Targets as allies or adversaries:
An international framing perspective on the "activist's dilemma"

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ABSTRACT

In interacting with the establishment, social movements can confront a dilemma. While they seek to expose the failings of elite institutions and adopt combative approaches such as boycotts, they also need to collaborate with them to access important resources, seek allies and gain legitimacy. We explain how particularly in less structured movements with relatively ambiguous goals, there is always the possibility of the relationship swaying in multiple directions, and not necessarily a predetermined trajectory. While a strategic perspective is useful for understanding mobilization around a well-defined cause and a clear set of goals, in more ambiguous situations, it may not capture the full range of movement-target interactions, nor account for unanticipated shifts in how targets are framed or how relationships evolve. To examine these dynamics, we conducted a participant observation study of a year-long contentious encounter between Occupy London and St Paul's. While the relationship shifted between being collaborative (both parties aligned on the need to challenge the financial establishment) and adversarial (Occupy attacking the Church as an elitist institution in cahoots with the financial establishment), Occupy ultimately became embroiled in a conflict with the Church, and lost sight of its main target as it shifted its focus from a radical anti-capitalist frame against UK's financial elite to a religious frame, invoking the evangelical slogan, "what would Jesus do?" Highlighting the interactional nature of framing, we explain how frames emerge from interactions and situational contingencies, causing shifts in how movements frame targets and yielding unanticipated outcomes.

Key words: Social movements, inequality, institutions, interactional framing, frames, Occupy Movement, Church, religion

INTRODUCTION

On a sunny Saturday, 15th October 2011, a few thousand protestors, gathered at the entrance of Paternoster Square, home to the London Stock Exchange (LSE), City of London (London's financial hub). Denied access to its precincts, protesters were kettled by the police inside St Paul's (Church of England) churchyard, Britain's iconic religious landmark. St Paul's steps provided both a convenient and imposing stage for hoisting the "We are the 99% banner." Occupy London was part of the wave of occupations triggered by Occupy Wall Street in the US in 2011 and snowballing to over 1500 cities globally that were mobilized against mounting economic inequality between the 1% and the 99%. Occupy and the Church could have been natural allies in the fight against inequality. However, while Occupy London had initially targeted what it saw as the paragon of capitalist injustice (LSE), the Church became an unlikely target accused of being in cahoots with the financial elite. In the Occupy camp, the "Capitalism is Crisis" banners were taken down and replaced by "What Would Jesus Do?" banners – sparking a year-long interaction with the Church. Why did Occupy not use this seemingly fortuitous (or "providential" as many protesters saw it) encounter with an institution sympathetic to its core cause to cooperate with the Church in its fight against the financial elite? And despite several opportunities to join hands, why did Occupy instead become "occupied" by Jesus, and embroiled in a bitter conflict with the Church?

While social movements often seek to expose the failings of elite institutions and adopt combative approaches such as protests and boycotts, they also need to collaborate with these institutions to access important resources, seek allies and gain legitimacy through an "advocacy" approach (Briscoe & Gupta, 2016; van Wijk et al., 2013; Whittier, 2002). Examples of such social movement organizations include Greenpeace, Oxfam and the World Wildlife Fund. This poses a dilemma for activist who often struggle to balance radical "ideological purity" and pragmatic "selling out" (Whittier, 2002: 298) in their quest to change

the established order (de Bakker & den Hond, 2007). We term this as the "activists' dilemma.[1]" On the one hand, activists need to confront, expose and pressurize their targets to produce social change. On the other hand, they need to work together with these very targets for producing impactful change.

Due to this dilemma, the relationship between a movement and its target is characterized by tension and ambiguity. Not only does this make it difficult to definitively define this relationship upfront such as collaborative or adversarial ("us versus them"), but also to predict the trajectory the relationship may follow. Contestation and divergent interests may turn to fruitful collaboration as seen in the open source software movement (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008). Or, radicalism may turn to moderation or even co-optation, such as companies co-opting the recycling movement to create a for-profit industry (Lounsbury, Ventresca and Hirsch, 2003). Indeed, movements do not necessarily follow a logic set in advance. Spontaneous developments during a movement's journey (Snow & Moss, 2014) may lead to relationships getting redefined, or new pathways emerging. This calls for a better understanding of not only how activists frame their targets but also how their relationship may fluctuate as it unfolds.

In light of the ambivalence in the activist-target relationship, particularly in less structured movements with relatively ambiguous goals, there is always the possibility of the relationship swaying in multiple directions, and not necessarily follow a predetermined trajectory in line what the activists had initially intended or strategized. Yet the dominant focus of many social movement studies (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014) is "strategic framing" — where goal-directed activists with a clear sense of "us versus them" purposefully target allies and produce culturally resonant frames to mobilize support for their cause (Benford &

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[1] Conversely, the establishment also faces a dilemma – action dilemma – of adopting a tolerant and more accommodative stance towards movement activists versus acting unyielding and taking tough action.

Snow, 2000; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; Snow et al., 1986). While a strategic perspective is useful for understanding mobilization around a well-defined cause and a clear set of goals, in more ambiguous situations, it may not capture the full range of movement-target interactions, nor account for unanticipated shifts in how targets are framed or how relationships evolve.

To understand how frames evolve, or new frames emerge, it is useful to draw on an "interactional framing" perspective (Dewulf et al., 2009; Goffman, 1974; 1981), whereby frames are not predefined but emerge intersubjectively in and through social interactions (Collins, 2004; Gray, Purdy & Ansari, 2015). The "give and tug of meaning in ongoing dialogue can have unanticipated, and sometimes contradictory consequences for movement development" (Steinberg, 2002: 208). Thus to understand the dynamics of movement-establishment interactions under ambiguity, we need to look at the "neglected situation," and parties' interactions (Goffman, 1964: 134), rather than only privilege cognitivist accounts of strategic framing and goal directed action.

To examine how movements interact with the establishment in light of the dilemma they face in dealing with them, we conducted a participant observation study of a year-long contentious encounter between Occupy London and St Paul's. While the relationship shifted between being collaborative (both parties aligned on the need to challenge the financial establishment) and adversarial (Occupy attacking the Church as an elitist institution in cahoots with the financial establishment), Occupy ultimately became embroiled in a conflict with the Church, and lost sight of its main mission. Highlighting the interactional nature of framing, we explain how frames emerge from interactions and situational contingencies, causing shifts in how movements frame targets and yielding unanticipated outcomes.

THEORETICAL MOTIVATIONS

Defined as "sustained challenges to powerholders in the name of a disadvantaged population" (Tarrow, 1996: 874), social movements disrupt the established order to engender change across social, economic and political domains of activity (de Bakker et al., 2013).

However, movement do not just disrupt the social order, they often also need work with it in the course of their struggle. Indeed, movements oscillate between being pragmatic – ally with the establishment – and ideologically puritan– confront the establishment and stay true to their radical anti-establishment mission. Thus, the way they view the establishment may fluctuate over time as they interact. While movements may be able to strategically frame targets and mobilize support for their cause, as the relationship evolves, activists cannot always rely on these frames as uniform "ready-to-use" meaning packages to be strategically leveraged during ongoing interactions. Yet many studies in social movements suggest the use of a strategic framing perspective (Corelissen & Werner, 2014).

Strategic Framing perspective

The "cultural turn" in social movement theory (Snow et al., 1986) built on the Goffmanian concept of "framing" to explain the cultural work of movements has responded to critiques of earlier studies for having a "structuralist" bias (Goodwin & Jasper, 1999) that privileged "mechanistic explanations" (Taylor & Whittier, 1995: 163), emphasizing resource allocation, rational choice, and political opportunities. However, by focusing on how "collective actors strategically use and manipulate meanings and symbols to accomplish their political objectives" (Ghaziani, 2009: 586), many of the rationalist assumptions of earlier studies were retained in the cultural perspective (Kurzman, 2008).

Indeed, this cultural view has been described as "strategic" and cognitivist, where social movement actors deploy frames to "enplot their worlds," "persuade audiences" and suggest action pathways (Zald, 1996: 266; Cornelissen & Werner, 2014). Underlying this "excessive cognitivism" (Voronov, 2014: 179) is the tendency to focus on frames, identities and other

cultural practices as "things" or "discrete, internally cohesive packages of meaning readily passed between actors" (Steinberg, 2002: 209), rather than on the dynamic processes of their co-construction. This leads to an "objectification" of frames viewed as something carried around in our heads (Benford, 1997). Frames tend to be seen as discrete packages of meaning that can be coherently "marketed" by movements seeking appealing "sound bites" (Oliver & Johnston, 2000) to persuade audiences and mobilize support for their cause.

However, movements do not always view their targets unequivocally or have a clear cut strategy to advance their cause. Rather, as movements unfold, and new situations present themselves, roles and relationships shift, members expose and discover diverse motives or resources for action, disputes, infighting or factions arise, new members join, or exogenous events shift meanings and frames. Indeed, many movements unfold in "non-scripted" ways along indeterminate pathways (Snow & Moss, 2014). For instance, O'Mahony and Bechky (2008: 450) explained how despite having divergent goals, the relationship between communities and firms in open software development turned from combative to collaborative through the creation of a boundary organization that created convergent interests while preserving "each world's integrity." Also, a moderate movement seeking collaboration – Voice of the Faithful – became radical when rebuffed by the Catholic Church it had sought to reform (Gutierrez, Howard-Grenville, & Scully, 2010), and a radical movement – fair trade – was co-opted by the very corporations that it had opposed.

Even though spontaneities are a fundamental mechanism in collective action dynamics (Snow & Moss, 2014), a strategic framing perspective does not sufficiently take them into account and may not be able to fully capture the emergent dynamics of movement-target interactions. Indeed, the approach has been criticised for depicting frames as unified, stable and clearly bounded systems of meaning and ignoring the "social semiotics" of meaning

production arising both from social interactions between people and the languages that they use to express themselves (Steinberg, 1999: 737).

Interactional Framing perspective

Contrary to what a strategic perspective would suggest, challengers cannot "simply readily and instrumentally manipulate" frames to change the status quo (Steinberg, 1999: 753). Rooted in symbolic interactionism, a frame is a response to the question; "what is it that's going on here?" (Goffman, 1974: 25), and framing is seen as a process of social interaction rather than cognitive processing. As Blumer (1969: 2) argues: "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them," "the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows." Meanings are thus always contingent and subject to revision, correction, change, and replacement during social interactions.

Understanding how relationship between social movements and the establishment may unfold as they interact requires an understanding of framing processes not just as strategic and calculative but also as situated meaning making. This suggests a need to "go micro" inside social movements, "drop to a more concrete level of reality" (Jasper, 2011: 27) and attend to ongoing interactions, situational contingencies, including the eruptions of emotions (Gray et al., 2015) and the role played by material cues (Cornelissen et al., 2014)

To sum, activists have an uneasy relationship with the establishment, both depending on the establishment and also disrupting it in the quest for achieving social change. They may thus experience ambivalence in interacting with the establishment (such as regarding it as an ally or an adversary) without a clear sense of "us versus them" in framing the establishment as the "sworn enemy" in what is a far more complex relationship. Extant frames may evolve or new frames emerge in ongoing interactions creating unanticipated fluctuations in the relationship. How movements frame targets over time may thus not be a purely cognitive or

strategic process but also relational and interactional. It is useful thus to examine these interactions to understand how situational contingencies and spontaneous developments may breed new frames and create oscillations in the relationship. These arguments motivate our main research questions. In light of the ambivalence activists confront in dealing with the establishment, how might activists frame the establishment as they interact with them over time, and how might this shape the relationship?

