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Miza Moreau

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COP26 protests in Glasgow: encountering crowds and the city

Miza Moreau

School of Geographical and Earth Sciences, East Quadrangle, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with both the affective and material dimensions of encounters among people, and between people and the city, during the COP26 summit in Glasgow, focusing on protest activities that aimed to engage the broader public. The discussion draws from my participation in, and observations of, two protests, the Youth Activist Climate March and the Climate Activist March, and observations of changes in public open spaces in Glasgow for COP26. Fieldwork street photography was instrumental in this study for discovering diverse encounters that were sometimes too transient to register through observations alone. It was deployed as a heuristic method, drawing from personal 'in the moment' experiences of the protests, as well as theories of public space and urban morphology, with the aim to discover how changing interactions between bodies and material spaces temporarily reconfigured Glasgow's public realm. By making material/social relationships more transparent, this paper aims to address shortcomings in protest literature through addressing the material specificity of urban space. I argue that the diversity of Glasgow's urban spaces enabled varied engagement with protest activities, among protesters, and between protesters and onlookers, and as a result created an overall inclusive, affective experience.

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Anticipating and encountering COP26

The UN climate summit COP26 held in Glasgow during early-November 2021 was a highly anticipated event, described as 'make or break' and 'last chance' to commit to changes that would save the world from an environmental disaster. Taking place in the midst of the COVID-19 global pandemic, anticipation of the summit was intensely emotionally charged. In the lead up to COP26, Glasgow was preparing to receive international delegates and expecting protesters as they accompanied previous COP summits. Protests disrupt typical uses of public spaces and temporarily create new material real-life sites for what might be termed political deliberation between the state and its citizens. Protests are also individually experienced through both affective encounters among strangers and with transformations in the material properties – the layouts, access-

CONTACT Miza Moreau Miza.moreau@glasgow.ac.uk School of Geographical and Earth Sciences, East Quadrangle, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK

points, sight-lines, surfaces, street furniture and much more – of the city. Examining such phenomena offers a window into more immediate, on the street, so to speak, experiences of COP26 that intersect the official proceedings of a COP event with individual emotions and beliefs. The spatial manifestation of this juncture, while temporal in nature, also reveals new urban geographies that are inscribed through affective and material encounters of strangers and their procession through public open spaces.

The precise focus of this paper is on protest activities of COP26 that were planned and/or publicly promoted, where everyone was encouraged to get involved, as was the case with the Youth Activist Climate March and the Climate Activist March. These two marches were not the only protests happening during COP26, but other protests, while arguably aiming to achieve similar end-results, employed different approaches in their activism. They relied on affiliation to specific groups to know when, where, and how protest activities would happen. Examples of activities in this respect included site-specific protest performances by Extinction Rebellion, such as a funeral ceremony for COP summit at the Glasgow Necropolis, and Scientist Rebellion activists chaining themselves to the King George V Bridge to stop traffic. The protest activities that are the focus of this paper instead engaged citizens across a spectrum of backgrounds; no allegiances to activist groups were necessary and any concerned citizen could be a participant in either or both of the activist protests in view. The paper draws from my participation in, and observations of, these protests, set alongside fieldwork observations of changes that occurred in Glasgow for COP26. These changes were temporary and relatively small-scale appropriations of urban spaces, but they altered mobility patterns, established new zones of inclusion and exclusion (see also Parr, 2022, this issue), and created new sites of possibility and maybe resistance (see also Sutherland, 2022, this issue). People – if not first-time visitors to Glasgow – encountered these urban spaces in a new way, altering typical mobility patterns and everyday activities.

Fieldwork photographs were instrumental in this study, not only for recording but also for discovering diverse encounters that were sometimes too transient to register through observation alone. Participating in COP26 protest marches was both a cognitively and emotionally charged experience. Fieldwork note-taking alone was not sufficient for recording my observations of fleeting encounters among people and their encounters with city spaces and places. Fieldwork photography enabled me to capture the phenomena that Judith Butler describes as how:

> … bodies in their plurality lay claim to the public, find and produce the public through seizing and reconfiguring the matter of material environments; at the same time, those material environments are part of the action, and they themselves act when they become the support for action. (Butler, 2015, p. 71)

The camera is a mundane apparatus, commonly used in urban research as a tool for recording; but in ethnographic research, like this study, photographs not only record but also interrogate the subject of study. I went to COP26 protest marches without a preconceived plan of what to photograph; rather, I allowed my experience of active participation to guide me. I wanted to march in climate action protests as a citizen voicing my concerns; however, I was aware that such *voicing* primarily involved a bodily presence in the crowd, occupying Glasgow's familiar public spaces in new ways.

