Community Impact of Public Processions

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COMMUNITY IMPACT OF PUBLIC PROCESSIONS

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**The views expressed in this report are those of the researcher and
do not necessarily represent those of the Scottish Government or
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This summary sets out key findings from a multi-method study into the community impact of public processions in Scotland carried out in 2013. The research objectives were to identify which organisations regularly take part in processions, the aims and cultural significance of the events, the impact on communities, and factors which may contribute to, or may mitigate, the disruption of community life.

The mixed methods study included:
- Collection and analysis of local authority statistics on procession notifications from across Scotland, and analysis of police incident data for the beat areas in which the processions took place;
- Documentary analysis of relevant policies, guidelines and research reports;
- Qualitative and quantitative data collection across case-study sites selected on the basis that they hosted prominent key processions;
- Interviews and focus groups with procession organisers, procession participants and public authorities (primarily the police and local authority officers);
- Residential, street and telephone surveys with local residents in 'live' case-study areas, both before and after selected processions;
- On-street and business mini-surveys with bystanders, supporters and local retail businesses;
- Structured and unstructured ethnographic observations of processions in live case-study sites.

In total, extensive ethnographic research (including participant observation, formal and informal dialogue across the fieldwork sites) was carried out at 12 processions; 713 surveys and mini surveys of residents and businesses were collected across five live case-study sites (Coatbridge, Govan, Parkhead, Bridgeton and Airdrie). In addition, in-depth formal interviews were conducted with 40 respondents. Ten focus groups were carried out with key stakeholders (including police, local authority and community representatives; and members of processing organisations).

Survey responses were based on convenience sampling approaches and the statistical data explores the issue of community impact rather than measuring it in a way that is readily generalizable to specific places or broader populations. Statistical and ethnographic data form a triangulated set of research methods that examine the issue of impact on a case-study basis, with the case-studies focussed primarily on particular processions rather than particular places. The study explores experiences and perceptions of public processions within communities, recognising that the concept of homogenous and distinct 'communities' existing within specific geographic locales was rare.

Key findings and recommendations

Research Aim 1: To identify which organisations arrange and take part in processions on a regular basis in Scotland

Between 2010 and 2012, the total number of procession notifications across Scotland increased by 30% (from approximately[2] 1942 notifications in 2010 to 2644 in 2012)

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[1] This study was commissioned as the community impact of marches and parades. We refer to public processions throughout, in line with current legislation (Police, Public Order and Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2006), and indicative of the broad range of events recorded under this category by local authorities.
[2] Complete data was not available from all local authorities. Where data was missing, totals were extrapolated on the basis of available data and trends, see discussion in chapter two for more details.

according to available data. This increase can be linked to the use of the notification system for events that may not previously have required a notification. It also includes multiple applications for some events. Different approaches to the notification system across local authorities make it difficult to accurately compare and contrast the number of actual processions which take place on a yearly basis.

Community events accounted for the majority of procession notifications (including local fairs and gala events). In 2012, procession notifications by loyal orders (Orange Order, Apprentice Boys of Derry and Royal Black Institute) and related bands accounted for 34% of procession notifications[3]. This denotes a reduction in the overall total from 43% in 2010 (n=699) to 34% of the total in 2012 (n=773); to some extent due to the increasing proportion of community procession notifications but also denoting a proportionate decrease in loyal order notifications. In 2012, political notifications (including Trade Union Congress (TUC) and diversity events) and Irish Republican procession notifications (including Cairde na h'Eireann, Commemoration Committees and Irish Republican bands) remained relatively steady (both at approximately 2% of the total; n=45 and 41 respectively), whilst community processions accounted for 62% of the total (up from 54% of the total in 2010).

Beneath these national patterns there are clearly marked variations in the number and type of events situated in different local authority areas. Whilst community processions may be most frequent nationally, in some local authorities such as North Lanarkshire, small Loyalist processions (typically with less than a hundred participants) constituted the majority of annual processions. In contrast, cities such as Edinburgh host few Loyalist or Irish Republican events (in 2012 circa. 6% of processions in Edinburgh were of this type compared to 76% of processions in North Lanarkshire and 73% in Glasgow), but instead hold a smaller number of much larger processions associated with political protest or diversity issues. Where there are concentrations of Loyalist and Irish Republican events, Loyalist events constitute the large majority of processions (e.g. only 6% of processions in Glasgow in 2012 could be described as Irish Republican).

Variation in the collation of records makes it very difficult to determine which local authorities experience the greatest number of processions that generate community disruption or concern. Drawing upon documentary analysis and interviews, processions which appear to have raised concerns in recent years include those organised by Loyalists (and emerging organisations such as the Regimental Blues) Irish Republicans and the far-right Scottish Defence League.

Research Aim 2: To identify the aim of these events, and what those who take part in them, and the communities in which they take place, understand to be their cultural significance

While processions were important to the organisations who participated in them, these organisations were not entirely homogenous, and difference and disagreements could be identified across organisations within the same tradition. Loyalist organisations (which included the Orange Order, Apprentice Boys of Derry, Royal Black Institution) defined themselves on a religious basis with processions forming an important tradition within their organisation and constituting a 'celebration' of their Protestant identity; generally marking a particular historical event in their organisational calendar or denoting a more contemporary development (i.e. opening of a lodge).

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[3] These figures are based on local authorities where a full breakdown of procession types was available. Extrapolated local authority data was excluded. In 2012 for instance there were 2,280 such notifications (this comprised of 1417 community, 773 Loyalist Order, 45 political, 41 Irish Republican and 4 diversity processions).

Irish Republicans, in contrast, defined themselves as organisations that campaign on behalf of, and support, the Irish community in Scotland. Events organised by Irish Republicans were few in number and had a political focus; defined by the organisers as having the explicit aim of challenging racism, notably anti-Irish racism, and sectarianism in Scottish society.

Emerging organisations have recently been associated with public concerns, for example, the Regimental Blues which describes itself as 'a Pressure Group standing for The Protestant Loyalist Community of Scotland', while The Scottish Defence League (SDL) seeks to maintain, what it perceives to be, Scotland and Britain's Christian heritage and traditions, whilst at the same time mobilising against what it claims to be the 'islamification' of Scotland and Britain.

The research uncovered a significant gulf between the procession organisers and participants understanding of processions and the way in which they were broadly perceived by the general public. Thus, while organisations such as Loyalist and Irish Republicans defined themselves in terms of their cultural heritage, traditions and, in the case of the Loyal Orders, their Protestant identity, survey respondents often associated these processions with broader community and social problems, and sectarianism. This appears to be exacerbated by the behaviour of a minority of spectators and followers, according to qualitative findings. Traditional Loyalist and Irish Republican organisations were making significant attempts to be more transparent about their organisations remit, holding various types of open days and events to communicate the heritage and purpose of their organisations to a wider public, and through the use of social media. Conversely organisations such as the SDL and emerging 'dissident' Loyalist groups were less likely to disclose specific aims of their processions or to make this known in advance to local communities.

Research Objective 3: To understand any impact public processions have on community life, fear, alarm or public disorder within the communities in which they take place

This research highlighted the challenges of identifying and seeking the views of identifiable 'communities' which are rarely homogenous and are often hard to reach. Nevertheless, a number of factors are likely to affect the community impact of public processions including size and the relationship (or lack thereof) of the procession to the local population. Local people can be affected in different ways, and in some cases followers and supporters can have a significant impact on residents and on the procession itself. In other circumstances, the presence and actions of counter-demonstrators can have a significant impact. A range of impacts were observed across case-study sites including: excitement and enjoyment among participants and spectators; levels of disruption and inconvenience which ranged from low to major; and on occasion, serious concern and upset. Confrontations which did occur were not always organised along sectarian lines, indeed respondents often claimed that confrontations were more commonly territorial or were between competing processing organisations, typically clashes between rival bands or between bands and supporters. A range of factors also influenced whether any impact was transitory and fleeting, or longer-term.

A number of key themes were identified from the different data collected:
- Large processions were likely to cause major disruption (due to road closures, large numbers of participants and supporters) but the pre-planning required could enable those affected to plan for the event in advance.
- The impact of processions was often experienced differently by different groups. Post-procession survey respondents who had deliberately turned out to watch and take part in a procession (although constituting a small minority of less than 1 in 5

respondents) were much more positive about their experience than those who came upon it unexpectedly.

- By-standers (those who did not participate or actively come to watch the procession) were more negative about perceived broader community impacts (in terms of tension and anti-social behaviour).
- A majority of pre-procession survey respondents (based on a sample of 178 people) in three case-site areas (Coatbridge, Govan and Parkhead) held negative views about Loyalist (53%) and Irish Republican processions (56%). This was in contrast to most other types of processions, including community and other political processions which tended to be viewed positively.
- Post-procession assessments (based on a postal sample of 192 people in four case-site areas: Coatbridge, Govan, Parkhead and Bridgeton) found that respondents tended to associate both Loyalist and Irish Republican processions with a range of social problems. For example around three quarters of respondents agreed that a recent procession had led to anti-social behavior (76%) or caused tension in the community (73%). Furthermore a clear majority of respondents agreed that they were held up or delayed, or felt annoyed/upset by the noise associated with a procession (69% and 67% respectively). Just under a third (32%) of respondents reported feeling in physical danger. This contrasted however with the views of bystanders who took part in on-street surveys directly following a procession (based on a 'convenience' sample of 116 people), where 71% of respondents 'strongly' or 'somewhat' disagreed that they had felt intimidated or nervous).

Negative views of Loyalist and Irish Republican processions may be based on a number of factors including: people's previous experience, media representations, what the processing organisations are *perceived* to represent etc. However, examination of the pre-procession survey data highlighted a number of factors which seem to be closely connected with attitudes to processions. Principally, people who reported lower levels of social cohesion (indicated by a sense of 'belonging to their community'), and/or who perceived racial prejudice and/or sectarianism to be a substantive problem in Scotland, were more likely to be negative about these types of procession. These associations however are complex and tentative. For instance, it is not clear whether (if at all) lower social cohesion results in processions being assessed more negatively, or whether negative attitudes to processions results in lower social cohesion.

Despite the negative post-procession assessments of Loyalist and Irish Republican events, the case-study sites did not evidence any notable 'spikes' in antisocial or criminal behaviour. Qualitative data however showed that there were concerns from some groups that on occasion the police failed to respond to 'hate-speech' or racism (including anti-Irish racism), for example when Irish Republican processors were subject to verbal, anti-Irish abuse by demonstrators or when local communities were subjected to racist abuse at SDL events (a significant increase in reported charges of religiously aggravated offending in 2012-13 was linked to an SDL procession). This may reflect some of the difficulties for policing processions where the police are not always able to identify incidents or deal with problems immediately due to the presence of large numbers of people. However, officials noted recent improvements in monitoring and reviewing behaviour at processions.

The dominant concern of residents and visitors associated with the processions tended not to be related to the behaviour of procession participants but to the behaviour of procession supporters or other bystanders or 'hangers on' who were seen as causing trouble and nuisance around processions. The research found that even some of those who chose to attend processions felt threatened or intimidated by attendees who followed the procession but did not appear to have formal links with the organisation.

In terms of the impact upon local businesses, evidence suggested that this was very mixed and varied by site and the type of business in question. There was however common agreement among business respondents that timely information and consultation on impending processions could help mitigate against possible disruption.

Research Objective 4: If any of these processions are associated with disruption to community life, fear, alarm or public disorder, to understand what factors contribute to this

While large, annual events are generally preceded by some form of community notification, local residents may be unclear when processions will occur. Whilst a proportion of respondents claimed an advance awareness of some processions[4], a higher proportion of individuals only became aware of processions on the day; limiting the potential to make alternative arrangements. Indeed local authority representatives identified that much of the community impact was associated with practical disruption (i.e. relating to traffic and access).

Notification procedures and processes have become clearer at the statutory agency level, however mechanisms for gauging community sentiment appear to be weak and under-used. Respondents were often unaware where to find information on procession notifications or completed processions. Furthermore, survey respondents were generally unclear as to how to register concerns they may have in relation to a forthcoming procession, with only a minority agreeing that they knew how to raise objections. Where respondents indicated that they had raised an objection with their local authority, they often felt their concerns had not been addressed. Complaints were often made on the basis of a dislike for the processing organisation or what they were perceived to represent. Public authorities are unable to act on this basis.

Well organised and effectively stewarded processions could be viewed negatively by observers but were less likely to instil fear or alarm as they passed through local areas. The Apprentice Boys of Derry and Cairde na hÉireann in particular were widely commended for their proactivity in improving the organisation and management of their processions, with the former being notable for the quality of its stewarding and the latter for the degree to which it took responsibility for its supporters.

The ethnographic data highlighted that fear, alarm and public disorder were associated with events that attracted a counter-demonstration which did not appear to be entirely under police control; where the procession attracted a large following and where the behaviour of followers did not appear to be effectively stewarded; and/or when the procession moved through a geographical area where there was clear evidence of opposition to the organisation itself.

Regardless of the conduct of supporters and bystanders, the very presence of organisations in certain settings was perceived to be antagonistic or aggressive. A highly problematic type of event was observed with SDL attempts to hold demonstrations and processions in the Pollokshields area of Glasgow. These events were perceived to be provocatively targeted at residential areas that house a significant concentration of a particular population (in this case ethnic minority residents), and where the message of the organisation was seen to be clearly antagonistic to, and targeted at, those residents. The study also highlighted concerns associated with the increase in demonstrations and processions by new/breakaway

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[4] Though a proportion of respondents in the pre-procession surveys were aware of *some* future procession in their area (ranging from less than 50% of respondents in Govan to nearly 100% of respondents in Coatbridge) the extent to which respondents were aware of the *specific* processions that were of interest to this study was impossible to quantify due to respondents own uncertainties as to dates and procession types.

supposedly 'Loyalist' groups (in particular the 'Regimental Blues'), and emerging 'dissident Irish Republicans', although the latter are much smaller in number.

These more controversial events aside, even more orderly and peaceful processions nevertheless pose challenges in terms of their sheer volume, the presence of competing events, changing land use in city centre areas, and competing demands made on local authority and police resources. The research findings indicated that productive working relationships built on high levels of trust between event organisers and statutory agencies were key to successfully navigating these challenges.

Better working relationships between Police Scotland and processing organisations had allowed for the development of more low key policing tactics, which made some processions appear less threatening and more welcome for supporters and bystanders alike, whilst also making most effective use of police resources. Procession negotiations and planning appeared smoothest when procession organisers worked with officers that they knew, and where they felt these officers treated them with fairness and respect.

In terms of local authorities there appeared to be a clear movement away from more traditional approaches to dealing with procession organisations, where local authority officials could if required, pass judgement on notifications, but otherwise left the more practical details of planning and negotiation to the police and procession organisers. This approach to processions was perceived to be adversarial by procession organisers and was resource intensive for the police. Conversely, the trend now appears to be towards approaches where local authorities and the police take on an increasingly shared role in planning for processions, with various innovations emerging for dealing with large processions; in particular on a multi-agency basis (as in Edinburgh and Perth) or reducing the planning burden associated with large annual processions by developing Event Management Plans (as in Glasgow), that are agreed in detail between procession organisers and the public authorities, and that can thereafter be substantially 'rolled over' from year to year.

Recommendations

R1 Local authorities should share best practice on communicating information on procession notifications to those communities affected by each notification. This should include best practice on providing clear guidance to those communities on how to raise concerns and/or make complaints regarding any planned procession.

R2 Local authorities should ensure that all community representatives are automatically notified of processions affecting the communities they serve and are aware of the grounds which can be used for raising objection and requesting amendments.

R3 Local authorities should make information on large processions available to members of the public as far in advance of the procession as possible. For large-scale events, this should include making information available well in advance of the 28 day notification period even if organisers and local authorities have not reached final agreement on procession details.

R4 Local authorities should share best practice on communicating information on procession notifications to businesses, public and private service providers and other key interests (such as registrars and places of worship).

R5 Local authorities should work collectively to agree a minimum standard for how best to record and count procession notifications. Agreement should be reached on how best to

count multiple procession notifications (that form a larger procession) and return processions (where the same organisation processes, typically back to the 'start point' later the same day). In particular, consideration should also be given as to how details of notifications that have been subject to local authority requests for amendments, or which have been prohibited, are recorded and retained.

R6 Loyalist and Irish Republican processing organisations should continue to develop open and transparent methods of communicating information about the nature of their organisations and their reasons for holding public processions to those communities affected by the processions they hold.

R7 Police Scotland and local authority observers should consistently capture and feed in information to the debrief process, about behaviour that is offensive or provocative, whether that behaviour originates from participants, supporters or counter-demonstrators. This should include clear evidence of the behaviour which can be presented to the various parties allowing them a right to reply. Where offensive or provocative behaviour is demonstrated, this information should be used to inform future decisions on authorising or facilitating processions and counter demonstrations.

R8 As part of the debrief process, a record should be made by Police Scotland and local authorities of any proactive measures or actions that were taken by procession organisers to promote good behaviour amongst members of the public, supporters or others not directly taking part in the procession. Those organisations that work with Police Scotland, local authorities or other agencies to promote good behaviour and/or tackle offensive behaviour should be recognised, and where there are notable instances of good practice, authorities should consider issuing letters confirming this to the organisers involved.

R9 As a single national force, Police Scotland are well placed to be able to record and share evidence and information on misconduct by processing organisations, and/or bands hired by organisations, at a national level. This information should be shared with all appropriate agencies. Misconduct by processing organisations and/or hired bands that occurs anywhere in Scotland should inform future decisions on authorising or facilitating processions and counter demonstrations anywhere else in Scotland by that organisation.

R10 All authorities, including local authorities and Police Scotland, should carefully uphold the rights of individuals to process and demonstrate against processions. A lawful and well conducted procession or counter-demonstration that is met with unlawful, provocative or disorderly conduct should not be disadvantaged because of the conduct of others.

R11 In local authority areas where large numbers of processions are held throughout the year, local authorities and key procession organisers should consider some mechanism for annual review and discussion. Glasgow City Council's stakeholder forum is one example of a body that partially fulfils this function.

R12 Local authorities, the Scottish Government and Police Scotland should support the training of procession stewards.

R13 Procession organisers should be aware of their responsibilities when bringing together large numbers of people and should continue to be supported and encouraged to find ways of working individually and with the police to minimise the potential for processions to be used to create 'permissive environments' for anti-social or offensive behaviour by supporters or other bystanders.

R14: Processing organisations that engage in provocative behaviour should be dealt with by Police Scotland in a robust manner. Where such behaviour results in the use of

significant police resource, this should help to inform future decisions on authorising or facilitating processions and counter demonstrations anywhere else in Scotland by that organisation.

R15:   Organisations have the right to communicate lawful messages that other groups or individuals may not wish to hear. However, where organisations deliver those messages to people's homes in a threatening, intimidating or abusive manner, action should be taken by Police Scotland to protect the wellbeing of residents. Such behaviour should also be considered by local authorities to ensure that neutral locations, such as city centres, are used for the delivery of the more controversial political messages and demonstrations.

R16:   The Scottish Government should consider the impact of amending current legislation to address the anomaly whereby organisations can evade public procession regulations by opting for a static demonstration. In particular, consideration should be given to how such a change would impact on human rights relating to public assembly and demonstrations.

R17:   Police Scotland should make full use of powers under the Public Order Act in instances where the threat to public order is such that a static demonstration cannot be held without a substantial police escort and in circumstances where the particular choice of location for that event may be seen as provocative.

R18:   As a single force, Police Scotland should provide enhanced officer training and procession day briefings, which will ensure the policing of processions and the treatment of participants and supporters is fair, even-handed and consistent across Scotland.

R19:   Police Scotland should consider strengthening arrangements for formalising and recognising senior officers who clearly and consistently demonstrate the particular set of skills that are required to ensure public procession planning and organising is delivered in a robust, consistent and high quality manner.

1 INTRODUCTION

Aims and objectives

1.1   This report aims to inform discussions about how to best balance three key aspects of a public procession in terms of: the celebration of identity and freedom of expression for those taking part; the protection of public safety and prevention of disorder and crime and the right of the communities affected by public processions to express their own thoughts and beliefs. The study, on which this report is based, develops previous research (Orr, 2005) by examining, in some depth, a carefully selected sample of public processions[5]. The research explored the experiences and attitudes of those involved in organising and participating in public processions and also those of the communities in which they took place. Particular attention was given to understanding any positive and/or negative impact which public processions have on different groups within communities, including (but not limited to) those from different religious or ethnic backgrounds.

1.2   The research objectives were:

i.   To identify which organisations arrange and take part in processions on a regular basis in Scotland;
ii.   To identify the aim of these events, and what those who take part in them, and the communities in which they take place, understand to be their cultural significance;
iii.   To understand any impact public processions have on community life, fear, alarm or public disorder within the communities in which they take place;
iv.   If any of these processions are associated with disruption to community life, fear, alarm or public disorder, to understand what factors contribute to this.

Background

1.3   Civic life in Scotland can be characterised as richly populated with diverse forms of public gatherings. From protest processions, and political rallies, through to civic and community parades and festivals, hundreds of gatherings occur across Scotland every year. Regardless of the composition or objectives of these events however, they are all collectively covered in law as '*processions in public' (*see the Civic Government (Scotland) Act 1982*).* In 2005 Sir John Orr was commissioned by Jack McConnell, the then First Minister, to undertake a review of all such processions in Scotland with a view to determining their characteristics and impacts, as well as to assess the adequacy of existing policing and administrative arrangements relating to the conduct of such processions. The subsequent review reported over 1700 processions taking place each year in Scotland (Orr, 2005: 3). Many of these could be characterised as communal celebrations, others as important demonstrations of political freedom and the right to express opinions and beliefs. The value of free speech, and with it the right to publicly voice opinions and

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[5] We will refer to processions for the purpose of this report, in line with current legislation (Police, Public Order and Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2006), and to indicate the broad range of events that are recorded by local authorities under this category.

beliefs, is strongly championed by social and political commentators (Etzioni 1977, Barendt 2007). Moreover, these rights and freedoms are strongly protected in national and international law, notably in Scotland through the European Convention on Human Rights (Mead 2010).

1.4   The approach taken to free speech when drafting and interpreting the European Convention, is partially premised on the argument that free speech, however mistaken the logic or truths under-pinning such speech, must necessarily be allowed to flourish (Fiss 1996). Yet, weak ideas, or untruths, or conversely strong ideas and unwelcome truths, also have the potential to cause dispute, anger, annoyance or distress. Consequently, the European Convention is robust in its protection of protest and free speech, even where others may choose to violently disagree with the sentiments being expressed. As Orr has reported, the Courts have actively upheld this principle, with judgements stating that 'processions that annoy or give offence' are still legitimate expression and that 'as long as the organisers' intention is for peaceful assembly, the possibility of violent counter-demonstrations is not reason alone for prohibiting processions.' (2005, p. 36). However, these rights are not absolute and courts and local authorities still have to weigh the probability of violence and disorder against the impingement of rights that would occur if a gathering is banned or restricted (e.g. see Scottish Executive 2006). Moreover, considerations regarding the right to free speech need to be considered alongside, but also separately from, consideration of the right to free assembly. With the latter, other considerations around health and safety (e.g. possible over-crowding or obstruction of other citizens going about their lawful business) may result in restrictions on public parades or rallies (Barendt 2007).

1.5   Only where processions actively seek to provoke, intimidate or violently confront others, or seek to confiscate or damage the property of others, or explicitly promote hatred of others, may the State intervene with relative assurance to curb or suppress a gathering. Whilst most processions within Scotland certainly do not fall into such categories, significant public concerns with some forms of processions nevertheless persist within Scotland. At one level, a fear of crowds and mass gatherings is historic and enduring. Regardless of the symbolic content of processions, or the explicit 'messages' that they may be trying to communicate, there is a long-held association between the formation of crowds and the danger of disorder. In the crowd, Le Bon (1895) suggests, the identity of individuals, and with that individual moral controls and norms of behaviour, can be swept away in the madness of the moment and in the 'irrationality' of the masses. However, more recent research into crowd behaviour has started to unravel this 'classical' construction of crowds and crowd disorder. Principally, in the work of Reicher, Adang, Stott and others, the conception of the crowd as an irrational and amoral force has been replaced with an alternative account:

> *we argue that individuals do not lose identity in the crowd but rather shift from personal identity to social identity. Correspondingly, they do not lose values and standards but rather shift to acting in terms of the values and standards associated with the relevant group.* (Reicher et. al., 2004 pp. 559-560)

1.6   A group with a social identity, far from lacking moral standards and social control can in fact be very effective at policing itself, and imposing the standards of

the group; albeit groups are never entirely homogeneous with ongoing interactions between personal and social identities. However, when the police, other officials, or competing groups mistreat such a group the reaction can be swift:

> *I may enter into a crowd event for the first time having never done anything to the other side. Yet, because of the shirt or the uniform I wear – that is, the group to which I belong – I may be treated with hostility. That makes me angry and resentful and supports the notion that the other group is inherently hostile and unreasonable. Consequently, I react with hostility and so the cycle continues. (Reicher et. al., 2004 p. 561)*

1.7   These insights have proven influential and have helped redefine control strategies both around the policing of football and public order policing more generally. As social groups can have standards and values, key to successfully policing them is respecting their identity and values, communicating with them as a rational group, employing non-confrontational policing strategies that are premised on peaceful assembly and orderly conduct, and encouraging social groups to police themselves (Stott and Pearson 2008; Stott et. al., 2008). Such approaches have become widespread both in Scotland and in other Western Democracies. Mitchell and Staeheli (2005) document the transition in Washington DC from more confrontational policing strategies for managing political protests to approaches that can be characterised as 'negotiated management'. A less confrontational and more negotiated approach to protests and processions also characterises the approach of the authorities in Scotland. Though within Scotland some processions may present challenges, Scotland has a liberal and permissive tradition of approving processions and with working closely with procession organisers to find solutions if potential problems are identified (Orr 2005).