METHODS

To understand how the ongoing dynamics of collective action are driven by "spontaneous actions" that are themselves rooted in situated interactions (Snow & Moss, 2014: 17), we studied Occupy London. Three reasons motivated us. First, as an archetypical "spontaneous movement" (Snow & Moss, 2014) without clearly defined goals upfront, Occupy rendered visible the role of unplanned, dynamic and evolving processes in movement dynamics (Graeber, 2013). Second, its accidental encounter with St Paul's created an ambiguous situation which highlighted how emergent interactions can shape movement trajectories. Third, the campground in front of St Paul's Cathedral provided a public stage for observing local dynamics and behind-the-stage processes that allow for interactionist theorization.

Research Context

The global Occupy movement centred largely on capitalism's perceived crisis, the banking industry's excesses, and democratic institutions' inability to cope with rising economic inequality (Gitlin, 2013). Occupying spaces of financial powerholders was the movement's main tactic. However, in London, Occupy ended up occupying St Paul's cathedral, and confronting the Church rather than its original target, the London Stock Exchange located close to St Paul's in London's City. Part of the Church of England, and the official seat of the Bishop of London, St Paul's is an iconic religious landmark in the UK. The unfolding crisis between Occupy and St Paul's generated extensive media and public interest across the UK.

The camp was evicted on 28th February 2012 by the City of London Corporation (City), the municipal governing body of London's financial hub after a legal battle with Occupy.

Data Collection

We drew on a variety of data sources, including documentary data, extensive participant observation, 44 semi-structured, in-depth interviews and many spontaneous conversations.

We used participant observation as a means to acquire "interactional expertise" for studying people, subject matter, and the "interaction order" in meaningful ways (Collins, 2004) and for studying the nature of non-hierarchical, networked movements (Graeber, 2013). One author conducted participant observation, amounting to about 280 hours. She spent 1-2 days per week during the 4.5 months of occupation (15.12.2011- 28.02.2012) visiting the campsite, attending General Assemblies, Occupy's governing body, working group meetings, Tent City University debates, and the High Court case. After eviction she attended events and meetings, such as those held by OccupyFaith, and the anniversary Evensong at St Paul's. Field notes were taken on site and detailed accounts written up.

We interviewed 28 people from Occupy and 16 respondents from St Paul's and the Church of England (CoE) in two phases. 30 interviews were conducted in early 2012. Interviewees identified through personal contacts at the campsite, such as the Church Liaison Group were asked to reflect on the relationship between Occupy and St Paul's. We also spontaneously interviewed and held repeated informal conversations with more than 40 Occupiers. After Occupy's eviction (2012-14), we conducted 14 additional interviews with respondents identified by earlier interviewees as being critical in the interaction. Interviews lasted 30-120 minutes, and were recorded and transcribed. Unless a public statement, we use generic descriptors and fictional names to preserve anonymity.

Finally, we conducted a systematic content search of Occupy and St Paul's websites, press releases, Occupy General Assemblies minutes, articles in major British newspapers, The

Church Times, and The Occupied Times. Social media, twitter, online discussion forums, blogs, "radio Occupy" and livestream video recordings provided extensive accounts (cf., Juris, 2012), as did minutes and recordings from General Assemblies, Tent City University events, internal meetings, which we selectively archived and transcribed. We also read academic articles and books on Occupy (e.g., Byrne, 2012; Chomsky, 2012; Graeber, 2013). Finally, we examined visual symbols, e.g., banners ("What would Jesus do?").

Data Analysis

Our analytical approach was open ended and inductive (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1997). We wrote analytic memos after each observation or interview and created an initial list of interactions, a chronological timeline and emergent themes. We fed our data into NVivo to create a database. We conducted our analysis in four phases.

In the first phase, we drew on Goffman's "basic substantive units"[2] of interaction (1983: 6) to identify the different types of interactions that occurred between Occupy and St Paul's: contacts (glances, conversations, phone or letter exchanges), conversational encounters (persons gathering in a circle as ratified participants), platform performances (an activity set before an audience, including via modern technology), and social occasions (official proceedings, reportable events). In addition, we studied media accounts that can produce dramaturgical versions of the interactional realm, that have been crafted and condensed "for vicarious participation" of a wider audience (Goffman, 1974: 53). Drawing on multiple data sources, we used NVivo to code interactions, as summarized in Table 1.

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In the second phase, we used temporal bracketing (Langley, 1999) to track the interaction between Occupy and St Paul's and identify distinct periods. We constructed a "visual map"

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[2] Goffman (1983) identified another type of "ambulatory units" (e.g., participation in the flow of pedestrian social life), which we considered but decided was less relevant for our analysis.

(Langley, 1999) of interactions by plotting events from our database onto a timeline. During this phase, we identified 26 interactions that appeared "critical" in defining the unfolding relationship. We consolidated them into interactional episodes, each triggered by a specific interaction in which frames were (re) defined (e.g., initial welcome). We kept revising different interim accounts throughout the analysis. The final account is depicted in Figure 1. This phase was guided by our preceding analysis of different types of interactions to construct a thickly descriptive account (Geertz, 1973) later validated through member checks (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). The visual map guided our framing analysis, and helped us identify interconnected strings of interactions, whose effects outlast any one particular interaction.

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In the third phase, we zoomed into each interactional episode, considered the types of interactions taking place, and the frames parties constructed to negotiate the situation. To do so, we coded interactions through cyclic reading of the data to identify emerging frames and their triggers. Observation notes coupled with meeting minutes and live-stream documentation shed light on the interactions. In contrast to Occupy's inclusive General Assemblies, closed-door negotiations at St Paul's were not directly observable. We thus used reconstructions by respondents and public statements. This generated a stock of descriptive codes that we revisited throughout our subsequent analysis.

In the fourth phase, we developed interpretative clusters derived from descriptive codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). It became clear that parties often did not have readily available frames for interpreting the unfolding situation. Instead, both parties were engaged in ongoing meaning construction, in which they negotiated the situation and their relationship. After several iterations, two main clusters emerged in our coding structure; the emergence of frames through which parties attempted to define the situation in which they interacted, and different types of situational contingencies. In deriving these clusters, we followed

Goffman's (1983: 16-17) insight that in an ambiguous situation, where no one party is "in a position to give official imprint to versions of reality, local determinism prevails" in the negotiation of meaning.

To gain a theoretical understanding of situational factors, we then sought mechanisms underlying how these factors shaped parties' framing of the situation. Social mechanisms, similar to "process drivers" (Langley, 1999: 904), are "analytical constructs that provide hypothetical links between observable events" (Hedström & Swedberg, 1998: 13). We created a label for each mechanism. To illustrate, we noted that past encounters which Occupiers described as "being welcomed" or "being denied" were carried forward and cited as the key motivations for subsequent interactions, such as the anniversary action ("that's a feed-on from that," St Paul's staff). We labelled this as "interactional histories."

Sometimes, descriptive codes reflecting our respondents' vocabulary prompted us to think of higher-order mechanisms at play. For instance, a St Paul's respondent explained that certain "barriers" and ties prevented them from "siding" too much with either party, Occupy or the City. We labelled this mechanism "multilateral dependencies." Another descriptive code labelled "emotional scarring" described how emerging frames were shaped not only by interpretations but also by how the situation made actors *feel*, and how these affective experiences created "emotional energy" or "drains" (Collins, 2004), which would accumulate ("pent up emotion and energy," St Paul's staff) and shape parties' ongoing interpretations of the situation. We call this mechanism "emotional inscription."

As qualitative analysis always involves taking "an uncodifiable creative leap" (Langley, 1999: 691), we discussed our findings with an Occupy activist and a theologian to gain greater confidence in the reliability of our analysis. Taken together, we noted that these mechanisms capture linkages between various concatenated interactions unfolding over time. In order to capture this dynamic, we developed an interactional framing process model.

FINDINGS

Derailment of Occupy London - "Occupied by Jesus"

Occupy came to occupy the London Stock Exchange with the slogan "we are the 99%" against the excesses of the banking elite (1%). But denied access, it settled in the adjacent courtyard of St Paul's Cathedral. Giles Fraser, then St Paul's Canon Chancellor noted: "the protesters came to direct their anger against the worst excesses of capitalism but ended up picking on the Church" (The Times, 2011). Within few weeks into the occupation, discourse about the Church took over. Protesters began wearing rosaries and reminding visitors that "St Paul's [Christian apostle] himself was a tentmaker" (Occupier Sam). This emergent frame shift was manifest in the taking down of the massive "Capitalism Is Crisis" banner that marked the beginning of the occupation with "What Would Jesus Do?" banners. Yet, no one could remember who first painted this banner. Rather than choreographed from the outset, the religious mis-en-scene emerged spontaneously. An Occupier writing under the pseudonym, "The Irreverent Reverend" reflected in The Occupied Times, Occupy's own newspaper:

> "Who ever imagined that all this Jesus-talk would become so normal? On the cathedral steps, everyone has become a theologian, taking up whips against the money-changers."[3]

Occupy's confrontation with the Church gained widespread media attention. A St Paul's respondent explained how the encounter with St Paul's changed Occupy's narrative:

> "So this [confrontation with St Paul's] was never the intention…it's this funny coincidence which occurred, which completely changed the narrative of Occupy London. It would have been something completely different had it not ended up here by accident."

> In hindsight, many Occupiers complained that "the relationship between Occupy and St

Paul's Cathedral was forced upon us." It created a deviation from the actual target," Occupier

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3 The pieces of "Jesus-talk" here refer to passages from the Synoptic Gospels in the New Testament about Jesus and money, which became key reference points: "Jesus threw the moneylenders out of the temple" and "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God which is God's."

Jamie explained: "It was a bit of a distraction. Because we weren't there for the Church, man! We were there for the London Stock Exchange!"

St Paul's getting involuntarily caught up as a target. Initially, St Paul's declared itself as "very, very sympathetic" to Occupy's fight against inequality: "We're on the same page!" (St Paul's staff). It had just completed a report on "Ethics in the City" (St Paul's Institute, 2011) to highlight challenges posed by the financial crisis. But as it became clear that Occupy "has no exit strategy" and St Paul's was reluctant to accept an indefinite occupation of its land, "the Church became perceived as part of the problem very quickly" (CoE policy advisor).

Thus, rather than protest against the "financial and political institutions of the City," St Paul's became, in the words of cathedral staff, a "soft target" of Occupy's desire to "attack something" given its failure to confront the City. The Bishop of London explained that "the original purpose of the protests, to shine a light on issues such as corporate greed and executive pay, has been all but extinguished" by shifting its attention on the Church. "There was a transition point. I like to say it happened about six weeks in. That the camp became so caught up with maintaining the space that very little kind of effective activism was taking place. Apart from it being there" (St Paul's staff). As a final straw, Occupy staged a protest against St Paul's during an anniversary service that was jointly organized "in the Christian spirit of reconciliation" (St Paul's staff) leading St Paul's to conclude that "these are not people you can do business with easily" (CoE policy advisor). "Bruised" from its interaction with Occupy, St Pauls' concluded that "This [Occupy] was really a disaster. It caused massive local problems. It didn't achieve very much" (CoE policy advisor).

In sum, the relationship oscillated between being collaborative and adversarial – Occupy and the Church found common ground at times (both opposed inequality and Occupy needed the Church's sanctuary to survive), the movement also got "occupied by Jesus" and attacked the Church for being elitist and duplicitous. What might explain this ambivalence?

Interactional episode 1: Frame ambiguity in first face-to-face encounter – A welcome?