The fieldwork photographs hence emerged from the intersection of my cognitive concerns and embodied encounters during the protests. The potential meanings of the photographs arose from subsequent reviews of them, informed by my experience of the protests, and paying special attention to interactions between fluid protest encounters and the material specificity of Glasgow's urban spaces. While physical space is frequently mentioned in protest literature, it is often thinly described. I deployed photography as a heuristic method, drawing from personal 'in the moment' experiences of the protests, as well as theories of public space, with the aim to discover how changing interactions between bodies and material spaces reconfigured Glasgow's public realm. My approach to the use of photography as a research method aligned with Suchar's view that 'photography's documentary potential is not inherent in photographs, but rather lies in an interactive process whereby photographs are used as a way of answering or expanding on questions about a particular subject' (Suchar, 1997, p.34). This paper is therefore quite deliberately a partial photo-essay, conjoined with textual interpretations, revisiting a methodology equally represented in critical human geography and practical urban design that has been with us for a while, but perhaps has received insufficient attention for what it can still disclose and how it may still surprise (Pyyry et al., 2021; Wolfe, 2016).

Regarding the ethical considerations of photographing protests, the photographs included here are just a minute fraction of the publicly available images of the COP26 marches. A casual internet search attests to the abundance of available images as photographing people in public spaces is legal in the UK. Both protests were intensely photographed events, and everyone could be a photographer while also appearing as an unwitting subject in the photographs of others (myself included). Cameras were ever-present throughout the marches – journalists, artists, activists, and researchers all documenting their impressions – although the photographers whom I encountered most often were everyday citizens taking selfies and snapshots of protest crowds with their smartphones, which were then posted, shared, and liked on social media. The virtual space of social media was an extension of Glasgow's material protest spaces; similarly, the photographs presented here extend COP26 protests into the realm of scholarly discussion.

Before focusing on the protest marches, this paper illustrates firstly how different political voices and agendas territorialised Glasgow's public spaces in the lead-up to the COP26 summit. The discussion on COP26 protests then examines the interdependent relationships between social encounters among the protesters and the morphology of city spaces. Tracing the routes of the marches, the paper examines how these relationships evolved with changing morphological conditions. Strangers with similar motivations coming together temporarily re-defined Glasgow's public spaces into a space of political deliberation that expressed disdain for business-as-usual, and rather empathy and care for one another.

Mixed messages and spaces of COP26

The urban experience is a product of encounters among strangers in space and time. The 'physical environment is neither deterministic nor irrelevant to human behavior', writes Anderson (1986, p. 267), but rather the physical environment is engaged in a complex configuration of activities and meanings for individuals and groups. For Merrifield

(2012), drawing from Althusser and Lefebvre, the urban experience is both the site and the encounter:

> … within the urban, within its plane of capitalist immanence, we encounter an assembly of objects, an assembly of people and activity; we encounter a virtual object that creates a real and prospective site for sustained and newer superimposed encounters … (Merrifield, 2012, p. 272).

COP26 protests necessitated encounters among strangers at a time when social encounters, even among close kin, were significantly limited due to various rules and restrictions put in place to mitigate the public health impacts of COVID-19. In the physical space of Glasgow, there were various reminders about safer social encounters (e.g. keeping physical distance), practices (e.g. wearing facemasks) and risk mitigations (e.g. mobile testing centers). COVID-19 also changed some protest practices. Prior to the pandemic, wearing a facemask during a protest was regarded as an act of concealing one's identity, and in many situations was illegal or at least regarded as provocative by the police. However, during COP26, face coverings were widespread and one of the measures deployed to mitigate spread of the virus. Not only were facemasks common among the protesters, but also among most of the police officers (Figure 1). The UK government COVID-19 guidelines also had a significant impact on international travel, allowing travelers with only certain types of vaccine certificates to enter the UK. Due to this, a large number of delegates from the Global South were ineligible to attend COP 26, making the Glasgow summit the most exclusive COP meeting in the eyes of many.

