were accepted by some surrounding businesses. Occupy see themselves as a group of likeminded people who join out of their free will, respect public common goals and leave the movement if they disagree with them. Occupy's wide ranging supporters were continuously discussing their purpose. This was seen by some observers as an act of performance, important in itself and actualising them in their own eyes. Thus the longer they managed to camp out the more successful they felt,[48] an important reason for the establishment to eject them.

"..the saga continues. But the clock also ticks. This week could see the end of Occupy lsx, or it could see the path cleared indefinitely. The external pressure on the movement has synced up neatly with internal conflict over its future, as Occupy tries to decide what its priorities are and which of its myriad aims it's going to have to drop for now".[49] Some say "Occupy has said all it can, done all it could ever hope to achieve and is coming to its natural end."[50]

Occupy lsx was evicted on 27 February 2012 from St Paul's and reduced to the site on the fringe of the financial Square Mile. Like many Occupy movements elsewhere, they plan to increase their online activities. Their objective is "Occupy 2.0", which includes pop-up camps, teach-outs and citizens programmes.[51] The test will be whether they will managed to achieve consensus about the use of their website and their future in general.[52]

From the very diverse comments it is clear that Occupy lsx has managed to stimulate debate on the inequitable effects of the economic crisis, but political action seems unlikely as the cohesion between financial capital, politics and the media shows no sign of waning.

5 EFFECTS OF URBAN PROTESTS ON CITY RE-MIXING AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Before dealing with effects of urban protests on remixing the city, it is necessary to establish what the four London protest movements have in common and what distinguishes them, also from past events in the 1960s and 1980s.

5.1 Outcome of current and past resistance manifestations

Where do the London protests stand now and where will they go? The anti-war peace camps are almost rooted out after ten years. No greater parliamentary controls have materialised over engaging in wars, and what the peace camps perceive as 'unjust wars' show no sign of waning. The student protests have died down without noticeable changes to student recruitment from more modest backgrounds and little easing of new financial conditions imposed by law. There may even be signs of increasing stratification between universities and less equal opportunity despite government utterances. Many summer rioters have ended in goal while many more are vilified. Police accountability remains questionable and material damages were

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[46] http://www.vice.com/en_uk/read/occupy-london-judge-tour-december This visitors included Cooper (for lsx) vs Wilkinson (for the city) Justice Keith Lindblom.

[47] Italian chef Alesandro Petruzzi, organizing a kitchen that provided 1,500 meals a day, insisted: 'I'm not political. I'm a trained chef. I know about health and safety. I decided to volunteer because this is something moral for me. I just want to be a good citizen.'

[48] http://www.demotix.com/hub/occupyworld.

[49] http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/oct/27/giles-fraser-occupy-london-st-pauls?intcmp=239

[50] http://www.totalpolitics.com/blog/268367/what-occupy-lsx-are-getting-wrong.thtml Dan Hodges 28/10/11.

[51] http://www.newint.org/blog/editors/2012/02/10/occupylsx-london-occupation-after-evictions/ mobilised by Jamie Kelsey-Fry, Naomi Colvin, Anthony Timmons and many others.

[52] This comment of an occupier shows Occupy's will to persevere: "No matter the differences between me and other occupiers - we each wake up on a cold hard ground in London because we believe there are solutions to be found. I don't think we can tell you what we want, but we can draw your attention to what is wrong, we can encourage a conversation about subjects previously kept quiet and we can work together with each other (as we are, in remarkable ways) to establish a real democracy within the group. This fledgling democracy has been a hard one to hatch but is evolving in surprisingly beautiful and simple ways. We are indeed BEING the change we wish to see. "

inflicted mostly on poor areas with insufficient government compensation for victims, worsening living conditions mainly among the deprived classes.[53] On 22 February 2012 the courts have sanctioned the order to evict Occupy lxs from the area in front of St Paul's. Globally the occupy movement seems to have slimmed down with no permanent camps remaining, and a retreat to digital networking. Occupy have raised some debate among the political class and were given some exposure in the media but they did not become a permanent discussion partner of the establishment.