Initially, neither Occupy nor St Paul's had a readily available frame for defining their encounter. Their first face-to-face encounter became a path defining moment that initially seemed to suggest they were on the same side. However, it was characterized by frame ambiguity as each party had a different interpretation about what this initial interaction meant for their relationship. A St Paul's respondent noted on Occupy's first day:

> "And here was this movement actually saying 'no, there's much deeper systemic issues going on.' I agree with that. So we went along to the protest, not expecting it to end up outside St Paul's, only expecting it to start at St Paul's."

Just as the police were about to disperse the camp on the first morning of the occupation, St Paul's Canon Chancellor Giles Fraser stepped out and asked the police to back off and clear the church steps for the Sunday morning service. He then walked over to the tents and cheerfully greeted the protestors:

> "My name is Giles Fraser. I am the person at the moment that is supposed to be, so, operationally in charge of this place. I have no problem with people protesting... And I know that you're not to occupy us, it is about the stock exchange. So I understand that."

A few, sleepy Occupiers gathered around him, cheered, and confirmed to him that "we have nothing against the Church."

Occupiers interpreted the senior clergy's spontaneous performance of the "welcoming self" (Goffman, 1959) as representing the endorsement of religious authorities of non-violent protest against injustice and inequality. What Giles Fraser himself described as a "pretty short encounter really" became a central reference point that primed protesters' expectations in subsequent interactions. Protesters would remind each other that "he allowed us to stay. He was there, he was on our sides" to bolster the belief that Occupy and St Paul's could "unite in the fight against inequality" (Occupier Sina). Acting upon the perceived "welcome" frame, Occupiers set up more permanent camp structures in the churchyard and mounted colourful

banners, most notably "Capitalism is Crisis." Within a few days of vibrant camp-building activities, the camp grew to about 100 (later 170-200) tents.

St Paul's staff had a radically different interpretation of their initial encounter with Occupy. St Paul's Dean insisted that "we didn't allow them on in the first place." Even Giles Fraser later denied that the temporary sanctuary he gave was an invitation to stay and camp:

> "I was also asked whether the protesters could come to church to which I said everybody is welcome to church. What I didn't do is say the protesters are welcome to camp here."

St Paul's interpreted Occupy's setting up of a permanent camp as a misuse of the Church's initial "welcome." A cathedral source told the Evening Standard (2011): "It is getting to the point where it is becoming untenable. It is killing us." The Church sought a way out.

Interactional episode 2: Frame breach for Occupy – Closing doors on the 99%

As it became apparent that protesters had no intention to leave, St Paul's decided on a drastic move that belied its initial "welcome." While recognizing "that the Church should be alongside those seeking equality and financial probity," St Paul's Dean declared in an open letter to the protesters, that they were left with "no lawful alternative" but to close St Paul's on health and safety grounds (for the first time since World War 2). The Dean argued in the letter that it was "simply not possible to fulfil our day-to-day obligations to worshippers, visitors and pilgrims" and requested Occupy "to leave so that the Cathedral can re-open as soon as possible." When Occupy refused, St Paul's re-opened on 27th October, but announced joining the City in seeking a legal injunction to clear the protest camp.

For Occupy, the cathedral's closure represented a "frame breach." While the initial welcome had primed them to see the Church as being on their side, the closure crushed hopeful expectations. Occupier Jess described her feelings: "When the cathedral closed I was shocked and furious to be quite honest. As a Christian there is no reason to close God's house!" Cathedral closure and legal action became a turning point that marked the first of a

series of interactions which Occupiers referred to as "denials" or "betrayals." They later drew on these frames to justify why they turned against St Paul's.

A sense of injustice emerged as Occupy began to view the Church as part of the bigger problem Occupy had mobilized against. Rather than "welcome all who visit this House of God," (St Paul's mission statement), protesters interpreted the closure as symbolically concomitant "with shutting the doors" on the 99% and siding with the 1% in the City, in itself a spatial manifestation of inequality, where land is privatized and affords unequal access to the 1% (City bankers) but not the 99% (protesters). St Paul's became a stage for the negotiation of space both practically as a means of survival, as well as symbolically as the spatial representation of inequality.

The massive "Capitalism is Crisis" banner was taken down and in its place, a "What would Jesus do" banner was mounted (Picture 2). This "provided a useful frame for us" (Occupier Sam) that allowed protesters to invoke a parallel with the historical figure of the radical Jesus [Occupy] who revolted against the corrupt religious institutions [Church] of his time by throwing the money lenders [City] out of the temple [St Paul's]. What protesters described as an attempt to "out-Christian the Church" is illustrated by the "Sermon on the Steps." Occupiers performed an open-ended prayer with deliberate reference to Jesus' "Sermon on the Mount" in front of St Paul's, while "the doors of the Cathedral itself remained firmly shut to worshippers" (Occupier Rowan). Christian Occupier Jess told St Paul's: "we're here doing *your* job." Clearly this was meant to provoke the Church.

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Part of Occupy's antagonism towards St Paul's emerged from its perceived collusion with the City – its local municipal authority and source of funding: "Anyone with half a brain can see the Church are working hand in hand with the City of London" (Occupier Jim). When Occupiers challenged St Paul's Dean at a public meeting, he insisted that "there was no direct

influence from these people." Yet, staff respondents agreed that "the cathedral has a lot of gratitude for the City for donating millions of pounds to help restore it." Moreover, "St Paul's had committed itself over the years to a sort of dialogue relationship with the City," which gave it privileged access "to raise questions" (St Paul's staff). A CoE policy advisor noted:

> "When you've committed yourself for years to the internal debate it's very hard to turn around and say, you know, you're bastards, you know, I don't want to talk to you anymore. We've committed massively to the long haul, now we've been told to blow it all up, you know. Man the barricades. It's really a tricky call."

In sum, St Paul's could not simply unreservedly embrace Occupy "if doing so means that we allow proven and productive relationships to falter" (St Paul's staff). The Church had limits on the extent to which it could side with a radical movement with unproven tactics.

Interactional episode 3: Frame breach for St Paul's – a high-profile resignation

In protest at the decision to seek a forceful eviction, Giles Fraser announced his resignation on Twitter, before he wrote to Chapter: "I will not be able to sign up to any course of action [eviction] that may result in violence done in the name of the church" (The Guardian, 2015). He recalled how the vote to take legal action was taken by St Paul's Chapter against his will:

> "Everyone was tired. Everyone was emotional. The previous weeks had taken their toll […] During the meeting, I felt almost unable to speak, perhaps overwhelmed by the gravity of the moment. [The Dean], too, was tired and angry. I don't remember what I said, but it wasn't enough. The vote was close but it didn't go my way." (The Guardian, 2015)

For Occupy, the high-profile resignation renewed hopes it had laid on St Paul's. Occupiers regarded the resignation as "inspiring," "courageous" and an act of sacrifice for giving up a privileged position. They applauded his courage to "stick to his moulds" (Occupier Ben) and stand by the values the Church claimed to promote. The resignation created ambiguity in how Occupy viewed the Church distinguishing between the institution that demonstrated "fairly mean spirited, middle class acquiesce to injustice," and "authentic" religious leaders "dedicating their life to being an embodiment of Christianity" (Occupier George).

The resignation sparked a crisis inside St Paul's and revealed ambiguity within its ranks. While cathedral administrators framed Occupy as "invasive" and damaging to its "productive relationships" (St Paul's staff), clergy, and in particular Giles Fraser publically supported Occupy noting: "I could imagine Jesus being born in the camp." A theologian reflected on how this ambiguity was manifest in the building's spatial layout.

> "Which way does it face? You saw that in its reaction. Giles Fraser faced down Fleet Street towards the people of London and the rest of the Chapter clearly faced towards the City and had to protect the City's interests. They didn't know 'do we turn this way or that'?"

Conflicting frames revealed by the resignation were experienced as a "kind of shock" and "freezing moment," a CoE senior clergyman explained. It caught St Paul's in a dilemma between wanting to end the occupation *and* preserving its moral standing:

> "If you looked forward, what were the scenarios? A violent clearing of the camp was one. And that would have been really bad press. To have it there forever, the government could probably live with, but the Church couldn't…At what point do you say to people who are driven by a very strong moral agenda, how are we going to end this?" (CoE policy advisor)

Occupy's continuing encampment had created an untenable situation where St Paul's could no longer sustain an equivocal stance. By forcing it to take sides, Occupy pushed the "hermetic" St Paul's "outside of our usual comfort zones and ways of operating" (St Paul's Institute Manager). Many Christians, including Church vicars, publically accused the cathedral leadership of not practicing what Jesus preached – stand for the 99%. Its response was seen as a "public relations disaster," attracting "thousands of emails" from angry Christians (CoE policy advisor). Mainstream media that had widely reported on the conflict, scathed Church leadership, arguing that St Paul's "over-reaction" made the cathedral appear "scared, cowed, out-of-touch and pro-establishment" (The Guardian, 2011). Pictures 3 and 4 are cartoons in British newspapers illustrating the public derision that St Paul's attracted for siding with the City and abandoning a movement with a morally laudable mission.

--------- **Insert Pictures 3, 4 here** -------------

Interactional episode 4: Attempt at building a collaborative frame

Crumbling under the mounting criticism of the cathedral in the press, media and public opinion, St Paul's Dean announced his resignation (the second high profile resignation in St Paul's) in his words "to give the opportunity for a fresh approach to the complex and vital questions facing St Paul's." In an attempt to placate Occupy, St Paul's Chapter announced that it had decided to suspend legal action against protesters. The Bishop of London explained this U-turn: "The alarm bells are ringing all over the world. St Paul's has now heard that call." For clergy at St Paul's, the collaboration was seen as a welcoming move that could re-balance St Paul's moral compass in line with the Christian Gospel. St Paul's Canon Pastor justified putting at risk tourists' revenues covering 80% of operating costs as well as City donations: "I believe if we're doing what we should do, God will provide."

This "collaborative turn" in their relationship began with the Bishop's invitation of an open meeting with Occupy on October 30th 2011. Sitting down with Occupiers in a tent, the Bishop explained: "I really come to be in consultation." He then addressed a gathering of about 200 protesters: "You have a notice saying, 'What would Jesus do?' That is a question for me as well." Occupiers enthusiastically waved their hands in agreement.

With court action suspended, St Paul's and Occupy agreed to negotiate the terms of co-habitation through a "Church Liaison Group." A St Paul's staff member explained how interacting with Occupy had been "just pure chaos" and characterized by "an absolute sense of not knowing how to engage with this [unorganized group] whatsoever." This Liaison Group allowed both to "meet as organisations…initial conversations are, you know, let's just learn to be nice to one another and do this organisationally" (St Paul's staff). A cathedral respondent recalled how the liaison group helped both parties to negotiate not just "a lot of the practical 'on the ground' impact of the camp," such as fire exits or "please don't pee down here because it goes into our offices" but also collaborate in seeking financial reform. The Bishop of London persuaded Ken Costa, a Christian investment banker, to set up a new

organisation, "The London Connection," to facilitate dialogue between Occupy and City's financial institutions (The Church Times, 2012), leading to a high-profile meeting with UK's Financial Service Authority. In a long awaited intervention, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Church of England's head, prominently endorsed Occupy's cause "as the expression of a widespread exasperation with the financial establishment" in The Financial Times (2011).

These collaborative efforts signalled the Church's commitment to not just morally support but also actively facilitate Occupy's fight against financial malfeasance. A St Paul's respondent confirmed "there was a desire to say can we work together in some ways." However, St Paul's was still hoping to negotiate an amicable end of the occupation. On 29 November 2011, it put forward an offer that in exchange for removing the camp, it would allow protestors to erect a symbolic tent inside the cathedral, work with St Paul's, continue the "London Connection," and potentially occupy alternative Church-owned buildings.