Paradoxically, COP26's slogan was 'uniting the world to tackle climate change', emphasising cooperation, but the COVID-19 global pandemic made more visible that not everyone is in an equal position to tackle a global environmental crisis or to have their voices heard. This message of cooperation was interpretated differently by

Figure 1. Masked policet at the COP26 protest march.

different groups (Jacobs, 2022). For some, it gestured toward a need and desire for societal innovation and restructuring, a call for climate justice that was clearly reflected in protest slogans and signs. For others, working together meant creating new business opportunities through innovation, which some perceived as 'greening of capitalism' (Jacobs, 2022). In the vicinity of the COP26 meeting zone, both messages could be found: banners that promoted investment banking as a sustainable business alongside Extinction Rebellion posters calling out the complicity of COP26 in welcoming businesses whose practices are arguably the root cause of climate change (Figure 2).

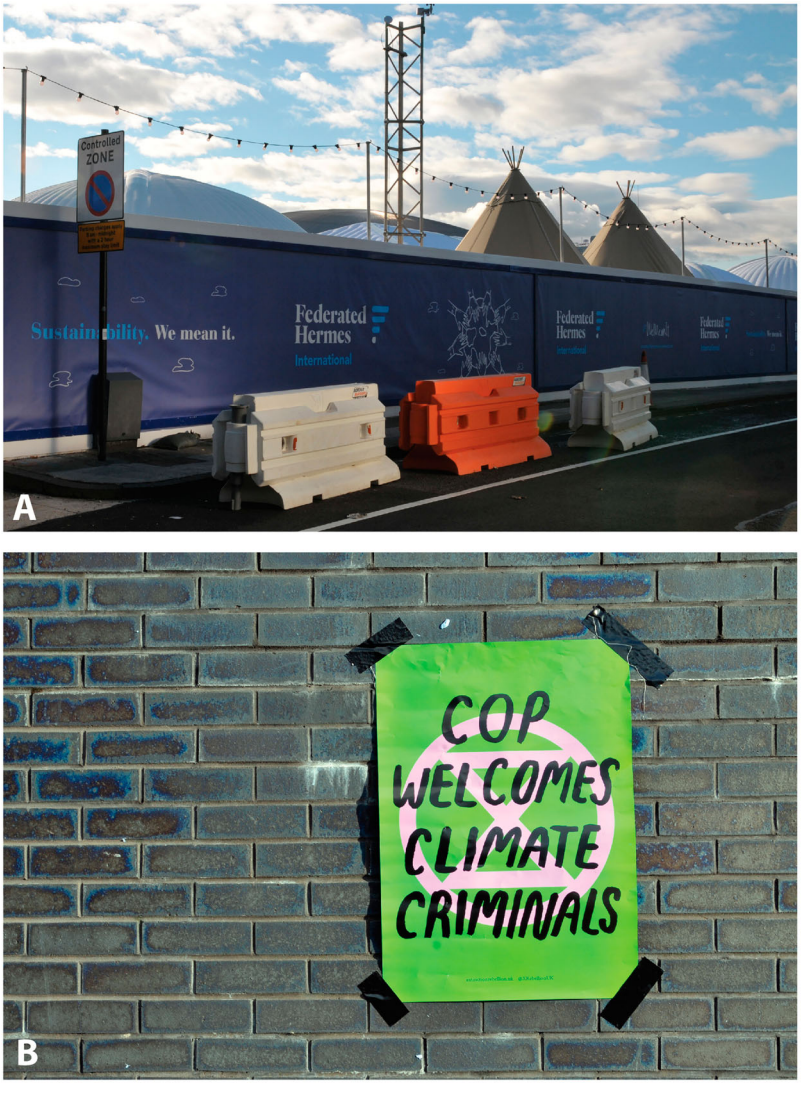

Figure 2. Banners from the investment bank declaring their commitment to sustainability (A) and an Extinction Rebellion poster (B) in close proximity; both were found just outside the COP26 meeting zone.

