

Out of Place: Women's experiences of policing in protest spaces.

Introduction

This article examines women's experiences of policing in protest spaces. More specifically, the article considers women's experiences of sexual violence perpetrated by police at protests against 'fracking' in England. To do this we draw upon specific narratives collected through in-depth interviews with protesters involved in anti-fracking protests that took place at Barton Moss, Salford between November 2013 and April 2014. Taking a spatialised gendered social order as a feminist lens, the article explores experiences of sexual violence and the various implications of place, space and time. The article begins by reviewing literature on the spatial and temporal dynamics of gendered violence to situate our approach to the analysis of sexual violence perpetrated by police in protest spaces. We then explore the spatial and temporal dimensions of the Barton Moss protest before examining women's experiences of sexual violence encountered in the course of police responses to forms of direct action protest. We argue that the geographical location of Barton Moss, and the spatial arrangement of the protest site, increased the productive dimensions of police power and the productivity and effectivity of sexual violence as a means of control. This article therefore provides a call for those researching protest movements, policing, and gendered violence to consider the protest site as a space that facilitates violence against women.

Our previous work (Monk, Gilmore and Jackson 2019) has demonstrated that women involved in direct action protest are considered to be out of place through the transgression of socio-geographical boundaries which establish the dominant cultural and social order and, as such, are responded to by police as disorderly subjects. We argue that the policing of women in protest has been largely ignored in the study of gender and policing and in scholarship on women's protest. We do not claim that the experiences detailed in this article are universal, but we do suggest that they are significant for an understanding of both the gendered nature of police power and effects this can have on women's engagement in protest and political activism. We want to suggest that future research must take into account the experiences of women policed during protest including hard to reach groups involved in direct action. In this article, we wish to contribute to this work by focusing more acutely on the spatial and temporal dynamics at play at Barton Moss to explore the wider geographies of violence against women (Brickell and Maddrell, 2016). It is our assertion here that to fully understand men's violence against women, and, in this instance, the experiences of women violently policed during protest, we must utilise a geographic lens of critique alongside frameworks which address cultural, social and economic conditions.

Feminist geographers have addressed the spatial distribution of men's violence and women's fear of crime as mapped across place, space, and timeframe (Valentine, 1992; Pain, 1991, 1997). This analysis identified a mismatch between geographies of violence and geographies of fear. The home is a consistently unsafe place for women, owing largely to the prevailing ideology of the family (Morris, 2009). Violence in households and amongst families amplifies gender regimes and the totality of the gender order (Connell, 2002), which are available to members outside of the domestic sphere. Women are, therefore, right to be fearful of men's violence in public spaces too. A range of harassing behaviours are experienced by women in public places (Pain, 1997; Vera-Grey, 2016) which contests the idea that the concept of public space as dangerous for women is merely an overstated perception. There is a growing body of literature which documents sexed and gendered violence across multiple public sites including the night-time economy (Fileborn, 2012, 2016), public transport (Dunckel-Graglia, 2013) and university campuses (Bows et al., 2015). These variant locations raise significant questions for the spatiality of VAW, some of which we seek to address in this article.

A further characteristic of women's experiences of violence and fear of crime is that of temporality. The temporal nature of women's fear and use of public space is largely attributed to changes in environmental conditions brought about by darkness, changing seasons and the weather (Valentine, 1989; Warr, 1990). However, periods of time are also significant when trying to understand women's experiences of violence. Adopting a life course perspective which can document the harm of its subjects across their lifetime, or across significant life events, is seen as an effective way to map the relationship between violence, subjectivity and time (Pantazis, 2004).

Notions of femininity have been constructed and reconstructed around the tropes of the home, domesticity and sexuality (Chadwick and Little, 1987). The spatialisation of gender, here, is important for women who engage in public protests and direct action. Although domestic circumstances have changed for many households, the 'specific spatial framework of masculinity and femininity still prevails' (Valentine, 1992: 23). This framework is upheld and reproduced by the state and its institutions, including the police (Tchaikovsky, 1989). Women's fear of crime and the strategies they adopt to avoid violence in public spaces also has the effect of reinforcing this framework. Valentine (1989) refers to this as the spatial expression of patriarchy; the dominant tropes of appropriate 'places' for women cementing the role that space plays in the formation and reproduction of the gendered social order. In short, as Vera-Grey (2018: 4) puts it, 'the work of being a woman in public' has substantial cultural, political and spatial effects.