Occupy protesters received St Paul's olive branch with "mixed feelings" (Occupier John). Some wondered if the situation presented a genuine opportunity for collaboration or was "just a token gesture" and "charm offensive" (Occupiers Tom, Kat). While for some Christian Occupiers, these reconciliatory proposals rekindled hopes to ally with St Paul's on the substantial issues they shared, others remained sceptical. "They [St Paul's] agree with our goals but would rather we weren't there" (Occupier Jim). Consequently, when the Liaison Group took the conciliatory proposal to the Occupy General Assembly, it was rejected and ridiculed: St Paul's "hasn't supported the camp in a way that I would consider you would if you were actually a leader in terms of ethics…To me they've just lost any credibility," Occupier Tim explained. The outright rejection of St Paul's proposal of an "amicable exit" reflects how protesters emotionally scarred by earlier "betrayals" failed to see any positives.

Thus, despite the offer to jointly take on the financial establishment via the "London Connection" and to improve church-camp relations via the "Church Liaison Group," protesters could not overcome their initial mistrust of St Paul's and refused to collaborate.

Interactional episode 5: Conflictual frame – Court case

Despite having withdrawn from the court case, St Paul's authorized their Registrar to testify against Occupy in London's Royal Courts of Justice. St Paul's staff noted how "the practicalities of having 200-odd people living on your doorstep for months created massive amounts of employee strain" and were key to supporting the City's efforts to evict Occupy. While protestors pleaded for the right to stay under the Human Rights Act for freedom of expression, the Registrar's witness statement listed damning complaints: Incidents of desecration (vandalism and graffiti); loud noise from the camp disrupting services; loss of visitor and worshipper numbers (down by 40%); and concerns over staff wellbeing, who had to "[clean] up after incidents of urination and defecation." The High Court's judgement (18th January, 2012) granted the City the right to clear the camp, stating that "the evidence shows that the protest camp is an actionable nuisance against the cathedral."

Occupiers interpreted the damning witness statement as further evidence of "betrayal" and evidence of St Paul's collusion with the City: "They [St Paul's]'ve actually lied to us because they said that they were removing the threat of legal action, yet their support of the Corporation of London's case is what won the case for the Corporation!" (Occupier Jess). The Registrar's allegations, especially pertaining to defecation, were met with outrage in the camp: "If you were in court you'd be furious…this cathedral sent [the registrar] to testify in a court of law, under oath, with the bible, and he lied!" The Church was acting against the Gospel of Jesus. An Occupy member of the Church Liaison Group reflected:

> "I'd like to see them stand before God and justify that because I don't think that can be easy to justify. Because it says very clearly in the Bible…[Jesus] said to the goats 'whenever you have turned away one of my own, you have turned me away…' So this is

where the cathedral have missed the point. They've done not done anything that is hospitable. Even in all the chapter meetings they never once offered us coffee. Not once."

Prominent voices in the wider Church of England supported this accusation. An independent vicar called the witness statement "a sad and unworthy denigration of people involved in a great movement" of which "St Paul's will, one day become ashamed." Giles Fraser, who joined the protesters at the Royal Courts of Justice, noted (The Guardian, 2012):

"This judgment is disappointing…The Church must not be seen to side with the one per cent and against the 99 per cent."

The episode re-enforced Occupy's interpretation of St Paul's as siding with the 1% and further dampened the prospect of reaching an agreement.

Interactional episode 6: Reinforcement of conflictual frame – Eviction

City of London police evicted Occupy's camp on the night of 28th February 2012. Even though the Church Liaison group believed they had negotiated protection on cathedral steps and pastoral support to vulnerable protesters in distress, or those made homeless, St Paul's offered neither. Instead, protesters were forcefully removed from the steps, as reported in The Independent (2012): "Christians were dragged from St Paul's while they prayed." For protesters, it represented the ultimate betrayal, as Occupier Jamie explained:

St Paul's had said that whatever happens, no one will get moved from the steps. But that was bullshit…People who were praying [on the steps] were dragged off famously while they were praying, which was a fucking disgrace.

Occupier Tammy explained "how painful it was to see this happening on holy space." Her notes from eviction night captures the deeply traumatic experience of forceful eviction, particularly from the designated safe and "sacred space" of cathedral steps:

"I went back where I felt safest, the cathedral steps. Oh what a mistake. See I was certain we would be ok there, I felt close to God there, protected, looked after, strengthened…but what a mistake… My heart started racing and I felt sick... almost in tears…the heartache of seeing all our hard work, our community being broken up, the tents being crushed, the police on holy land, the fear, anger and hurt on my Occupy families' faces."
Being dragged away in this manner from their refuge inflicted an emotional scar that

Occupiers were unable to forget: "im hurting really really hurting but i swear im not done with

either the cathedral ot [or] the cops" (Tammy's notes). In sum, the traumatic experience was etched in protesters' memories and cemented the antagonism they felt toward the Church.

Interactional episode 7: Attempt at re-building a collaborative frame – Post-eviction

Eviction, however, did not end their relationship. Four months of co-habiting a shared space and interacting with St Paul's had created a strong emotional if highly conflicted attachment to it. This was revealed in how different movement's members framed the Church. For Christians who were "dragged from the steps," eviction hardened the "betrayal" frame of a hostile St Paul's siding with the 1%. For other Christians, the initial "welcome" by Giles Fraser still kindled hope. A member of the subgroup OccupyFaith argued that "bridges must be built for us to unite as one and engage in constructive ways forward to seek establishment change." Reconciliatory efforts included the "Pilgrimage for Justice"– OccupyFaith members' march from London to Canterbury (seat of Church leadership) to hold a conference on societal justice, and the "Evensong"[4] at St Paul's organised by OccupyFaith and St Paul's on the one-year anniversary of the occupation "to heal wounds and to come together in prayer and worship" (St Paul's staff).

For St Paul's, the camp's eviction relieved it from the ordeal of having to interact with angry protesters on a daily basis. However, the breathing space also allowed for reflection over their own contradictions: "Aren't our actions a sign of institutional hypocrisy or at the very least narrow-mindedness?" asked the Manager of St Paul's Institute (Gordon, 2012). Cathedral staff now admitted that "there might have been an opportunity lost in how the camp at St Paul's played out." St Paul's Institute Manager (Gordon, 2012) hoped that the conflict "can now be put behind us" in order to focus on "an honest attempt at trying to come

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[4] Evensong, or Evening Prayer is a liturgy in use in the Church of England and celebrated daily in the late afternoon or evening.

together in reconciliation based upon common principles." The Pilgrimage for Justice and the joint anniversary Evensong were thus embraced as part of the desire for reconciliation.

In order to reclaim a social justice agenda that could "be reconciled with a perceived "betrayal" of the Occupy encampment" (Gordon, 2012), St Paul's claimed an inclusive non-partisan position. As part of the established Church, "we can't or shouldn't be sectarian. We shouldn't preach the kind of Gospel that says you're in and you're out" (St Paul's staff). The joint Evensong provided a stage to display its inclusive 100% frame, as illustrated in Dean Ison's choice of a reading from the bible, citing Joshua 5.13-6.20:

> "One of the key things about faith, proper religious faith, is that it should undercut human tribalism. […] We believe that God is on the side of all of us, and none of us [...] Joshua said to the man with the drawn sword, 'Are you for us, or for our enemies?' And he said, 'No: I fight for the kingdom of God.'

In sum, this non-partisan frame allowed St Paul's to justify its reluctance to side with either the 1% or the 99%, hoping to put a line under the confrontation.

Interactional episode 8: Final escalation in conflictual frame – Occupy's "parting shot"

The final interaction episode during the anniversary Evensong was meant "to bury the hatchet" (Occupier Obi) but instead ended in a major frame breach by Occupy. Occupiers who were "dragged from the steps" during eviction were imbued with pent up grief and anger at St Paul's' repeated betrayals, and launched into a highly charged outburst at the event. Just after the first prayer was read by OccupyFaith, four women protesters, dressed in white rushed forwards, chained themselves to the pulpit and staged a "mic check.[5]" Referring to the biblical symbolism of being denied three times,[6] they recited the accumulation of three betrayals to shame St Paul's "at this great trial of history":

> "In the fight for economic justice Jesus threw the money changers out of the
> temple, but you invited them in [1st]. And instead evicted us. Your collusion with

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[5] A "mic check" is a practice used in Occupy to announce the opening of a debate or a General Assembly. The speaker(s) invite(s) audiences to repeat what is said to amplify human voice, called the "human microphone."
[6] Denying three times refers to the "Denial of Peter," described in all four Gospels of the New Testament, where Jesus predicts three acts of denial by the Apostle Peter during the Last Supper.

the City of London Corporation led to our violent eviction on your doorstep [3rd].
You testified against us which acted to uphold injustice and inequality [2nd]."

While some Occupiers justified the theatrical stunt against St Paul's – covered widely in UK media – as "such a daring action that has put the message of Occupy globally back on the agenda," others viewed it as "justified morally, but maybe not the right thing tactically." In hindsight, many Occupiers agreed that the "parting shot" had no strategic motive except venting out anger. Some regretted the lost opportunity to unite with St Paul's:

> "We would have been a combined force, we would have been a world changing, we would have literally changed the course of economic injustice…We both lost a chance to turn the tide on economic injustice in the world." (Occupier Kat)

But in hindsight, many shared that their energies were "wasted" on fighting a potential ally:

> "We need to direct our limited energies towards changing the world out there and massive forces are weighing against us. We shouldn't be wasting energy fighting each other [Church and Occupy]. It's like that was a waste of energy, wasn't it?" (Occupier Tom)

> Now, it was St Paul's turn to feel betrayed by Occupy for the alleged ingratitude it

showed after having been invited back into the cathedral:

> "Whilst the Church Liaison group were trying to come to this amicable end, they said, 'all of that was false because look at what they did, they betrayed us. And that betrayal.' And that then leads into what happened when those four women chained themselves to the pulpit. Because that's a feed-on from that" (St Paul's staff)

St Paul's felt that their reconciliatory attempt got "hijacked," which "ended the camp on quite a sour note for most [at St Paul's]" (St Paul's staff). St Paul's respondents criticized the Evensong stunt as "a spectacle" and "cheap moralising they're good at" rather than as "an action for justice." Occupy's protest action showed how the Church had been cast as a villain: "A lot of what we do was dismissed, it's not good enough…they forget how much we were trying to help or just onverse with them" (St Paul's staff member). A CoE policy advisor reported in hindsight that "the experience of the camp was that a lot of anger and frustration was directed onto St Paul's and its staff," making the church feel like "the whipping boy."

St Paul's staff regretted the ill will garnered towards the Church and how "we will forever be part of the bad guys," instead of having joined hands for a common cause.

"Hey, we could have made a common cause against bankers, the City, or whatever. But instead this has become something where we're not even getting across the amount of damage you're doing to us, you know, it's very, very difficult to move it on, when, you know, we could have been partners." (CoE policy advisor)

In sum, Occupy's energy as a movement was dissipated in fighting a potential ally sympathetic to its core message against growing inequality, leaving both parties to rue a lost opportunity for joining forces in taking on a grand challenge they both stood against.

A MODEL OF INTERACTIONAL FRAMING IN AMBIGUOUS SITUATIONS

We develop a process model of interactional framing to explain the negotiation of meaning between parties during a series of interactions in an ambiguous social situation, and how this may lead to a stabilization of meaning; either more conflictual or more collaborative. In our case, even though Occupy and St Paul's were on the same page in terms of their mission to fight inequality, they got mired in an internal conflict and were unable to develop a collaborative frame that could have allowed them to jointly address the bigger challenge. In the process, Occupy ended up expending its energy on a "soft target" that deflected its attention from its primary target, the financial establishment.