Walking Glasgow's streets as the city was preparing to host the climate summit, it was clearly evident that the narrative around COP26 was manifold, with numerous different voices and messages evident, more or less overtly. In the lead-up to the summit, Glasgow City Council formally branded the city streets with displays and banners as a proud host of COP26 on behalf of the UK Government, such as the street light pole in Figure 3. Simultaneously, on the same pole and below the *official* banners, grassroots flyers were posted questioning the state and police response to COP protests. These two messages

Figure 3. Street light pole with different COP26 messages.

occupied the same urban element, a ubiquitous streetlight. Above ground, at the top, was a graphic display linking the UK Government and planet Earth, stylised to be legible from a distance and moving cars. At eye level and legible to those moving on foot were small grassroots posters that asked people to consider the role played by the state in enabling or constraining open dialogue, protest, and dissent (Figure 3). This streetlight pole was a small-scale embodiment of multiple and often opposing messages surrounding COP26. These messages occupied the same physical space, but were existing in parallel dimensions, appealing to different audiences and contexts.

Deploying and energising urban space

My initial interest in COP26 and its impact on Glasgow came not from the political implications of the summit, but from disruptions to everyday life that the summit and its associated activities and crowds were expected to cause. Glasgow was hosting a global meeting that aimed to create solutions for a shared environmental crisis, but locally the summit was expected to bring disruption to Glaswegians' daily lives. In preparation for COP26, the Glasgow City Council issued a series of maps that showed road closures with expected disruptions to daily journeys for each day of the summit. There were also maps with suggested alternative routes, based on known information about typical traffic flow and usage. Having both disruptions and mitigations shown on maps was reassuring, because the disruptions that the summit was expected to cause seemed under control. On the other hand, COP26 protests, even those that were planned and publicly announced ahead of time, were a source of concern and anxiety for Glaswegians. Police Scotland announced that 10,000 police officers, from Scotland and other UK police services, would be deployed on the streets of Glasgow each day for the duration of the COP summit.

McFarlane (2020) argues that massing of people in protest crowds evokes a powerful political voice demanding change, but can also be seen as an unpredictable and dangerous force. Thus it was rather predictable that many Glaswegians felt anxious about protests, and some everyday activities in inner Glasgow were postponed or moved online for the duration of COP26. The University of Glasgow, for example, moved some of its classes online (decisions were made by individual schools), and some primary and secondary schools offered online attendance for the duration of COP26. Many of these concerns about the two protest marches discussed here did not materialise; in fact, to large extent, COP26 turned out to be a *non-event* for those outside of the meeting zone and protest routes. The surprise act of the 100,000-strong protest crowd was that it marched through Glasgow without serious clashes with the police. Protesters were even 'praised' by the police (BBC News, 2021) for their 'good nature' and for not causing disruptions to the city. This paper is not concerned with passing moral judgement on good *versus* bad protest(ers); rather, the interest here is on the temporal experiences of encountering protest, on encountering crowds in different urban spaces.

While COVID-19 made international travel restrictive and social interaction in general more reclusive and exclusive, at the scale of the protest, Glasgow COP26 marches were gender and age inclusive making it seem like anyone could participate. Routledge (2012) describes shared performance activism, which he calls 'sensuous

solidarities', and in the COP26 protests in Glasgow there was plenty of performative engagement. There were performances, dances, chants, artworks and banners, but there were also those who engaged in protests and encountered others through auxillary activities – legal aid advice, first aid help, providing food, litter picking, selling paraphernalia, and more (Figure 4). In protests, such shared bodily and affective encounters create shared memories that have transformative potential on personal and collective levels (Routledge, 2012). In some instances, the primary experience of the protests was not

Figure 4. Different participants in COP26 protest marches: (A) media, (B) leader in protest chants, (C) drummers and dancers, (D) children engaged in participatory activity, (E) free cycle rickshaw for those too tired to walk, (F) informal trader selling flags and whistles, (G) community liaison police officers and a protestor warning others not to speak to them as they are collecting intelligence, (H) free food brought to protesters.

in marching, but in encountering protest crowds as observers and service providers, which sometimes turned people into unplanned participants (on which I elaborate further in the following section). In their study of knowledge, emotions and motivations behind climate strikes, Martiskainen et al. (2020) show that emotions (hope, fear, anxiety) are the most powerful and predictable drivers for involvement in climate strikes. Cognitive knowledge, on the other hand, how much people actually knew about climate change, was a poor indicator for participation. I did not know how much the protesters knew about climate change science or policy, nor did I presume to know what emotions they held individually. But what was easy to see from the embodied protest geographies was the display of emotions exemplified by posters, chants, and movements – anger, elation, fear, hope, and much more.