As Moran and Skeggs (2004, p. 7) argue 'who should occupy space and who should not' is central to our interpretation of public space as a series of locations which are wrought with exclusions and where women's bodies warrant scrutiny, control and punishment as targets of social concern

and anxiety. Women are seen to be disorderly in masculinised public space and this is particularly pronounced in relation to women's involvement in public protest. As has long been argued, women who engage in direct action fundamentally contest the ideas of appropriate femininity and the occupation of public space (Chadwick and Little, 1987; Young, 1990). When dissent is embodied by women, they reject the dominant ideals of femininity by destabilising the heterosexual gender order and transgressing the sociopolitical order (Roseneil, 1995; Laware, 2004).

Research suggests that the threat of women who protest is seen to be a particularly disruptive and disordered threat given the number of feminine codes that are broken and the public, symbolic and political ways in which they are broken (Cresswell, 1994). We previously argued that, within a cultural context that prefers women to be in need of male protection and renders women's bodies fragile and passive, women who take part in direct action, particularly over a prolonged period of time, are judged to be markedly out of place (Monk, Gilmore and Jackson, 2019). As such, we witness the criminalisation of deviant, rather than necessarily lawbreaking, behaviour. Women in protest are charged with directly challenging the state and, through this show of opposition, their place in the gendered social order.

Women's experience of policing in this context needs to be understood in relation to the general function of police. Critical scholars have argued that the central concern of police lies with order (Neocleous, 2000; Silver, 1967), and the exercise of police power in pursuit of 'good order' has both productive and repressive dimensions through which the ideal citizen-subject is (re)produced. But this work has largely ignored the fact that the ideal citizen-subject is always gendered and the police, as active defenders of the social order, play a key role in monitoring and regulating displays of gendered disorder. We argue that the adoption of a gendered analysis of police power enables us to understand the role police play in defining acceptable forms of femininity (Monk, Gilmore and Jackson, 2019).

Methodology

This paper utilises data from the first extensive analysis of the policing of anti-fracking protests in the UK. Using the Barton Moss Community Protection Camp (BMCPC) as a case study, the research aimed to understand and document the experiences of policing at the BMCPC from the perspective of those being policed and to think through, in numerous ways, what we can learn from these experiences. By examining the experiences of those involved in direct action protests we sought to highlight an under-researched group (Jackson, 2019). In doing so, the longitudinal and ethnographic case-study approach sought to demonstrate the importance of including these experiences in protest policing research to understand the changing nature of police practice.

Rather than claiming that the experiences detailed below are universal in the policing of direct action protest, the single case study approach is utilised to make a case for further research with these groups and our findings suggest this must have a particular focus on women.

We carried out a series of qualitative semi-structured interviews during the policing operation which were supplemented with extensive field notes, and follow-up interviews carried out after the camp had disbanded, in order to track the criminal justice response to the protest. This paper makes recourse to the qualitative semi-structured interviews carried out by the authors with camp residents and those taking part in direct action at BMCPC, and to field notes taken during camp visits. Interviews focusing on protesters' experiences of policing were conducted on site with 27 protesters - 16 men and 11 women - with each interview lasting between 45 minutes and two hours. Purposive sampling was undertaken; the authors approached members of the camp directly to seek participation after initial discussions with gatekeepers from the Justice 4 Barton Moss campaign.

The methodology for this research was guided by the primary objective to uncover the experiences of policing at Barton Moss from the perspectives of the protesters, enabling us to project the unrecognised voices of a hard to reach group. Our methodological approach and analysis are, therefore, situated within a contextual framework which assumes that the experiences of those at the camp - those who were being policed at Barton Moss - are central to unlocking what happened during the protest. We did not interview police officers as part of our research methodology¹, instead the research provides a *view from below* (Sim, Scraton and Gordon, 1987) informed by feminist research methods which centralise the role that experience should play in knowledge and theory formation (Skinner, Hester and Malos, 2005). Indeed, creating space for women's accounts of their experiences to be heard is a fundamental element of critical feminist research (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002; Skinner, Hester and Malos, 2005) and this enabled many of the protesters to open up about incidents of gendered policing, an experience which has historically been marginalised in academic research.