'Problematic' processions

1.8   In spite of this relatively liberal approach, significant public concern, and indeed opposition to some forms of procession remain. Some of these concerns are longstanding, others more recent. For instance, over the last few years there have been a notable number of processions by far-right groups, principally the English Defence League (see Treadwell and Garland 2010) and its partner organisation in Scotland, the Scottish Defence League (SDL). An application in 2011 by the Scottish Defence League to conduct a procession in Edinburgh was widely opposed by politicians and civic groups, principally on the grounds that such processions were believed to promote racial hatred and had led to disorder and disruption in the past (see papers for Item no. 3, City of Edinburgh Council, Licensing Sub-Committee, 20th April 2012).

1.9   The most dominant form of procession in Scotland, among those perceived by some as 'problematic', however, remains 'Loyalist' parades and processions that are associated with the Ulster-Scots. Loyalist organisations make up a significant number of processions in Scotland, in terms of both the numbers of processions and the number of participants. In 2003, processions by the loyal orders accounted for roughly half of all processions with the largest attracting up to 15,000 participants

(Orr[6] 2005). Whilst loyal order parades occur across most of Scotland they are disproportionately concentrated in the West of Scotland, and in particular in Strathclyde[7]. In contrast, processions, described in the Orr Report as 'Catholic', and associated with Catholicism and/or Irish-Republicanism typically accounted year on year for no more than 1% of all processions in Scotland (Orr, 2005). While some Irish Republican organisations may associate themselves with 'Catholicism', this is not the case across the board. Republican organisations, which define themselves to be political and Irish, contest the description of their activities as 'sectarian' and indeed claim that they work to challenge both racism (particularly anti-Irish racism) and sectarianism in Scotland. Loyalist organisations also contest any claims of sectarianism, with both Loyalists and Irish Republicans pointing to the absence (until recently[8]) of any clear definition of sectarianism in contemporary Scottish society. Nevertheless, it would appear that both the loyal orders and Irish Republican organisations continue to be 'read', by the general public and authorities, as manifestations of sectarianism (NFO, 2003; Orr, 2005).

1.10   As with other displays of 'sectarian' allegiance such as chants and singing at football (see Hamilton-Smith and McArdle, 2013), controversy persists over whether such processions associated with sectarianism are problematic, and if they are, whether the problems they cause are relatively immediate and superficial, or are more systemic and profound. Whilst processions may cause immediate annoyance, nuisance or disruption to community members or casual spectators, the extent to which they echo or reinforce a more substantive sectarian divide in Scottish society is strongly contested (e.g. Devine (ed.) 2000; Bruce et. al., 2004). The resolution of this debate has not been helped by relatively thin empirical evidence (until recently[9]) on the continuing impact of sectarian prejudices, though earlier evidence suggested that more formal forms of prejudice (e.g. in terms of discrimination in the labour market or treatment by public officials) had waned (see Flint 2008) and was *perceived* to have waned by the public at large (NFO, 2003). But that same public in the NFO survey for Glasgow City Council still found other forms of sectarian prejudice to be widespread, with for instance two thirds of the sample judging sectarian violence still to be 'quite common' or 'very common' (*ibid.,* p. 8) and a majority of respondents more generally believing that sectarian prejudice was still a problem in Glasgow (*ibid.*, p. 9). However the study showed a stark contrast between perception of prevalence and reported experience of different forms of sectarian behaviour (*ibid.* 59). This pattern was echoed in a more recent study (conducted in 2014) of Scottish attitudes to sectarianism which found that while substantial proportions of people in Scotland believe that religious prejudice against Catholics and Protestants exists, with more people thinking Catholics are the subject of prejudice (54%) than Protestants (41%), a lower proportion (14%) said they had

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[6] The Orr report distinguished between 'Orange' and 'Catholic' processions. However, as he acknowledged, the Orange Order is one of several loyal orders (which include the Apprentice Boys of Derry and Grand Black Chapter (also referred to as Royal Black Institution).
[7] Figures produced by Strathclyde police show that in 2011-12,740 processions were organised by the loyal orders, compared to 33 Irish Republican processions.
[8] See Tackling Sectarianism Advisory Group (2013).
[9] The Scottish Social Attitudes report on public attitudes to sectarianism and the qualitative study on community experiences of sectarianism (both conducted in 2014) provide more recent evidence.

experienced some form of religious discrimination or exclusion at some point in their lives[10].

1.11   Care must be taken in simply transposing the purposes and symbolism of the Loyalist organisations such as the Orange Order in Northern Ireland, with the Orange Order in Scotland. While the parading season in Northern Ireland (2013) was characterised by significant public disorder, this was not replicated in Scotland. Nevertheless in Bradley's (1996) survey of Orange Order members, Orange lodges in Scotland clearly shared a pre-occupation with Unionism and with maintaining a British identity; (as do the other loyal orders such as the Apprentice Boys of Derry and the Royal Black Institution). Bradley depicts this as coming to take precedence over the Order's other traditional emphasis on opposing Catholicism. Moreover, in the West of Scotland in particular, the Order also fulfils other purposes, notably in providing a setting and a focus for working class identity and socialising, with Orange Districts comprising male, female, and juvenile lodges which provide facilities for social pursuits. In addition to formal lodge membership, the Orange Order attracts a wide number of additional supporters who may turn out as spectators for processions, or who may participate as members of associated bands.

> *To many Orange people, politics is culture; that is, it is particularly relevant in terms of attitudinal and symbolic displays, rather than electoral expression[11]. In this sense, both for the Orange community and for many Catholics [….], the visual and symbolic language of flags, banners, uniforms, football strips, songs, territory and street demonstrations are politically important. (*Bradley, 2005: 21*)*

1.12   Irish Republican and loyal order processions include participants of all ages although gendered representation can vary. While organisations such as the Apprentice Boys of Derry and the Royal Black Institution are all-male Protestant organisations, they will engage bands for their processions which frequently include women participants. The Orange Order is made up of both men and women, with women having their own lodges and a strong representation at Orange processions, as processors, stewards and band members. Women are similarly present at Irish Republican events in all capacities, although often outnumbered by men.

1.13   In research undertaken as part of the Orr Review, respondents whilst being disproportionately less involved in processions perceived to be Loyalist or Irish Republican than other types of processions were much more likely to claim to be negatively affected by them. Whilst, only 3% of respondents had participated in such processions, 24% had been a spectator and 47% had been 'otherwise affected'. In terms of negative impacts, 20% of respondents reported that they had felt in 'physical danger' from such processions, compared with only 5% associated with political processions and 2% with other processions. 40% of respondents indicated they felt angry, offended or upset, compared with 20% for political processions and 7% for other processions. 32% felt angry or annoyed by the noise compared with only 8% respectively for political and other processions (Orr, 2005:110-112). Though

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[10] This includes 5% who did not attend or were not invited to a social event, 5% who believe they were refused a job or promotion and 7% who say they have been harassed or threatened because of their religious beliefs or background

[11] Although the Orange Order proactively engaged with discussions concerning the 2014 Referendum in Scotland, and urged its members to take a pro-union stance.

views were mixed as to whether on-balance Loyalist and/or Irish Republican processions benefited respondent's communities or not, in the area where they were most common (Strathclyde), the majority of respondents cited in the Orr Report viewed these processions as having a divisive impact on their communities.

1.14   Whether processions actually motivate and/or sustain sectarian prejudices either amongst participant or observers is contested. Similarly the potential for disruption by large groups of people on the street is a factor which is clearly exacerbated before, during and after public processions. Moreover, the extent to which any increases in crime, disorder, or anti-social behaviour can be attributed to the specific content of processions is also unclear. Goulding and Cavanagh (2012 and 2013) show that in 2011-12, the number of charges of religiously aggravated offending linked to public processions constituted only 2% (18 charges) of all charges[12]. This increased significantly in 2012-13, to 12.4% of charges (85), where this increase was partly attributed by Goulding and Cavanagh (2013) to a procession in Glasgow where 57 charges were recorded in one incident (Islam was the target of abuse) associated with the Scottish Defence League (SDL) which subsequently skewed the overall statistical data[13].

POLICY

1.15   Public processions have been the focus of policy considerations for a number of years with three key principles underpinning responses to them:

- The right to peaceful assembly and freedom of expression as outlined in the European Convention on Human Rights should be open to all;
- These rights are not absolute and must be balanced by the responsibilities to ensure that the rights of others are not infringed;
- The exercise of those rights bring specific responsibilities both to those organising and participating in processions especially in relation to those residents whose lives may be disrupted by a particular procession.

1.16   The review undertaken by John Orr, commissioned in 2004, provided a rigorous overview of current arrangements regarding public processions in Scotland, focusing particularly on: notification processes; the best way to ensure greater community involvement in decisions about public processions; the basis for determining when to restrict, refuse or reroute processions; the number of processions taking place in communities and the effects these have; and the policing of processions.

1.17   Orr made 38 recommendations in the subsequent report of the review (Orr, 2005) all of which were accepted by the (then) Scottish Executive. The implementation of some of these recommendations led to amendments to the Civic Government (Scotland) Act 1982, as contained in the Police, Public Order and

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[12] This compares to football matches which accounted for 31% (267) of all charges in 2011-12 and 16% (109) in 2012-13. This drop is related to the introduction of the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012 that may have dealt with offences which would previously have come under section 74 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2003.
[13] These figures only refer to recorded data.

Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2006; the amendments came into effect from 1st April 2007.

1.18   Key features of the legislative changes were:

- An increase in the minimum amount of notice that organisers must give to a local authority from seven to 28 days[14];
- Local authorities could no longer exempt certain processions from the requirement to give notice;
- Local authorities were required to consider a range of issues when deciding whether to prevent a procession taking place or to place conditions on it;
- Account should be taken by local authorities of the burden the procession may impose on the police;
- The effect of previous processions by the same organisers should be taken into account in terms of public safety issues and any failure by the organisers to keep to a code of conduct or guidance;
- Local authorities should keep a record of notifications submitted in their area.

1.19   Local authorities were expected to adopt the good practices set out in the guidance on marches and parades which included:

- Debrief meetings to be held with the police and march organisers;
- Guides and codes of conduct to be issued to procession organisers;
- 'Single gateways' identified for access to consistent advice;
- Sharing of information and experiences between local authorities;
- Consultation with community bodies and businesses in the area.

1.20   Orr (2005) also recommended that police should improve their liaison with and understanding of organisations arranging marches by ensuring police officers received appropriate briefings about the reasons for the procession and background to the organisation.

Implementing Orr's recommendations

1.21   Draft guidance was produced by the Scottish Executive on the implementation of these recommendations for local authorities. Public consultation was sought on the draft guidance in 2006; views were specifically sought from local authorities, police and processing organisations. The subsequent guidance, *Review of Marches and Parades in Scotland: Guidance for Scottish Local Authorities* (One Scotland 2006a) (hereafter referred to as the Guidance) provided local authorities with information on how key legislative reforms were to be implemented; information on key good practice areas which could be adopted across all 32 local authority areas; a step-by-step guide; examples of letters and forms that could be used by local authorities. A report was also produced by the Working Group aimed at supplementing the Guidance which set out action expected of all the partners in this process, information with regard to changes to the legislation, and advice on how

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[14] In 2013, the United Nations Special Rapporteur (2013) considered Scotland (alongside other parts of the UK) in relation to rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and criticised the use of a 28 day-period of notification in Scotland, urging that the legal framework be amended to 48 hour notice.

recommendations should be taken forward. An overview of monitoring processes introduced to enable the Scottish Executive to consider how the new measures were being taken forward by local authorities and the police was also provided, alongside a timetable intended to illustrate the decision-making process and an indication of the enforcement powers available to the police.

1.22   Assessment of the implementation and effectiveness of this recommendation was to be ongoing, with the Scottish Executive, Accounts Commission and HM Inspectorate of Constabulary working in partnership to do this. Key procession organisers were also brought together with the Minister for Justice, (then) Strathclyde Police and local authority representatives in 2006 to find a way forward to tackle abusive behaviour at processions, with the intention of minimising the disruption caused to communities. Much of the activity surrounding the attention to public processions originated from strategies to address sectarianism in Scotland and this issue has featured consistently in the Scottish Executive's Action Plans for tackling sectarianism in Scotland (for example One Scotland, 2006b)

Review of policing

1.23   The impact of public processions in certain local authority areas has resulted in more detailed examinations of local impact and response. Given concerns about the 'unsustainable burden' that public processions were placing on police resources, a review of the policing model in place for large scale processions was undertaken under the instructions of Assistant Chief Constable Campbell Corrigan. The purpose of this review was to identify opportunities to safely reduce police numbers (Territorial Policing, 2010).

1.24   This review focused on the impact of Irish Republican and Loyalist processions on communities served by (then) Strathclyde Police. These groups were identified as the 'most challenging in relation to community impact and burden' (Territorial Policing, 2010: 4). The review made a number of recommendations intended to improve: the application process; parade conditions of conduct, stewarding arrangements and ensuring the best use of police resources in light of these arrangements; working with the local authority and parade organisers to reduce the number and frequency of parades; to ensure that effective responses were in place to address sectarianism; reduce disruption to the community through the collation of data in order to assess burden on police resources, utilise alcohol testing strips to detect concealed public drinking, to work with the local authority and parade organisers to achieve 'a reduction in outward and cessation of return parades' (2010: 7).

Glasgow City Council Review

1.25   Bailie Aileen Colleran's report for Glasgow City Council (2013) advised the Executive Committee of the council about the experience of implementing their Code of Conduct and Policy on Public Processions; the responses received from a recent stakeholder consultation and made recommendations regarding an amended Public Processions policy. The report followed an annual review of the Code of Conduct and subsequent discussion by the Public Petitions and General Purposes Policy Development Committee in October 2012.

1.26   The Glasgow City Council review examined procession notifications over the previous three years. During the first year of the policy, only two notifications had been referred to the Public Processions Committee, both being decided in favour of the police and council. Overall there had been a decrease in all processions between 2009/10 and 2011/12 in Glasgow; with the exception of processions by Bands[15] which was unchanged. The two largest concentrations of processions on a single day in Glasgow were the Annual Boyne procession by the Orange Order and the Annual Commemoration Parade of the Grand Black Chapter, both of which consisted of a number of individual processions and large numbers of participants.

1.27   The steward training programme undertaken by the Orange Order, and facilitated by Strathclyde Police, was noted to have contributed to an overall cost reduction of over £250,000 over the last three years in policing the Boyne Procession (Colleran, 2013: 4). The number of arrests and Fixed Penalty Notices was also noted to be in decline.

1.28   The issue of cumulative impact (the frequent and repeated use of particular routes) of public processions was considered under the Code of Conduct and Policy (i.e. should be taken into account when assessing procession notifications) however, it was noted that this had proven 'a challenge to implement and may require further clarification' (Colleran, 2013: 5). Furthermore, the stakeholder consultation had shown differing views on this issue, with processing organisations who were opposed to any attempt to take cumulative impact into account, and other respondents, notably retail and transport respondents, who considered the impact on processions in the city centre to have a significant impact on business.

1.29   A similar divergence of opinion was evident in relation to attempts to reduce feeder and return processions. Suggestions that major processions combine all processions into an Event Management Plan, agreed for a period of time (five years was posited) also met with differing reactions. The use of parks as a location for assembly and dispersal was not universally welcomed although the aim of this was to reduce disruption to local residents and businesses. However, it could increase costs for organisers (arranging for facilities to be available in parks) and could extend the procession.

Advisory Group Report

1.30   The Advisory Group on Tackling Sectarianism (2013) paid attention to activities which brought large numbers of people onto the streets, including public processions, indicating that parade organisers "must actively and publicly disassociate themselves from anything which would appear to give license to violence, or other forms of unlawful and abusive behaviour, and must be willing to take active steps to prevent the development or recurrence of such behaviour" (paragraph 6.8.3); that local authorities should respond with 'dialogue and co-operation' where the balance of rights between procession participants and local

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[15] While organisations, both Loyalist and Irish Republican, may employ bands to participate in their processions, bands may be unattached to a specific organisation. On occasion, and increasingly so, individual bands will organise a procession which consists of a number of bands who may, but may not be, affiliated to a particular organisation. In this report for example, we refer to the Pride of Govan Flute Band procession, as well as the Irish Republican Bands Alliance.

communities was not achieved (paragraph 6.64.2). Other points referred to by the Advisory Group, in relation to public processions, covered the importance of developing and implementing codes of conduct for action to be taken in response to sectarian behaviour (para 6.64.3) and the continued development of steward training within processing organisations (para 6.37.1 and 6.64.4).

## 2	METHODOLOGY

2.1	This report is based on data drawn from a multi-method approach which used both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. The study consisted of three stages:

2.2	**Stage One** involved the collation of publicly available data provided by local authorities across Scotland on the number, range and characteristics of processions occurring routinely across Scotland (from 2010-2012). This statistical data was used to update the statistics originally provided in the Orr review (Orr, 2005) and to help inform the decision, taken in negotiation with the Scottish Government and project Research Advisory Group (RAG), as to which processions would form the focus for Stage Two. In most cases we were able to obtain the following information from local authorities:

- Procession dates
- Procession routes
- Any notable identified risks
- Principal organisations involved
- Event aims/purpose
- Notification decisions and reasons for any prohibitions or additional imposed conditions.

2.3	No information was returned from the following local authorities: Angus, East Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire, Na h-Eileanan Siar, and Shetland Islands. In addition, some local authority areas were not able to supply a full three years' worth of data and/or were not able to supply data broken-down into relevant categories. For these local authority areas, the total figures were adjusted using the figures submitted for 2003 in the Orr Report (Orr, 2005)[16].

2.4	**Stage Two** involved a retrospective study of community impact. Drawing on the information collated in Stage One, six processions that had taken place across Scotland were identified. Some of the factors that helped determine this selection included: attendance level (i.e. size); regularity (i.e. if annual event or not); level of policing required. From the outset, it was anticipated that selection would relate to the representative status of the events considered and proportionality.

Stage Two Site selection – Rationale and Process

2.5	Stage Two case-study sites were selected to provide a range of varied and prominent processions that could inform our collection of qualitative data, in terms of discussion with procession organisers and with statutory authorities. For instance we selected the main Boyne procession in Glasgow in July 2013 as this was a high profile event that had been subject to a great deal of scrutiny over the years by

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[16] Perth and Kinross provided incomplete data and so estimated total figures are based on these (rather than extrapolation from Orr report). Clackmannanshire provided lists of processions which allowed for the calculation of totals but insufficient detail re procession type. East Lothian also provided incomplete data, though the coverage of the data did not allow for estimated totals to be reliably produced, therefore figures for this area were based on extrapolations. Where recent figures were not available, 2003 figures for procession numbers in a given local authority were used to produce an estimate on the basis of the overall observed trend in procession numbers across Scotland up to 2013.

Glasgow City Council and the police. Conversely the Apprentice Boys of Derry procession in Perth was a rare example of a large Loyalist procession in a community that is does not traditionally host many Loyalist or Irish-Republican events. This allowed us to explore how the hosting of this event contrasted with the hosting of other community events in the area. Our discussions were by no means confined to a consideration of these processions, but they were intended to guide our initial approaches and conversations.

Table 2.1: Stage 2 processions

Processions selected for retrospective analysis	Date of Procession
Orange Order, Coatbridge	July 2012
Cairde na h'Eireann, Plains	October 2012
Royal Black Institution, Govan	August 2012
Scottish Defence League, Pollokshields	January 2013
Apprentice Boys of Derry, Perth	May 2013
Orange Order, Glasgow	July 2013

2.6   Semi-structured interviews were carried out with:
- procession/event organisers;
- local authority representatives/local councillors;
- senior police officers involved in strategic planning and the management of events.

2.7   Interviews sought to consider:
- the planning and preparation that preceded the event;
- the actual event itself – how it went, any disruption and if so, how this was addressed;
- consideration given before, during and after the event to its impact on the community/ies through which the event passed;
- the importance of such events in terms of cultural identity, traditional connection and community purpose which underpinned them.

2.8   Subject to receipt of the appropriate consent at the outset, interviews were digitally recorded and fully transcribed and coded for analysis. Research was conducted in accordance with the British Criminological Society Ethical Guidelines and subject to oversight by the University of Stirling, School of Applied Social Science Research Ethics Committee.

2.9   **Stage Three** involved a mixed methodological approach. Although initially intended to focus on four or five processions (see Group B in Table 2.2) which took place over summer 2013, we expanded this to include a wider range of processions where we undertook a more limited quantity of fieldwork (see Group A, Table 2.2)[17]. Through meetings and discussions we generated ideas regarding a suitable sample of processions. It was apparent that six sites would not provide a systematically

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[17]A key pragmatic constraint for the study was the timing of 'interesting' processions. The research timetable did not allow for Stage Three to commence until towards the end of June. In practice of course, many interesting processions occur in May and June.

generalisable set of processions, but a series of case-studies that would have explanatory depth and from which generalisable lessons would need to be derived with caution.

Table 2.2: Stage 3 'live' events

Ethnographic data collection- GROUP A	Ethnographic plus residential, business, and on-street surveys - GROUP B
Scottish Defence League, (i)Pollokshields (ii)Central Glasgow, 27 July 2013	Orange Order Coatbridge,6 July 2013 County Grand Lodge Procession
Pride Scotia, Glasgow Green 10 August 2013	Irish Republican Band Alliance, Airdrie 13 July 2013[18]
Royal Black Institution Renfrew, 10 August 2013	Cairde na h'Eireann Coatbridge, 13 July 2013
Scottish Defence League, Edinburgh, 17 August 2013	Royal Black Institution Glasgow, 10 August 2013 (i) Return parade to Bridgeton (ii)Return parade to Parkhead
Irish Republican 'Anti-Internment Procession with Prisoners' Families', Glasgow– 1 September, 2013	Pride of Govan Flute Band, Glasgow, 21 September 2013
Irish Republican Parade against Internment, Glasgow, 1 September, 2013	

Stage Three Site Selection – Rationale and Process

2.10   Stage Three sites were selected to capture a range of public processions across several areas:

Coatbridge, North Lanarkshire: This is historically a community with a comparatively large Catholic population and where there have been tensions associated with Loyalist processions. The Grand Central Lodge procession was scheduled to take place in Coatbridge on the 6th July 2013 and provided an opportunity to examine a very large procession (circa. 25,000 participants and spectators) through a relatively small town (circa. 40,000 residents)[19]. In preparing for fieldwork in this area, we also became aware of an Irish Republican procession (involving a 'break away' Irish Republican band grouping) scheduled for the 13 July in the neighbouring town of **Airdrie**. As this was being policed by the same senior police officer, and Airdrie had recently hosted the Grand Central Lodge event, we observed this procession, and also undertook some street and business interviews. Also on the 13 July, Cairde na h'Eireann (Friends of Ireland) conducted their own annual procession in **Coatbridge** which we included in this study.

Grand Black Chapter (Royal Black Institution) procession, Glasgow: The Royal Black's 10th August parade is the second largest Loyalist 'mass' procession after the Boyne parades, though it is to be noted that the Royal Black Institution does not attract as many spectators as Orange Order processions. The main Royal Black procession occurred in the small town of Renfrew, where we undertook some limited observations, though the focus of our fieldwork was on two smaller processions in

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[18]On-street and business surveys only.
[19] Each of the main Loyalist processing organisations has similar large processions which rotate through different towns over a 10 to 15 year cycle.

the East End of Glasgow involving two Royal Black Preceptories (and associated bands) returning from the main Renfrew event. It was important to contrast the conduct and impact of larger processions with smaller chapter or lodge return processions. Earlier on the same day, Pride Scotia conducted their main gay pride procession in the nearby area of **Glasgow Green** which we also observed.