In the absence of a shared frame of reference in an ambiguous situation, parties need to negotiate meaning during their interactions. Contingencies might arise as the situation unfolds, affecting this negotiation process. We derived four mechanisms that explain how situational contingencies influence parties' emergent frames: (1) material affordances, (2) emotional inscription, (3) multilateral dependencies and (4) interactional histories.

These mechanisms that we elaborate below prompt frames which parties enact (arrow a) and lead to actions, that in turn, reinforce or breach (arrows b) these frames. Over time, frames emerging from interactions layer up to create an interactional history (arrow c), which in turn prime (arrow d) parties' framing in subsequent interactions. The interactional history

is revised (arrow e) in light of the emerging interactions, and parties selectively recall (arrow f) this history to prioritize particular meanings. While situational ambiguities may resolve in different ways and with different outcomes, repeated interactions over time can reduce ambiguity as parties figure out what to make of each other and the situation. This understanding can crystalize into an overall frame that stabilizes meaning in the situation (arrow g). The stabilizing frame can signify drifting apart (arrow h) and promote conflict, or increased alignment and promote collaboration (arrow i). This would depend on the interplay among the mechanisms and the extent to which (1) material affordances create a positive or negative physiological response; (2) emotional inscription is energizing or draining; (3) multilateral dependencies are rewarding or sanctioning and (4) the interactional history predisposes them toward accommodation or contestation. As an extreme form of stabilized meaning and as we observed in our case, the commitment to a frame can escalate to an extent that parties become inextricably trapped in that frame.

Situational mechanisms

Interactional history. Interactional history explains the cumulating effect of interactional frames emerging in situations. As interactions continue, parties produce frames in the present, but also draw on frames produced in previous interactions, cumulating into an interactional history (Figure 2). Parties draw upon this history to frame subsequent interactions, which in turn shapes the evolving narrative of the situation. As Mead (1932) noted, interpretations of the past are constantly revisited through the emergent present, so that frames come to "act on themselves" (Jorgenson & Steier, 2013: 401). In other words, actors get "primed" by previous interactions. Priming is a pre-sensitizing process that "increases the probability of activating a concept, frame, emotion, or line of action based on exposure to an earlier, similar stimulus or experience" (Snow & Moss, 2014: 14). In our case, neither Occupy nor St Paul's had a readily available frame of how to define their interaction when Occupy accidentally ended up

in front of St Paul's. But over time, cumulating layers of meanings primed parties to interpret the situation and act according to the emerging narrative of each other and the situation.

Over time, responding to one another's frames and adding a new interpretation on top of the other leads to an evolving interactional history that primes actors' subsequent framings. This process is not just cognitivist but also emotionally-laden, where conscious cognitions are intertwined with, or even preceded by emotions and gut reactions (Sonenshein, 2007) that may get inscribed as interactions continue and entrench actors into the situation. Material affordances of the situation may engender or enhance particular cognitions and emotions, and together with the shadow cast by parties' multilateral dependencies, may lead to an emerging narrative that can alter a social movement's trajectory.

To illustrate the dynamics of our process model, we map it onto eight interactional episodes between Occupy and St Paul's (Table 2). These demonstrate how situational contingencies cumulatively come to bear on a situation and shape the emerging interactions.

--------- Insert Table 2 here -------------

Material affordances. Interactional frames are moored in material affordances, including, physical artefacts, and physiological aspects of a situation, "which frame, while not determining, the possibilities for agentic action" (Hutchby, 2001: 444; Bechky, 2008; Stigliani & Ravasi, 2012). Material factors afford meanings people give to the situation and can produce a bodily feeling at par with nausea or elation (Jasper, 1997) that stimulates particular frames. The role of material affordances is illustrated by how spatial configurations affect human interactions, particularly in spontaneous confrontations (Cornelissen et al., 2014; Lawrence & Dover, 2015); in our case, by how the spatial collision inadvertently made St Paul's a collateral target of Occupy. Picture 1 depicts the spatial layout that prompted Occupy to move from the fenced-off entrance of Paternoster Square (red lines), home to the London Stock Exchange, and establish its camp on adjacent church land in front of St Paul's.

--------- Insert Picture 1 here -------------

Prevented entry to Paternoster Square, the great steps of St Paul's "made for a natural and compelling stage" for Occupy's first General Assembly but also for the "high drama" that unfolded. St Paul's was "designed as such…for the public performance of beautifully choreographed religious ritual" (Giles Fraser in The Guardian, 2015). Having comfortably settled on the steps in the warm October sun, protesters wondered: "Where shall we go now?" Some suggested occupying Canary Wharf, London's second financial district. "Too far away," an elderly woman shouted from a wheelchair. The collective decision taken was to stay. The group's energy surged. As night drew in, protesters started playing music, bongo drumming and singing on the steps of St Paul's until late before setting up the first tents. Rather than planned, the spatial and material contingencies of the situation – adjacent cathedral steps providing a stage, mobility restrictions and physical comfort from warm sunshine on a coldish autumn day – prompted protesters to stay on the Church's land.

Material affordances may not be perceived uniformly as manifested by the different visceral reactions to the same material cues. For instance, while bongo drumming created emotional energy for Occupiers and galvanized a spirit of solidarity, cathedral administrators experienced the sound as stressful and disruptive. The extent to which experiences are materially conditioned is also demonstrated by the role of contrasting spatial exposure to Occupy in shaping how different employees in St Paul's framed Occupy. St Paul's clergy, whose offices were located farther from the everyday mess and noise, enjoyed "some detachment" and viewed the camp more favourably. Spatial distance afforded clergy the "space" to reflect on the moral and political significance of the occupation as "something undeniably inspiring" (St Paul's staff), rather than deal with its practical implications. Material affordances thus play into parties' emotional experience and framing of a situation.

Emotional inscription. Another key mechanism that prompts and amplifies interactional

frames is emotional inscription. Interactional frames are not purely the product of calculative

reasoning but also of affect that can shape how parties interpret the situation they are in (Gray

et al., 2015; Maitlis & Sonenshein, 2007; Sonenshein, 2007). Interactions can produce

"emotional energy" or drain (Collins, 2004) such as a feeling of euphoria or despondency.

Parties emotionally energized by past positive interactions, seek these out again in subsequent

interactions (Furnari, 2014). Occupier Peter explained how emotional memories can become

both a resource and baggage in future interactions: "People don't remember what you said

but they'll always remember how you made them feel." Emotional residues from previous

interactions are carried forward producing what we term as an "emotional inscription" – an

amplification of the initial emotion that gets deeply etched.

Emotional inscription was particularly acute in the Occupy protest, as it played into, and

amplified a movement that "ran" on emotions, "tapping into a deep vein of anger in society

that things have gone completely wrong," as Occupier Peter explained. Given that emotions

were already running high, protesters' interactions with the Church evoked strong emotional

responses. To begin with, the physical proximity to St Paul's, Britain's iconic religious

landmark, amplified protesters' emotional identification with Occupy:

> "To actually have the camp right in front of, you know, the most famous church in London
> to me is perfect, it's absolutely perfect. Sometimes when we're having a General Assembly
> or a meeting, when the [church] bells start ringing, it almost brings tears to my eyes, it's
> like the voice of God…getting a blessing, or it feels that way to me." (Occupier Peter)

Physical proximity to "this absolutely magnificent building which is there to worship God"

aroused intense emotions of feeling "close to God" (Occupier Tammy). It reinforced the idea

among Occupiers, non-Christians included, that the camp's physical proximity to God's

temple was not merely accidental, but "providential," placing the protest "under the

protecting and directing hand of God" (Occupier Sam). This recompensed protesters for the

disappointment of failing to occupy the London Stock Exchange and imbued the protest with

a sense of renewed purpose. Their protest seemed to be sanctified by God himself: "We're there in front of his [God's] house wanting to make the world a better place. There's an amazing synergy between the two [Occupy and Church]" (Occupier Jim). During the trial in London's Royal Courts of Justice, protesters even argued that the fight against inequality through occupation itself was the "most sacred religious duty" to which they had ever been committed. In sum, the spatial collision with the Church produced a strong emotional commitment to seize this seemingly "providential" turn of fate in the pursuit of their mission.

While Occupiers experienced the physical proximity to St Paul's as emotionally energizing, cathedral administrators experienced it as emotionally draining. Located right next to the camp in Chapter House, they reported that the physical exposure to the daily "nuisance" of the camp led to "great anxiety," "morale problems" and made them feel "put up on," "stressed," or "fatigued," draining emotional energy. Stress factors included "our entire crypt area and work staff area just smelling like urine" as well as "constant bongo drumming, shouting, loudspeakers…outside your office window from the moment you walk in the door to the moment you leave" (St Paul's staff). Moreover, the experience of walking "into that tent and just have people angry at you and attacking you," or the fear that "someone is going to yell at me" created a feeling of "being attacked" and scarred the relationship with Occupy (Cathedral employee). "There was a lot of abuse towards staff…who would get yelled at or, you know, 'shame on you' type stuff" (St Paul's staff). As a result of this emotional strain, "a substantial proportion of people just became depressed. You know, just actually physically, and the stress just took everyone down" (St Paul's staff). Cathedral staff saw Occupy as transgressors that drained their emotional energy.

Emotional inscription can trigger and reinforce powerful dynamics. As interactions unfolded, both Occupy and St Paul's suffered emotional pain from the perceived violation of mutual expectations that can yield efforts to shame the offending party to restore expected

arrangements (cf., Creed et al., 2014; Voronov & Vince, 2012). These emotions can have a recursive quality, continually acting back on themselves. If the feedback loop is not interrupted, the actor can become caught in what Scheff (1990) calls a "feeling trap, where emotions "spiral" on for long periods of time" (Hallett, 2003: 709). In our case, emotional inscriptions spiralled into an accumulated sense of repeated "betrayals" that angered protestors and led them to fixate themselves on the wrongs of the Church against Occupy, rather than on their main targets. The Manager of St Paul's Institute (Gordon, 2012) described Occupy's fixation on St Paul's as "playing out the narrative that they are emotionally most invested in." In turn, Church respondents reported feeling "bruised from the experience of having Occupy on your doorstep" in ways that tainted future interactions.

Multilateral dependencies. Our study also revealed how dyadic interactions were shaped by multilateral dependencies on those outside the immediate situation. As actors interact with multiple parties, they need to contend with the often conflicting pressures as they seek to "maintain face" (Goffman, 1959) across multiple sides. A St Paul's staff member used the notion of "thresholds" to explain how the need to engage with all of its constituents placed constraints upon the cathedral. "St Paul's exists on this very interesting nexus point between nation and society and church and tourism…But we have to cover all of those equally" (CoE policy advisor). In dealing with Occupy, St Paul's was caught between Occupy's radicalism, for whom "St Paul's represents the Establishment," and the City' conservatism, for whom St Paul's was "far too sympathetic to the protesters" (Dean Ison, St Paul's, 2012). A staff member described this dilemma as being caught in the crossfire:

> "You're attacked in the press, you're attacked by people, why wouldn't you support the occupiers, they're fighting inequality...But then also you're attacked by those who are against the camp…why aren't you getting rid of them?"

Having to interact across multiple constituents placed St Paul's "in a bind" that in part explains why it steered an ambivalent course vis-a-vis Occupy.