The interpretive, feminist lens adopted to analyse the data is built upon an understanding of the gendered socio-geographical boundaries which establish the dominant cultural and social order (Valentine, 1989; Cresswell, 1994; Connell, 2009). The foregrounding of space, place and time as analytical concepts situates the research within a tradition of feminist approaches to studying time and space (Rose, 1993; Listerborn, 2002). The findings are framed within a feminist

¹ We consider this independence to be just, and crucial to engaging with those whom we can learn from with regards to *being* policed; the protesters themselves (Jackson, 2019)

perspective of social control (Smart and Smart, 1978; Kelly, 1988) and are theorised via a gendered approach to policing (Monk, Gilmore and Jackson, 2019).

The Barton Moss Community Protection Camp (BMCCP)

In November 2013, the energy company IGas Energy began exploratory drilling for coal bed methane at Barton Moss, Salford, UK. The prospect of exploratory drilling at the site, preparing the way for the extraction of unconventional fossil fuels through the process known as 'fracking'², raised concerns among local residents and activists from around the country. Residents concerned about the apparent negative impacts of fracking, on the health of both the local community and the local environment, joined with activists from further afield to establish a Community Protection Camp at the site before the drilling had begun. The camp was established - on a narrow grass verge at the side of the single-track lane used to access the drilling site [see Figure 1³] - to enable a campaign of protest and direct action that sought to raise awareness about the apparent dangers of fracking.

Figure 1 here

The camp stayed in situ for the five-month duration of the drilling operation, enduring harsh winter conditions, and camp members adopted several protest techniques. They relied most heavily on slow walking in front of IGas convoys entering and leaving the site in order to delay the drilling operation and to provide a visible opposition to fracking in Salford. Greater Manchester Police [GMP] conducted a policing operation - codenamed Operation Geraldton - at Barton Moss which lasted for over 20 weeks, cost in excess of £1.7 million and resulted in 231 arrests (Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2016). A wide variety of concerns were raised by protesters, legal observers, journalists, and academic researchers, which questioned the nature, function and proportionality of the policing operation and the subsequent criminal justice response (Cullen, 2014; Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2016; Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2017; Jackson, Gilmore and Monk, 2018).

Spatial and Temporal dynamics of protest

² Fracking or hydraulic fracturing is the process of extracting shale gas from solid rock hundreds of metres, if not kilometres, below the surface by pumping water, sand and chemicals at high pressure into the rock.

³ All photos credit: Steve Speed

The BMCPC, as stated above, lined the road that led to the exploratory drilling site. The camp was situated away from the main access point to the IGAS site on the A57, much further along Barton Moss Road. The makeshift camp - comprising of tents, communal areas and other facilities - was, therefore, geographically removed from passing traffic and public view. Whilst the camp is symbolic of the seriousness of the issue at hand, it can also be read as a clear sign of disorder, emblematic of the visible and explicit nature of the opposition to fracking and the economic exploitation of the natural environment (Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2016). The combination of geographical isolation and the exceptional nature of the protest camp as a constant show of opposition, is significant for two main reasons. Firstly, as the narratives of the protesters will demonstrate throughout this article, these conditions gave rise to the violent policing response that they experienced, and, secondly, local and public support was considerable but the intersecting seclusion and violence at the camp deterred many concerned citizens from attending the daily marches. As James explains, 'Solidarity Sundays', organised events where local residents were invited to come and support the protest on a day when drilling would not be taking place, were well attended:

Like we were saying on the Solidarity Sundays, there can be over 1,000 people for that. The local community are scared of the Greater Manchester Police, so we don't get that kind of numbers for the march down. We get a dozen maybe, maybe two dozen at best. Whereas when it is a solidarity day and they know the police are going to be very minimal, they do come out and support us. So it's clear that the local community does support the campaign itself, but they are scared of the policing on the whole.