Scottish Defence League (SDL), Pollokshields/Glasgow City Centre/Edinburgh:
The increasing incidence of processions and static demonstrations organised by the Scottish Defence League (SDL) has been noted in recent years**.** These events have also been responsible for an increasing number of counter-demonstrations and have created a range of challenges for local authorities, Police Scotland and local communities. Although attendance at such events is relatively small, the presence of large counter-demonstrations and the potential for 'facilitated confrontation' raise a number of important issues. Following a controversial (and escorted[20]) 'static' demonstration in the **Pollokshields** area of Glasgow in January 2013, a notification was made by the SDL for a procession in the same area on 27 July of that year. We chose this initially as a case-study site, though the subsequent refusal of the procession notification by Glasgow City Council led us to modify – but not abandon – our selection. Even though the procession did not go ahead, the notification itself was considered to have caused significant community anxiety, whilst anti-fascist organisers (Unite Against Fascism, UAF) determined to hold a static 'unity' event in the local area regardless. We therefore conducted interviews and focus groups with community and agency representatives, conducted observations of the static UAF event, and also observed the re-routed SDL event in **Central Glasgow**. Subsequent to this procession, the SDL were also given permission to conduct a procession in central **Edinburgh**, as was Unite Against Fascism. For comparative purposes, we conducted observations of these events.

Irish Republicans, Glasgow:
Two Irish Republican processions took place in Glasgow on 1 September. Both had a similar focus, to campaign against internment. The organisers of both processions (and the procession which took place in Airdrie) were viewed as 'dissident' Irish Republicans and their activities were considered controversial by the wider Irish Republican movement. The first procession, Free Ireland, was advertised as an Irish Republican Parade Against Internment and processed from Garnock St, Royston to the Gallowgate. The second procession, which took place later that day, was described as an 'Anti-Internment Procession with Prisoners Families' and processed from Jocelyn Square, Saltmarket to Janefield St via the Gallowgate. Structured and unstructured observations took place alongside a small number of business and on-street surveys.

2.11 **Stage Three** consisted of several methods of data collection:

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[20] Although this was viewed as a static demonstration, in order for the SDL to get to the demonstration, they required a police escort to and from the locality. In essence, this leads to so-called static demonstrations being, in effect, an escorted procession but significantly, falling outwith procedures and legislation governing public processions.

- interviews with respondents (local authority representatives, police leads and procession organisers[21]) who had a key role in the processions selected;
- ethnographic and structured observations of live processions;
- on-street mini-surveys of individuals proximate to live processions as well as short surveys of business premises near procession routes;
- face to face, postal and telephone interviews with local residents both prior to and after processions.

Residential surveys

2.12 Residential surveys contained detailed questions that aimed to assess the community impact of processions. On-street mini survey and business survey questions were also adapted from these question sets. The residential surveys had two phases. This allowed participants awareness and general attitudes to processions to be captured prior to the procession, and their experience of this specific procession to be captured after the event.

Pre-procession residential surveys
2.13 The first phase consisted of a short face to face survey conducted over the fortnight prior to the event. These interviews focused on:
- Awareness of the procession parade beforehand (how communicated);
- Any consultation on the procession or any feedback given;
- Any choices made as a result (e.g. avoidance);
- General attitude to processions and prior experience of processions;
- Views on how it feels to live in their local area including relevance/prevalence of discrimination in Scotland/their community and views on sectarianism.

2.14 The interviewers also captured basic community and demographic information. Respondents were asked to agree to participate in the second phase, and contact details were collected. Where respondents indicated they did not want to participate in a follow-up interview, one set of data was collected.

Post-procession residential surveys
2.15 The second phase involved a mixture of follow-up telephone interviews with each of the same households in the week following the procession, and separate post-procession surveys with a new sample of respondents. These interviews focused on:
- Whether respondents saw or heard the procession at any point;
- Their views on the conduct, meaning and purpose of the procession;
- If it caused them, or anyone they knew, any inconvenience, distress or harm immediately before, during or after the event;
- Whether they observed any stewarding or policing during the period of the procession, and whether they felt this was adequate and appropriate.

Achieved samples
2.16 Our final achieved survey numbers are show in Table 2.3. The original aspiration for the main pre and post residential surveys was to base this on a

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[21] While every attempt was made to meet with procession organisers, not all organisers contacted by the research team agreed to meet with them. Requests to meet with the research team were not taken up by organisers from the SDL, Pride of Govan Flute Band and Pride Scotia.

random, probability sampling approach, where address proximate to procession routes would be randomly selected from the Post Office Address File (PAF). The subsequent sample would then be visited in the two weeks before the procession, with respondents being interviewed on their doorstep. At this point respondents would also be recruited to take part in a post-procession telephone survey.

2.17   In the event this approach did not prove feasible. Our initial piloting of this approach in Coatbridge struggled with low response rates which were not primarily due to refusals but an inability to contact householders. Given that the survey was conducted in the first weeks of the summer holidays this may have been unavoidable. Our observational research of the 6th July procession also led to the identification of a very distinct housing sub-area that had been missed when drawing a random sample of addresses. This sub-area, (a small network of streets around Gartsherrie road) was subsequently surveyed on a convenience basis after the procession.

Table 2.3 Survey sample sizes and response rates

Survey type	Areas	Target sample	Achieved sample	Response rate	Refusals
Pre-procession surveys					
Pre-procession residents, door-to-door	Coatbridge	335	47	14%	
Pre-procession, on-street surveys	Parkhead, Govan	n/a	131	n/a (convenience sample)	39%
Post-procession surveys					
Post-procession telephone surveys	Coatbridge, Parkhead,Govan	108 pre-procession respondents agree to follow-up	62 are successfully re-contacted & interviewed	57% (35% of all pre-procession surveys)	
Post-procession postal surveys	Coatbridge, Parkhead, Govan, Bridgeton	2000	192	9.6%	
Post-procession, door-to-door	Coatbridge, Gartsherrie Road area.	n/a	39	n/a (convenience sample)	23% (where someone at home)

2.18   Subsequent attempts to roll-out our pre-post survey design in other case study areas proved even more impractical, as these other areas (Govan, Parkhead and Bridgeton) included a very high number of addresses contained within multi-address residential blocks which could only be accessed via controlled entry buzzer systems. These systems were frequently inoperable, and in other instances rarely generated response from householders. The areas were also characterised by high rates of social deprivation, with a large number of vacant (and indeed demolished) buildings. We therefore switched to convenience sampling for our pre-procession sampling, conducting on-street surveys in busy areas within two case-study sites (Parkhead and Govan), excluding stopped individuals who were not resident in the surrounding area.

2.19   Given the difficulties with the original pre-procession survey design, the post-procession element was adapted. Though the post-procession telephone follow-up was retained with reasonable success in terms of response rates, the value of this data proved questionable in practice. This element was predicated on the notion that as a result of the impact of one procession in their community, some detectable change in residents' attitudes might be observed. In the event, the fact that no changes were observable even at the level of the most basic descriptive statistics did not prove surprising. With experience in the field it become obvious to the research team that residents – who in most case had lived in areas for many years, and where those areas typically hosted a dozen or more processions every summer – were unlikely to have their views altered by yet one more procession. This does not preclude of course, the possibility that processions may not have a *cumulative* impact on residents (see our discussion in Chapter 7), merely that trying to detect impact on the basis of one procession proved naïve. Therefore, unless otherwise stated, all the analyses of pre and post survey samples in the findings chapters relate to separate, independent samples.

2.20   Residential survey responses were boosted by post-procession postal surveys. Here surveys were sent to addresses, again selected randomly from PAF. However, response rates for this element of the survey proved low, with the Royal Mail returning many surveys marked as 'address inaccessible' or 'addressee gone away'. Moreover, given the low response rate, and given that responses to the postal surveys proved markedly more negative than other survey responses, it seems highly likely that there was an element of self-selection bias. It may be that residents who were annoyed or upset by processions chose to return the survey.

2.21   The majority of survey responses collected were therefore, based on convenience sampling approaches, and this is a limitation that must be borne in mind when reviewing the findings. Statistical findings should be treated *as indicative only*, and not generalizable to a wider population. Conversely, it should also be noted that there was nevertheless a strong consistency in the pattern of findings across the different areas and across the different survey types and survey samples. Table AA1 in Annex A shows how representative the demographics of the achieved samples were relative to the population demographics of the areas in which the surveys were conducted. This shows that respondents were drawn from a range of age groups (although with a higher proportion drawn from the 45-64 age group than the 16-29 – a pattern particularly pronounced within the postal survey) and that the sample was roughly split according to gender[22]. Respondents also demonstrated a generous and high level of engagement with the research process, providing valuable quantities of additional information. We therefore have confidence that in spite of the logistical difficulties encountered, high quality data capturing an indicatively useful range of views from a range of hard-to-reach populations was elicited.

On-street 'mini-surveys' and business surveys

2.22   On the day of processions mini-surveys were carried out on-street across four sites (Coatbridge, Airdrie, Govan and Gallowgate), with 138 conducted in total. Responses related to either a Loyalist or an Irish Republican procession (one

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[22] See Table AA1, Annex A to see how this varied across the three ward areas.

exception being a respondent in the Gallowgate who had observed a Pride Scotia procession).

Respondents were surveyed in relation to the following processions:

Coatbridge (after the Orange Order procession)	6th July 2013	40
Coatbridge (after the Cairde na h'Eireann procession)	13th July 2013	27
Airdrie (after the Irish Republican Bands Scotland procession)	13th July 2013	28
Gallowgate (after the Royal Black return procession to Bridgeton)	10th August 2013	21
Govan (after the Pride of Govan Flute Band procession)	21st Sept 2013	16
Gallowgate (after the Anti-Internment procession)	1 Sept 2013	5

2.23   The sample cannot be characterised as a random sample of the local population. However, our approach to sampling can be viewed as reasonably systematic and justifiable in so far as we tried to sample all individuals passing nearby a procession route shortly after a procession. Our population of interest was people that may have encountered the procession, whether deliberately or by accident. One caveat to the systematic nature of our approach was that fieldworkers were steered away from approaching people that were laden with heavy shopping bags, people in procession or band uniforms, parents with small crying children or people who were obviously drunk. Moreover, whilst, 'vocal' refusals could be noted by fieldworkers, it is quite probable that many refusals were unobserved (e.g. people taking avoidance behaviour by crossing the road to avoid being stopped by the fieldworker).

2.24   On the day of processions we also convenience sampled businesses proximate to survey routes (there were few refusals and researchers attempted to survey all available businesses, but there was also no reliable sample frame and some businesses were shut).[23] In total 104 businesses were surveyed.

Participant and non-participant observation

2.25   For each 'live' event, two researchers were embedded in the procession, one walking along the route on its periphery; and the other who undertook a visual and narrative tour of the procession, walking alongside a representative from the organising group where possible. This approach provided an opportunity to examine the procession from vantage points of 'outside looking in' and from 'inside looking out'. Both researchers were able to note the visible and audible events that characterised the procession, and importantly, to detect the emotional and experiential impact of the procession on participants and spectators. Each researcher observed and recorded the procession from their distinct viewpoint, noting interactions between the participants, general public, stewards and police. In addition to this 'unstructured' observation, a team of researchers conducted

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[23] Though hard to quantify only a very small number of business appeared to deliberately shut because of the occurrence of a procession, and in most instances these closures were for a short period of time and were associated with larger processions (notably Coatbridge).

'structured' observations at key points along the procession route, moving alongside the procession and pausing at key strategic locations to note qualitative impressions of the behaviour of participants and spectators, police deployment, interactions between participants, spectators and police officers; and to record songs and chants, as well as the general environment through which the procession moved.

Combining data sources

2.26   Utilising qualitative and quantitative methodologies and incorporating an ethnographic approach during the events provided an opportunity to synthesise and verify data collection and analysis through a process of triangulation. The combination of retrospective data collection and analysis and participation in 'live' events captured using ethnographic methodological approaches as processions took place, provided an important opportunity to capture the emotional context and atmosphere of the processions and experiential accounts of participation, observation and interactions. Full and further details of the research methods used and how residents and other participants were sampled can be found in Annex A.

3   PROCESSION NOTIFICATIONS: LOCAL AUTHORITY DATA

Frequency and nature of public processions

3.1   The Orr review (Orr, 2005) recommendations led to some significant standardisation of processes for applying for, consulting around, and making decisions on, processions. Local authorities, usually local authority licensing committees, remained the body to which event organisers had to apply if they wished to hold a procession. However, so called procession notification forms were enhanced and to some extent standardised across Scotland, making the collection and compilation of statistics easier. Procession dates and clear details of procession routes are now publicly available to allow affected community members to comment on applications. In many local authorities most of these details are provided online, though not in all. Moreover, more consistent standards have also been applied to the process and conduct of risk assessments both by event organisers and local authorities. These risk assessments often provide very useful additional information on the composition of processions (e.g. which bands or other groups may accompany the procession) and the purposes of the procession.

Figure 3.1 provides estimates for the total number of processions in the last three years across Scotland[24]:

Figure 3.1: Total number of notified processions 2010-2012
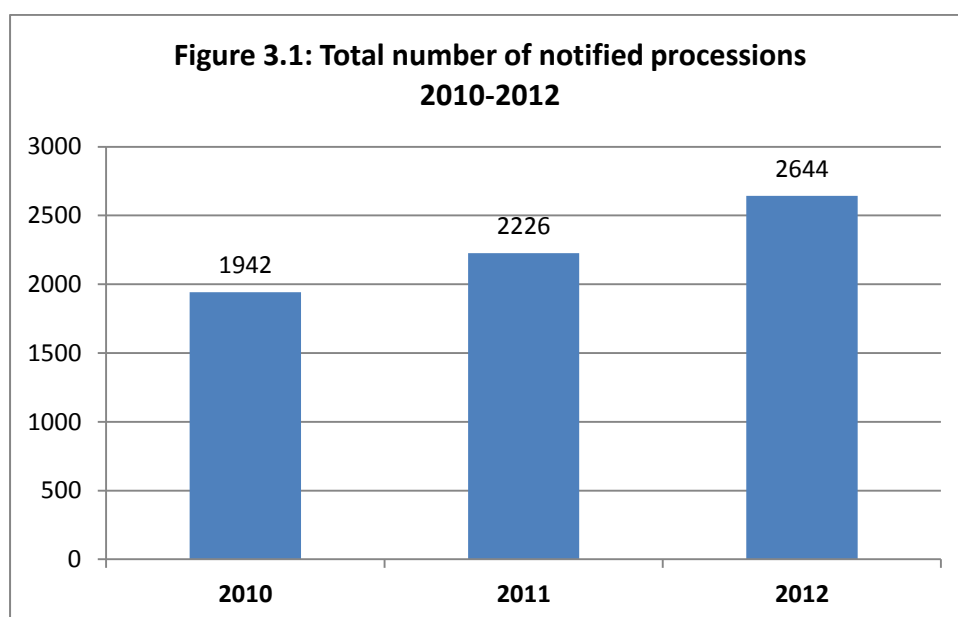
3.2   There appears to be a marked year on year increase in the number of processions taking place in Scotland. However, the number of processions presented here cannot be easily read-back to the figures produced in the Orr report to interpret a long-term trend (for comparison in 2003 there were 1712 processions; Orr, 2005, p.63). This is because legislative changes, subsequent to the production of the Orr report, would certainly be anticipated to have impacted on how local

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[24] These figures are based on notifications and may not, in practice, equate to the actual number of processions that actually took place. See Appendix B for further discussion. They are also based on extrapolated estimates for seven local authority areas where data was not available (see Table AB.1 in Annex B for more details).

authorities fulfil their obligations in this area, including how they choose to record and retain records of notifications. It is not always clear from the data available, how information is collated. To the general public, for example, what may appear to be one major procession taking place is frequently counted by local authorities as multiple processions – due to different organisations submitting one or multiple applications for the same event, all of which are subsequently recorded as separate events. The total procession figures are, as a result, of limited comparative viability across areas with different recording practices.

3.3   Table 3.1 provides an indication of the changing make-up of processions in Scotland[25]. Our categories differ from the Orr report in two key ways. Firstly, we have included figures for 'community events' i.e. hosted by and within local communities (such as gala days, Remembrance Day events etc.), political and diversity events (such as campaigns or events such as Pride Scotia)[26]. Secondly, unlike the Orr report, we have not referred to 'Catholic' processions. We have included events organised by the Catholic Church (and by other faith groups) in the 'community' category, and instead, have distinguished events with a notable Irish Republican focus.

Table 3.1: Different types of procession in Scotland				
Type of Procession	**2003 (from Orr report, p. 65)**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
[27]Orange/Loyalist	50%	42.6%	37.9%	33.9%
Community	49%	53.9%	57%	62.1%
Political & Diversity		1.6%	2.7%	2.2%
Irish Republican	1%	1.9%	2.4%	1.8%

3.4   The key trend of note is the proportionate decline in processions organised by Loyalist organisations. However, this needs to be interpreted against a backdrop of increasing numbers of processions overall from 2010 onwards. In fact regardless of changes in proportions, there were greater numbers of every type of procession in 2012 than there were in 2010, though the absolute numbers of Loyalist processions do not appear to have changed much since the publication of the Orr report. Conversely, the number of community events recorded as an official 'procession' has risen markedly. The numbers behind these trends must be viewed as approximate given the inconsistencies in how different local authorities record and count processions, though in 2012 roughly 773 Loyalist/loyalist band processions took place, compared to approximately 41 Irish Republican processions.

3.5   Procession patterns in terms of type and size were also examined in more detail in three areas in one year (2012) where detailed local authority data was

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[25] Based on those local authorities where complete data was available (see Annex B).
[26] Separating out events that are clearly political from those that might be said to celebrate 'diversity' (such as events organised by women's groups or the LGBT community) proved conceptually problematic, as even events like Pride Scotia, which may be seen to celebrate a particular identity, can also have a political dimension to them (e.g. securing equality) for at least some participants.
[27] The Orr Report referred specifically to Orange Walks; our statistical data includes processions by other loyal orders including the Orange Order.

collected in a fairly consistent manner and with a degree of detail that allowed for the counting of return processions as well[28]. These three areas (the City of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and North Lanarkshire), whilst by no means representative of all of Scotland, are nevertheless three of the most important areas in terms of hosting large numbers of processions. Detailed figures for these three areas are provided in Annex B.

3.6   The three areas hosted some 753 notified processions in 2012[29]. However, they are also quite distinct from each other in terms of the types, volume and size of processions. Two of the three areas, being populous West of Scotland urban centres, had a much higher proportion of Loyalist and Irish Republican processions compared to Scotland as a whole. Conversely, Edinburgh, experienced very few Loyalist and Irish Republican processions, only five out of 86 (circa. 6% of all processions compared with North Lanarkshire which hosted 198 Loyalist and 18 Irish Republican processions out of a total of 283 processions (circa. 70% and 6% of all processions respectively).

3.7   North Lanarkshire hosted no political or diversity processions in 2012, whilst Glasgow hosted 12 and Edinburgh 17. Moreover, the majority of North Lanarkshire's processions consisted of notifications for less than 100 participants[30], whilst only two processions in 2012 involved notifications for events involving over a 1000 participants. In comparison, Glasgow and Edinburgh hosted far more processions involving 1000 or more participants (18 and 8 respectively). In Edinburgh all eight of these processions (the largest involving crowd estimates of 250,000 to 300,000) related exclusively to community or political/diversity processions, whereas in Glasgow at least seven of the 18 larger processions were associated with Loyalist processions. Glasgow proved in some respects the 'go-between' local authority area, hosting large numbers of processions of all types, though as with North Lanarkshire the biggest volume of processions remained smaller Loyalist processions.

3.8   Taking the three areas as a whole, the majority of all small processions, including those under 100 participants and those involving between 100 and 199 processions were Loyalist or Irish Republican related (accounting for 71% of all processions involving 199 participants or less). However, Loyalist and affiliated processions were far more numerous than Irish Republican processions (466 compared to 39). Irish Republican processions only constituted circa. 5% of processions in these three areas, though across Scotland as a whole the proportion

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[28] In our national breakdown of local authority areas we were only able to compare areas – and count processions – in terms of individual procession notifications. However, a single notification could relate to what was effectively two processions: an outward procession, typically followed by some form of static event, proceeded later by a return procession that may – or may not – have retraced the original route. Therefore, in counting return procession the figures presented for these three areas here, and in Table AB3 in appendix B, are higher than the figures for the same areas reported in our national breakdown of local authority areas (Tables AB1 in Appendix B).

[29] These figures must be viewed as approximate in so far as some events may have been subsequently cancelled without notice. Moreover, in some instances, multiple event notifications may have related to, what in essence, would have been perceived by the public to be one larger event (e.g. a large procession that started with smaller feeder processions). Finally, some processions that may have occurred may have been organised without any notification being given.

[30] Figures for procession size are based on details supplied by event organisers in advance. They can only therefore be viewed as rough estimates.

was much lower still at less than 2% of all processions. The Orange Order accounted for the largest number of processions amongst Loyalist groups. Processions by Cairde na hÉireann were the most prominent events organised by Irish Republicans, though there were numerically more smaller-scale events held by Irish Republican bands.

Timing of processions

3.9   Figure 3.2 shows the distribution of different types of procession across the year. In this instance, these figures are taken from the 25 local authorities in 2012 which had complete figures that could be broken down into procession types. The distribution of processions is broadly unchanged from the distribution outlined in the Orr report. Loyalist processions peak in June and July though with strong numbers still in May and August. Conversely, the considerably fewer Irish Republican processions are more evenly distributed throughout the year. The key difference again is the increased volume in community processions, with these peaking both in June (gala days and fetes) and again in November (Remembrance Day services).

Figure 3.2: Number of Notified processions by month 2012
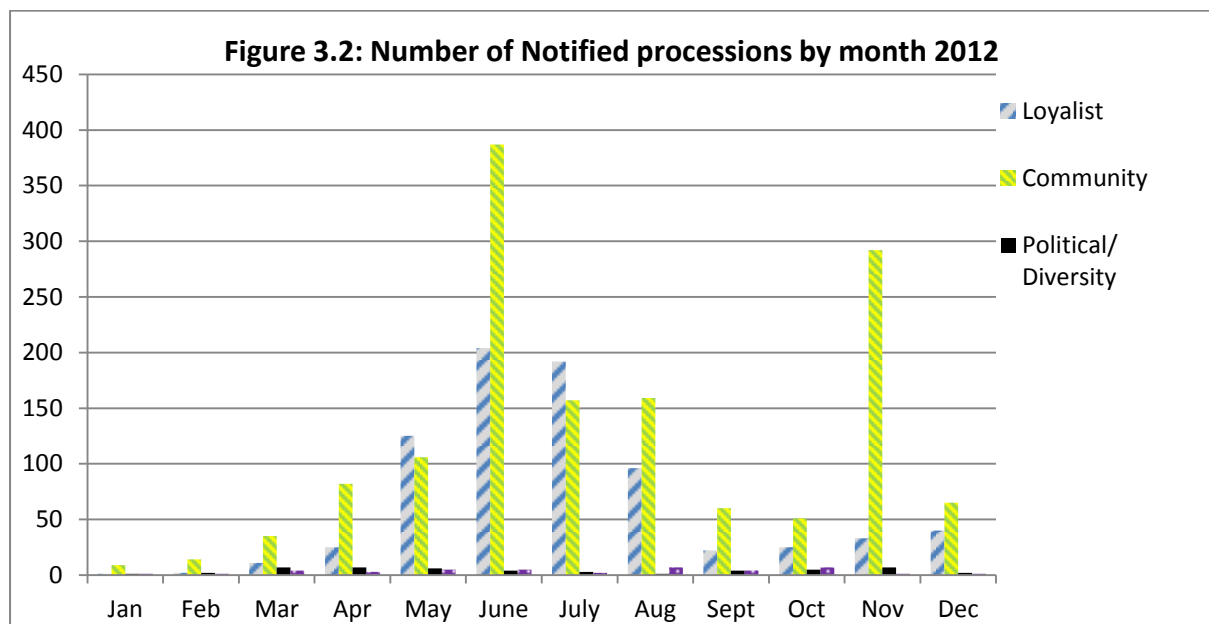
*Covering the 25 local authorities which provided figures for 2012 which could be broken down into procession types.

3.10   Regarding the size of processions (i.e. in terms of the numbers of participants), Annex B (Table AB2) provides annual average figures for Irish Republican and Loyalist processions. The figures should be treated with due caution because they are based on estimates of the number of planned attendees contained in notifications submitted by procession organisers. How many participants organisers *hoped* would turn up, and how many actually *did* turn up, could clearly be two very different things. Estimated attendance figures in many of the areas show considerable volatility from year to year, and though the figures for Irish Republican processions would seem to denote some increase in average attendances, the low number of actual processions would caution attaching any significance to such figures.