Interactions are also targeted towards a wider societal audience, for instance the media as a form of "mediated quasi-interaction" (Thompson, 1995). In our case, Occupy's theatrical use of the Christian frame shows the use of dramaturgical tactics in staging collective action (Goffman, 1971) directed not only toward St Paul's but also the media. "Would they have done it if they weren't pretty sure they'd get 400 news articles out of it?," a respondent from St Paul's asked. Indeed, the media publicised Occupy's "What would Jesus Do?" frame, encouraging protesters to leverage this accusatory frame to attract the wider public, and sympathetic Christians in particular. St Paul's Dean Ison went so far as to blame the media as the "major reason why the story of the camp…turned…into a story about a confrontation between the protesters and St Paul's." In sum, dyadic interactions in a specific situation are shaped by parties' multilateral links with those outside the situation.

DISCUSSION

We began by asking how situational dynamics might affect a social movement's trajectory in the pursuit of addressing a grand challenge. Our account highlights how local concerns, situational contingencies and deep entanglement in a situation can trump a movement's bigger narrative. Occupy and the Church were both against mounting inequality and the need for reform in the financial establishment. However, during their interaction, they failed to develop a shared frame to jointly tackle the grand challenge. Occupy had targeted the City of London, as it had Wall Street in the US – spaces it saw as the locus of power and wealth of a small minority (1%) whose avarice had led to the marginalization of the majority (99%). But instead of leveraging an opportunity to unite with the Church, Occupy became "occupied" with exposing its moral failings. In a way, Occupy made the Church "guilty by association" for *being* the establishment and thus part of the problem, framing it as the spatial representation of inequality, but in the process, itself derailing from the mission to target the financial institutions in the City.

By explaining the situational dynamics behind these kinds of unanticipated movement outcomes, we offer several contributions for social movement theory. By bringing a situational analysis into the realm of social movements, and providing an interactional account of framing, we offer an alternative to cognitivist accounts, contributing in three ways. First, while many social movement studies have adopted a strategic framing perspective to explain movement outcomes (Benford & Snow, 2000), we show how these outcomes are only partly a product of calculated action (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Steinberg, 2002), situationally contingent and interactionally achieved. A processual view of framing as an interpretive process of meaning construction offers an explanation of how movement-institution relationship may turn both collaborative and confrontational during interactions. This approach avoids the "excessive voluntarism" implied by a strategic approach (Steinberg, 2002) as if people can create, control and distribute culturally resonant meanings much as they do material resources, and accounts for spontaneous movement dynamics, which can lead to unanticipated turns in the relationship, pathways and outcomes.

Second, we offer an explanation of why some social movements may "fail," or experience goal displacement. While social movements often confront a dilemma between resonance and radicalness, or between conciliatory and dissident frames in seeking change in established structures (Whittier, 2002), we explain how situational contingencies may produce unanticipated meanings. Occupy had to navigate the tension between allying with the establishment – The Church of England – and also pursuing its radical anti-establishment mission. Rather than collaborate with the Church and seek potential synergies to fight the wider malaise in the City's financial institutions, Occupy became fixated on exposing the moral failings of the Church – an institution it came to view as emblematic of this malaise. This hardly seemed politically savvy or institutionally efficacious. Indeed, in the pursuit of their goals, movements may be driven by moral values, core identities and emotions rather

than political utility, strategic goals, pragmatism or efficacy (Jasper, 1997), as they navigate the tension between radicalness – staying true to their dissident ideologies – and political savviness – gaining the support of those in power or authority.

Third, our findings allow us to bring a fresh perspective to the role of religion in social movements – a highly potent emotive force for mobilizing change (Smith, 2014; Soule, 2012). For example, religious institutions have engaged in shareholder activism to put pressure on corporations regarding social concerns like equal employment opportunity (e.g., Van Buren, 2007). "By rooting ultimate authority in the transcendent, religion can make worldly systems accountable to a standard of judgement that lies outside the system itself" (Williams, 2002: 251-52) and thus be a powerful tool for mobilizing support for a cause.

While we have an understanding of how movements aiming to disrupt the status quo may get co-opted, or reintegrated into the institutional order they seek to change (e.g., Lounsbury et al., 2003), it is worth exploring the tensions movements face in trying to strike a balance between allying with the establishment through an advocacy approach and being a "thorn in the side" for the establishment by calling out its complicities in the wrongs that the movements seek to rectify.

Implications for social movements

While we studied an extreme case of a "spontaneous movement" (Snow & Moss, 2014), an interactional framing perspective offers broader implications. Framing includes a sense of calculative purpose, but is also characterized by spontaneities in interaction. While a movement has initial strategies and goals, movement dynamics hinge on the situationally sensitive unfolding of particular interactions and may lead to new meanings emerging, goals being redefined, strategies being adapted, and ultimately pathways being altered. To capture this dynamism, it may thus be productive to understand movements as unfinished, perpetually "moving," evolving, and reworking themselves through interactional encounters. It is not that

movements cannot be strategic; rather strategizing is an interactive and relational process, where actors adapt to each other and to their reconfiguring situation.

A situational account allows appreciation of how path-defining moments are "sometimes at the mercy of much more fluid and contingent processes at the very bottom of the (sociological) micro-macro continuum" (Gibson, 2011: 408). While the first day marking the 2011 Egyptian revolution began as another day of protest by anti-regime protesters in Tahrir Square, rather than one of revolution, an unplanned confrontation with security forces on the streets of Cairo incited them to launch the occupation of Tahrir Square. The prolonged confrontation created an emotionally charged situation that later contributed to major social and political upheavals (Schneider, 2011, quoted in Snow & Moss, 2014). Similarly, many of the activities leading up to the Tiananmen Square protests in Beijing "represented spontaneous and individualistic responses to events rather than conscious decisions arrived at collectively by their organizations" (Zhao, 2001:147). Students in Beijing spontaneously joined pro-democracy demonstrations out of curiosity or excitement in early 1989. The "marching and shouting" on campus then attracted thousands of students and "created an atmosphere of excitement and heightened the pitch of their anger" leading them to overcome their fears of repression by powerful Chinese authorities and successfully infiltrate Tiananmen Square (Zhao, 2001: 261). An interactional framing perspective allows an understanding of how situational contingencies may influence a movement's course.

Second, our model offers insights into the difficulties of reaching "alignment of meaning" (Dewulf et al., 2009: 162) in the negotiation process between disparate actors (Rao & Kenney, 2008), such as a movement and establishment. While recent studies have shown how framing can lead to settlements at the organizational level (Helms et al., 2013) or the field level (Litrico & David, forthcoming; O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008), achieving aligned meaning is far from inevitable, as shown in studies of intractable conflicts (Lewicki et al.,

2003). How parties frame each other in their interactions is critical to the emergence of shared meaning. Negative emotions may spiral (Toubiana, & Zietsma, forthcoming), material affordances may trigger disagreeable responses, and external dependencies may prevent collaboration. Over time, interactional histories may irredeemably scar parties and create negative characterizations of each other in a process, where meaning is produced not just in isolable instances of interaction; rather past-present-future interactions mesh in ways that frames emerging in present interactions are based on both the memories of preceding and the anticipations of future interactions. Together, this may impede parties from reaching a shared understanding. Understanding these kinds of failures of movements to successfully negotiate potentially beneficial relationships with parties, are of equal import as studying successes.

Third, while we highlight the role of emotions and their interplay with situational contingencies in shaping a movement's course, our findings allow us to bring a fresh perspective to the role of religion in social movements – a highly potent emotive force (Chan-Serafin, Brief & George, 2013; Smith, 2014; Soule, 2012). Scholars have focused on how activists use religion as a moral force for mobilizing change. For example, religious institutions have engaged in shareholder activism to put pressure on corporations regarding social concerns like equal employment opportunity (e.g., Van Buren, 2007). Religious values can serve as movement ideology even in secular societies, such as in the influence of the Black Church on the US Civil Rights movement. "By rooting ultimate authority in the transcendent, religion can make worldly systems accountable to a standard of judgement that lies outside the system itself" (Williams, 2002: 251-52).

In contrast, our case shows how activists may attack a religious institution's moral legitimacy to show the rightness of their own moral stance. By exposing the moral failings of the Church of England, Occupy London hit the core of a long standing theological dilemma for the Church; whether it should act as a Church of the world, or whether, as a Church of the

Kingdom of God, it should reassert Christianity's solidarity with the marginalized. Occupy exposed this "inconvenient truth" the Church had avoided confronting and attacked institutionalized religion as a means of its own survival.

Other Implications

Failed but not *fruitless* movements: It is worth considering if mobilizations such as the Occupy movement could precipitate broader change in society (Biggs & Andrews, 2015). It would not be amiss to dismiss Occupy as a failure – a botched movement with a utopian vision but an ill-defined agenda to eradicate inequality (Gessen et al., 2011). While Occupy's inequality frame struck a highly receptive chord across the globe, in the UK, Occupy got mired in a moral battle with the Church. With an unfocused agenda, perhaps it was no big surprise that Occupy derailed. Was it simply a case of pent up anger vented out at whoever crossed its path – in this case the Church – by a movement fuelled by emotions?

Indeed, on some accounts, Occupy was "a rebel without a cause." Many argued that Occupy should have focused on a more specific set of issues (Byrne, 2012). And, if it wanted to pursue its ambitious mission, then it may have been prudent to ally with conventional institutions such as the Church, unions, or political parties (Bennett & Seggerberg, 2015). Attacking a potentially sympathetic institution did not appear to be a particularly efficacious use of its radical energy. After all, the Church had given temporary sanctuary to Occupy activists evicted from the City. But, instead of leveraging its encounter with the Church to jointly address a grand challenge, it got embroiled in a bitter dispute. In the end, perhaps it was a case of lost opportunity with little if any impact on the grand challenge.

However, even if Occupy movement did not achieve any teleological outcomes, dismissing Occupy as irrelevant to the grand challenge may also be inaccurate. Failed movements are not necessarily *fruitless* movements. Impelled by visions of alternative governance, Occupy offered daring ideas to challenge the systemic structures that had led to

unprecedented levels of inequality (Gamson & Sifry, 2012). It created ripples in the public discourse by raising the public salience of inequality (Lakoff, 2011). While no causal claims can be made, issues that Occupy set out to fight – growing economic polarization and income gulf (CBO, 2011) – continue to permeate public discourse (Piketty, 2014).[7]

In the UK, even though Occupy London derailed, it nevertheless contributed to bringing the issue of fairness and inequality to the political agenda, producing a new collective consciousness, and more directly, triggering a period of introspection in the Church. The Church had so far been ambiguous about whether it was the "house" of the wealthy that the termites eat, or the "social activist" whose mission was to disrupt the house (Clements, 2014). Since its encounter with Occupy, the Church has put ethical issues high on its agenda and severed financial ties with some of the discredited institutions in the City of London just as Occupy had demanded (Clements, 2014). A key concern of Occupy – hefty bonuses for loss-making bankers – also took on centre stage. Thus, while Occupy may not have achieved specific outcomes, some of its demands have arguably created wide ranging ripples.

Movement success or failure? Social movements' outcomes are difficult to define and measure as movements can have both short term and long term consequences. This may particularly hold for grand challenges that tend to be "systemic," caught in complex causal webs, and not conclusively resoluble given the ambiguity regarding their root cause and potential solutions. Indeed, it is difficult to establish a causal relationship between a social movements' actions and an observed change in society, "be it minor or fundamental, durable

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[7] In the US, Occupy arguably contributed to a more politicized youth that may press for progressive agendas and possibly contributed to Obama's re-election, where he stood in clear contrast to the Republican candidate seen as the embodiment of the 1% (Langman, 2013), and even the campaign of democratic contender for the 2016 US election, Bernie Sanders whose core message around wealth disparity strongly resonates with the key theme of Occupy. "Sanders' rise in this election season is inconceivable without Occupy Wall Street having elevated the conversation around inequality and the way that the 1% are ravaging this country" (Lenchner. quoted in Gabatt, 2015). Among the "results" of Occupy, Pew Research shows that two-thirds of Americans saw growing inequality as a defining challenge of the times (Langman, 2013).

or temporary" (Giugni, 1998: 373). Thus neither movement success nor failure can be assessed in absolute or dichotomous terms. While a movement may ostensibly fail on the political front, it may succeed in the social and cultural realms by heightening the public salience of an issue, or open up space for more moderate voices to enter.