At the BMCPC, a far smaller number of protesters would take part in a series of slow walks - direct action, which largely consisted of walking trucks into and off the drilling site - all of which took place along the reasonably narrow approach road to the drilling site. Here, the spatial arrangement of the narrow road, ditches to one side, and the makeshift camp to the other, is important. This is a small space for an intense and recurrent protest and affords protesters little freedom or room to rethink their actions should the circumstances of the protest change.

These slow walk protests took place usually twice daily for four days per week, for the duration of the drilling operation. The adoption of this tactic and other forms of direct action was seen to be a necessary means of disrupting and delaying the exploratory drilling. The perceived lack of public consultation at a local and national level meant that many protesters felt that disruptive forms of direct action were the only effective means of protesting against a destructive industrial process being imposed on this community. The commitment came with a realisation - reinforced as the operation developed - that direct action protest would be responded to with force by police.

The camp remained in situ until mid-April 2014 with the protest covering approximately 20 weeks, involving over 75 days of protest and upward of 140 protest events. In these terms, the protest at BMCP can be thought of as an extended protest situation. Many of the participants in our research camped at BMCP for all or part of the 5-month timeframe. One of the destabilising effects of this extended protest was the uncertainty around how each day would play out on the ground and the parameters of acceptable protest set by GMP. As Maria notes, the time taken to complete the slow walks was frequently subject to change:

At the very beginning we could walk for two hours...Now we're lucky to get an hour - an hour is the very best, that's the best we can manage, so that's halved the time. The standard really is about thirty, forty minutes, that's average now; but sometimes our record has been less than fifteen minutes and that's literally almost like a sprint... that's a very, very brisk walk; that's people, like, tripping over trying to keep up with the police behind them.

What also appeared to be in flux was the degree to which GMP would facilitate peaceful protest and the approach they would adopt across different days of protest:

A couple of instances we've started the protest up at the top and less than halfway down they just decided that's it, and they just hurl us into the bramble bushes and chuck everyone into the bushes, and then just let the lorries go. So it changes, depending on their type of attitude and day they've had. (Lee, protester)

The inconsistencies in approach and how the protest would play out daily was amplified by an almost constant police presence at the site. Lee understands this as an attempt to intimidate protesters:

They're always out here, pretty much now waiting for us at 6.30 in a morning and already walking up and down the thing... Their presence here at 6.30 in a morning, as well, I consider that well over the top. We all know the protest doesn't really kick off till 9:00. Why do they really have to be standing outside our tents at 6.30 in the morning intimidating us? It's completely over the top. (Lee, protester)

What starts to emerge is the variant spatial and temporal dynamics of the protest including the ability of the police to control the protest space and how it is utilised by protesters. However, the protesters' commitment to direct action techniques was reinforced through the conflict with police as they engaged in a running battle to gain the upper hand in what were very often daily clashes. The narratives therefore offer some visual imagination to the conditions of the protest and the spatial dynamics of the policing operation in response to daily marches, which are also represented in Figure 2.

Figure 2 here

Space, Violence and Police Power

Violent behaviours and harassment were key features of the policing operation at Barton Moss (Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2016). The spatial arrangement of the protest site created a set of conditions within which the protest took place. The close proximity of police officers and protesters in these daily marches meant that very close physical contact between police and protesters was a regular, often daily, experience. These conditions gave rise to a series of violent responses, all of which were facilitated by the specificities of the protest space. For many of the protesters, these responses were understood to be an inevitable result of police hostility to this type of direct action protest (Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2016; Jackson, Gilmore and Monk, 2018).

Maria discusses the use of physical violence she experienced during the slow walks:

A lot of them will walk on your feet when you are in the line, they will kick your shins, they will kick your boots, they will try and trip you up, and they 'll kick you in the knees. I had my knee kicked very hard by a steel-toe capped boot from a TAU officer and I was on crutches for about five days .

Similarly, Tim outlines how he tried to negotiate the spatial parameters of the protest whilst being met with a violent police response:

The shocking thing in this case was, as he was saying the words, he had slipped his right hand between my right arm and my right hip and the palm side of his fingers was on my pelvic bone, and as he said, "Don ' t lean back or you will be arrested," he was easing me very firmly back towards him ...I was keeping about a foot ' s clearance, like, every few seconds just glancing half behind me to see the gap was there. And then, I just did a little glance, "Yeah the gap is still there." I turned my head back forwards and - bang! He jumps on me from behind, immediately followed by, I guess, two or three other officers, and for a couple of minutes, for me, it all went dark .