Turning to the past, during the protests in Paris in May 1968 like now students, workers, minorities, sometimes dissidents among the establishment were claiming the right to the city. Then many countries were on a unique trajectory of growing wealth and prosperity while now long term economic stagnation is likely to affect large parts of an interdependent world, critically analysed by Harvey.[54] Then head-on confrontation led to bloody battles, while now awareness of violence triggers instant reactions of the establishment which in turn were opposed by networks of communication capable of mobilising solidarity and nimble action against perceived injustice, as pointed out by Marcuse.[55] The May 68' protests created resonances throughout the world, without the help of current ICT infrastructure and took many different forms. However, they died down, often with contrary effects to what the protesters had been fighting for. Later, the '68 movements gave rise to many retrospectives and evaluations.[56] Just like the protests of '68 and the race riots in the 1980s the London manifestations were short lived and fizzled out.

5.2 Common ground between protest movements past and present

Regardless of the apparent lack of effectiveness of these resistant movements it is worth investigating their common features and whether they have managed to provoke any urban change. What these movements had in common in the past as well as at present is to reach out for inspiration from activists, radical academics and political polemists. Some of them continue to contribute to resistance movements.[57] Others who had inspired previous movements were rediscovered[58] and new thinkers with political interests are addressing current reasons for resistance.[59]

From a substantive point of view, the demands of all these movements do not differ widely in their essence and they share many similarities with earlier social movements. They request greater equality, social and spatial justice, and in particular the right to the city. They want an inclusively public realm where all can exercise freedom of speech. Their broad grievances are with financial capitalism, reckless and greedy behaviour of the wealthy, lack of respect for the environment. Their claims include single pursuits like abolition of nuclear power or protection of the rain forests, as well as broad welfare objectives such as more jobs, eradication of poverty and better wealth distribution.

The protest movements took a range of forms and provoked mixed feelings among the participants as well as in society at large against which they protested. Although mainly peaceful, some of these protests degenerated into anger, aggression and rage by those who subscribe to violence, but they were also an

[53] Interim report by communities and victims panel chaired by Darra Singh http://riotspanel.independent.gov.uk/

[54] David Harvey. 1985. The Urbanization of Capital. Studies in the history and theory of capitalist urbanisation. Blackwell

[55] Peter Marcuse. 2009. Cities for People not for Profit. Routledge

[56] For a comprehensive analysis, see: Chris Harman. 1988, The Fire Last Time, 1968 and after, Bookmarks; Leurent Joffrin, 2008. Mai 68, une histoire du mouvement, Seuil; Serge Audier, 2008, La pensee anti-68, essai sur les origines d'une restauration intellectuelle, La Decouverte.

[57] ; e.g. Noam Chomsky, Anarchism today, http://anarchismtoday.org/, On Crisis and Hope: Theirs and Ours, 2009, Students should be anarchists, etc; Peter Marcuse, founder of Right to the City group, New York, linked to the Right to the City Alliance, co-sourced by the Planners Network; http://www.thenewsignificance.com/2011/10/24/peter-marcuse-what-%E2%80%9Coccupy%E2%80%9D-signifies-for-the-role-of-non-occupying-supporters/, What Occupy signifies for the role of non-occupying supporters; David Harvey, 1973, Social Justice and the City, Arnold; in The Enigma of Capital and the Crisis of Capitalism, 2010 Harvey argues that although resilient and inventive capitalism can overcome the crisis the anti-capitalist movement has an opportunity to put forward a realistic alternative to capitalism; Manuel Castells wrote La question urbaine, 1972, Francois Maspero after May '68, translated in 1977; They Urban Question, Arnold; he focuses on the contribution of social networks in Communication Power, 2010, Oxford University Press.

[58] e.g. Guy Debord, leader of the situationists defended anarchism through playful frivolous, ephemeral, irresponsible action: 1969, Societe et Spectacle; George Perec coined the notion of urban 'flaneur; and Daniel Cohn-Bendit stood for sexual freedom before turning to green issues; Michel Foucault wrote against authoritarianism, 1975, Surveiller et punir, Gallimard; Henri Lefebvre pleaded for the right to the city, 1967, Le droit a la ville. Editions anthroposL Jane Jacobs, 191, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Penguin, who denounces the failure of town planning and advocates community based city diversity.

[59] e.g. Alan Bennett Krueger, 2007, What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the toots of terrorism, Princeton University Press.

expression of frustration and envy of those who felt disenfranchised. Far from obtaining concessions these movements provoked backlashes, sometimes ending up in reactionary politics.