One could argue that the "Green movement" in Iran – a largely improvisatory effort lasting about two months that was aroused by a deep sense of outrage at alleged state complicity in rigging the 2009 elections – got entangled in spiralling emotions as it confronted the powerful state and its brutal attempts to crush the mobilization. The movement ended in a tragedy with many activists killed or injured. However, while it may have failed to overturn the 2009 election results, and has stayed dormant for the past several years, it arguably led to widen the schisms within the Islamic Republic's elite and played a role in the recent victory of a reformist president (Harris, 2012). The anti-globalization movement, like Occupy did not mobilize against a specific issue but represented a political rights struggle against transnational neoliberalism (Brecher, Costello & Smith, 2000). Although the movement might not have succeeded in halting globalization, it has arguably introduced a resonant critique of the global economy based on its radically democratic principles.

Clearly, even "failed" movements may not be fruitless for the grand challenge at stake. In addition, there may be a place for movements that refuse politically expediency despite the risks of inefficacy or failure. While we have an understanding of how movements aiming to disrupt the status quo may get co-opted, or reintegrated into the institutional order they seek to change (e.g., Lounsbury et al., 2003), it is worth exploring movements that remain a "thorn in the side" for the establishment by refusing reincorporation into the existing power structures and by calling out wrongs and exposing complicities that few others would dare to.

Collective complicity in grand challenges

A key aspect of grand challenges hinted by our case is the issue of the complacency and collective complicity of even revered social institutions that can contribute to the normalization and perpetuation of long-standing societal injustices. Many institutions are underpinned by latent moral contradictions that may only surface during moments of crises. As accidental and situationally contingent as it may seem, Occupy's attack on the Church exposed its links with some of the City's tainted businesses widely blamed for the financial crisis and mounting inequality. While venerable social institutions such as the Church tend to be portrayed as "moral high priests," they may also serve in the "moral validation of social boundaries" and serve as "an institutional and cultural prop for the status quo" (Williams, 2012: 252). Criticizing the Church, Martin Luther King (1963: 15) had condemned the "dark dungeons of complacency" and the social and racial injustices that are "consoled by the church's silent and often vocal sanction of things as they are" (quoted in Williams, 2012).

This suggests that even highly legitimate actors may be complicit in creating or sustaining grand challenges (Ferraro et al., 2015). Addressing these challenges may require an acknowledgement of collective complicity i.e., that everyone's behaviour is both a source of and solution to the grand challenge at stake. Thus, unlike strategic framing, where an external enemy is targeted as a reason to mobilize "us against them" (Benford & Snow, 2000), tackling grand challenges may require an acknowledgement of "the enemy is us," entailing remedial effort from not just the worst offenders, but a range of interlinked actors that may intendedly or unintendedly, directly or indirectly and tacitly or explicitly contribute to these challenges. Remedying global injustices is potentially everyone's responsibility "by virtue of the social processes that connect people" (Young, 2006: 102) and requires collective action on all fronts regardless of the extent of contribution to these challenges.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH AVENUES

We studied an extreme case of a multi-faceted movement that took on a fundamental grand challenge spanning multiple domains. In showcasing this movement in London, our study opens up several avenues for research. *First*, it is difficult to evaluate the outcomes of a multi-faceted movement, as against movements with narrowly defined or tangible goals such as gaining suffrage. It is worth examining if multi-faceted movements taking on a grand challenge in its totality are more likely to derail, as against movements with specific goals or those that focus on smaller and seemingly more tractable chunks of the challenge.

Second, while we examined a relatively young movement with radical tactics, movement tactics can range from extreme to moderate. Young movements tend to be experimental, allowing "local determinism" to prevail (Goffman, 1983) as they engage with powerholders, while mature movements, such as the fair trade movement today, tend to be institutionally savvy. It is worth examining how movements' strategies might shift during their evolution.

Third, while we contend that interactional framing matters in all movements, it is worth asking whether some movements are more likely to employ frames strategically. Hierarchically organized movements with clear leadership structures, such as the US Tea Party, may allow for tighter control in the production of meanings than diffuse movements such as Occupy. Power structures within movements can structurally disadvantage certain meanings, shape the dominant discourses and influence what activists express or are allowed to express, or the attention their voices receive (Gray et al., 2015). Examining a movement's organizational structures and how framing processes are inextricably linked to power structures in a politicized social environment is a worthy research endeavour.

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PICTURES, FIGURES AND TABLES

Picture 1: The Occupy camp between St Paul's and the London Stock Exchange
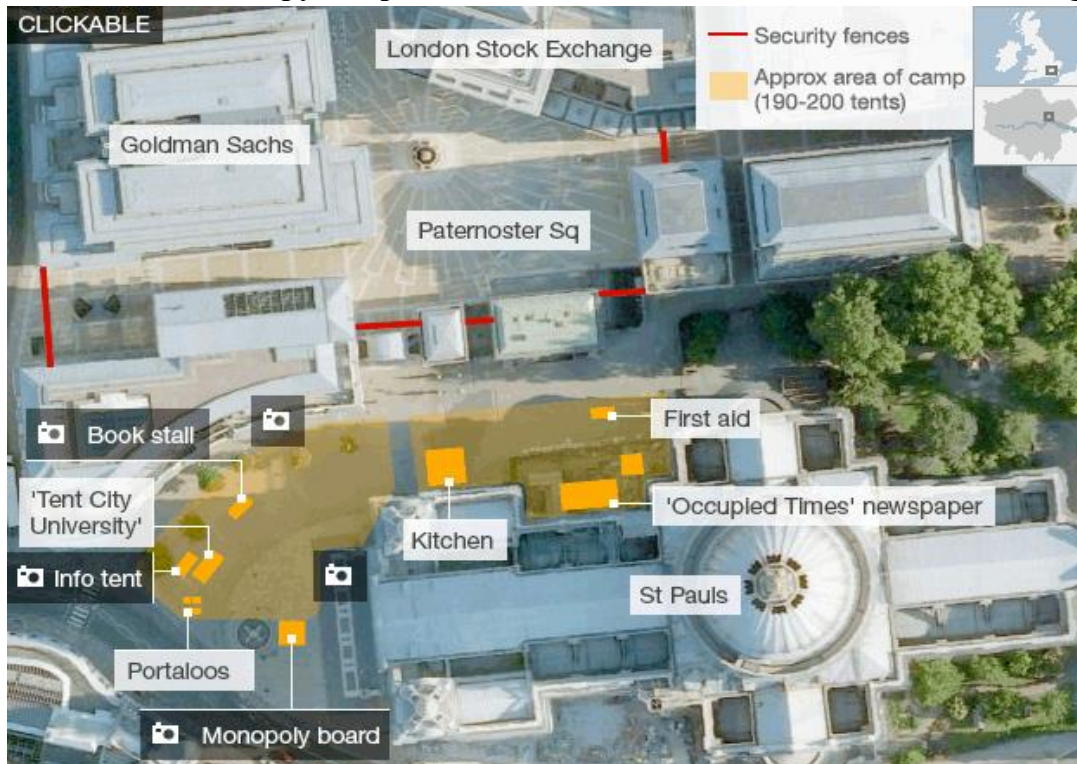
Source: BBC News. 'Occupy London: Traders' fears over St Paul's demo,' 20 October 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-15390508 [accessed June 13, 2012].

Picture 2: 'What would Jesus Do?' theme at the Occupy camp

Source: Duncan C. 'Banksy Monopoly board at Occupy London, St. Paul's Cathedral, London 2011', October 27, 2011, Creative Commons https://www.flickr.com/photos/duncan/6286803617/ [accessed June 13, 2012].

Picture 3: St Paul's staff chanting their love of mammon in front of the camp

Source: Bell, S. 'Church of England and protest camp at St. Paul's' The Guardian, October 28, 2011. http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cartoon/2011/oct/28/ steve-bell-st-pauls-rowan-williams-cartoon [accessed June 13, 2012].

Picture 4: Clergyman sweeping protesters away from St Paul's

Source: Belle Mellor, B. 'Illustration', The Guardian, 31 January 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jan/31/occupy-eviction-st-pauls-cathedral [accessed June 13, 2012]

Figure 1: A Timeline Mapping Interactional Episodes of Occupy London and St Paul's
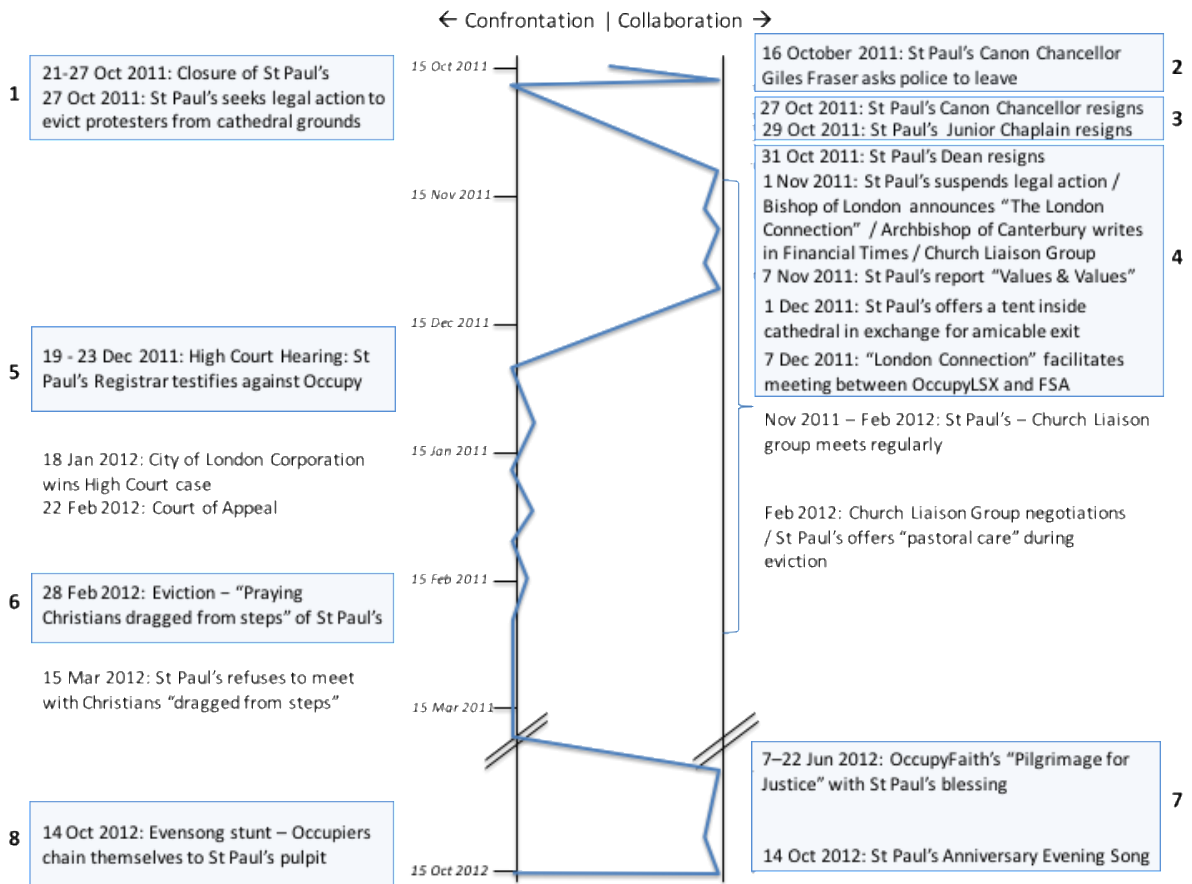
← Confrontation | Collaboration →