Whilst all research participants confirmed that they had experienced violence at the hands of the police, there was a consensus that women were heavily involved in direct action at BMCP and were policed more violently as a result. This occupation of the frontline of protest resulted in what was understood as a differential approach to policing women. For example, Melanie was very clear that women protesters were marked out from their male counterparts and were targeted more frequently by GMP:

I absolutely definitely saw different people being managed differently and policed differently by the police. I mean "Zoe " was always targeted, always. They just hated her and they just targeted her. She might only say one word to them and that was it, they were on to her.

Women ' s occupation of the protest space was evidently read as a threat. Women, and those who played a prominent and visible role in direct action, were marked as out of place and in need of management (Monk, Gilmore and Jackson, 2019).

Figure 3 here

The threat of women occupying masculinised public space was met with considerable violence as one illustrative example attests:

The TAU officer had his arm around her neck, and he was squeezing it ... she had blood coming out of her mouth and I think her ear as well. But he was stood behind her, so she had her back to him, and he had her up against the fence and he had his arm around her neck, and he was squeezing it tight. And she was in such distress and she was crying and screaming. She had got to a state where she was virtually depleted, and she was going to faint. (John, protester)

In addition to identifying differences in the frequency with which women were targeted by the police, and the general violence of these interventions, the nature of this violence appeared to take a specifically gendered form and utilised the dynamics between male police officers and female protesters to create an uncomfortable and intrusive environment. There was a widely held view that women experienced the very physical nature of the policing of slow marches differently. The reliance on public order officers to physically push protesters down the road to speed up slow marches meant that the experiences of protesters were affected by this regular and intense physical bodily contact. The gendered dynamic of male officers being used to move female protesters requires further consideration:

It seems different how they handle men and women, sometimes. Sometimes, you know, in certain ways if they're trying to push you down the line as a woman. There is one particular officer with a great big belly that sticks out, and he'll just push his belly into you and shove you down the line with his body, pushing into you. You know? They know it's not what they're supposed to be doing. And there's one that always has his elbow and his hand there, and he's like pushing it and pushing it in. Well, you feel a bit disgusted really. A little bit disgusted. (Joyce, protester)

The close proximity of the slow-walk protest created a set of conditions in which the bodies of police officers were used to maintain this invasive physical contact with the protesters:

I did have an officer so close behind me, his entire body was pressed against mine the entire time...And because I was walking the slowest, he was pressed right into me and just walked me the entire road and a lot of people said they would have sued for sexual harassment, because that felt very, very inappropriate. I did tell him all the time I would try to move to one side or another side, he just stayed exactly almost glued to my back, and it felt very, very violating, very violating. (Maria, protester)

The embodiment of sexual violence, then, is facilitated by both the protest conditions which expedite bodily intrusion and the framing of women's bodies in protest situations as cultural markers that defy normative forms of femininity to the extent that they are closely pursued and monitored as a result. Taken together, the intersection of these spatial dynamics and modes of social control engendered a series of violent experiences, ranging from harassment to sexual violence, as discussed by many of our participants below:

[A]nd they were just being really sexist. And the other officer was saying, "Oh, just because she fancies you,"...the officer was like, "I would never touch you." Like that kind of thing – just personal insults, so that's the main thing really (Vicky, Protester)

The officers walking in a line, pushing their groins on women, it comes up regularly. A few complaints have been made about that, it can't be a pleasant experience at all (Tim, Protester)

A lot of the time it is women on the front line, but not only that, we've noticed officers specifically target women for violence, they've inappropriately touched them, groped them. I've been inappropriately touched. Every single woman on the front line has had some kind of inappropriate physical contact with an officer ... sometimes their hands will just go up way too high (Maria, Protester)

Basically, he went to move me, but what he did was, he purposely touched my left breast and squeezed it. You know when you've been touched inappropriately, don't you? (Lucy, Protester)