The protests were a constellation of micro-scalar engagements among people (predominantly strangers), their desires, and city spaces that were created for various purposes but not for protests. While the Youth Activist Climate March was led by youth activists, it was not exclusively for the young and hence potentially anyone could participate. The Climate Activist March was an all-ages protest, having a family-friendly atmosphere. Each individual was a small fragment of the crowd, interacting with and responding to the activities of others and adapting to the material changes of urban spaces. In Figure 4 there is a small sample of activities that were part of COP26 marches, and many of these did not directly involve *marching* but were informed by it and/or informed the protest marching experiences of others. For example, some found respite in a free cycle rickshaw if tired (Figure 4 E), or got louder after they bought a whistle (Figure 4 F), while others changed their minds about how to interact with community liaison police officers (Figure 4G).

Protest geographies

The physical space of the city is not a passive vessel for human activity, and protests and marches are not exceptions. Focusing on Occupy London, Halvorsen (2017) discusses how even a global movement like Occupy was tied to physical space. The Occupy London protest camp was a place-based strategy of resistance, which eventually adopted spatial hierarchies of dominant institutions that were internalised in mundane material practices (Halvorsen, 2017). Spatial practices of resistance cannot entirely exist outside mundane, albeit arguably to a large extent institutionalised, spatial norms and practices. While protest marches are more transient in nature than Occupy camps, the choice of sites and routes of protests are still tied to the institutions that these protests are resisting. In a study of protests in New York from 1960–2006, Rafail (2018) identifies that their locations were tied to 'powerful institutional targets,' but that such spaces are also increasingly more privatised. The study also shows that physical space itself had to be favorable for accommodating large gatherings and have easy access. Salmenkari (2009, p. 258) adds that protests also 'use a city's geography to open public sphere for exchanging ideas,' where political deliberation between protest and the state happens on an urban site. Obviously, the political motivations behind protests are rarely instigated by physical space, although in some instances, such as the Taksim Gezi Park protest in Istanbul, were directly informed by issues connected to the space in question. Writing on protests in Hong Kong, McFarlane (2020) discusses how activists

evoked Bruce Lee's quote 'be like water' to emphasise the adaptability of protestors to a changing context under police pressure. The protest crowd in itself does not have a shape, but rather takes the shape of its context, including the morphology and the material properties of urban space. The protest crowd pours through the city spaces (like water) and has the capacity to take whatever shape is needed to adapt to new situations (e.g. police barricades) because it does not have centrality.

The COP26 protest marches managed to hold simultaneously radical potential and conventionally acceptable norms. Both COP26 protests that are discussed in this paper, the Youth Climate Activist March and the Climate Activist March, started in Kelvingrove Park, a large nineteenth-century Victorian Park, Glasgow's first purpose-designed municipal park. Typical for park design of that time, Kelvingrove was intended to provide a pastoral and healthy contrast to the filth and troubles of industrial city, as well as to boost faith in municipal government (Maver, 1998). The Youth Activist Climate March happened (not?) coincidentally during the day of Guy Fawkes Night, 5th November, finishing at George Square in front of Glasgow City Chambers, a large public square routinely used for various civic, cultural, and political events and gatherings. The sites of protests are strategically chosen (Salmenkari, 2009; Rafail, 2018), and George Square in Glasgow has a long history of protests as a site of political power. While Guy Fawkes Night commemorates a failed Gunpowder Plot to raze the House of Parliament in London, the depiction of Guy Fawkes on masks has been commonly used in recent years by various groups protesting against politicians and financial institutions across the globe. The Guy Fawkes mask could simultaneously invoke radical activism and popular culture, as its stylised depiction comes from the comic strip and film *V for Vendetta*. The Youth Activist March was similarly a coupling of celebrity activism (e.g. Greta Thunberg) and grassroots voices. Having the protest coinciding with Guy Fawkes Night, but without protesters wearing his mask, suggested a radical potential while also staying within the realm of what is considered conventionally acceptable. The second protest, Climate Activist March, that happened the next day on 6th November, followed a similar route, starting at Kelvingrove Park, going to George Square and then continuing to Glasgow Green, another large park. Glasgow Green, which has served the people of Glasgow as a public open space since the fifteenth-century, started as a commons that evolved into a large urban park historically used for demonstrations and suffragette meetings. In large open areas of both parks, the marches were able to develop various mini-enclaves, accommodating the flow of the protest but also vendors, art installations, and participatory activities, allowing multiple groups to occupy the space differently (Figure 4 A,D,F,H).