3.11 Table AB1 in Annex B provides figures for the total number of processions hosted by each local authority area. The figures outlined here need to be interpreted with due caution. At the lower end of the scale in terms of procession type there still appears to be some inconsistency in the sorts of events that typically merit a procession notification, in particular certain 'rural' local authorities have a tendency to formally count comparatively minor community events as public processions. Furthermore, even within larger urban local authorities, procession notification figures could be totalled up differently depending on interpretation of what constituted an event (for instance whether a Loyalist lodge procession merged with another lodge procession, before returning on its own later in the day, should be counted as one, two or three processions was a matter of judgement and varied across local authorities).

3.12 The data available provides only a limited guide to where processions that may generate some level of community concern are occurring. It indicates which local authorities share the greater 'burden' of hosting processions (notably Glasgow, North Lanarkshire, and North Ayrshire), but no local authority appears to collate figures on community objections, whilst the recording of prohibitions or required procession amendments (e.g. to the route or the timing) is highly variable. For instance, whilst in 2011-2012 there appears to be markedly more 'withdrawn' processions in the Glasgow City area during the peak procession months of May to September whether these withdrawals represent prohibitions or simply the decision of organisers to cancel a procession due to low number, poor weather etc. is unclear.

3.13 Key Points:

- Available data for procession notifications across Scotland indicate a yearly increase in the number submitted. However this increase can be linked to the increasing use of the notification system for events that may not previously have required a notification. It also includes multiple applications for some events. Different approaches to the notification system across local authorities make it difficult to accurately compare and contrast the number of actual processions which take place on a yearly basis.
- Between 2010 and 2012, the number of community processions increased from 54% to 62% of the total, according to available data. Political events and Irish Republican procession notifications remained relatively steady (both at approximately 2% of the total) while procession notifications by loyal orders and related bands reduced from 43% (in 2010) to 34% of the total (in 2012); largely as a result of the increasing proportion of community events.
- Considerable variations can be noted. In some local authority areas such as North Lanarkshire, small Loyalist processions accounted for the majority of all annual processions. Glasgow hosts a high number of Loyalist and Irish Republican processions (albeit only 6% of processions in Glasgow were Irish Republican) accounting for 73% of all public processions in the city; Edinburgh, by contrast, hosts far fewer events of this type but is more likely to hold much larger processions associated with political protest or diversity issues.
- Events by loyal orders appear to peak in June and July, while community events predominate in June and November, the latter largely being accounted

for by Remembrance Day parades. Political and Irish Republican events, both small in number, appear to be spread more evenly across the year.

- Variation in the collation of figures makes it very difficult to estimate the number of attendees or to determine which local authorities experience the greatest number of processions that generate community concern.
- Processes of community notification and consultation varied but no local authority appeared to collate figures on community objections. Recorded data on amended or withdrawn notifications varied across local authorities.

4 COMMUNITY IMPACT: PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC PROCESSIONS

4.1   The aim of this chapter is to examine the impact of processions on communities from the perspective of statutory agencies, and to consider the strategies employed by agencies to identify and mitigate any negative impacts that may arise from processions. The principal agencies with responsibility for managing processions are local authorities and the police, and a range of interviews and focus groups were conducted producing information on practices across a range of areas, but with the majority of information pertaining to four local authority areas. Whilst this sample is by no means representative of all local areas, it should be noted that the two most populous local authority areas in Scotland are included in this sample, whilst three of these areas are also particularly significant in terms of hosting processions[31].

Procession types, trends, and challenges

4.2   The variety of events that were hosted across the four local authority areas included[32]:

- Small to medium-sized disorganised processions. Often one-off events such as student demonstrations, though well intentioned and not posing any specific threat of disorder, nevertheless proved challenging due to the inexperience of the event organisers. As these events were often organised with limited notice, the procession notification could often coincide with advertising for the event, making it difficult for local authorities and organisers alike to change event details subsequently.
- Small to medium-sized 'feeder' or 'return'[33] Loyalist processions, or other small to medium-sized Irish Republican (and associated band) processions. All four local authority areas hosted one-off, as well as more regular processions of this type. These are the most numerous types of processions, with lodges, or bands or chapters, often parading several times per year in their 'home' locality (most notably the large processions that occurred on July 6th).
- Large processions where no counter-demonstration was anticipated. These events posed challenges primarily in terms of disruption and planning rather than presenting issues with community safety or disorder. One variable that made planning for these events difficult was that the numbers turning up at such events could be difficult to determine (typically depending on the weather or the optimism of organisers) making it difficult to resource these events efficiently. In particular the risks of under-policing a procession on the basis of under-estimating attendance, led to the requirement to fully resource events that might subsequently be significantly under-attended.
- Large events where a counter-demonstration (whether static or also a procession) was anticipated.
- 'Extraordinary' events. These are rare, high profile events, such as the Pope's visit to Scotland in 2010, or the Make Poverty History rally that was held during the G8 summit in 2005 that combine both heightened security issues associated with VIPs,

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[31] The areas will generally be anonymised in the following discussion (from Area A through to D), with local authority and police respondents also being anonymised with numerals (e.g. Police 1, 2, 3 etc. Local authority 1, 2 etc.).

[32] This is an extended typology of one provided to us by a respondent in Local Authority 1

[33] 'Feeder' and 'return' processions are early morning and late afternoon processions that individual Loyalist lodges or chapters may undertake prior to, and on the return from, joining a larger procession in the middle of the day. Irish Republican processions do not include feeder or return processions.

considerable issues associated with crowd health and safety, and massive disruption to city centre areas and public transport infrastructure. In addition these events can pose significant organisational challenges requiring complex multi-agency and cross-jurisdictional co-ordination and collaboration.

4.3   Trends, in terms of the number of processions have already been identified in Chapter 3, though agency respondents frequently noted a reduction in number of participants in smaller Loyalist and Irish Republican processions, and a reduction in confrontations and disorder associated with Loyalist and Irish Republican processions more generally (Police 1, Police 2, Police 3 and Local Authority 4). No clear evidence was proposed as to why this may be the case. Where certain processions had been associated with confrontations between Loyalist and Irish Republican groups in the past, these were also notable by their absence for the most part in summer 2013 (Local Authority 3 and Police 3), though as our own fieldwork observations demonstrated, the potential for new confrontations was still present. Though some areas (Area A) had seen a reduction in the number of small 'return' and 'feeder' processions, other areas had not (Area B), and indeed had also noted (Area B) an increase in smaller band processions.

Procession impact

4.4   In terms of procession impacts, there were a number of commonly identified issues. Many revolved around logistical disruption such as processions moving too slowly or spreading out too thinly thereby exacerbating the extent to which they disrupted traffic or blocked access to businesses. Increases in car ownership and traffic also made some local and traditional routes problematic:

> *In one way you can expect when you're in a major public thoroughfare a degree of disruption for people using the public thoroughfare for something that they're entitled to do very publicly. But it's a wee bit different if you're in your garden in a small 1950s housing scheme where the roads were not really built for today's traffic and you've got something like 200 people with loud bands going past your door! Probably very much more so if it happens to be quite early in the morning! (Local Authority 2)*

4.5   All local authority areas had a general preference for routing processions out of residential side streets as much as possible, though early morning Loyalist parades in particular could involve bands and lodges moving through residential streets as early as 7:30 on a weekend morning. Whilst some local authorities attempted to control this through guidelines or conditions that prohibited the playing of music until 9:00, in some local authorities the absence of formal public complaints regarding these early morning parades made it difficult to enforce such conditions.

4.6   Local authority and Police Scotland respondents identified well known flashpoints which could relate either to confrontations (typically outside pubs or specific streets) or to the slowing of the procession and the potential for singing identified by the authorities as 'sectarian' (typically under railway bridges) (Police 1, 2, 3, 4, Local Authority 2 & 3). Whilst Loyalist and Irish Republican procession participants were generally commended for not taking part in confrontations or engaging in sectarian singing, certain lodges and bands were considered to either be associated with more troublesome supporters, and/or be more at risk of breaching procession conditions or codes of conduct (Police 1). Moreover, it could also be

difficult for the police to determine whether certain behaviours were, or were not, provocative or sectarian:

> *Now I've got 30 years' experience, I still don't know you know...unique little differences in flags and emblems and a particular line in a song even at this stage […] It's evolving all the time. (Police 1)*

4.7   Confrontations were by no means always organised along sectarian lines, indeed respondents often claimed that confrontations were more commonly territorial or were between competing processing organisations, typically clashes between rival bands or between bands and supporters (Local Authority 3, Police 2 & 4). Generally, flashpoints that were associated with counter-demonstrations were policed, and local authorities in particular were reluctant to restrict processing organisations on the grounds that counter-demonstrations might occur, though at the same time the need to dissuade processing organisations from obvious provocations in terms of route or timing was recognised:

> *Just because there's a counter-demonstration doesn't mean that's an automatic refusal. Police might try and persuade organisers to alter obvious provocations in the route, but they are equally clear that there shouldn't be 'no go' areas. (Local Authority 3)*

4.8   More generally, issues of anti-social behaviour, principally public drinking and public urination were commonly mentioned in relation to the supporters (or observers) of processions. Whilst some processing organisations were quick to distance themselves from responsibility for people on the street outside the procession, this was a point of frustration for many public officials:

> *but in my opinion they can't completely cut themselves away from that, those people, those supporters, would not be there if that procession wasn't going there. (Local Authority 3)*

4.9   Issues around flashpoints and anti-social behaviour were particularly associated with late-afternoon and early-evening return processions. This was in part that, by the end of a long processing day, supporters had often had a lot to drink, and in part because pubs were busier and there were more people around who had been drinking generally. Policing resources traditionally could also be stretched by this point, as officers themselves may have been out with a procession all day (following it from the early morning feeder, through a main procession, and then back in the evening). Conversely if a new shift of officers came to escort the return procession, they could be hindered by not being aware of preceding issues.

4.10   Poor stewarding was another frequently mentioned issue, though problems of stewarding did not generally relate to Loyalist or Irish Republican processions, but, in particular, to one-off processions where the organisers had limited experience of running an event (Police 3 & 4, Local Authority 1). One area of criticism however relating to Loyalist processions in particular was that stewarding tended to focus on the procession and not to take sufficient responsibility for supporters.

4.11   Possibly the most challenging type of procession facing respondents in certain local authorities were notifications for processions from the far-right Scottish Defence League (the SDL) and subsequent notifications by anti-fascist protestors (such as Unite Against Fascism (UAF)). These processions were variously targeted

at city centres but also in at least one prominent instance, at a residential area with a substantial ethnic minority population raising two key issues. First, the SDL, anticipating refusals by local authorities to hold a procession, often resorted to static demonstrations that required no notification to be given, and could not be prevented by local authorities[34]. However, to facilitate a peaceful static demonstration where significant numbers of counter-demonstrators are present requires a significant police presence, including escorting SDL members to the static demonstration site. This in effect gives the SDL a 'de facto' procession. When this occurred in one residential area in early 2013, the sight of both the SDL, and a large number of police officers, escorting and protecting this very small number of SDL members (approximately eight), caused considerable community upset. Indeed the scale of the policing operation led to claims by some residents that they were effectively trapped in, or outside, their homes.

4.12   The second key issue was that in other circumstances where the SDL have been given permission to process, the procession notification has quickly triggered a notification for a counter-demonstration by anti-fascist protestors. This in itself causes significant logistical and policing issues, as local authorities have to attempt to facilitate both processions in a way that avoids direct contact or confrontation, in circumstances where one side (the anti-fascist protestors) are explicitly seeking to make a visible protest. Policing practices can minimise direct confrontation through a process of 'facilitated' confrontation.

4.13   A related issue mentioned across local authority areas and which had a particular bearing on SDL processions, but also created difficulties in terms of counter-demonstrations with Loyalist and Irish Republican processions, was the growth in use of social media, which could lead to processions, counter-protests and confrontations being quickly assembled and organised at a speed that proved challenging for local agencies to keep abreast of, and respond to.

4.14   One final impact that particularly affected certain local authorities (Areas A, B & D) was the sheer accumulation of processions through the year, and the extent to which particular communities were impacted disproportionately:

> *What keeps coming back is the number of parades, I don't think anyone says that marching or parades should be stopped and let's face it there are people protesting in Egypt and across the world who are looking for that level of democracy, human rights to parade and assemble… so we're lucky that we do have a democracy that recognises these rights […]. I think it's the number and the regularity of them and to be fair I would probably say that's where the challenge comes from (Police 1).*

4.15   Large Loyalist processions with feeders, a main procession, and returns, could result in particularly 'cumulative' impact as an area could host processions from early morning to early evening across multiple locations. Indeed one procession included within this research included a substantial main procession, preceded and followed by over 70 feeder and return processions. However, this issue could also extend to processions and events that were actively courted by local authorities and commerce:

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[34] Though if there was substantial evidence of public disorder, intimidation, or criminal damage being likely then the demonstration could be banned from a defined area through a senior police officer making an order under the 1986 Public Order Act. Usually, the available grounds for imposing such an Order have not been considered sufficient.

That's where the Council is caught between a rock and a hard place, we want the events, because they have a big impact on the economy, but the residents [speaking of opposition from one particular community area]… small community groups, not big numbers, but they know where to go, which councillors to target, and which committees to go to (Local Authority 1).

4.16   However, there is no clear basis in law for restricting processions on the grounds of cumulative impact. As notifications must be considered on a case by case basis in terms of their own merits so, *arguably*, must any assessment of impact. Though one local authority was keen to apply the issue of cumulative impact when considering procession notifications, and indeed was keen to an extent to 'thin-spread' and 'share' the hosting of processions, the police in the same area had a preference for retaining well established procession routes as these proved easier to plan for in terms of tactics for dealing with existing route features, flashpoints etc. (Police 3). The geography (both physical and symbolic i.e. where a locality had a particular significance for an organisation) of urban areas could also compound the extent to which certain areas, both residential and commercial, received more than their share of processions. Whilst cumulative impact was difficult to address in such instances, local authorities were able to more easily justify some measures to address cumulative impacts arising from multiple processions on the same day (Area A and D in particular). Where city centres hosted multiple and competing events on the same day, it was often easier to justify the need to alter procession routes and timings to ensure the safety of participants and the community. In other instances, where multiple processions were associated with the same event, local authorities could struggle to get procession organisers to treat all of the processions as part of a single event, and to plan and coordinate the processions accordingly.

Consultation and anticipating impact

4.17   The majority of local areas had a similar approach, as per the recommendations of the Orr Review for dealing with notifications, and for assessing whether any processions might unduly result in disruption to the life of the community or might precipitate social disorder. Processing organisations sent in notifications and self-completed risk assessments, usually (although not exclusively) to a designated official in a local authority licensing section. Meanwhile, the police having received a copy of the notification would produce their own set of comments on the procession which in turn would be submitted to the relevant local authority official. Police comments might in some instances be based on subsequent meetings between the police and the processing organisation. They would also usually take cognisance of any records of prior processions by that organisation in the local area. The notification would also normally be sent to a standard list of consultees, including relevant ward councillors, community councils, and those departments within the relevant local authority who would need to be aware of the procession (e.g. roads and transport, parks and recreation etc.). In some local authority areas there were extensive lists of standard consultees which might include local community and church organisations, the local registry office (to avoid processions clashing with weddings etc.) and any other individual or body that had indicated that they would like to be consulted on any particular type of procession notification.

4.18   When it came to communicating with the general public, local authorities almost exclusively relied on web-pages with notification lists:

There is this issue about community consultation and how proactively one does it. I don't think any area particularly does do more than put it on the website (Local Authority 4).

4.19　The effectiveness of this form of communication was viewed with scepticism by many:

I don't think that medium is the best to truly capture community feelings and impact on things… (Police 1)

4.20　However, others, including some processions organisers, were wary of courting public opinion when they were of the view that the public would be predominantly opposed to the aims of their organisation (Procession Organisation 1). Local authorities also found that notifications tended to prompt complaints about the nature of the processing organisation rather than formal objections that they, the local authority, could act on (Local Authority 2, 3, and 4):

The law is absolutely clear that the purpose of a march is something which the authority should be blind to, and the fact that somebody disagrees with the purpose of a march, provided the purpose is legal and isn't ...in support of a proscribed organisation, the fact that somebody disagrees or indeed were it to be shown that the majority disagree with the purpose of a march it's not something the subcommittee could take account of (Local Authority 2).

4.21　Notifications of big processions could lead to better public awareness on the basis of press coverage, or on occasions as a result of one-off police and/or council communications with residents in the most affected areas. Residents and businesses were seen as being more likely to tolerate disruption if they at least knew about it in advance and had the opportunity to comment (Police 2). Conversely, notifications for some large events were submitted so far in advance (e.g. a year) that by the time the public raised issues about the procession nearer the event date, the period for actually formally raising objections had already closed (Local Authority 4).

4.22　Most local authority respondents – though acknowledging the limitations of web notifications – were firmly of the view that the main channel for the community, and indeed for community councils, to legitimately express concerns about processions was via their local councillors. This was because if significant concerns were raised about a procession that could not be readily resolved, it would be for elected councillors on the relevant committee to determine whether the procession needed to be restricted in some way (Local Authority 1 and 2). However, a limitation of this approach was that local councillors themselves were not always adept at objecting to processions on the right grounds, or in the right language, repeating the mistake of objecting to the 'message' of the processors rather than focussing on the specific facets of the procession that could be plausibly linked to probable community disruption or disorder. In the one instance where an organisation had been refused permission to return to a particular area for a procession, it was the ability of one of the local councillors to clearly articulate the community disruption that had occurred on a previous 'visit,' backed up by effective police comments, that gave the relevant council committee the grounds, *and the confidence*, to prohibit the procession in that area (Local Authority 3).

4.23   There were other mechanisms in place in different areas for improving community consultation. Notably in one area (Area D) an appointed city centre coordinator was considered highly valuable in terms of reinforcing communication and consultation with the business community, and in terms of ensuring that businesses could easily reach the most relevant council officials as required. On occasion, processing organisations had, exceptionally, communicated directly with a host community, with one organisation leafleting residents before a particular procession (Procession Organisation 4).

4.24   Aside from pre-procession consultation and representations, the key input into considering many repeat procession notifications, was the conduct of the processing organisations on prior occasions. Here again direct community communication with council officials was limited and the view was that '*apathy rules*' (Police 1 and 4) whilst agencies had no formal mechanisms for capturing community views on impact beyond relying on community members to write letters or emails (Police 4). But some respondents took the view that communities were too inured by years of repeated processions to complain:

> *This is because … many, many years …. these walks have taken place and … they might not be proactive and say 'well what's the point because year after year it's passed in 15 minutes', it's an inconvenience at most, but you can bet your bottom dollar if you went and knocked the doors of all the people who went along there they might say 'well it was a bit of an inconvenience, yes' (Police 1).*

4.25   The relative paucity of communication from the public as well as from other interested parties (retailers, transport bodies etc.) and the lack of any clear definition of what constitutes 'community disruption' meant that some local officials felt that in their role they had to some extent compensate for this lack of input:

> *How I see my role, is, I need to be even handed, but I've got the police's view, I have the organisers view, most of the people out there haven't got their view because we don't get a lot of objections from community councils or transport operators or anything like that, so I say okay, I have to think about them, and I see myself, not as their spokesperson, but reflecting that, because that is where disruption comes in in terms of the impact on the city centre (Local Authority 3).*

4.26   But in the absence of direct community communications, the main evidence on impact came from the content of police 'debriefs' after prior events. The quality and consistency of debriefing was openly recognised as having been variable in the past, though was also seen to be improving (Local authority 1, 2 and 4, Police 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5).

4.27   Debriefings were not usually undertaken in relation to most processions if they proved unproblematic. Typically large processions or processions that had proven problematic would tend to trigger the need for a debriefing process which might involve conversations both amongst police officers, between police officers and council officials, and between police officers and event organisers.

4.28   The formal debriefing process was seen as a useful way of ensuring compliance and co-operation of event organisers:

But on the day...whether you think it's right or wrong the police are few, they require your full and absolute cooperation. And that's where some of the debriefings are very good … (Local Authority 2).

4.29   It was suggested that while a procession organiser or participant may challenge a police instruction on the day, this could have repercussions when this was raised at a subsequent debrief:

In the cold light of day in a committee room ... "you did exactly what?" And "why then should any future public procession in which you propose to participate be allowed to proceed?" And it's amazing the extent to which that ensures that the police get full cooperation in the future. (Local Authority 2)

4.30   Beyond formal debrief by statutory agencies, event organisers themselves were sometimes proactive in holding their own debriefs, which could be used to identify issues that needed attention (Procession Organisation 2 and 3). For instance, some Loyalist event organisers had taken action to suspend bands that had behaved inappropriately during a procession, from further (paid) work accompanying their lodge or chapter processions. Moreover, formal debriefs also provided procession organisers (and local authorities) with the opportunity to raise issues with the style of policing, on occasions when it was alleged that policing tactics had caused problems (Local Authority 1 and Procession Organisation 3).

4.31   Whilst formal debrief mechanisms appeared generally to be improving, there were still nevertheless some concerns that police officers on the ground focussed predominantly in judging the success of processions on the basis of preventing violent disorder, and paid less heed to other issues, in particular the presence of hate speech or sectarian abuse. This was not to overstate the occurrence of such incidents, and Police Scotland have introduced specialist resources (notably Hate Crime Advisors and Evidence Gathering Teams) precisely to target these more 'difficult to capture' offences. Moreover, whilst, for some of the large processions studied here, a zero tolerance approach was espoused by police respondents (Police 1 and 2), there was evidence that this clearly did not apply to every event. For instance, during one SDL event, whilst the policing operation certainly successfully prevented any violent disorder, the event nevertheless, had also caused considerable community disruption and upset, with claims being made that event participants had racially abused residents (Local Authority 3).

4.32   Conversely, on the police side, the very success of policing difficult processions often meant that there was no evidence of problems that could be used to restrict or modify future repetitions of the same procession. This was frustrating in circumstances where it required considerable police resources to secure the smooth running of the event in the first place.

There's a double edged sword which is the council will say "right we can't really make any determination against this because last year it was fine"! The reason it was fine is we plan them! The reason it was fine is we put appropriate policing numbers to it, we engage with the organisers and things like that. So ...it is our job to make sure it is fine (Police 1).

Planning and negotiating processions

4.33   Across the study, there were some marked differences in terms of how statutory agencies dealt with procession notifications, though the Orr report was considered helpful in that it had at least prompted local authorities to devise a formal and transparent process (Procession Organisation 3). Significant disparities in the way statutory authorities interpreted the legislative framework surrounding processions were seen as undesirable and to be avoided by both statutory agencies and event organisers alike. However, differences in the process for handling and planning processions seemed less troubling, and indeed some observed differences were readily explicable in terms of peculiarities of context. For instance, one area had a markedly more facilitative view of procession notifications, an approach that was readily appreciated by all the procession organisations who participated in this study:

> *By working with the event organiser, no matter what the event is, you are more likely to get cooperation from them if they believe you are there to facilitate. You know, 'we will close the road for you and we will liaise with the police, this is what you want but bear in mind this is what we want'. (Local Authority 1)*

4.34   However, this area was notable for having comparatively few problematic processions, and for generally being an urban area whose 'brand identity' and economy was seen to benefit from large scale events. Conversely, two of the other areas which had to deal with large numbers of potentially problematic processions, took a more guarded view. Whilst officials still took their obligations to facilitate freedom of speech and the right to public assembly very seriously, they conducted their duties in a more sensitive and fraught environment, where there was considerably less public consensus as to the benefits of Loyalist and Irish Republican processions in particular. There was also some anxiety about the resources required to facilitate the large number of procession that were routinely occurring. Accordingly, in these areas event organisers had less trust in the statutory agencies, and felt that local authorities in particular had an agenda to restrict their rights to process (procession organisations 1, 2 and 3). Though even within these areas there were notable differences of context between sub-areas in terms of the sensitivity of communities to processions.

4.35   In all the areas the majority of small notifications were dealt with by the responsible council officials and police officers with limited input or detailed negotiation. However, in two areas, larger processions, or problematic processions, were dealt with through a multi-agency planning process that assembled key officials (e.g. the police, the other emergency services, transport and parks services etc.) together with event organisers to facilitate and plan the event. In one of these areas in particular the local authority was particularly clear in its responsibility for managing community safety, reflected in the role of the community safety team. In the other two areas, planning was largely undertaken by police officers; indeed, in one area the council considered any close planning or negotiation with event organisers as compromising its impartiality when making decisions on notifications.