One day there was this police officer, and he was moving me by, like, putting his hands around my waist. And then he just put his hand ... I was wearing, like, quite a flimsy skirt, and he put his hand right under, and he put his fingers inside where, like, well I wasn't wearing under-crackers. And I just screamed. I literally screamed, and I turned around, and I took a photo of him. And I shouted what he did as well ... But that wasn't an isolated incident for the Moss. That happened all the time. (Jane, Protester)

Here, the actions of male police officers form the continuum of sexual violence (Kelly, 1988) experienced by women at BMCP and contextual parallels can be drawn to sexual violence occurring in other public spaces (Fileborn, 2012; Vera-Gray, 2016). The broader message of these harms is arguably intended to have an impact upon wider gendered communities, through threat, intimidation and humiliation, marking the protest site as an unsafe and prohibited space for women. Certainly, women described feeling 'powerless', 'helpless', 'vulnerable', 'scared' and 'terrified'. The effects of this violence were considerable:

Emotionally it is damaging over a long time. I have been here for four months. It is very hard, and the stress levels and anxiety levels in general I've noticed in myself are higher than normal, just being here, because of constant, constant violence, [and] intimidation. (Maria, Protester)

The long-term effects of involvement in a protest which was characterised by interpersonal violence is consistent with what we understand more broadly around the devastating and brutalising effects of VAW (Kelly, 1988; Valentine, 1992). This process of traumatisation is important as it evidences the enduring impact of being violently policed, tracing effects which stretch way beyond the protest site. These material effects prompt us to recognise how space, place and time are experienced and embodied.

Discussion

Women's experiences of policing, we argue, were a product of the spatial and temporal dynamics of the protest and policing operation. A form of gendered policing - using sexual intimidation, harassment and violence - is understood to be the most effective way to control

women involved in protest. Here, police power plays on the productivity and effectivity of sexual violence - long tested as the most efficient way to control women and to unsettle their occupation of public space (Valentine, 1989). The geographical isolation of Barton Moss situated the protest at the peripheries of public and media attention. The proximity afforded by the claustrophobic and impenetrable conditions on the narrow lane during slow walks provided an environment in which interpersonal violence was able to flourish. This, coupled with an ingrained cultural belief that women should not occupy public space to protest in ways which are perceived to be so disorderly and disobedient, created a set of spatial conditions within which sustained levels of sexual violence were able to take place across a five month period. Women experienced both exceptional and everyday levels of violence. Tactics designed to humiliate, incapacitate, scare and, ultimately, remove women from the protest site were adopted to pacify women, thus shaping their political engagement and political subjectivity (Monk, Gilmore and Jackson, 2019). Consequently, the protest site needs to be considered as a space that facilitates violence against women.

As a space outside traditional public protest sites, the BMCPC should also be viewed as an institutional setting. The policing at Barton Moss was experienced as a systematic abuse of institutional power and an attempt to curtail the democratic rights of women to protest. As a lens on violence, spatiality brings the systematic and institutional nature of police violence into sharper view. The parameters of the protest site, both literal and metaphorical, produced and supported police violence. Women protesters were 'the targets, not the recipients, of policing' (Dunhill, 1989: 11) and the geopolitics of violence in this space served to consolidate male and state power. Women's embodied experiences also reveal the relational production of socio-political violence through systemic and institutional oppression.

While recent research has sought to examine the global resurgence in feminist activism that has seen women becoming increasingly engaged in, and reconnected with, contemporary protest and acts of resistance (Mackay, 2015; Cruz and Brown, 2016; Moss and Maddrell, 2017), women's experience of violence during protest at the hands of the state remains under-researched. This article seeks therefore to highlight that sexual violence can be understood as a productive dimension to the exercise of police power. Furthermore, the protest space, as an institutional setting and a place that facilitates violence against women, should also be viewed as productive. We therefore suggest that this should be considered by those researching both protest policing and women's involvement in protest and social movements. As recent work has suggested, spaces such as those in the night-time economy (Fileborn, 2016) can be productive in the occurrence of sexual violence, and our analysis suggests that the protest space needs to be understood in similar terms. The space within which the Barton Moss protest was confined, facilitated police violence

through the instrumentalisation of women's bodies. The geographical location of the protest, combined with the spatial and temporal dynamics of both the protest site and the police response to direct action, facilitated sexual violence by police. At Barton Moss spatial boundaries were mobilised in such a way to not only control disorderly women, but arguably to attempt to shape women's political subjectivity. The response to protest by police was formed by an ideal of women's political subjectivity; an ideal that is a product of intersecting notions of appropriate political expression and appropriate femininity.