1
21-27 Oct 2011: Closure of St Paul's
27 Oct 2011: St Paul's seeks legal action to evict protesters from cathedral grounds

15 Oct 2011

16 October 2011: St Paul's Canon Chancellor Giles Fraser asks police to leave
2

27 Oct 2011: St Paul's Canon Chancellor resigns
29 Oct 2011: St Paul's Junior Chaplain resigns
3

31 Oct 2011: St Paul's Dean resigns
1 Nov 2011: St Paul's suspends legal action / Bishop of London announces "The London Connection" / Archbishop of Canterbury writes in Financial Times / Church Liaison Group
7 Nov 2011: St Paul's report "Values & Values"
1 Dec 2011: St Paul's offers a tent inside cathedral in exchange for amicable exit
7 Dec 2011: "London Connection" facilitates meeting between OccupyLSX and FSA
4

15 Nov 2011

15 Dec 2011

5
19 - 23 Dec 2011: High Court Hearing: St Paul's Registrar testifies against Occupy

Nov 2011 – Feb 2012: St Paul's – Church Liaison group meets regularly

18 Jan 2012: City of London Corporation wins High Court case
22 Feb 2012: Court of Appeal

15 Jan 2011

Feb 2012: Church Liaison Group negotiations / St Paul's offers "pastoral care" during eviction

15 Feb 2011

6
28 Feb 2012: Eviction – "Praying Christians dragged from steps" of St Paul's

15 Mar 2012: St Paul's refuses to meet with Christians "dragged from steps"

15 Mar 2011

7–22 Jun 2012: OccupyFaith's "Pilgrimage for Justice" with St Paul's blessing
7

14 Oct 2012: St Paul's Anniversary Evening Song

8
14 Oct 2012: Evensong stunt – Occupiers chain themselves to St Paul's pulpit

15 Oct 2012

Table 1: Types of interactions between Occupy and St Paul's

Negotiating meaning	Type of interaction	Interaction entities (Goffman, 1983)	Example(s)
	Mutual noticing	Contact	Cathedral staff crossing the camp, being noticed, greeted or shouted at (Oct 2011-Feb 2012)
	Spontaneous talk	Contact	Protesters and cathedral staff having informal chats in the camp (Oct 2011-Feb 2012)
	Sending letters, notices	Contact	Protesters sending letters post-eviction to request meeting with Dean of St Paul's
	Organized meeting	Conversational encounters	Church Liaison Group meetings (weekly from Nov 2011 onwards)
	Public assembly	Platform performance	Open meeting with the Bishop of London and the Dean of St Paul's (30.10.2011)
	Symbolic messages	Platform performance	"What would Jesus Do" banner in the camp, Occupy's "Sermon on the Steps" (29.10.2011)
	Public ceremony	Platform performance	Evensong service and Evensong stunt (14.10.2012)
	Press conference, press releases, tweets	Platform performance	Occupy press releases, St Paul's press conference announcing the Dean's resignation (31.10.2011)
	Media articles (incl. participant commentaries)	Dramatic scripting	Financial Times article by The Archbishop of Canterbury (1.11.2011)/The Guardian articles by Giles Fraser (multiple)
Proposing meaning	Court case & judgement / Eviction episode	Social occasion	Hearing at the Royal Courts of Justice (19-23.12.2011) and Appeals Court (13.02.2012); Judgments (18.01. & 22.02.2012); Camp eviction (28.02.2012)

Table 2: Interactional episodes: Occupy and St Paul's framing

Interactional episode	Occupy's framing	St Paul's' framing
1 16. Oct 2011 **Frame ambiguity in the first face-to-face contact** • St Paul's Canon Chancellor Giles Fraser greets protesters and asks police to clear the cathedral steps	**Being welcomed** "Now, we didn't choose this location, we didn't choose to be here. I think nobody here has any issues with the Church, we don't want to inconvenience the Church. Our argument is with the people over there, the stock exchange, the banks." (Occupier Kris at public meeting with St Paul's Dean) "When Giles [Fraser] had come out and told the police to leave, it was like 'yeah', you know, we can stay." (Occupier Dulini)	**Offering temporary refuge** "Occupy ended up camping outside St Paul's Cathedral, entirely by accident. It was not a protest against St Paul's Cathedral. They were denied any chance to pitch up in any other part of the City so that's where they ended up." (CoE policy advisor) "The Chapter at the beginning kind of said 'Let's wait and see where this goes, not kick them out on the first day'" (St Paul's staff)
2 21.-27. Oct 2011 **Frame breach for Occupy – Closing doors on the 99%** • St Paul's closes (21.10) • St Paul's re-opens (27.10) but declares taking legal action to clear Occupy camp	**Being betrayed – "What would Jesus Do?"** "It's like Christianity slams the door in your face!" (Occupier Sal) / "It's God's house. The door should always be open" (Occupier Jess) Protesters replace "Capitalism is Crisis" with "What would Jesus Do?" banner "The moral narratives of Christianity still form the foundation of assumptions that many people in Britain have […] So that provided a readily available frame which Occupy could seize and take upon ourselves." (Occupier James)	**Denial of "welcome"** "The time has come for the protesters to leave, before the camp's presence threatens to eclipse entirely the issues that it was set up to address." (Bishop of London) "Unfortunately Occupy got the message…that cathedrals were a soft touch possibly, or in a cathedral they would be welcomed, or at least this was a place where there would be enough hesitation before they were kicked out." (CoE policy advisor)
3 27. Oct 2011 **Frame breach for St Paul's – A high profile resignation** St Paul's Canon Chancellor Giles Fraser resigns via Twitter	**Reactivation of welcome** "There are people like Giles and other people who are like Giles in the sense that on a personal level they share the concerns [with Occupy] but who are less courageous in terms of their institutional expression." (Occupier George) "He [Giles] supported us from day one!" (Occupier Kat)	**"Freezing moment"** "What I call the 'freezing moment' was a result of people thinking 'no, actually we're doing what we think we can do and we're not quite sure what specifically beyond that you want us to do'…I was not quite sure what would constitute a satisfactory response…. I didn't know what the agenda was I was being invited to support. I don't like writing blank cheques. And I didn't see what they thought would constitute a good response." (CoE senior clergy)

4	29. Oct - Dec 2011 **Attempt at building a collaborative frame** • St Paul's suspends legal action and initiates Church Liaison Group • London Connection • Archbishop of Canterbury writes in The Financial Times	**Dismissing collaborative move as a "token gesture"** "The cathedral see it as a PR thing. And I see it like this: If a friend is coming to stay and you give him your couch, for one night it's kind of fine but after like a week they start smelling and you want to get rid of them…Don't think that this is any kind of meaningful support. This was a media game." (Occupier Paul) "Our relationship, Occupy with the Church, I think we were very keen to try and establish cordial relations, this was the only way to survive, but…there was suspicion of what the church was really about." (Occupier Tim)	**Attempt at rectifying relationship through collaboration** "There were a couple of moments where…we were agreed that how amazing would it be if we came to the decision together to end…As a proactive decision of Occupy…saying that 'No, we're not just here until you kick us out, we're going to leave on our own accord.' There was about a two week period where that was quite an exciting prospect…There was a desire to say well, can we work together and have a media coup by saying that, you know, that conflict you wanted in the media or that kind of legal action, neither of those are the way forward." (St Paul's staff)
5	19.-23. Dec 2011 **Conflictual frame – Court case** • St Paul's Registrar Cotton testifies in court against Occupy and furnishes complaints	**Being betrayed second time** "There's nothing (!) ambiguous about their position in the trial! They were absolutely fundamentally supporting the Corporation of London in this!" (Occupier Jess) "The church by supporting and being in semi-league with the Corporation of London actually has the moneylenders inside…It's deplorable." (Occupier Tim)	**Reluctant repudiation** "How do you end this? – you've [Occupy] been beaten! How do you go away proud of what you've achieved even though you've not won the battle?" (CoE policy advisor on failure to negotiate exit) "The refusal by some protesters to stop occupying land around St Paul's when requested to do so reinforced the message in the media that the object of the Occupy protest was St Paul's rather than the financial and political institutions of the city and the country." (St Paul's, Dean Ison)
6	28. Feb 2012 **Reinforcement of conflictual frame – Eviction** • St Paul's allows police to clear cathedral steps in the eviction of Occupy's camp	**Being betrayed third time** "The Church claimed to support our protest (they didn't). The Church claimed to not want to work against us in the court case (they gave evidence against us). The Church claimed to offer us sanctuary on eviction night (they asked the police to move traumatised and ill people from the steps and locked the doors)" (Occupier John's email)	**Continuing repudiation** "There is that romanticised element and that's where St Paul's comes out looking bad. Because in that romanticised story we were part of the oppressors that betrayed them, you know. And they forget how much we were trying to help or just converse with them. And that for various reasons…it just didn't work out." (St Paul's staff)

7	Mar – Oct 2012 **Attempt at re-building a collaborative frame – Post eviction** • OccupyFaith and St Paul's collaborate on • "Pilgrimage for Justice" from St Paul's to Canterbury (07.-19.06.2011) • Joint Anniversary Evensong service	**Partial embrace of reconciliation** "While I still think those Christians are misguided to have truck with a rich, hierarchical, establishment-supporting (etc. etc.) Church, some of them are good and well-meaning people who are definitely worth connecting with, debating with, and working with. Some of them could even be persuadable to drop the prayers for protest. Y' never know... So, I think going into churches and reminding Christians of politics, poverty and protest is probably a worthwhile thing to do, especially for those Occupiers who have a soft spot for churches anyway." (Occupier M, defending collaboration with St Paul's)	**Seeking reconciliation (with both the 1% *and* the 99%)** "Our Christian concern is not with one part of humanity, but with all." (St Paul's, Dean Ison) "'We are the 99% […] what happens to the other 1%, they're people, too. I don't like that antagonism." (St Paul's staff) "For all the faults we could see in one another and ourselves, we should never take our eyes off of the fact that we all desire to head in the same direction." (St Paul's Institute, Manager. Gordon, 2012)
8	14. Oct 2012 **Final escalation in conflictual frame – Occupy's parting shot[8]** Occupy stages collective action against St Pauls' during Anniversary Evensong service	**Revenge for being betrayed** "Those girls were making a very important point which is they felt totally betrayed by St Paul's Cathedral." (Occupier Jamie) "The reason why we've come here today is to…ask the cathedral what they feel is their role in terms of the radicalism of Jesus, what does that mean for you. We're here today because the cathedral has not at all, at all, at all, in our point of view, adhered to anything like the radical and progressive message of Jesus, that's why we're here!" (Occupier chained to St Paul's pulpit to with St Paul's Dean Ison)	**Breach of good faith** "They [Occupy and St Paul's] had an agreement that they would be doing something [Evensong service] but not to attack the church…What St Paul's in its rather gentlemanly way thought was that here we have an agreement and it's immediately been trashed." (CoE policy advisor) "I certainly don't believe that the figure of Christ should be used to attack somebody. And in many respects it was used as a weapon." (St Paul's staff) "St Paul's felt so bruised by all this." (CoE senior clergy)

[8] Parting shot refers to a cutting or derogatory remark or an act of aggression or retaliation just before departing in anger or frustration.