4.36   Local authorities felt that event organisers did not always appreciate their work in helping facilitate the event, and the lack of capability amongst some procession organisations to plan their events in an effective manner was a source of

frustration for many (Local Authority 1, 2, and 3). Conversely procession organisations often complained of excessive and spiralling bureaucratic requirements, and a lack of appreciation of the plans that they did present to local authorities (Procession Organisation 1, 2 and 3). However, both sides acknowledged that planning for big events in particular could be resource-intensive, involving meetings and negotiations over a period of many months. To this end one local authority area which hosted a high number of repeat Loyalist and some Irish Republican processions, had attempted to reduce the planning burden by introducing 'event management plans' that would guide the substantive format and planning for an annual procession over several years, thus cutting down on the annual planning round. Whilst this approach seemed promising, suspicions on the part of procession organisations that this approach was aligned to an agenda to reduce the number and size of processions, and a fear that concessions made in one year would then form the precedent for all future planned events, had led to rather limited engagement with the initiative. Council officials however were clear in their view that some concessions to minimise disruption, in particular reducing the numbers of feeder and return processions, would secure more public acceptance for processions generally:

> *if you almost did a straw poll [..] I think the public would accept the marching if it was a wee bit more restrictive, yes some people would ban them off the street straight away and would say why are you allowing these beep beep beeps marching up my street, but I think the public's understanding, if there was less […] (Local Authority 2)*

4.37   Regardless of the precise process for handling and planning events, differences in local practices did not appear to impact on the extent to which procession notifications avoided serious restrictions. A consistent picture was the rare incidence of processions being severely restricted, or indeed those restrictions being legally challenged by organisers. Whilst this was broadly welcomed by respondents, the paucity of helpful legal interpretation of the legislative framework around certain key areas of uncertainty – principally what constitutes substantive 'community disruption' – was also noted (Local Authority 2).

4.38   It would appear therefore that the structures and processes employed in different local authorities did not appear to lead to markedly different outcomes. However, a key issue across all areas was the importance of clearly demarcated roles and responsibilities if these processes and structures were to work effectively. Turnover and limited tenure of police officers with a depth of experience in dealing with processions was also a frustration voiced in three of the four local authorities. In the fourth area (Local Authority 4) an experienced individual was employed by the police to deal with all licensing functions, an arrangement that provided a highly appreciated stability for other officials.

Improvements and developments

4.39   In terms of the handling of Loyalist and Irish Republican processions a range of marked improvements were noted over time in the two areas that hosted the greatest numbers of these events[35]. Though there were differences between them, and whilst many respondents felt there was scope for further professionalization and formal accreditation of stewards (Police 1, 2 3) in general the processing

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[35] Although Irish Republican processions constitute a very small proportion of all processions.

organisations were considered to be more co-operative, better organised, and better able to steward their own events:

Having worked many, many walks in the past ...on days I've kind of felt [breathes out loudly here] we've just got by, by the skin of our teeth and to be fair maybe the police weren't in control … I'm talking 10 to 15 years ago ...The last several years where we appeared to have a more structured ...approach to planning, looking at a different way, I feel that we have a better control, better liaison with the Orange Order, Republicans, and all others (Police 1).

4.40   The Apprentice Boys of Derry and Cairde na hÉireann in particular were widely commended for their proactivity in improving the organisation and management of their processions, with the former being notable for the quality of its stewarding and the latter for the degree to which it took responsibility for its supporters. The willingness of organisers generally, to take more responsibility for their own processions in turn had allowed the police to focus more on issues of disorder, whilst also reducing the amount of police resources required to manage processions:

I would say...prior to XXX walk which was 2 years ago...I reckon we were applying about 300 odd officers to the parade. The XXX one we went for...we managed to do it with about 170 (Police 1).

4.41   There was a ready appreciation that this scaled-back policing, and indeed the success of the notification system, depended fundamentally on constructive relationships being maintained with procession organisations:

We are trying to take organisations with us, but as you known the legislation is fairly weak, and you can only proceed on the basis of negotiation, compromise, discussion (Local Authority 3).

4.42   Another key facilitating factor in reducing the burden on police numbers when facilitating Loyalist and Irish Republican processions was the shift to more 'zonal' models of policing. Whereas previously, large processions in particular would be heavily policed in a linear fashion, with lines of officers escorting the participants, the police had now turned to focussing police resources on flashpoints where supporters and opponents might congregate. Bands, lodges, chapters etc. were still policed, but with a much lighter presence, typically no more than one or two officers, who would stay with their part of the procession for the duration of the day. Back-up units for large processions could then be located away from the procession route, but available if any significant issues arose. The approach was appreciated by the police and procession organisers alike, although it also required significant and effective planning, coordination and communication to be successful.

4.43   However, in spite of these reductions in the demand for policing larger events, the smaller day-to-day processions were still seen as a drain on resources. In particular, processions that coincided with periods of peak demand for policing more generally, namely Friday and Saturday evenings, were seen as particularly disruptive. As regular, smaller parades of this type had to be policed from existing duty resources, they were seen as directly detracting from the police's ability to police and assist the community more generally. Moreover, these resource pressures could necessitate comparatively light policing of these processions:

The issue comes about when it's the Orange walk or the Republican walk on a Friday evening, or a Saturday and when it's on duty resources. Now we can't put the resources or the amount of resources, or zone it or whatever it is on those occasions because we just don't have the resilience for it. So we may well put two officers on to that parade, now their ability to impact on antisocial behaviour, sectarian behaviour, I'm not saying its zero but with two officers...it's a challenge! (Police 1)

4.44   In instances where police numbers were too light, or crowd numbers were too great to facilitate intervening in instances of misbehaviour, the police instead relied on gathering video evidence that could either be actioned subsequently, or at least used to provide evidence at a debrief (Police 1, 2 and 3).

4.45   However, whilst processing organisers were appreciative of lighter policing, and accepted the need for competent stewarding there were still tensions between some procession organisations and some local areas in terms of the exact division of responsibility when it came to facilitating processions. These tensions were particularly persistent around the issue of recovering costs for the provision of local authority services required to facilitate the procession (Local Authority 1 and 3). Whilst, the recovery of policing costs, was excluded by pre-existing legislation, councils were entitled to recover costs for providing services that were *required* to facilitate the safe and orderly conduct of the procession (e.g. bins for the safe disposal of alcohol, the provision of toilets, the cleaning-up of park facilities after an event, safety barriers etc.). The ambiguity of what was 'required' was challenging, with procession organisations often disagreeing that certain equipment or services were necessary, particularly if that equipment or services was focussed on onlookers or supporters who they did not believe to be their responsibility. But when for instance it came to the provision of safety barriers for spectators – as one respondent pointed out – an organisers' desire to avoid incurring costs could conflict with their wish to have lightly policed events:

They say "we never had these things before?" Yes, ten years ago you never had these things but you would have three times the amount of cops lining the streets, and the XXXXX and the XXXXXX and all these organisers are the ones that don't want a sea of yellow jackets there because it puts a negative image on their procession, "oh why do they need so many police", but, it's not the police's role to be barriers (Local Authority 3).

4.46   In other areas, co-operative developments had clearly lessened the impact of processions, in particular the impact of larger Loyalist processions. Notably, the movement towards shorter turn-around times between the completion of large processions and the return of bands and lodges to their lodge districts reduced the scope of public drinking and the potential disorder in town centre areas (Local authority 2 and 3). Whereas previously, supporters of a procession might go off to drink in town centre pubs in the two or three hour gap between the end of a main procession and the dispersal of participants to conduct 'return' processions, now procession participants and supporters alike dispersed almost immediately after the conclusion of the main procession, thus considerably reducing the potential for disorder.

4.47   Finally, one interesting development noted across two local areas was that 'traditional' procession organisations themselves, though reluctant to directly consult with communities about specific processions, were increasingly keen to inform

communities about the aims and objectives of their organisations (Organisation 1 and 3). Open days and other information events, whilst unlikely perhaps to win many converts, nevertheless *may* proffer the possibility of providing some re-assurance to community members who might otherwise ascribe hostile intent to the presence of these organisations in their midst.

4.48   Key points:
- While there was evidence of a rich variety of processions taking place across Scotland during 2010-2012, respondents noted that the number of participants in small-scale processions by loyal orders and Irish Republican groups had reduced, as had confrontations and disorder associated with these organisations in the past. There was no clear evidence as to why this was so; however it was welcomed by all respondents, although the potential for new confrontations remained.
- Patterns of processions varied across local authorities and while some areas had seen a reduction in the number of feeder and return processions by loyal orders, this was not the case across all local authorities. At least one area reported an increase in smaller band processions and attempts to establish new routes.
- The issue of cumulative impact was problematic in some areas, where at certain times, processions were frequent. This could present challenges in areas where multiple and competing events were hosted on the same day.
- Much of the community impact of processions was associated with practical disruption (i.e. relating to traffic and access). Local authorities had different regulations in place regarding early morning processions and their musical accompaniment. In some areas noise was prohibited between certain hours via guidelines or procession conditions, but not in all.
- Absence of clear and coherent legislative interpretation of 'community disruption' created some uncertainty for local authority officials. Staff turnover could also make the process challenging, and across all areas in the study, the importance of clearly demarcated roles and good partnership working was emphasised in ensuring that processes and structures in place worked effectively.
- Police and local authority respondents took care to monitor areas which were characterised as 'flashpoints' and where behaviour (sectarian singing, counter demonstrations) could create problems. Where confrontations or rowdy behaviour were identified, this tended to be associated with followers rather than procession participants.
- The most challenging type of procession notifications were those from far-right organisations such as the Scottish Defence League (SDL) which also triggered a counter-demonstration by anti-fascist protestors. Failure to obtain agreement to proposed routes has often resulted in the SDL holding a static demonstration, thereby falling outwith the regulations governing public processions.
- The increase in social media to publicise events has also created challenges for the authorities in terms of identifying and responding to potential events. Processions, counter-protests and confrontations could be quickly assembled and organised at a speed that proved challenging for local agencies to keep abreast of, and respond to. However, attempts by processing organisations to

inform communities about the aims and objectives of their organisations were generally seen as positive developments.

- Local authority reliance on web-sites to display community notifications was acknowledged as being limited in both informing and capturing objections to particular events by local residents. However, even where community notification was more comprehensive, it appeared that local residents and councillors were often unclear about the grounds for objection to a procession. Better communication with local residents and businesses did, however, appear to mean that people could make plans that minimised the disruption they were likely to face, something that was particularly important for large-scale processions which, by their very size, would have considerable impact on local areas.

- Following a procession, where formal debriefs took place these were generally welcomed and viewed as effective ways of identifying and addressing issues arising.

- Improvements in stewarding arrangements by key procession organisations were viewed as important and widely welcomed. This development was also considered to have contributed to the reduced number of police officers drawn upon to police such events. A shift to the use of zonal policing was also considered to have contributed to reduced police resourcing. Small processions, particularly those which took place on Friday and Saturday evenings were considered to be problematic in that they drew resources away from other priorities.

5   COMMUNITY IMPACT: VIEWS OF RESIDENTS AND BY-STANDERS

Public perceptions

5.1   In order to obtain a detailed analysis of the impact of public processions on local communities, we selected five processions for in-depth analysis.

- The annual Boyne commemoration is a significant event for the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland. The County Grand Lodge of Central Scotland event in Coatbridge brought together members of the Order from across central Scotland to mark the event (the event rotates on a yearly basis). This is one of the largest annual events in the Orange Order calendar and 76 feeder processions across the central area subsequently join the main procession. An estimated 10,000 men and women participated in the procession, with approximately 15,000 visiting Coatbridge as spectators to the procession.
- The event organised by Cairde na h'Eireann (Friends of Ireland) marked a weekend of events to support the ongoing campaign for justice for the families of the 1994 Loughinisland massacre. The procession through Coatbridge on Saturday 13 July was organised by the local Cairde na hÉireann Margaret Skinnider Cumainn and supported by Cairde cumainn from all over Scotland and England. The procession was accompanied by Irish Republican flute bands from Scotland, England and Ireland, with approximately 6000 people in attendance.
- The Grand Black Chapter holds an annual procession each year and is one of the Loyal Institutions. The 2013 annual demonstration was held in Renfrew with an anticipated attendance of 2500. The main procession in Renfrew was preceded and followed by a number of feeder and return processions to different parts of the region. While the main procession provided an opportunity to watch a large procession going through a small town, our interest was also in the impact of small, but cumulative, feeder and return processions through Glasgow. While present at the main event in Renfrew, our main focus was on two feeder parades (to Bridgeton and Parkhead).
- Procession by Irish Republican Bands Scotland through Airdrie. This was a 'contentious' event carried out by Republican bands with no direct connection to the local area.
- The procession organised by the Pride of Govan Flute Band to celebrate their 30th Anniversary brought large numbers of bands and spectators into Govan and provided an opportunity to examine an independent (Loyalist) band event.

5.2   Using a multi-method approach, we obtained views of the local community (through pre-survey, post-survey and on-street surveys) in four main case-site areas (Coatbridge, Govan, Parkhead and Bridgeton) with additional on-street surveys conducted in Airdrie. In addition we examined impact through direct observations of the processions and through interviews and focus groups with procession participants (these findings are presented in separately in Chapter 6). While we have included a number of additional processions in our study, the discussion below relates to these four main case-site areas with reference made to the additional sites as appropriate (see Table 2.2, Chapter 2). Further to our discussion in Chapter 2, it should be reiterated here, that there are limits to the extent that the survey findings can be said to truly capture the views of any single 'community' living in any particular area. Therefore, in presenting the results we refer to samples, e.g. 'the Govan sample', the 'Parkhead sample', to indicate that whilst we would be confident that we have captured the views, experiences and feelings of the local people we

have spoken with, the extent to which any findings are representative of the wider population or 'community' are uncertain.

Pre-procession public awareness

5.3   Awareness of specific future processions over the course of the summer was mixed, with just over 61% (n=106) of respondents across the four main sites being aware of a future procession. However, this figure in turn is skewed by the near universal awareness in the Coatbridge sample of the large Grand Central Lodge procession and the subsequent annual Irish Republican procession in their town (43 out of 44 respondents were aware of one or both processions). In comparison, just under half of respondents in the Govan sample (20 out of 43) were aware of a specific future procession over the summer in their area. Some respondents commented on their desire for better information:

> There is no fore-warning that there are going to take place. I know they are planned but there's no public notification that they're going to happen. (Respondent 170)

General perceptions of processions (pre-procession)

5.4   Respondents were overwhelmingly positive or neutral about most types of processions[36]. Only 2% (n=3) of respondents held negative views about community processions such as gala day parades, while 18% of respondents (n=21) held negative views about political processions. However, of those who expressed an opinion, a clear majority held 'generally negative views' about Loyalist and Irish Republican processions (53%, n=90 and 56%, n=85 respectively). A number of respondents expressed a dislike of either Irish Republican or Loyalist processions specifically:

> I was born in Glasgow and have stayed there all my life, I was baptised a catholic, my mother was a protestant. When the bands and people walk past my house singing [......] I feel like an alien in my own city. (Respondent 233)

> I live in an area where there is an orange lodge so I tolerate that there will be walks. The large walk in July is watched by locals who do not necessarily accept the same views/ understand that it is a culture and belief of others. It does attract anti-social behaviour of some followers. (Respondent 71)

5.5   The survey figures are, up to a point, consistent with the original figures produced by the NFO report for Glasgow City Council (2003, p. 45). NFO noted that 53% of respondents in their study 'agreed' or' strongly agreed' that Orange walks 'should be banned' with 56% agreeing or strongly agreeing that Irish Republican walks 'should be banned'. However, having a negative view of processions is not the same as wishing processions to be banned outright, and indeed in our post-procession survey over 80% of respondents (67 out of 80) who reported being 'angry and offended' by a recent procession in their area, nevertheless rated 'freedom of

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[36] Survey participants were asked for a range of different types of processions that occurred in their community whether they felt 'generally positive, generally negative, or neutral about such events when they happen'

speech' as being 'very' or 'quite' important for public authorities when determining whether to allow processions to take place[37]. As one respondent remarked:

I value the right of freedom of speech, expression and the right to peaceful protest. But sectarian processions in particular on either side shouldn't be funded by the public bodies. I would like to see an end to them as they are not relevant to modern day Scotland.
(Respondent 145)

5.6   Another respondent commented:

It's supposed to be a free country, live and let live, it's been going on since 1690.
(Respondent 28)

5.7   Table 5.1 shows the distribution of views on Loyalist walks across samples from Coatbridge, Govan and Parkhead (Bridgeton is excluded as there were insufficient respondents in the sample from this area). The table indicates a possible association between area of residence and views, with residents in the Coatbridge sample the most negative, with nearly three quarters of respondents (33 people) taking a generally negative view, while those of Parkhead were the least negative; where less than half of respondents (34 people) took a negative view. However, these findings may, in part, reflect the particular route of the Coatbridge procession, and by implication a particular bias in our sampling of Coatbridge residents. The Coatbridge procession route was striking in so far as it completely encircled a relatively affluent area of the town[38]. The degree of disruption for this 'enclave' was considerable (no car access or exit all day), which combined with the more middle-class complexion of the area, might account for the added degree of negativity towards the July 6th Loyalist procession[39].

Table 5.1: General views on Loyalist processions, by area sample
Pre-procession sample

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total (=100%) (numbers)
Coatbridge sample	*4%*	*22%*	*73%*	45
Parkhead sample	*32%*	*26%*	*42%*	81
Govan sample	*21%*	*26%*	*53%*	43
Total	*22%*	*25%*	*53%*	170

[37]The recent Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (2014) provides similar findings to the NFO study. Importantly this report, *Community Impact of Public Processions,* differs from these studies as our research was conducted in communities that commonly host these processions while the other studies were conducted across Scotland. Another key difference is that the other studies asked questions about these types of processions within the specific context of 'sectarianism' as a social problem. In contrast, our surveys asked more general questions about the positive and negative aspects of all types of processions.
[38] See Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics.
[39] This inference is supported by a limited amount of post-procession survey work (n=29) that was undertaken in a small sub-area within the centre of Coatbridge that had been over-looked when developing our original sampling frame. This area, around Gartsherrie Road, was distinctly less affluent than our main sampling area and showed far more visible support for the main loyalist procession on the 6th July; and in spite of being no less mixed in terms of religious affiliation/heritage, rated the procession less negatively. For example, 60% of respondents felt that the procession caused tension in the community (compared to 73% across the wider area). 35% felt that the procession caused anti-social behaviour in the community, however 46% strongly disagreed with this statement.

Table 5.2: General views on Irish Republican processions, by area sample
Pre-procession sample

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total (=100%) (numbers)
Coatbridge sample	0%	19%	81%	42
Parkhead sample	20%	31%	49%	71
Govan sample	26%	33%	41%	39
Total	16%	28%	56%	152

5.8   A similar pattern was found in relation to Irish Republican processions (Table 5.2). Tables 5.3 and 5.4 show views on Loyalist and Irish Republican processions by religion[40]/[41]. There was again some association amongst our respondents between religion and views on Loyalist processions (Table 5.3). People with a Catholic background/heritage were strongly negative, with three quarters (51 respondents) taking this view, while around half of Protestants tended to be positive, with a further third neutral (23 and 16 respondents, respectively). Those with other, or no, religion also tended to be negative, with over half taking this view (25 respondents). Interestingly, Catholics in our sample also tended to be negative about Irish Republican processions (Table 5.4) with just less than two thirds (39 respondents) taking this view, as did half of Protestants (20 respondents) and more than half of those with other or no religion (21 respondents).

Table 5.3: General views on Loyalist processions, by religion
Pre-procession sample

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total (=100%) (numbers)
Catholic	4%	19%	76%	67
Protestant	48%	33%	19%	48
Other/none	24%	24%	53%	47
Total	23%	25%	53%	162

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[40] Survey respondents were asked for their views on public processions, specifically and generally. This was followed by a series of questions which explored the respondents' community and, in particular, how they felt about it and how safe it felt to live there. The final section of our surveys asked for demographic information which included gender, date of birth, occupation, (dis)ability, country of birth and nationality. Our question on religion asked 'what religion, religious denomination or body – if any – do you belong to?' This was followed by: 'And if you have a religious affiliation, how important is that to you?' with options: very important, important, neither important nor unimportant, unimportant, completely unimportant, don't know/not applicable. This question form and format also applied to other questions: 'Do you have a national identity? (e.g. Scottish, British, Scottish/British, Scots-Irish etc). If yes, could you tell me what it is? (with options denoting importance) and 'Do you consider yourself to belong to a distinct racial or ethnic group? If yes, would you mind telling me what it is? (with options denoting importance).

[41] Some 64% per cent of Coatbridge respondents indicated a Catholic background, while only 18% indicated a Protestant background. By contrast, in Parkhead and Govan the distribution of religion was more evenly spread: in Parkhead around a third of respondents were Protestant and just over a quarter, Catholic; in Govan these proportions were almost exactly reversed.

Table 5.4: General views on Irish Republican processions, by religion
Pre-procession sample

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total (=100%) (numbers)
Catholic	*13%*	*27%*	*61%*	64
Protestant	*15%*	*37%*	*49%*	41
Other/none	*21%*	*26%*	*54%*	39
Total	*15%*	*29%*	*56%*	144

More complex statistical modelling[42] was applied to the pre-procession data to explore whether area or religion were the most important factors in influencing respondent views on Loyalist or Irish Republican processions. Details of these models are presented in Annex C. Limited as the generalizability of such modelling must be, given the previously already described limitations of the survey sample, the models nevertheless do throw up some interesting indicative findings.

5.9   Principally the modelling suggests:
- Area had a possible association with views, with respondents in the Coatbridge sample being more negative about both Loyalist and Irish Republican events;
- The association between religion and views was less marked. Catholics in the sample were more likely to be negative about Loyalist parades, but there was no independent association between religion and views of Irish republican events.
- Perceptions or experiences of social cohesion[43] appeared to be consistently associated with views – respondents who experienced less social cohesion tended to be more negative about processions;
- Respondents who felt there was more racial prejudice[44] in Scotland tended to be more negative about Loyalist processions.
- All else being equal, women appeared to be more negative about processions of both types than men. Three fifths of female respondents felt negative about Loyalist processions, compared with two fifths of male respondents (n=51 and 35, respectively). Similarly, less than half of male respondents (n=35) were negative about Irish Republican events, compared with nearly two thirds of female respondents (n=46).
- Respondent's views also varied according to age. Respondent's views tended to become more negative as they got older, reaching a peak at the early 40s, becoming less negative with increasing age.

5.10   Qualitative data provides clearer illustration of how these indicative findings relating to experiences of social cohesion more broadly, were experienced by respondents:

Although I'm happy to be part of Britain, I'm afraid I relate the union jack to BNP/NF/UKIP. I find the flag excluding rather than belonging (Respondent 181).

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[42] Binary logistic regression
[43] Measured by a factor score combining responses to survey items such as "I feel like I belong in this area" and "I'm proud to be a resident of [place]".
[44] Measured by a factor score combining responses to survey items assessing respondents' views on the extent of racial prejudice toward Black, Asian, Muslims and asylum seekers.

Mostly the area is home to a varied demographic of accepting and hard-working people. However, there are a number of closed minded people who cannot accept the changes to the areas' community. There are a small number of youths and drunks […]I do not feel comfortable knowing that they live in the area (Respondent 190).

Having lived in this area all my life I am unhappy about the amount of strangers who now reside here (Respondent 111).

There is no community spirit here. Such is the nature of flats in a highly urban area where the turnover of tenants/homeowners is very high. (Respondent 126)

I think people are concerned about anti-social behaviour/safety. Processions may be a part of that but broader issues are managing football fans, poor planning i.e. allowing a half-way house next to the tube station. (Respondent 122)

This area is noisy enough with non-stop building work, drunks yodelling and fighting and football supporters passing by. (Respondent 64)

Post-procession residential surveys

5.11   Only a limited number of survey respondents were successfully followed-up with a telephone interview after a procession in a case-study area (n=62). These follow-up interviews aimed to examine whether the experience of a procession in their community changed respondent views of their community, their sense of safety, or indeed their perceptions of the prevalence of certain social problems (notably sectarianism). Numbers are too small to generate findings that are generalizable to anything beyond the sample itself, though the findings demonstrated a marked lack of variation between the pre and post survey responses: respondent's ratings of their community; and their perceptions of social problems remained largely unaltered, and indeed to the extent there were small shifts in responses there was no uniformity in the direction of these changes (e.g. there was no consistent tendency for respondents to exhibit slightly more negative or positive views post-procession)[45].

5.12   Our other sample of post-procession residents (n=192) consisted of individuals who had not filled out a pre-procession survey but who had responded to our postal survey (in Coatbridge, Govan, Parkhead and Bridgeton). This group, in contrast, appeared notably more negative in some of their judgements than pre-procession respondents, though it has to be noted that the low response rate for this postal survey would strongly suggest that there was a significant element of self-selection bias in this sample; namely people who had negative views of a recent procession were more likely to be motivated to fill out and return the survey. Amongst this sample the most common complaints about the impact of a recent procession in their communities[46] are shown in Table 5.5 below. Post-procession assessments (based on a postal sample of 192 people in these four sites) found that respondents tended to associate both Loyalist and Irish Republican processions with a range of social problems. For example around three quarters of respondents

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[45] For example, 56% of respondents 'strongly agreed' that they felt that they 'belonged' in the area in which they lived both pre and post procession, whilst just under 60% of respondents in both samples rated 'sectarian intimidation or harassment' as being a 'quite' or 'very' common problem in Scottish society.