Valentine (1992) argues for a central focus on the role that space plays in the formation and reproduction of structural inequalities and ideologies. Violence remains a key restriction on the spatial movement and activities of women. Once again, space, here, should be actively thought of as productive. Police violence acts as a warning to other women that protest is inherently dangerous for women and serves to send out a message of intolerance to those women on the periphery—geographically and ideologically—of this movement and potentially, to other protest movements.

The effects on protesters at Barton Moss and potentially far beyond this movement are significant for the study of women's protest. We know that one of the central ways in which women manage their safety and the threat of violence is to distance themselves in time and space from violence or spaces which are constructed as dangerous. In relation to protest, this self-distancing ultimately has the effect of limiting acceptable forms of political expression for women to non-disruptive alternatives and in this process the passive, gendered political subject is (re)produced. The findings of this case study suggest implications for researchers across multiple disciplines and a real need to give more attention to the relationships between gender, protest and state violence. For activists themselves, this case study suggests that police responses – often heralded in recent years by academics and policymakers for having been modernised and liberalised (see Gilmore, Jackson and Monk, 2017; Jackson, Gilmore and Monk, 2018)– remain violent and repressive for certain protest groups and political movements. It is important that activists, and women in particular, are aware of the potential for this type of response in the planning of their protest and their engagements with police.

Conclusion

Our analysis suggests that women's experiences of violence at the hands of the police were grounded in space and time. As such, we suggest that there is a need to examine the relationship between materiality, spatiality and temporality in the context of violence against women in protest and, more broadly, geographies of violence against women. Women at BMCP, we argue,

experienced institutional violence which was facilitated by the productive nature of the protest space. If such spaces might compel, facilitate and produce violence against women, they need to be subject to rigorous theoretical and empirical analysis. Foregrounding space as an analytical lens brings into focus the embodied nature of sexed and gendered violence during protest and the frequent instrumentalisation of women's bodies to reinforce and reproduce structural inequalities and social order. This article marks the beginnings of work that we think is vital within the broad tropes of feminist theory and critical criminology which must address the relationship between policing, violence and sexed and gendered subject positions. There is much to be said about the role that space plays within this relationship.

References

- Bows, H., Burrell, S. and Westmarland, N. (2015) [Rapid Evidence Assessment of Current Interventions, Approaches, and Policies on Sexual Violence on Campus](#). Durham University Sexual Violence Task Force.
- Brickell, K. and Maddrell, A. (2016) 'Geographical frontiers of gendered violence' *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 6(2): 170-172.
- Chadwick, K. and Little, C. (1987) 'The criminalization of women' in: P. Scraton (ed.) *Law, Order and the Authoritarian State*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press, pp. 254-278.
- Connell, R. (2009) *Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cresswell, T. (1994) 'Putting women in their place: the carnival at Greenham Common' *Antipode*, 26(1): 35-58.
- Cruz, K. and Brown, W (2016) Feminism, law and neoliberalism: an interview and discussion. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 24(1): 69-89. Duncel-Graglia, A. (2013) 'Women-Only Transportation: How "Pink" Public Transportation Changes Public Perception of Women's Mobility' *Journal of Public Transportation*, 16(2): 85-105.
- Dunhill, C. (1989) *The Boys in Blue: Women's Challenge to the Police*. London, Virago Press.
- Fileborn, B. (2012) 'Sex and the city: exploring young women's perceptions and experiences of unwanted sexual attention in licensed venues' *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 24(2): 241-260.
- Fileborn, B. (2016) *Reclaiming the Night-Time Economy: Unwanted Sexual Attention in Pubs and Clubs*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gilmore, J., Jackson, W. and Monk, H. (2016) 'Keep Moving!': report on the policing of the Barton Moss Community Protection Camp, Liverpool: CCSE and York: CURB.
- Gilmore, J., Jackson, W. and Monk, H. (2017) 'That is not facilitating peaceful protest. That is dismantling the protest': anti-fracking protesters' experiences of dialogue policing and mass arrest, *Policing and Society*, 29(1): 36-51.
- Jackson, W., Gilmore, J. and Monk, H. (2018) Policing unacceptable protest in England and Wales: A case study of the policing of anti-fracking protests, *Critical Social Policy*, 39(1): 23-43.