From the point of view of tactics used by these movements, many commentators saw modern communications technologies available to both sides of these protests[60] as the main difference between contemporary public manifestations and 20th century resistance movements, such as the protests of the nineteen-sixties and the race related riots of the nineteen-eighties. Alex Krotoski[61] refers to Manuel Castells, as one of the first sociologists of the internet, who considers that the more autonomous and rebellious a person's attitudes are, the more they use the internet; the more they use the internet, the more autonomous their lifestyle becomes. The Sukey communications network[62] is representative of technological support systems on the internet for such popular uses.

Virtual revolutions around the globe leave a rich trail of publicly available information which provides useful insight into the struggle of these unrests, including their internal inequality, incomprehension and inefficacy. 2.6 million tweets provided the background for an academic analysis of the London riots and their dynamic.[63] Krotoski studied the impact of global digital media and concluded that the ethical issues of resorting to information generated on the internet remain a moving target for both the establishment and grass root users, and sees the need for some consensus on ground rules for the use of this information glut.

In terms of human relations, what distinguishes past from present protest movements is that the absence of hierarchic leadership is more prominent now. It has become an irritation for the establishment which is ill equipped to negotiate with fragmented, loose, horizontal and constantly shifting networks of opponents.[64] Bottom-up direct democracy forms part of the objectives of alternative movements which contest autocratic authority, dominance of the strong over less aggressive groups, and of majority over minority rights. Their experimenting with alternative more decentralised governance has repercussions on the shape of urban living and the fabric which would best accommodate such self-management and self-reliance. It is surprising therefore, that in the UK it is the state should promote localism and it is doubtful that such 'state localism' is in agreement with local self-management of social movements.

5.3 Relation between resistance movements and urban change

The London movements may be too recent and many intriguing questions remain outstanding about their effects on the fabric and the use of the city. Why do such protest movements never seem to succeed in changing society towards their values and objectives? And why - despite their apparent failures - do such movements recur time and again?

The object of the paper is not a study of urban protests as such but their relation with urban remixing. What do these and past protests share and how do they differ in the way they may influence urban change? Referring to the 'urban question' and 'right to the city' debates, it could be argued that resistance movements are transforming the physical shape of the public realm and its meaning by their very presence in the public realm and their claim to equal rights of occupying urban spaces.

One approach to analyse such possible interactions is to relate the spatial dimension of riots to the spatial characteristics of the urban fabric where they take place. An example is The Space Syntax Network which has undertaken a 'crisis mapping analysis' of the London riots in 2011.[65] Their thesis is that overly complex spatial layouts of large post war housing estates with their underused spaces have an effect on social patterns. In their view, this urban fabric leads to social malaise and antisocial behaviour, reinforced by the presence of unsupervised children which creates a segregation of user groups. The study shows that the places where riots have occurred in London (84% in the north and 96% in the south) are within 400 m of established town centres and large post-war housing estates. Conversely, town centres without large post-war estates remained unaffected. They found that the majority of convicted rioters live on such estates. Critics query the socio-

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[60] For representative case studies see: Manuel Castells, 2010, Communication Power, Oxford University Press

[61] http://dmlcentral.net/blog/aleks-krotoski/internet-research-ethics-case-london-riots-analysis, Digital media and learning: the power of participation. Alex Krotoski 10/01/2012; Internet Research and Ethics: the case of the London riots analysis.

[62] http://www.sukey.org/

[63] Analysis of London riots, LSE and Guardian, supported by the Josef Rowntree Trust. (Interim report 05/12/11).

[64] Carne Ross. 2011. The Leaderless Revolution, How ordinary people will take power and change politics in the 21st century. Simon & Schuster

[65] http://irevolution.net/2011/10/16/crisis-mapping-london-riots/

economic assumptions underlying this analysis and the direct links between physical space configuration and social behaviour and attach greater importance to studying the relationship between rioting and socio-economic deprivation.[66]

Often social resistance is disturbing the physical comfort zone of the establishment. When manifestations take to the streets they are accused of being eyesores and, more importantly, an impediment to the 'right to the city' of the majority. The response of the establishment, often confounded with anti-terrorism measures, is eviction and a paraphernalia of physical measures, such as bollards, fences, barriers, CCTV, anti-social urban furniture, sloping public benches with divisions, etc. Most alarmingly though, the planning process is assisting land and real estate owners in gating the public realm. Far from enriching spatial mix, or remixing the city in favour of greater diversity of the urban fabric as well as its use, these responses are creating more spatial segregation through privatising public realm and increasing the scale of excluded private spaces. Contested by writers like Anna Minton[67] such 'ground controls' are contradicting the intentions and meanings of movements which claim social and spatial justice.