[46] We have no way of knowing in every case whether the procession that respondents were referring to was the same one that we had selected for study.

agreed that a recent procession had led to anti-social behavior (76%) or caused tension in the community (73%). Furthermore a clear majority of respondents agreed that they were held up or delayed, or felt annoyed/upset by the noise associated with a procession (69% and 67% respectively).

Table 5.5: Post Procession Postal Survey: complaints
Percentage strongly or somewhat agreeing with each statement

		Base (=100%)
It caused tension in the community	*73%*	147
It led to anti-social behaviour	*76%*	142
I felt threatened/intimidated by some of those watching the event	*59%*	141
I was held up or delayed	*69%*	130
I was annoyed/upset by the noise	*67%*	144
I felt angry and offended by the procession or those taking part in the procession	*59%*	145
I felt like I was in physical danger	*32%*	143

5.13   Whilst not all respondents could recall the specific procession in their area that was being looked at as part of this research, nearly nine in ten respondents (87%) could recall one or more procession over the previous few weeks, and the most commonly identified type of procession was, overwhelmingly, Loyalist processions followed by Irish-Republican 'type' processions. Some 90% (165 respondents) of those who were aware of a procession had either seen it or heard it directly, though a small number of respondents (10 people) had also taken steps to directly avoid a particular procession (e.g. by leaving the area for the day).

5.14   A small minority, less than one in five, of post-survey respondents (27 in total), either took part in or chose to watch some of a procession. Across a wide range of questions, those who chose to attend a procession were likely to have much more positive views of their community impact and the general amenity of the procession than those who may have heard or seen the procession but did not directly attend it. For instance whilst over two fifths of attendees 'somewhat agreed' or 'strongly agreed' that the procession gave them a sense of community spirit, less than one in ten (8 people) of other respondents answering this question held similar views. Over three fifths of attendees 'enjoyed themselves' compared with only less than one in twenty (just 5) of other respondents. Conversely non-attendees were far more likely to agree that the procession caused community tension: more than four fifths (98 respondents) of non-attendees felt this way, compared with two fifths of attendees (11 respondents); or that it led to anti-social behaviour, with more than four in five of non-attendees (121 respondents) holding this view, compared with one third of attendees (7 respondents). Not all attendees were comfortable with the behaviour of some spectators, though, with nearly a quarter of this group feeling threatened or intimidated to some extent by some of the people watching the event (compared to two thirds of non-attendees, or 69 people).

5.15   Anti-social behaviour by perceived supporters or 'hangers on' was a common cause of anxiety amongst respondents:

It's usually followed by foul-mouthed drunks who I have witnessed swearing and even spitting at other passers-by that maybe are not of the same side. (Respondent 84)

The spectators are frequently under the influence of alcohol. In my opinion they are used to incite religious bigotry. (Respondent 128)

The 'procession' was an excuse for drunken, anti-social behaviour with large numbers of spectators drinking in the street, swearing and shouting abuse, while strolling topless and scaring people on the pavements. (Respondent 33)

Whilst those in the procession did not cause me offence, a lot of the spectators were rude and aggressive. I feel the entire event is a massive waste of public resources. (Respondent 161)

5.16   Though some element of bias may have resulted in more negative post-procession survey results, in other respects the post-procession data evidenced similar patterns of attitudes to the pre-procession responses. We concentrate here on views of Loyalist processions, as these were the most commonly recalled events. As before, Protestants tended to be more positive about Loyalist processions than others, whilst Catholics and those with other, or no religion, were more likely than Protestants to have a negative reaction. For example, over four fifths of Catholic respondents (32 of 38), and three-quarters of those with another or no religion (55 of 75) agreed the procession they recalled had caused tension, compared with less than half of Protestant respondents (8 of 17). Similarly, nearly three fifths (24) of Catholic respondents and over half of those with other or no religion (44) felt angry about the procession, compared with less than half (7) Protestant respondents.

5.17   Respondent's wider views about Scottish society were also associated with their reactions to the recent procession. Figure 5.0 shows that respondents who perceived there to be more sectarianism in Scottish society tended to be *more* negative about the Loyalist procession they recalled.[47] However, unlike the pre-procession survey neither social cohesion *nor* location was associated with views of the processions. When it came to taking a negative stance toward a recent procession it was someone's religion and perception of sectarianism that was important, not where they lived (and thus the specific procession concerned)[48].

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[47] The figure plots results from a simple linear regression model that regressed views of the recent procession (as measured by 5 survey items tapping respondents assessments as to the tension it caused, whether they felt threatened by (a) onlookers or (b) participants, whether they felt angry and whether they felt in danger) on perceptions of sectarianism (as measured by 5 items assessing how common respondents thought sectarian behavior to be). In this model the beta for sectarianism was .60, and the model R^2 was .33, indicating a strong correlation between these two variables.

[48] Respondents were not asked to provide, or provided with, a definition of 'sectarianism', instead, our surveys were designed using conceptual focusing so at the point where respondents were asked to comment on sectarianism, they were aware of the issues being discussed.

Figure 5.0: Association between views on sectarianism and recent Loyalist procession
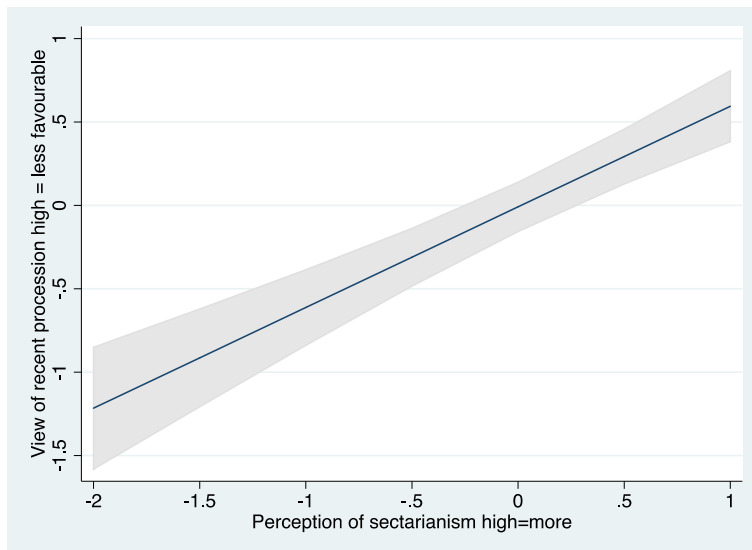
5.18   It should be noted that the association between perceptions of sectarianism and reactions to the processions is unlikely to be unidirectional. That is, it is equally possible that a negative reaction to the relevant procession heightened perceptions of sectarianism, or that heightened perceptions of sectarianism made respondents react more strongly to the processions. Equally it may be that other independent factors (such as a respondent's cumulative experience of sectarianism over their lifetime), may independently influence both their assessment of processions and sectarianism in Scottish Society. All statistical modelling can do is under-line the strength of the association between views on sectarianism and views on the processions, and given the highlighted limitations of the post-procession sample, this association must be viewed as tentative.

5.19   Another way of considering the *salience* of sectarianism is to explore the extent that perceptions of sectarianism are linked to experiences of real prejudice. Whilst well over half of respondents in the post-procession postal survey indicated that in their view sectarian behaviours in Scotland were either 'quite common' or 'very common' (jokes 72%, use of sectarian terms 74%, vandalism 64%, violence 65%, harassment and intimidation 62%); a quarter of respondents (38 out of 152), claimed to have experienced discrimination on the grounds of their religious beliefs or background. This compares to 17% (n=24) of respondents who claimed to have experienced discrimination on the grounds of their ethnicity[49]. Moreover, people who described themselves as 'Catholic' in the sample were more likely to report having experienced discrimination on the grounds of religion than other groups, whilst Catholics and people from other non-Christian religions were both more likely to

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[49] Due to the small sample size, and overall low response rates to the postal survey it is not possible to provide further detailed subgroup analysis.   Nevertheless these figures give an indication of how perceived experience of sectarian discrimination may influence attitudes to processions. More detailed, national figures on experiences of discrimination can be found in the Scottish Household Survey: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2014/08/7973/4 . It is worth noting that in our postal survey religious discrimination was more prevalent than discrimination on the basis of ethnic group. However, this is likely to be due to the particular characteristics of the case-study areas and the small number of ethnic minority members surveyed (for more details see Annex A).

have claimed discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity. This suggests that personal experiences of discrimination for a sizeable minority of respondents were potentially important in informing views of sectarian behaviour more generally; whereas for others it may have been more second-hand observations and perceptions (such as observing processions) that *may* have informed these judgements.

Governance of processions

5.20   Respondents to the post-procession survey were also asked the types of factors they thought local authorities should take into account when making decisions about procession notifications. For example, nearly all (97% or 175 respondents)[50] thought the risk of serious damage to property was very or quite important; 98% thought the risk to public safety important; and 87% thought likely disruption to traffic important. Conversely, 83% thought freedom of speech was an important issue, while 53% thought it was important to consider whether the procession was a traditional event or not.

5.21   Once again, it seems that sectarianism is an important lens through which people view processions. It may be that when they see sectarianism as a problem they are more attuned to the negative aspects of processions and these take precedence when they are thinking about how such events should be regulated or governed.

5.22   Respondents were, however, generally unclear as to what they could do if they heard about a procession they wished to object to. Only 10% responded 'Yes' when asked "If you hear about a planned procession in your community that you are unhappy about, are you aware of how to register your concerns or how to object to a procession taking place?" There was no significant variation in responses to this question across the research sites.

5.23   However, responses to objections were not always perceived as satisfactory. As one respondent noted:

> *I have previously complained to the council about the high frequency of orange walks in this area. I received a standard reply which mentioned the religious sensitivity of such walks. I was not complaining due to religious or sectarian reasons, but due to the frequency, noise, disruptions, delays and general atmosphere associated with the walks. (Respondent 1)*

Perceptions of Community Impact: Street surveys carried out on the day of the procession

5.24   Turning to the day of the processions themselves we surveyed spectators and passers-by. Unsurprisingly given that most respondents were sampled near a procession route either just after a procession had passed by, or generally within no more than an hour of a procession having passed by, 90 of the 105 respondents (86%), were aware that a procession had taken place, even if they themselves hadn't witnessed it. Indeed 68% of all respondents had prior knowledge that the

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[50] These percentages exclude the small number of 'don't knows' that represented between one to 8% of all responses. The item generating the most 'don't knows' was 'freedom of speech'.

event was to take place, typically having heard about it via word of mouth or local media. However, in common with the surveys conducted prior to processions in the case-study sites, knowledge of an event varied markedly between areas with a large majority (57 out of 64) of respondents having heard of the processions in advance in Coatbridge (again unsurprisingly given the prominence of the processions), whilst in the Gallowgate none of the respondents had a prior knowledge of the Irish Republican procession and only a handful had a prior knowledge of the small Royal Black return procession that took place in the area.

Table 5.6: Respondents relationship to procession
'On-street' sample

Respondents and the procession	%	*Totals (numbers)*
There to participate*	30%	35
Not there to participate but watched/heard it	51%	59
Didn't notice the procession	19%	22
TOTAL	100%	116
*Either as a spectator or as a processor		

5.25   Of those who participated in the survey, just under a third were there to participate; which was taken to mean that they had deliberately set out to either watch or take part in the procession. Those who 'just watched/heard' the procession were mostly individuals in the area for other reasons (e.g. shopping) though we cannot entirely rule out some overlap between these first two categories[51].

5.26   A small number of respondents across the four areas (seven in total) claimed that they had deliberately avoided the procession on that day.

5.27   In general, respondents surveyed across all areas who neither actively participated or deliberately chose to observe the procession[52], tended to view processions more negatively than those who actively came to watch to watch or participate. However, as Table 5.7 demonstrates there were distinct patterns to bystanders' attitudes: respondents tended to be more negative about perceived, broader community impacts (in terms of tension and anti-social behaviour) than feeling directly threatened, offended, or disrupted by the procession themselves.

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[51] Two different questions were used to try and pinpoint a respondent's relationship to a procession. In most instances the relationship was fairly clear-cut, but in some instances a respondent may have characterised themselves as bystander, but then having 'heard' or 'come across' the procession, the degree of their involvement (in terms of their engagement, or the duration of their involvement) may have arguably shifted their status to that of participant.
[52] Referred to throughout this report as bystanders.

Table 5.7: Bystander attitudes to processions
'On-street' sample across all areas

	Strongly /somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Strongly /somewhat disagree	Total[53] (=100%) (numbers)
I enjoyed watching the march/parade	43%	5%	52%	62
I was annoyed/upset by the noise	27%	8%	65%	66
It was well organised/stewarded	69%	6%	25%	55
I was held up or delayed	35%	6%	59%	66
It caused tension in the community	60%	6%	33%	63
It led to anti-social behaviour	54%	5%	41%	63
I felt angry or offended by the march or marchers	34%	10%	55%	67
I felt intimidated/nervous	27%	2%	71%	63

5.28   In contrast, people who came to deliberately watch a procession, albeit being a minority of respondents, were generally more positive, with the majority agreeing that the procession was enjoyable to watch (35 out of 38), and only a minority agreeing that the procession led to anti-social behaviour (2 out of 37). One key finding common to both groups though was that the majority of respondents, regardless of whether they were there to deliberately watch a procession or not indicated that the events were well stewarded and well policed, with over 82% of respondents (n=77) agreeing that the procession they had observed was 'well policed'.

5.29   There were few discernible differences in terms of levels of support or opposition by type of procession. Differences were more marked however, when it came to comparing responses across case-study sites. For instance, in Coatbridge (for both the Orange Order and Cairde na h'Eireann processions) and Govan (Pride of Govan Flute Band Anniversary) an appreciable proportion of bystanders rated the processions positively in terms of generating 'excitement in the community' (20 out of 33 strongly or somewhat agreeing), and in generating 'community spirit' (18 out of 33). The comparatively positive bystander attitudes in these particular case study areas may well have had more to do with the relatively large scale of these processions vis-à-vis the other areas, and though amenity was rated higher by bystanders, so were issues of disruption (in terms of being held up or delayed). Conversely the Loyalist procession through the Gallowgate area, though covered by a low number of responses, was rated very negatively by the majority of bystanders, who associated it with causing offence (10 out of 17 respondents) and leaving almost half of all respondents (6 out of 14) feeling in some way physically 'in danger'.

5.30   Finally in terms of the characteristics of respondents, there were few differences in terms of a respondent's age or gender. Younger people (in particular

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[53] Totals per question vary as they omit 'don't know' responses as well as any refusals to answer the question.

those aged 24 and under) were proportionately slightly more aware, and were more likely to be participants in processions, though respondent numbers are low and should therefore be treated with caution. Women did not significantly differ from men in most respects in terms of how they viewed processions, which contrasted with pre and post procession surveys where women tended to be more negative about processions. However, this result may be due to sampling differences, with the smaller on-street sample leading to different results. It may also be hypothesised that women with more negative views of processions may have taken more active steps to avoid processions on the day, and therefore may not have been available for interview (see Goodall and Malloch, 2013).

Perceptions of business respondents

5.31   Nearly all the processions studied took place on a Saturday, and the majority also passed near, or through, for at least some of their route, retail areas. Responses were obtained from 105 businesses surveyed across four sites (Coatbridge, Govan, Airdrie and Gallowgate) with the smallest number surveyed in Airdrie and the largest number in Coatbridge.

Table 5.9 Responses from business respondents

Location	Number	Percent
Coatbridge*	38	36%
Govan	22	21%
Airdrie	17	16%
Gallowgate	27	26%
Total	104	99%
*Responses from Coatbridge relate to two processions (one Loyalist and one Irish Republican) that occurred within days of each other.		

5.32   Survey responses were drawn from businesses that would normally be open and trading at the time of a procession and which were proximate to the procession route[54]. A natural limitation of this approach would be that businesses that closed *deliberately* because of a procession were missed[55].

5.33   In most of the case-study sites there was a high level of awareness on the day of processions taking place (84 out of 104 businesses). In contrast, *prior* awareness was less marked (57 out of 104), the exception being Coatbridge (where the council sent out letters and there was extensive local media coverage). No fore-

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[54] Though businesses did not have to be actually *on* the procession route, businesses that were within site of the route, or which were close enough to be clearly potentially impacted by the presence of the procession, were also targeted.
[55] However, in circumstances where we knew businesses had deliberately 'closed shop' for the duration of a particular procession (and this was uncommon outside of the largest procession site), we attempted to contact and survey those business owners later.

warning of a procession was a common source of frustration for some businesses as it potentially prevented them from taking mitigating action.[56]

**Figure 5.1 Business respondents' perception of trade**
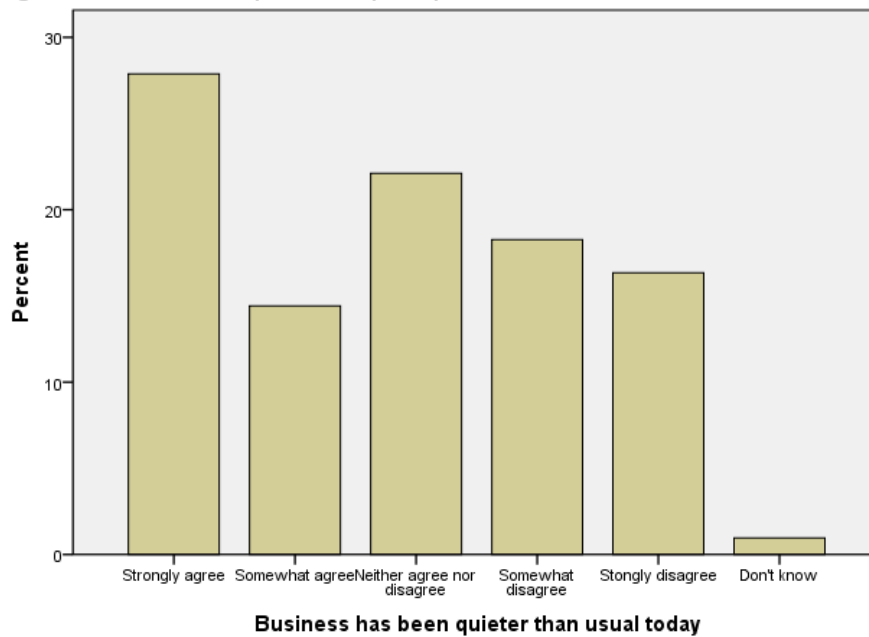
5.34   Across the four sites where business surveys were conducted, views were highly polarised in respect of how respondents viewed the commercial impact of processions. For instance whilst 43% (n=44) of all respondents agreed or strongly agreed that business was quieter on the day of the procession, the remainder either had no view or disagreed with the statement (35% n=36) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing). Views as to the atmosphere surrounding processions were more negative, suggesting that ratings of commercial impact were not simply reducible to having a favourable or negative opinion of the procession. Regardless of the type of procession, in some instances, whether because of size or 'atmosphere', they had the potential to make access to businesses difficult or unattractive for staff and customers alike:

Affected business… drives away customers. Same for any march. Same tomorrow for bagpipe competition, couldn't park cars. (Respondent 83)

Not notified. Would like to be notified, as when there is a march you don't get a lot of custom regardless of what type of walk. (Respondent 85)

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[56] Though some respondents talked about closing businesses for larger processions, more common forms of mitigating actions would include removing stock from outside, or ensuring that staff arrived earlier than usual to avoid being caught in any procession-related traffic restrictions.

Figure 5.2 Business respondents' perception of atmosphere

**There's been a festive atmosphere today**
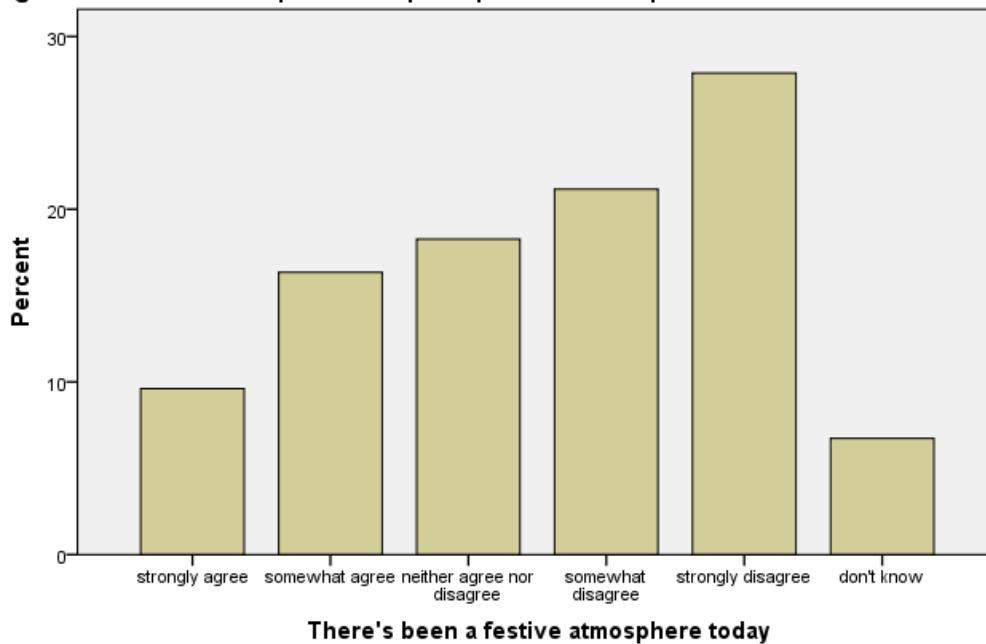
5.35 The majority of respondents 52% (n=51) disagreed or strongly disagreed that the day of the procession could be characterised as 'festive'. However, though the majority may not have positively rated the atmosphere, a smaller number saw the atmosphere as being more problematic, e.g. having resulted in 'a lot of rowdy behaviour' (Figure 5.3). Thirty businesses strongly or somewhat, agreed with this statement.

5.36   When business respondents identified problems, this was mostly associated with 'followers' and 'hangers on' rather than the processors themselves:

Generally speaking, increased potential for trouble from hangers on. Doesn't create a positive atmosphere, people will stay out of their way if they know they are coming (Respondent 92).

Rowdy element among spectators all wearing [.....] football regalia, singing songs, flags etc… nothing to do with the lodges […] Lodges don't cause bother, just disruption (Respondent 18).

Figure 5.3 Business respondents' perceptions of behaviour

There's been a lot of rowdy behaviour today
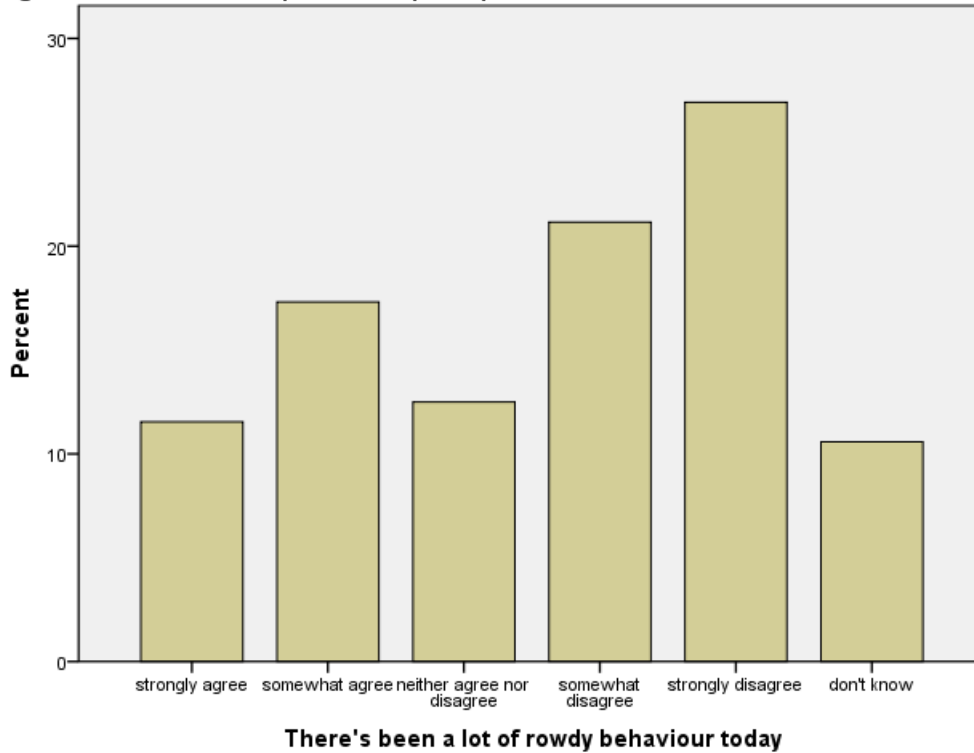
5.37   Across the case-study sites it was interesting to observe that Coatbridge was the most polarised location in terms of very different attitudes to both Loyalist and Irish Republican processions, with respondents noting business was either much busier or much quieter. Ratings of commercial impact do appear to reflect business and location characteristics to some extent, though patterns of impact were complicated. Certain types of business such as newsagents and café's seem, on balance, to perceive that they benefitted from procession days (and as many of the processions took place in warm summer conditions, much of this increase in activity was associated with buying soft drinks). The picture for public houses seems to be more polarised, which is not surprising given that many pubs have known allegiances which might make them either popular, or shunned, destinations on the day of a procession.