A protest crowd in public space is not an everyday assembly of people, yet how the crowd appropriated Glasgow's spaces during the marches was informed by everyday usage. The protesters were moving on foot and upon reaching the city streets they abided by the established mobility rules. The road was used by the fastest moving protesters, those marching and sometimes dancing at a steady speed. Sidewalks were used by those who wished to slow down, still moving along with the march, but with options to stop without impeding the movement of those coming from behind (Figure 5A). Any elevated area, like the parked tow truck in Figure 5B**,** became a platform from which to observe the march and take a picture or a video. Interfaces between buildings and streets, the transition zones between public and private realms, have long been

Figure 5. Different zones of the public realm enabled different ways to engage with the COP26 protests (A) layering of the public realm - street, sidewalk, building interfaces (thresholds) (B) parked tow truck was used to observe protest and take pictures, (C) stoops of terrace houses were used to observe protest marches on the street.

regarded to play a vital role in street life, such as social and commercial exchanges (Dovey, 2015). Interfaces also played a distinct purpose during the protest marches (see also Sutherland, 2022, this issue). Terrace houses and their stoops offered elevated areas to step away from the moving crowd but still be connected to it (Figure 5C). Stevens (2007) calls these places 'thresholds', originally designed for fleeting use of transitioning between two different types of spaces (public / private). When the surrounding conditions of these places changed, so did the nature and function of the threshold. During COP26 protest marches, streets were streams of people, to echo a previous reference to water, and each second offered a different view of groups, posters, and chants. The building stoop thresholds became prized locations from which to observe the marches, but still feel part of the collective experience.

The protest crowd filled the entire right of way of the street, molding into and around micro-scalar urban crevices, and where the city was porous, seeping into and out of buildings. The complexity and layering of different kinds of urban spaces – roads, sidewalks, building interfaces (stoops, facades, windows) – enabled different kinds of participation in and experience of the protests. Those in buildings were drawn to the marches without needing to leave their homes. Buildings with windows that could open and were not too far from the ground were porous to protests and the emotions of the crowd. The photograph in Figure 6 shows one instance where people were sitting in their windows, joining the space of the protest as much as their bodies would allow them, without leaving their apartments. Was this always the plan? Were they gradually drawn out to their windows? Did they eventually join the march? I am posing these questions not so much because I am interested in the precise answers, but rather to consider the variety of encounters that were potentially being afforded.

When the protest crowd came to the headquarters building of Scottish Power[1], how the crowd occupied – or to be more correct, how the protest crowd was expected to

Figure 6. People sitting in their windows in support of the COP26 protest march.

Figure 7. Masked police and barricades in front of Scottish Power headquarters building during the COP26 protest.

encounter this urban space – changed. Whereas in residential areas of Glasgow with tenement[2] and terrace houses, protesters could fill the entire space of the right-of-way, around the Scottish Power headquarters the crowd was channeled away from the building. The barricades, seen in Figure 7, demarcated the area where the protesters could and could not go. Police officers standing behind the barriers added an additional layer of separation between protesters and the Scottish Power headquarters. The sidewalk was no longer a part of the public realm absorbed in the protest, it was a zone where political deliberation was excluded.

While both protests ended with political rallies and speeches, only a fraction of protesters remained at George Square for the Youth March and Glasgow Green for the Activist March, respectively. Many actually left the marches once the protest destinations were reached. In some numbers, they were replaced by those who did not march through the city, but waited for the protest crowd to arrive at the destination, joining it for just the rally speeches. I speak for myself here, but I assume that my reasons for leaving were shared by some protesters. When marching through the city, the crowd was a force that could not be ignored, and those who encountered it could not stay detached: people getting out of their houses, restaurant guests staring through windows, construction crews stopping their work to observe (Figure 8). The flow of protesters through the city streets was too powerful; the act of temporary occupation of space by masses of people who would not come together otherwise made a forceful, arguably profound, statement. No speeches were necessary to motivate people or build the case for significance.