Jackson, W. (2019) Researching the policed: critical ethnography and the study of protest policing, *Policing and Society*, 30(2): 169-185.

Kelly, L. (1988) *Surviving Sexual Violence*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Laware, M.L. (2004) 'Circling the missiles and staining them red: feminist rhetorical invention and strategies of resistance at the women's peace camp at Greenham Common' *NWSA Journal*, 16(3): 18-41.

Listerborn, C. (2002) 'Understanding the Geography of Women's Fear: Toward a Reconceptualization of Fear and Space' *Subjectivities, knowledges, and feminist geographies: The subjects and ethics of social research*, p.34.

Mackay, F. (2015) *Radical Feminism: Feminist Activism in Movement*. London: Palgrave.

Monk, H., Jackson, W. and Gilmore, J. (2019) Gendering Pacification: Policing Women at Anti-Fracking Protests, *Feminist Review*, 122: 64-79.

Moran, L. and Skeggs, B. (2004) *Sexuality and the Politics of Violence and Safety*. London: Routledge

Morris, A. (2009) 'Gendered Dynamics of Abuse and Violence in Families: Considering the Abusive Household Gender Regime' , *Child Abuse Review*, 18: 414-427.

Moss, P. and Maddrell, A. (2017) 'Emergent and divergent spaces in the Women's March: the challenges of intersectionality and inclusion', *Gender, Place & Culture*, 24(5): 613-620.

Neocleous, M. (2000) *The Fabrication of Social Order*. London: Pluto Press

Pain, R. (1991) Space, sexual violence and social control: integrating geographical and feminist analyses of women's fear of crime. *Progress in Human Geography*, 15(4): 415-431.

Pain, R. (1997) Social Geographies of Women's Fear of Crime. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(2): 231-244.

Pantazis, C. (2004) 'Gendering harm from a life course perspective' in: P. Hillyard, C. Pantazis, S. Tombs and D. Gordon (eds.) *Beyond Criminology: Taking Harm Seriously*, London: Pluto Press, pp. 192-216.

Ramazanoglu, C. and Holland, J. (2002) *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices*. London: Sage.

Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism & geography: The limits of geographical knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Roseneil, S. (1995) *Disarming Patriarchy: Feminism and Political Activism at Greenham*. Buckingham: Open University

Silver, A. (1967) 'The Demand for Order in Civil Society: A Review of Some Themes in the History of Urban Crime, Police and Riot' in: D.J. Bordua (ed.) *The Police: Six Sociological Essays*. New York: Wiley.

Sim, J., Scraton, P. and Gordon, P. (1987) 'Introduction: crime, the state and critical analysis' in: P. Scraton, (ed.) *Law, Order and the Authoritarian State*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, pp. 1-70.

Skinner, T., Hester, M. and Malos, E. (2005) *Researching Gender Violence: Feminist Methodology in Action*. Devon: Willan Publishing.

Smart, C. and Smart, B. (1978) *Women, Sexuality and Social Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Tchaikovsky, C. (1989) 'The inappropriate women' , in: C. Dunhill (ed.) *The Boys in Blue: Women's Challenge to the Police*. London, Virago Press, pp. 185-192.

Valentine, G. (1989) 'The geography of women' s fear' *Area*, 21(4): 385-390.

Valentine, G. (1992) 'Images of danger: women' s sources of information about the spatial distribution of male violence' *Area*, 24(1): 22-29.

Vera-Grey, F. (2018) *The Right Amount of Panic: How Women Trade Freedom for Safety*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Young, A. (1990) *Femininity in Dissent*. London: Routledge.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Joanna Gilmore for her collaboration on the research that underpinned this article. We would also like to acknowledge the two anonymous reviewers who provided helpful feedback to the paper.