*Busier last Saturday due to walk last week, better atmosphere last week at other walk. (*Respondent 47)

Business been dramatically quieter, kitchen been closed and only one door open. (Respondent 10)

Day and night, easily 70% quieter. (Respondent 22)

*£2000 down on the tills. (*Respondent 5)

*Fine – benefit for business… increased by most events like Orange walks. (*Respondent 74)

5.38   The least commercially affected of the four sites appeared to be Airdrie, where awareness of the procession was low and where few respondents considered there

to have been an impact on business. Overall, however, estimates of commercial impact varied across the sites, making it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions.

5.39   The commercial impacts (whether positive or negative) of smaller parades however were less marked, or at least more transient:

No issues, so early and such a small parade. (Respondent 39)

A little quieter especially when they are passing by, but no big change the rest of the day. (Respondent 62)

5.40   That said, regardless of procession size, the frequent occurrence of contested or controversial processions in the Gallowgate area, in particular Loyalist processions, was viewed as problematic:

Closed door and shutters and watched it go by. How many do they need? There is one nearly every week. (Respondent 80)

Why can they not miss the Calton area?.[…] Allowed to do it in the East End. Wouldn't get away with it in the West End. People would protest. The council should notify us – a programme of marches. They can't just pop-up. (Respondent 24)

Recorded Crime

5.41   A final approach to examining impact was to look at police incident data for the police beat areas in which the processions took place to assess whether crime levels and associated calls for police assistance were:
- Higher on procession days than on equivalent Saturdays or other days either side of the processions.
- Were higher in the weeks either side of the procession days than the weeks through the rest of the year (assuming that processions may lead to anti-social behaviour (ASB) and disorder in the days leading to, and following on from, a controversial procession).

5.42   Data was obtained from Police Scotland which was analysed to identify if processions were linked with higher levels of police incidents and calls for service. The data covered police records of specific 'incidents' (the majority of which seem likely to have originated in a call from a member of the public) which could, conceivably, be linked to or triggered by the procession, such as public nuisance, disturbance, hate crime, drinking in public, and assault[57]. The full list is provided in Annex D.

5.43   Data at three levels were provided: the beats where the key case-study processions took place (Bridgeton, Parkhead, Govan and Coatbridge); the relevant divisions (Greater Glasgow and Lanarkshire); and the former Strathclyde police area as a whole. Similarly, the data were aggregated across three different time periods: daily, for a period stretching from two weeks before to two weeks after the day of the

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[57] Note that this list does not exhaust the types of incidents included in the police database, and a range of other events or crime types are excluded. These are generally either very rare or serious incidents (e.g. abduction/extortion), or, more often, incidents *prima facie* unconnected to the issue at hand (ranging from airport emergencies to untaxed vehicles).

relevant procession; Saturdays only (all processions occurred on a Saturday) from June 2010 to September 2013; and weekly, for the same long-run time period.

5.44   As patterns in the data for all four areas were broadly similar, the figures for only one area, Coatbridge, are presented here (see Annex E for other figures). Turning first to the daily data, Figure 5.5 shows the daily incident reports for Coatbridge. The solid lines identify the days of the processions, while the dotted lines identify the immediately preceding and succeeding Saturdays[58].

Figure 5.5: Daily incidents, Coatbridge (processions took place on 6 and 13 July – as indicated by the solid vertical lines)
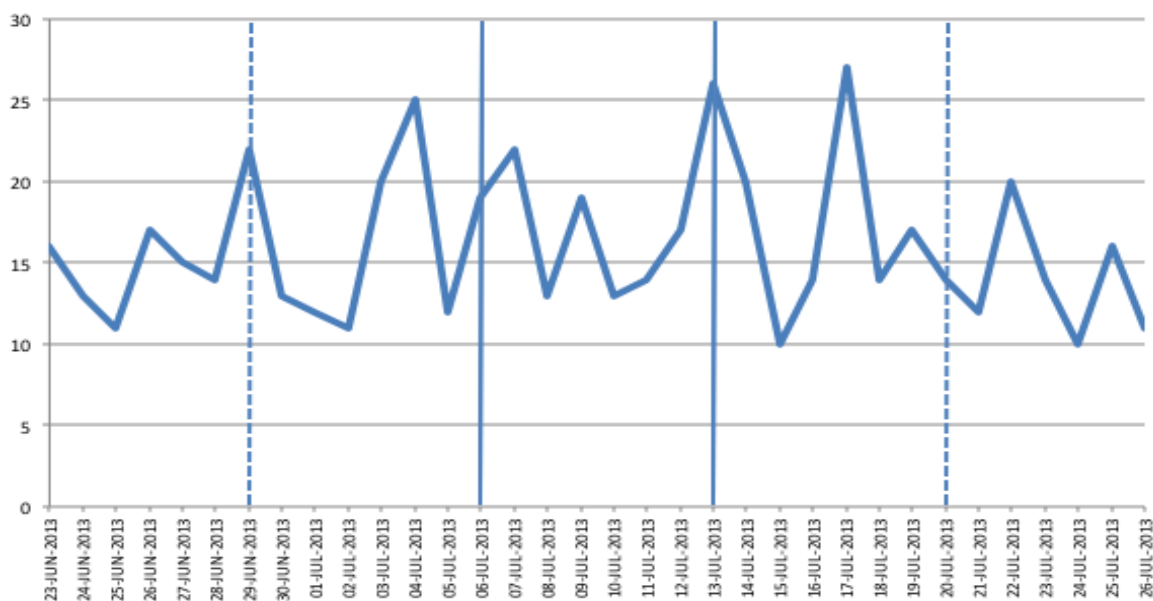
5.45   Figure 5.5 (and see also Annex E) suggests that there is little or any evidence that the processions are linked with an increase in incidents in the immediate area in which they take place. While there were relatively more incidents recorded on days when processions took place than on many other days, this seems to be almost entirely due to the fact that they occurred at the weekend when there are more recorded incidents on a regular basis. Of course many of these weekends may also play host to other processions, football matches and other events that are associated with higher incident rates, so whilst we cannot discount the fact that processions contribute to the 'weekend' mix, there is no evidence to suggest that their contribution is anyway notable. This pattern held when analysis was limited to only the most common types of incidents across the four areas (these included 'assist member of the public', disturbance, domestic incident, and theft). There was, again, no evidence of a significant spike in incidents on the days of the processions.

5.46   The Saturday data, which was provided stretching back to the summer of 2010, can be used to examine events on the day of the procession in a longer time frame. This also allows some small consideration of whether the processions had

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[58] Note that two marches occurred in Coatbridge, the Grand Lodge procession on 6 July and the annual Cairde na h'Eireann procession on 13 July.

any identifiable 'spill-over' effect on the wider divisional area. Figure 5.6 shows recorded incidents for each of the four areas (Govan, Parkhead, Coatbridge and Bridgeton) indexed on 5th June 2010. Alongside are shown incidents aggregated at the Division (Glasgow or Lanarkshire) and, for comparison, Strathclyde-wide levels, again indexed on 5th June 2010. Indexing allows presentation of all three figures in one chart – the actual numbers involved are of course very different. For example, on 5th June 2010 there were 30 recorded incidents in Bridgeton, 1,385 in Glasgow division, and 3,744 in Strathclyde as a whole.

Figure 5.6 Saturday incidents: Coatbridge, Lanarkshire Division and Strathclyde (processions indicated by the solid vertical lines)
Indexed on 5th June 2010
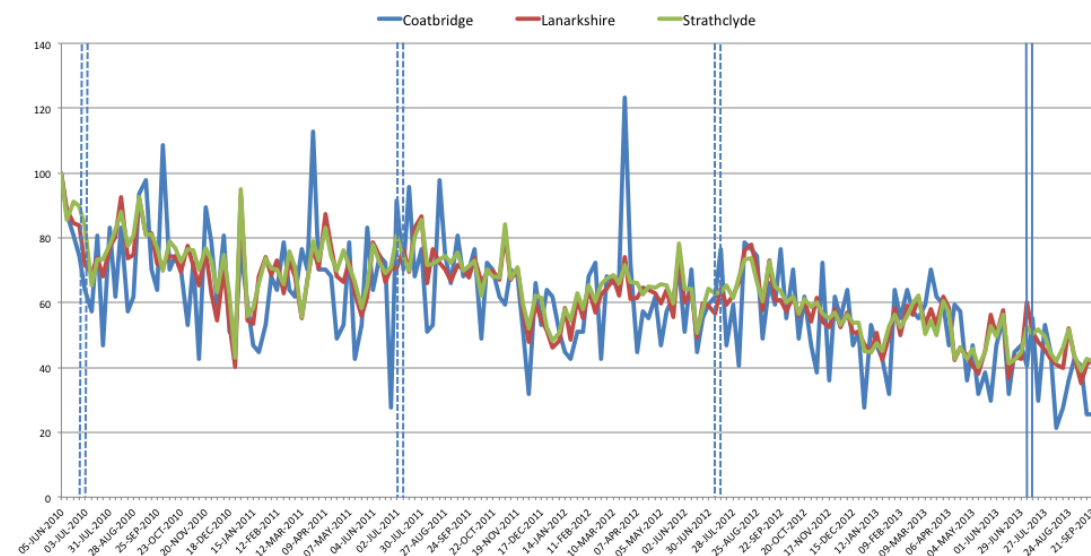
5.47   Figure 5.6 appears to confirm that there is no real spike in incidents associated with the two Coatbridge procession days (on the 6th and 13th July). Most notably, the number of incidents recorded at each site on the days of the processions is both lower than other Saturdays around the same time (albeit higher than on some others) and, in almost all cases, lower than the numbers recorded on Saturdays at the same time of year in 2012, 2011 and 2010 (marked by the dotted lines). This latter finding seems likely to be at least partially due, however, to a general decline in the rate of incidents recorded across the period in question, whether this is at the local area, divisional or Strathclyde level. Another way to look at this is to note that the decline in the number of incidents over time does not seem to have been affected in any significant way by the processions of 2013.

5.48   Finally, the weekly beat level data enables examination of the long run weekly pattern of incidents at each site. Figure 5.7 shows that, once again, there seems to have been no significant upswing in the incident rate in the weeks when the processions were held.

Figure 5.7: Weekly Beat Data, Coatbridge (processions indicated by solid vertical line) June 2010 to September 2013
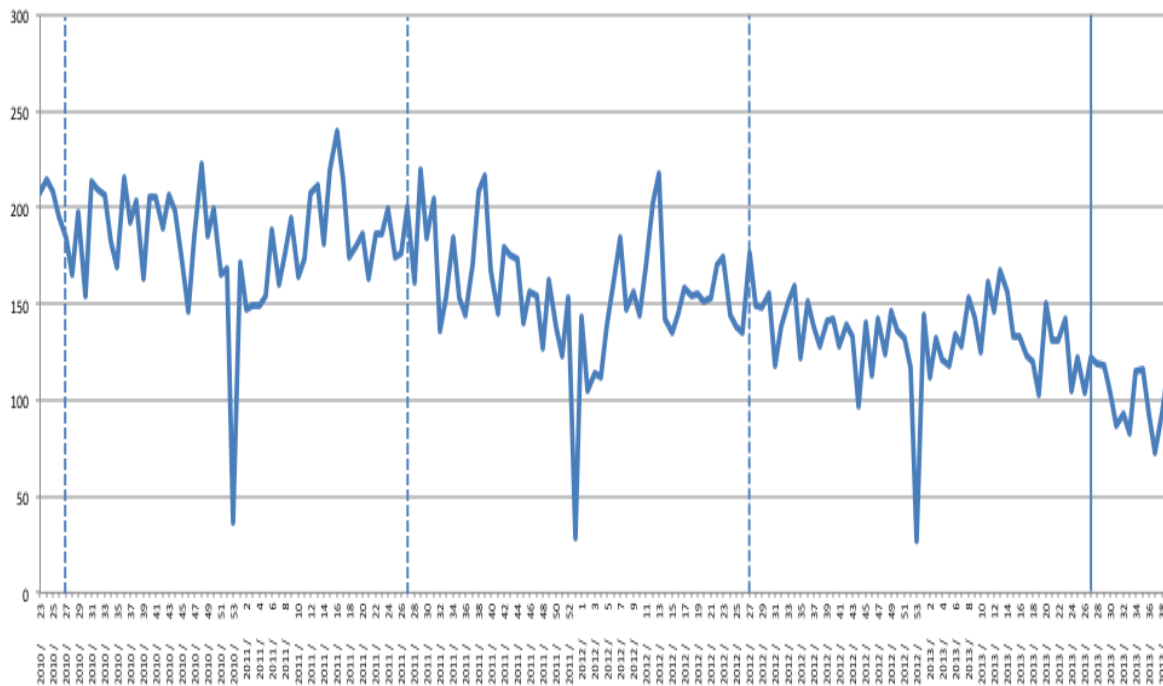
5.49 Key points:

Pre-procession survey results (based on a door-to-door and on-street sample of 178 people in Govan, Coatbridge and Parkhead)

- Whilst respondents were overwhelmingly positive or neutral about most types of processions, a clear majority held 'generally negative views' about Loyalist and Irish Republican processions (53% and 56% respectively). This varied by area and may have been associated with size of procession and route.

- Survey data highlighted different levels of awareness among respondents about forthcoming processions; although across all sites, the majority of respondents were aware of a future procession in their local area. Characteristics of respondents appeared to have some association with attitudes towards certain types of processions, in particular with respondents of a Catholic background being more negative about *both* Loyalist and Irish Republican processions.

- Respondents who experienced low levels of social cohesion in their local area appeared to be more negative about both Loyalist and Irish Republican processions than those who indicated that they felt a sense of 'belonging' in their local area; while respondents who were of the view that racial/ethnic prejudice and/or sectarianism was an issue in Scotland also tended to be more negative about these types of processions. However, these associations are complex and tentative. For example, it is unclear as to whether lower social cohesion results in processions being assessed more negatively, or whether negative attitudes to processions result in lower social cohesion.

Post-procession survey results (based on a postal sample of 192 people in Coatbridge, Govan, Parkhead and Bridgeton)

- Post-procession responses indicate that those who took part in or chose to watch a procession (although constituting a small minority of the sample –

less than 1 in 5 respondents, 27 in total) were likely to have more positive views of the impact on their community than those who did not actively attend it, with non-attendees reporting that processions, in their view were associated with a range of social problems.

- For example, around three quarters of respondents agreed that a recent procession had led to anti-social behavior (76%) or caused tension in the community (73%). Furthermore a clear majority of respondents agreed that they were held up or delayed, or felt annoyed/upset by the noise associated with a procession (69% and 67% respectively). Just under a third (32%) of post-procession survey respondents reported feeling in physical danger.
- Respondents who perceived sectarianism to be a problem in Scotland appear to also hold more negative views of processions by Loyalist and Irish Republican organisations. Whilst more than 50% of respondents to the post procession postal survey indicated that sectarian behaviours (such as jokes, use of sectarian terms, vandalism, violence, harassment and intimidation) were 'quite common' or 'very common' in Scotland, around a quarter of respondents (38 people out of 152) claimed to have experienced discrimination on the grounds of their religious beliefs or background. This suggests that personal experiences were potentially important in informing views of sectarianism generally.

Other measures of impact

- Over 82% of respondents[59] to a convenience street sample on the day of the procession in Coatbridge, Govan, Airdrie and Gallowgate agreed that the events they had witnessed or participated in were well stewarded and well policed.
- Views from business respondents were mixed. Depending on the size of the procession, the purpose of the business and whether or not it increased trade or impeded access added to the complexity and variability of responses making it difficult to discern any clear patterns across, or within, areas. In terms of the commercial impact a slightly higher number of businesses surveyed (across Coatbridge, Govan, Airdrie and Gallowgate) agreed that business was quieter on the day of the procession than disagreed (44 compared with 36 businesses).
- Despite negative post-procession assessments of Loyalist and Irish Republican processions, an examination of reported crime figures across the case-study sites did not show evidence of notable 'spikes' in anti-social or criminal behaviour associated with specific processions.

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[59] Regardless of whether they were there to deliberately watch a procession or not.

6 COMMUNITY IMPACT: LIVE OBSERVATIONS AND PARTICIPANT PERSPECTIVES

6.1 This chapter draws on the preceding material while also exploring a range of issues that have emerged from the case-studies. These issues are examined alongside information obtained from focus groups and interviews with procession participants and organisers. The chapter highlights the relationship between the processions and the communities in which they take place and examines the meaning that procession participants attach to these events, and how that compares to the meaning that may be placed upon these processions by local populations. It attempts to make sense of some of the issues which affect responses to processions and which contribute to the concerns of local communities.

6.2 Descriptions of processions included in this chapter are drawn from extensive ethnographic research and have been compiled from fieldwork notes across different methodological approaches, notably unstructured and structured participant observations conducted during the processions. They draw upon the research teams' accounts of events. Further details of the methodological approach upon which the data presented here is based, is set out in Annex A.

Practical features of processions

6.3 While a variety of factors and features are likely to influence the impact of processions on local communities, at least some of these factors are due to practicalities such as the size of processions. Crowd dynamic differs at the bigger processions which draw a mix of static observers who locate themselves on the main street or in the town centre thoroughfares, and mobile follower/observers who tend to walk alongside a particular band. Large events are also well advertised in advance and significant attention is paid by police and local authorities to disruption as a result of road closures and volume of people. Smaller processions may be less disruptive in scale but can also impact significantly on local communities (for example the SDL at Pollokshields in January 2013 caused considerable alarm to the local community despite there being only eight SDL members in attendance.

6.4 Processions are also extremely transitory. Although a small parade may only take a few minutes to move through an area, the noise it generates announces its arrival and its proximity long before and after that 'minute slot'. Bands can be heard approaching and passing and when moving through built up areas, the sound bounces off walls and buildings maximising an impression of bands moving forward from all sides. Within a few minutes of their passing, however, there is often no evidence that they have been there.

6.5 Within communities, processions can also affect local people and businesses in different ways. For example, where public houses are aligned with particular football support, this might lead to a boost in trade before, during and after a procession. But for others, customers may stay away or the doors may be closed for the duration of the procession resulting in a temporary loss of trade.

A Small Return Procession

Royal Blacks Return Parade to Bridgeton   10 August 2013

Event
The Royal Black Institution 2013 annual demonstration was held in Renfrew with an anticipated participation of 2400. The main procession in Renfrew was preceded and followed by a number of feeder and return processions to different parts of the region. While the main procession provided an opportunity to watch a large procession going through a small town, our interest was also in the impact of small, but cumulative, feeder and return processions through Glasgow. The return procession to Bridgeton left the city centre at approximately 15.30 and the Bridgeton Preceptory were accompanied by a local band, the Rising Stars of Bridgeton. This procession consisted of seven members of the Royal Blacks and four Stewards – accompanied by six police officers and followed by one police van. The Royal Blacks, a group of older men, were outnumbered by the Rising Stars of Bridgeton Flute Band who led the procession.

The procession
As the procession sets off from Cathedral Street, around 15 supporters, generally family members and supporters, walk alongside. Tourists around the Cathedral Street area and shoppers watch as the procession passes by, some stop to take photographs. By the time it reaches The Toll Booth Bar on the corner of the High Street and London Road, the band has acquired a following of about 40 people, most of whom are young men aged 16-25 years, a number wearing Rangers football tops and scarves. As the procession turns on to the Gallowgate the police presence increases. The procession is now surrounded by 10 police officers.

Just opposite the Crystal Bell pub, an altercation takes place when a man, standing outside the pub, appears to shout something. A group of young men who are walking behind the procession run across the road towards him but several police officers intervene and push him forcibly against the building, holding him there for the brief time it takes for the procession to pass. After this incident an additional police car follows at the rear of the procession.

Heading up the Gallowgate, the atmosphere seems to become increasingly tense, despite the small number of Royal Blacks and size of the procession, and the quick pace with which it passes through the area. A number of people are in the street, as expected for a Saturday afternoon. As the procession moves on through the area, the number of followers continues to increase.

Another incident takes place between supporters and by-standers outside the entrance to the Barras, and there is some pushing and shoving. One or two stewards and band members appear to get involved in the confrontation, leaving the road and stepping on to the pavement. Others urge them to get back on the road, shouting: 'keep walking'.

As the procession passes by, police officers speak to a woman who was caught up in this incident and appears to be distressed, as is her teenage daughter who stands beside her wearing a Celtic football top. A more visible police presence is evident on the street after this incident. Police vans drive at the front and at the rear of this procession and approximately eight police officers surround it. Members of the public, most of whom are women, stand in the street, waiting for the procession to move on out of the area. Two women are heard agreeing they are 'not going up there!' nodding towards the procession which has temporarily stopped.

Within a few moments it moves on and is soon out of the area. However, support continues to grow as the procession nears Bridgeton and again, it seems to be mainly young men in track-suits and Rangers football insignia who continue to join it. The Braemar Bar and the Calton Bar, popular with Celtic Supporters, have pulled the shutters down over their windows and doors as the procession passes, opening again once it has gone by. As the procession passes the main retail area of the Gallowgate, the number of followers dissipates leaving around 15-20 follower observers. Although the crowd of follower observers have waned, the police presence has not.

As the procession enters the main street in Bridgeton, older people join the procession and here there is visible support for the processors, with spectators clapping the procession on its final leg of the journey. The atmosphere is more relaxed here, people are smiling and more women and older people are present, standing in the streets, welcoming the procession. People stand outside pubs to watch them go past, a number of the supporters wearing band uniforms, presumably having been on the earlier, large procession in Renfrew. The followers clap, sing and cheer as they walk alongside the band. As the procession passes, the static observers cheer and clap and wave to the band and follower-observers. The procession passes into the residential areas. When it comes to a halt outside the Orange Hall the procession finishes with the band playing God Save the Queen.

Planning and preparation

6.6   Organisers spend a great deal of time and effort producing plans for their events, particularly for the large annual processions which are a feature of many organisations, often rotating across areas. This can be a significant burden on the time of individuals, most of whom will be organising these events on a voluntary basis. Responses by local authorities can vary in terms of the number of meetings that organisers may be required to attend in advance of the event. There was a view that local authority representatives do not always appreciate the effort that has gone into planning and preparation and that some local authorities were overly bureaucratic in the way they handled procession notifications. One organisation referred to the problems they experienced with local authorities and the police:

Route and time constraints, changes of dates, start - finish points, unprecedented requests for resource and finance put on the organisers. Time consuming meetings that are set up like summits, the questions not always relevant - your details are shared (Facebook page).

6.7   Some organisers indicated they were unhappy when their procession was expected to fit within the time-frame of police shifts or accommodate football fixtures, which were not confirmed until June, thereby creating uncertainty with arrangements for events expected to take place over the summer. On the other hand, the procedures that had been implemented post-Orr review were considered by some organisation representatives to have made the process more 'transparent', providing greater opportunities for redress should there be a disagreement over procession authorisation, route etc. One organisation representative noted: "*The Orr report has been useful in letting us have dialogue with the police and the council*" (interview), resulting in better relationships between all groups. Several organisers however, also noted that they had contributed to the Orr review but had been disappointed that it had not gone further: one respondent that it had not sufficiently reduced the number of feeder and return parades; another respondent that it had placed restrictions on these processions.

6.8   Organisations often begin to prepare for an event up to a year in advance, raising funds, hiring bands, organising venues and transport. Those which hold annual processions indicated their frustrations when notifications are submitted well in advance but when local authority agreement to proceed does not come until very close to the event. One focus group member noted:

We know they are traditional events, they happen every year, we know they are going to happen so we put in for them well in advance and maybe if the council got back to us in plenty of time people would feel they could be a bit more flexible…but that isn't going to happen…

6.9   Some organisation representatives indicated that, where appropriate, they would be willing to amend proposed routes; for some however, concerns were expressed that compromises made for a particular event may become incorporated in the future, as a result, they were reluctant to make compromises in relation to the routes proposed. This appeared to be a greater problem where routes had been established over time and were perceived as having some local significance.