Some are considering protest movements from the point of view of urban change when exploring alternative urbanisms. For example the UGRG concentrated on Alternative urbanisms.[68] Many contributions focused on alternative praxis, such as urban resilience strategy, enhancing community ownership in the Big Society and advocated voluntarism, philanthropy and social action with focus on localism. Papers analysed adaptive and self-reliant communities and place-led responses and concluded that reliance on self help and collective ownership requires a robust organisational infrastructure.[69] Some refer back to the demands of the situationists, which would create an unitary urbanism. They look at the spatial dimension of self organising architecture and how it redefines the notion of the commons, understood by Guattari[70] as conflating environment, social relations and individual and collective subjectivities. For them self-managed spaces enable alternative production of space, as a cultural social action and a challenge of homogeneous and hegemonic structures.[71] Others imagine the city as a refuge for political justice in the urban.[72] Squatting in Berlin in the late seventies and early eighties[73] is seen as a form of critical urbanism based on 'separation'[74] and is explored as an instrument for wider urban change. Mutualism practiced by the Transition Towns was also explored as an engine of change of the urban fabric.[75]

If urbanism incorporates a dialectic of crisis and reform, it could become a programme of reform[76] in which protest movements would have an inherent place in the city. Looking at all these alternatives the question remains whether they amount to urban resilience which could have a comprehensive impact on the man-made environment and its uses, as opposed to purely biological resilience such as resistance to physical hazards in urban planning?[77]

6 CONCLUSION

Optimistic views of urban change enacted in urban visions and movements are countered by feelings of powerlessness and disillusionment. The latter contribute to the waning of protest movements owing to police clamp downs and new legislation which supports physical exclusion from public spaces. Coming back to the initial theme of whether remixing the city can lead to more sustainability and resilience, and whether such resilience includes the right to the city for all, it appears from the evidence of resistance movements presented here that such social resilience and resistance seems to have only tenuous impact on the urban

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[66] e.g. Adam White, GroupShot; and MPs on toxic mix that led to violence http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/aug/08/london-riots-mps-toxic-mix

[67] Anna Minton. 2012. Ground Control, fear and happiness in the 21st century city. Penguin (new edition forthcoming); http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/oct/26/private-spaces-protest-occupy-london

[68] See paper presented at the Urban Geography Research Group conference in London in 2010.

[69] Hon Coaffee & Rob Rowlands, Mutualism as an urban resilience strategy: enhancing community ownershi in the 'Big Society'.

[70] Felix Guiattari. The Three Ecologies. In: New Formations, no 8, summer 1989.

[71] Sam Vardi, self-managed spaces, alternative production of space.

[72] Jonathan Darling. Imagining the city of refuge.

[73] Alexander Vasudevan. The squatted city, critical urbanisms and the politics of separation in Berlin 1979-1984

[74] as postulated by Antonio Negri in his movies 'a revolt that never ends'

[75] e.g. http://transitionculture.org/ and In Transition 2.0

[76] Ross Exo Adams. The problem with an alternative.

[77] David Godschalk. Natural Hazard Mitigation, creating resilient cities. Natural Hazards Review, November 2003.

fabric. Conversely, mainstream urban regeneration and gentrification are progressing steadily.[78] If anything, the efforts and aspirations of global movements seem to provoke greater restrictions on the use of the city expressed in fragmentation, gating and surveillance of the public realm, the very place where urban change towards more open cities should occur.

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[78] Such mainstream progress of urban development is confirmed in Greg Clark's forthcoming reassessment of the London World City report of 1991, HMSO 'London World City, 20 Years on'; and by Eric Sorensen, ex civil servant, ex-CEO of London Docklands Development Corporation and Thames Gateway, now director of Central London Forward who dismissed the current resistance movements as irrelevant at an LSE seminar on London urban policies 12/02/2012.