At the terminus point of the march, especially in the case of Glasgow Green, being a large park, the elated atmosphere from the streets was noticeably deflated, and the protest felt somewhat distanced from rest of the city (Figure 9). The original intent of municipal parks to counterbalance troubled city life through seclusion also worked for this protest.

Figure 8. Construction crew observing the COP26 Climate Activist March.

Glasgow Green's history, being much closely linked to the working class issues than Kelvingrove Park (Maver, 1998), made it a symbolically fitting site to end the protest march. That said, the rows of trees that were intended as green buffers to separate urban troubles from calming nature also distanced the protest crowd from rest of the city. While the large open space of Glasgow Green allowed more freedom of movement and activities for the protesters, the energy of the crowd that took over Glasgow streets was largely pacified and dispersed.

Figure 9. COP26 protest crowd dispersing in Glasgow Green.

Conclusion: materially affecting geographies

Butler (2015, p. 85) characterises protests as acts of exercising one's performative right to appear, arguing that protests create a new 'form of political legitimacy' in established public spaces to 'contest and negate the existing forms of political legitimacy'. As the routes for two COP26 marches were predetermined and approved by the government, the 'performative right to appear' was in this case legitimised by the 'existing forms of political legitimacy' that the marches aimed to contest. It was rather the lived encounters of the 100,000-strong crowd that transformed established meanings of Glasgow's public spaces as they marched through. Protest encounters did not only change how people connected to city spaces, but also how they connected to one another. The protest crowd did not only show disdain towards the established ways of doing business or policies; assembling also brought out care and empathy for one another through dancing and chanting, sharing food, picking litter, offering rides, etc. Public open spaces of Glasgow were temporarily transformed into spaces where one encountered an alternative, more caring urban life. The encounters were always spatially situated, mediated by the specific material conditions of the protest routes that played out through the multi-scalar urban morphology.

The diversity and complexity of Glasgow's urban morphology, including the generous size of its city parks, their integration with street circulation, the permeability of urban fabric, and the porous micromorphology of building interfaces, enabled the protesters to temporarily redefine the symbolic meaning of Glasgow's familiar spaces. Protests and protest marches usually occur in spaces of symbolic and/or political power. Through occupation of those spaces in new ways, protests create new collective memory that challenge the established power balance between protesters and political leadership (Salmenkari, 2009; Rafail, 2018). Marching through well-know and much frequented sites in Glasgow, its parks and civic squares, retail and residential streets, citizens clearly proclaimed that environmental future is a prerequisite for all other futures (economic, political, cultural). In the temporary, site-specific and micro-spatial encounters of COP26 protests were embedded planet-wide concerns. Even if COP26 negotiations failed, the protest marches were able to express strong feelings of urgency for concrete action and frustration with politics and the 'business as usual' when dealing with climate change. While the protests were planned and the routes pre-determined, what defined these protests was the embodied experiences – the jostling and swirling down streets, eddying into sidewalks, side-roads and buildings, drawing in those who were possibly un- or ill-informed, indifferent, or even repelled. These material-affective encounters are perhaps what will resonate longer than the fine words undoubtedly said on the platform-space at the terminuses of the marches.

Notes

1. Scottish Power is one of the largest energy providers in Scotland that recently underwent a whistleblower investigation into its aggressive debt-collecting tactics. The Scottish Power headquarters was a magnet for protest activities: only two days before the Climate Action March, Extinction Rebellion protesters were diverted from the building by the police (BBC News, 2021b); and on the penultimate day of the summit, police arrested several activists for splashing green paint on the building in protest of Scottish Power greenwashing practices (*The Herald*, 2021).

2. Tenements are a common type of residential or mixed-use buildings in inner Glasgow, with most of the construction dating back to the 19th-century. Made of sandstone and between three to five stories high, each tenement has multiple dwelling units accessed via a shared staircase. In mixed-use instances, the ground-floor level is occupied by businesses accessed directly from the street. In inner Glasgow, many urban blocks are made up entirely of continuous rows of tenement buildings.

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ORCID

Miza Moreau http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5551-9710

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