6.10   Local authorities, notably Glasgow, have made attempts to reduce the number of processions taking place particularly in terms of feeder and return processions which are a prominent feature of the loyal orders. Organisations such as the Orange Order, Grand Black Chapter and Apprentice Boys of Derry indicated that they had reduced the number of processions taking place but were reluctant to reduce them further; in their view, they had reduced them as far as reasonably possible given the central role they have within their organisational culture. Focus group participants indicated that they felt 'under scrutiny', one described feeling:

under attack, that they are trying to take that part of us away; if you take that part – parading – away from the Orange Institution, you are taking a massive chunk away from us. It's not the be-all and end-all of the Orange institution but it's a massive integral part of who we are and what we do.

6.11   Debriefs following processions were generally viewed positively and organisers indicated that they were sometimes considered unnecessary, or kept brief when events had gone to plan:

The debriefs help sort out any problems for the next year. We have had a few problems over the years, but gradually it has got better and we don't have so much to sort out, our last debrief took seven minutes (focus group participant).

A large annual procession

County Grand Lodge of Central Scotland, Annual Celebration to commemorate the 323rd Anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, Coatbridge, Saturday 6 July 2013

Event and planning
The annual Boyne commemoration is a significant event for the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland. The County Grand Lodge of Central Scotland event in Coatbridge brings together members of the Order from across central Scotland to mark the event (the event rotates on a yearly basis). This is one of the largest annual events in the Orange calendar involving 76 feeder processions across the central area which subsequently merge into a main

procession. Attendance of around 10,000 processors and 15,000 followers/spectators is anticipated.

The event was carefully arranged and planning took place over the months prior to the event. The Order had worked closely with Police Scotland to prepare for the event and discussions had been ongoing with the local authority since the notification had been submitted, well in advance of the event itself.

The sheer size of the procession had necessitated the closure of a number of roads in Coatbridge on the day of the procession and significant disruption to the community had been anticipated.   The local authority had distributed leaflets to the residential areas likely to be most affected by the event; the procession effectively encircled the centre of Coatbridge meaning that access and egress would not be possible for most of the day. Traffic signs were set up in Coatbridge indicating 'Major Event' in Coatbridge from Tuesday evening (29th June).

A planning meeting (Marshalls Meeting) was arranged for Saturday 25 May at the Orange Hall and which Police Commanders with responsibility for policing the procession attended along with event marshals from participating Orange Lodges. The logistical arrangements were considered in detail and the key areas identified for particular attention were the coach arrangements (to avoid backlogs at drop-off and pick-up points) and areas where marshals were expected to pay particular attention to the procession including potential 'flash points' and points where it would be important to ensure the procession retained momentum (there were various points where bands had 'lingered' in the past; as well as a turn where the procession was required to manoeuvre a +90 degree bend). The practical and logistical issues were significant given the task of ensuring that more than 10,000 people were escorted round a three mile route and back onto buses.

In line with local authority requirements, procession organisers were required to provide a sufficient number of marshals for their event (1 marshal to 10 processors) and to ensure that flags, banners and songs on display met with local authority regulations (i.e. bye–laws and the Terrorism Act 2000 with regard to paramilitary symbolism). Each lodge attending the event generally brought a band with them (band members are not necessarily members of the Orange Order but will have been contracted by individual lodges to accompany the procession on the day). Lodges therefore had responsibility for the conduct of band members, with bands vetted by the County Grand Lodge. Orange Order members were told that alcohol consumption was not acceptable among those taking part in the procession.

The procession
Crowds begin to gather at Drumpellier Park from early in the morning, on what promises to be a scorching day. The town itself is relatively quiet, although there are lots of union flags, Rangers football tops and bunting on display. At the park, buses arrive continually dropping off participants and bands. There is a relatively large police presence in the park, but the atmosphere is happy with families and children enjoying the sunshine. A number of stalls are set up selling merchandise, alongside burger vans and ice cream vendors.

Individuals and small groups emerge from the train station and into the park on an ongoing basis. Some carry items of paraphernalia such as Ulster flags, Rangers flags, 'Support our troops' scarves and flags, union flags. There are also flags stating: 'King Billy – No Surrender'. Those arriving are a mix of ages with slightly more men than women. People are casually dressed in shorts, skirts, jeans and t-shirts, appropriate for the weather; in contrast to the formal uniforms of band members and the Orange Order, with their white shirts, suits and Orange collars. Women members of the Order wear brightly coloured dresses, suits and hats.

By 9.45 local feeder parades begin to make their way into the park. Observers clap and video the processions as they arrive. While band members linger at the far side of the park, members of the Orange Order move towards a stage which has been set up for a pre-procession service. Leaders of the Orange Order, men only, sit on the platform and the service, when it gets under way, consists of a combination of religion (church service, prayers, hymns) and politics (pro-union) After the service, the order to start the procession is given and the bands immediately fall into line.

Outside the park, on the main road, groups of people start to gather to watch the procession. A number of young men who are visibly intoxicated are told by a police officer to 'get off the road'. Later, another police officer is overheard telling a similar group of young men that they can drink in the park, but if they take alcohol onto the streets it will be confiscated. At points, officers are handing out Fixed Penalty Notices (FPNs).

The procession itself is disciplined, well-behaved and sober. Spectators along the route are brightly dressed, a mix of ages, men and women, smiling and waving, and taking photographs. People stand along the road and on every plausible vantage point. In the vicinity of the Orange Hall, elderly members of the Orange Order have been provided with seats and wave union flags as the procession passes. In contrast to these groupings, a number of young men on the periphery of the procession walk drunkenly through spectators and observers. They have no tops on but wear union flags tied around them; they are loud, shouting and singing, at points singing 'The Bouncy' song and falling into people as they pass by.

While the bands play a selection of tunes, there is no singing from the processors, although at points the crowd along the route sing 'We are the Billy Boys' or 'The Sash'. Most bands are preceded by a baton thrower who has a major role in eliciting reactions from the crowd by throwing a baton high overhead and catching it. On occasions, stewards wave to the crowd as if encouraging them to sing. Spectators cheer and clap, noticeably when bands have small children accompanying them.

Crowds of over 150 spectators have gathered under the two railway bridges the procession passes under, with pavements densely lined, two-three rows deep, for 50 yards either side of the bridges. As the procession passes under the bridges, the bands play 'The Sash' loudly, with the structure of the bridge amplifying the sound significantly and the crowd singing in unison to create a power and energy that is considerable.

Given the size of the procession, it passes through a number of different communities. The Langloan area has a visible police presence, consisting as it does of a potential 'flashpoint', while the Gartsherrie area displays support for the procession with union flag bunting hanging from lampposts and a large sign proclaiming 'Welcome to Loyalist Gartsherrie.'

The procession remains orderly throughout. Stewards, both men and women, wearing high visibility vests and frequently white gloves, walk at intervals of approximately 10-20 yards apart. As they walk alongside the procession, they point out potential obstacles, urge people to keep in line or keep pace, help anyone visibly struggling with the heat and where necessary, escort passers-by across the road between bands. Police officers are evident along the route. At specific vantage points, officers are clearly visible filming the procession. A police helicopter is periodically deployed overhead.

As the procession returns to Drumpellier Park, coaches are in place to collect the bands and procession participants. Local lodges take part in return parades to their halls, with a small procession of about 5-6 bands leaving the park together. There are two stewards and one police officer for every band and a police support unit at the back of the procession. The

crowds have already begun to disperse by 15.00 although about 200 people continue to watch the small procession as it heads back to the local Orange hall/s.

Notifying the community

6.12   One of the difficulties identified by this research was the lack of awareness that many people had about the organisations themselves and about when processions were likely to take place. While most (but not all) local authorities make this information available via council websites, this often failed to inform the majority of the local community about events taking place (as illustrated in Chapter 5). Organisations attempted different ways to promote awareness and engage the local community. For example, prior to the County Grand Lodge event in Coatbridge, a Cultural and Heritage Exhibition had been arranged at the local Orange Hall over several days (1-4 July 2013) to promote awareness of the procession within the local community. The focus of these events was to provide information about the Orange Order, its cultural heritage and religious underpinnings. Each evening, several short lectures were given on the Orange Order and its relationship to Scottish society. Displays consisted of artefacts, paraphernalia and lodge banners explaining the tradition of the Orange Order. The charitable work of the Orange Order was stressed and the 'Christian spirit' which formed the basis of their identity was highlighted at the events.

6.13   The event organised by Cairde na h'Eireann marked a weekend of events to support the ongoing campaign for justice for the families of the 1994 Loughinisland massacre (six Irishmen were killed by UVF paramilitaries as they watched Ireland play Italy in the football World Cup on 18 June 1994 in the Heights bar in the small County Down village of Loughinisland). Families have been consistently critical of major failings in the investigation and the weekend of events concluded on the day after the procession with a public forum where relatives of the victims were available to answer questions and take part in discussions.

6.14   Other organisations have held 'open days' where the public are invited to find out more about them. Where organisations with a local base held processions in their local area, attempts were often made to engage the local community with varying degrees of success. A degree of misinformation was considered to lie behind lack of community participation in local events. One focus group participant explained:

> *Yes, we are a secret society but we parade, we don't hide our faces, we would welcome anyone who wanted to come and talk to us, but there seems a reluctance by the public to come and talk to us.*

Stewarding/marshalling arrangements

6.15   The introduction of training programmes for stewards, facilitated for some organisations by Strathclyde Police, and the use of trained stewards at events was welcomed by all agencies and seen as a positive development by organisations themselves. Procession organisers are expected to provide an allotted number of trained stewards to facilitate processions (one steward to 10). Organisations reported spending considerable time and effort ensuring that stewards were trained

and competent and a significant sense of pride was achieved in doing so. Effective stewarding allowed organisations to assist the safe progress of processions using their own members, and freed up the police to monitor any counter-demonstrations or problematic behaviour outside the procession itself.

6.16   Different organisations have a different relationship to observers/followers and this was reflected in stewarding arrangements. For some organisations, members and bands make up the procession, while supporters will follow alongside. For other organisations, specific efforts are made to encourage observers/followers to become part of the procession and therefore under the scrutiny of stewards. Overall, organisation members were well-disciplined and procession organisers went to significant lengths to impress upon their members the importance of 'appropriate' behaviour in relation to alcohol consumption, singing and general conduct. It was viewed as important that the behaviour of individual members should reflect the organisation in a positive light and some organisations made considerable efforts to ensure all members were aware of this, with any participants who were drunk or behaving inappropriately being removed from the procession.

6.17   One organiser, voicing the opinion of several interviewees, noted:

> *Unfortunately when you have any public event you will get people coming along that you don't want at that public event. You get drunks, and people out of their faces with drugs or whatever turning up. We have stewards up there beforehand and anyone who is drinking or whatever, is asked to go away and they won't get into our march* (focus group).

Involving (and managing) supporters

Cairde na h'Eireann, Coatbridge, Saturday 13 July 2013

Event and planning
The event organised by Cairde na h'Eireann marked a weekend of events to support the ongoing campaign for justice for the families of the 1994 Loughinisland massacre (six Irishmen were killed by UVF paramilitaries as they watched football in the small County Down village of Loughinisland). The procession through Coatbridge on Saturday 13 July was organised by the local Cairde na hÉireann Margaret Skinnider Cumainn and supported by Cairde cumainn from all over Scotland and England. The procession was accompanied by Republican flute bands from Scotland, England and Belfast.

Planning arrangements and agreed procedures had taken place prior to the event between the organisers, police and local authority. The organisation is recognised for the quality of its stewarding practices. The weekend of events had been advertised with posters distributed around Coatbridge; they specified 'strictly no alcohol'.

The Procession
The procession begins at 12.30 at Dunbeth Park and people start to gather well beforehand. It is a warm sunny day and people walk around, casually dressed and enjoying the sunshine. There is a family feel to the gathering with a large number of children present. In contrast to the casual clothing of the crowd, the bandsmen and women are more formally dressed in uniforms. The gathering is noisy but relaxed. Families of the Loughinisland six pose for photographs and organise themselves to lead the procession. In front of the banner six young boys hold pictures of those killed in Loughinisland. Behind them a banner states: 'Cover up collusion', 'Relatives for justice'.

Procession participants group themselves by cummain behind banners. There are a number of Celtic football tops and Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland football tops and strips on display. Many people wear t-shirts with the names and pictures of hunger strikers, especially Bobby Sands.

Initially there is a limited police presence, with no visible support units but just before the procession sets off, the police presence grows and two police support units arrive. The police engage with band members and spectators and can be seen removing alcohol from observers.

As the procession sets off, the crowd of spectators in the park and on the main street join on and are steered into the procession by stewards located at the gate entrance and along the route. The procession is made up of young and old men and women, lots of children and family groups. The mood is sombre but people appear to be enjoying the sunshine; there is no singing. Stewarding is relaxed but vigilant.

Two mounted police follow at the back of the procession with four officers on motor bikes at the front who wait until the procession safely negotiates a corner or a junction before moving off to the next junction.

While the political message conveyed by the procession is evident from the front, it disappears after the first 15-20 people (i.e. the family members) pass by. There are no evident banners or leaflets raising awareness about the Loughinisland killings other than at the very front of the procession, perhaps taking for granted that the message conveyed at the front will be evident to those who encounter the procession at other points on the route.

One potential flashpoint has been identified prior to the procession - the Segton Bar, known for being popular with Rangers supporters. The Segton Bar itself is closed, with the shutters down. The area is rigorously stewarded by Cairde marshalls. Any participant who gets too close to the pub doors is pushed back, and no one is allowed to loiter outside the pub other than the bands (who momentarily stop).

The procession makes its way through the town and turns into the Langloan area, where tricolours and bunting are on display. Examples of community support for the procession are evident here; participants and band members can be seen entering a house to use the toilet, while the residents stand in the garden, handing out bottles of water. The procession ends in Langloan with a rally in support of the families. A banner is on display with the slogan 'Time for Truth'.

During the songs that are played, especially the Soldier's song (Irish national anthem) the vast majority of participants stand or sit in silence with their heads bowed. When one or two individuals, attempt to sing along, they are chastised by fellow observers and stewards for showing a lack of respect. A family member, a woman, from Loughinisland delivers a speech to the crowd, thanking them for their support and highlighting the progress with their campaign. One of the main Cairde na hÉirean organisers, instructs people to leave the field at the end in the 'respectful, dignified manner' that they arrived, reminding them that 'this is not a football match' but a social justice campaign. At the end of the rally the crowd dissipates quickly.

Policing

6.18   Policing, and how it is carried out, can significantly affect both participants and local community experiences of processions or similar events. A variety of views were expressed regarding the appropriateness, or otherwise, of the policing of specific processions with some confusion about what (or who) was being policed.

6.19   Generally, relations between organisers and police commanders were positive and considerable effort went into preparations for the procession. However, different police officers (perhaps dependent on individual personality or rank), as well as different officers on the front line may all interpret orders for the day differently making it hard for processors to know what to expect. Codes of conduct, it was suggested by interviewees, were open to different interpretations and accordingly potential for disagreement. Perceived rudeness by some junior officers (for example in serving paperwork to procession organisers at their home/videoing procession organisers reading procession notifications – when in both cases procession organisers were already in receipt of and familiar with the terms of the procession authorisation) was commonly noted; something which contrasted sharply with procession organisers more cordial treatment in official dealings with senior officers. Inconsistent treatment of procession organisers was also noted between local authorities. One interviewee commented:

I think it depends on who the police are, and what their attitude is. You can have two police coming to your door on the morning of the demonstration and they will come in, have a cup of tea and they are very friendly. And then you'll get two coming down who throw the papers in your face 'get this and MOVE!' That is the way they speak to you… (focus group participant).

6.20   Organisers indicated that they considered the role of the police should be to police public order, and generally felt there was little need for a large police presence when they had trained stewards in place. One interviewee reflected the views of many organisers by stating:

Well we don't think the police should be there to police our marches! They should be there to sort the traffic and stuff like that, and make sure we don't get attacked…let us steward the march (interview).

6.21   While still of the opinion that levels of policing were often too high, interviewees noted that things had actually improved considerably, although there was room for further improvement. The use of police horses and helicopters, with the costs associated with this, was also viewed by procession organisers as factors which contributed to a negative opinion of public processions by the general public. One focus group participant commented:

People get angry with the number of police that are around, helicopters, videos, we don't need that kind of thing but we're made to feel that we are in the wrong for being on parade…We feel intimidated.

6.22   Procession organisers, across the spectrum, expressed concern at the impact of 'over policing' and there was a perception that the introduction of stewards should result in less of a police presence. Whilst the policing in Coatbridge, for example, was seen as successfully low key, in contrast, the policing tactics at other events was more uneven, with large police numbers at certain points along the Gallowgate in Glasgow, and at the Scottish Defence League (SDL) processions. This could contribute to an air of tension and nervousness experienced by onlookers and the general public. Ethnographic data collection highlighted this, particularly at SDL events which resulted in significant police attendance with no visible procession and where members of the public expressed concerns about the reason for the police

presence. This raises some interesting questions about whether a high profile police presence creates a sense of 'safety', or a perception that there will be trouble, and supports the introduction of zonal policing which appears to be less intimidating and more effective.

6.23   In contrast to the perceived 'over-policing' of some processions, there was also a concern on the part of some groups that the police failed to respond to 'hate-speech' or racism (including anti-Irish racism) (for example when Irish Republican processors are subject to verbal, anti-Irish abuse by demonstrators; when local communities are subjected to racist abuse at SDL events). While the police may be keen to avoid more overt confrontations on the day, or indeed may not have sufficient officers available to make arrests, this may leave sections of the community with the belief that that this behaviour is 'state tolerated'. Irish Republican interviewees gave examples where they had been subject to racist taunts, spat at and occasionally subjected to violence by demonstrators who opposed their procession, in situations where they felt unprotected by the police (interviews and focus groups).

Counter-demonstrations

6.24   On occasion, public processions will attract a counter-demonstration. These can take different forms, in some cases constituting a 'contestational gathering' where opposing sides occupy space in close proximity to each other. In such circumstances, the demonstration effectively constitutes a 'facilitated confrontation'. This differs from 'autonomous gatherings' where those in opposition to a procession can protest by creating an alternative, multi-cultural space (as happened in Pollokshields).[60] The organisation and policing of counter-demonstrations can have a significant impact on community experiences and, while registering opposition to a particular procession, can increase community anxiety and alarm. Counter-demonstrations can be difficult to police or to anticipate and often appear to be co-ordinated on social media forums which have an increasingly significant role in these events.

6.25   In the case of some counter-demonstrations, a large police presence and clear delineations between demonstrators and processors can result in confrontations characterised by organised booing rather than threats of wider disorder. However, this may be directly related to the policing practices where demonstrators may feel relatively safe behind police lines. In other examples, such as the Pride of Govan 30th Anniversary, demonstrators were significantly outnumbered and at points there was a significant potential for disorder and harm. Similarly, small numbers of SDL members may feel protected behind police lines despite being heavily outnumbered by UAF counter-demonstrators.

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[60] Although both the SDL and UAF were excluded from Pollokshields following the events of January 2013 under Section 14 (2) (b) of the Public Order Act 1986.

Counter-demonstrations and crowd control

Pride of Govan Flute Band, 30th Anniversary Parade
Govan and Ibrox, 21 September 2013

Event and planning
The Pride of Govan Flute Band is one of a growing number of flute bands in Scotland. They are not directly affiliated with any of the loyal orders, but will accompany them at major events. Their anniversary procession involved a large number of invited bands from Scotland, England and Northern Ireland.

The Procession
People begin to gather on Craigton Road, Govan for a 10am start. Men stand around in small groups and one or two family groups head towards the start of the procession route. A police van drives slowly past. It is a grey, chilly day. A number of the walls have been covered in graffiti – 'Govan IRA', 'PINLA[61]', 'FTP [F*** the Pope]' and 'UVF [Ulster Volunteer Force]' and sprayed on the walls and shutters of the Glasgow Artist shop. The graffiti appears directed towards the events of the day

Counter-demonstrations are stationed at two points on the procession route (both on Craigton Road). Green, white and gold bunting hangs outside the Tall Cranes Pub (at the corner of Craigton Rd at Crossloan Rd) and a banner reads 'Orange Bands Not Wanted in Govan'. Two police officers stand nearby. Further up the street at the corner of Nimmo Drive, a small gathering of protestors has assembled surrounded by about 15 police officers and two vans. Here the graffiti on the walls behind the demonstrators says 'UVF Murderers'. The demonstration is made up of 40-50 people, mostly men aged between 20 and 50 years old and some younger women and teenagers. On the fencing at the edge of the pavement are banners that read 'Orange free zone'.

This counter-demonstration is almost completely hemmed in by the police on the street, the railing at the edge of the pavement and the police support unit vans. Soon, a third police support unit arrives and sits outside the Tall Cranes pub. Three men wearing 'Help for Heroes' t-shirts stand on the pavement opposite, one of them filming the counter-demonstration on his phone.

The bands have started to line up at the top of Craigton Road, arriving from all directions. At this part of the street, family and friends of band members stand alongside them on the pavement. There are lots of children around. A large number of stewards are identifiable by their high-vis vests, smartly dressed in collar and ties. People seem happy and excited. The first band to go forward is the Pride of Govan with flag and wreath carriers; to leave at the war memorial. They get a round of applause and other bands start to fall into line behind them. As the bands move forward they make some progress then everything stops.

As the delay becomes prolonged, people begin to suspect that something is going on further down Craigton Road (in the vicinity of the counter-demonstration) and some people start to move forward to look. Police at the top of the street quickly start to head down the street, some running. Though there is a degree of anxiety evident, the stewards seem calm and unconcerned and this section of the procession generally reflects this atmosphere.

Further down Craigton Road however, a very different atmosphere is evident. The sound of singing or chanting can be heard and it becomes clear that it is not coming from the procession but from a crowd of people moving down the street in front of it. Initially it

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[61] Assumed to refer to the Provisional Irish National Liberation Army

appears to consist of approximately 50 people who are singing 'The Sash' and 'Billy Boys'. The group stops close to the counter-demonstration and starts chanting: "No Surrender, No surrender, No surrender to the IRA".

Within a few minutes, this group has increased to about 300-350, predominantly but not exclusively men. By contrast, only five additional police officers have arrived to support their colleagues and at this point it seems that the police are considerably outnumbered. The group remonstrates at the police to move the counter-demonstrators and verbal abuse is directed at the counter-demonstrators. The police draw their batons, some facing each group in an attempt to keep the two sides apart. Various objects are thrown at the counter-demonstrators (e.g. cans and bottles of soft drinks, coins, lighters, stones and bricks). A smoke canister is also thrown.

The crowd surges against the small number of police cordoning off the counter-demonstration. After a short while some of the counter-demonstrators escape the police containment and try to run towards the Tall Cranes. They are chased by their opponents and there are a few brief scuffles with punches thrown. It is only the presence of a fence and cars that stop someone being injured and some police officers manage to get in-between the two sides. There appears to be a notable lack of police officers in the vicinity at this point, and it seems like at least 10-15 minutes before reinforcements arrive. With the arrival of reinforcements it takes a further 35 minutes to bring the situation under control as the police move the counter-demonstrators down Crossloan Road and keep them behind a large police line.

The procession now restarts after a 45 minute delay, the bands conducting themselves formally, with band members occasionally stepping out of line to shake hands with family members or supporters, rushing into pubs to use the facilities. Walking alongside the procession, there are people in gardens, observing, looking out of windows, occasional union flags but in general, it is not clear if people observing support the procession. There are large numbers of static observers as the bands pass onto Govan road. Whilst there are no more visible signs of trouble, there are clearly still some tensions. As one band passes the Irish pub at the start of Govan road, they play 'Sloop John B' (the tune to which the lyrics of the famine song are sometimes attached) though none of the crowd can be heard singing the lyrics. Two heavy-set public order police officers guard the pub door.

Meaning and identity

6.26   Processions provide an opportunity to celebrate cultures and traditions, and to reinforce ongoing campaigns aimed at social justice. Accordingly processions are connected to other localities and wider political issues and processes (i.e. the link between the local, national and the international).

6.27   It is important to note the problematic impact of the use of simplistic concepts (i.e.'Irish Republican' and 'Loyalist') when referring to the public processions which take place across Scotland. This binary categorisation is generally insufficient in capturing the complexities that exist across and within processing organisations and significant misrepresentations can occur when disparate groups are incorporated into homogenous categories.

6.28   Media organisations, a significant proportion of the general public, and many professionals frequently mistake the identity of organisations. For example, the Orange Order is often erroneously associated, in the minds of the general public, with a range of Loyalist organisations which may be separate entities (although

individuals may be a member of several Loyalist organisations). One respondent noted that "*the Protestant 'side' is far from homogenous*" (interview). To the general public, processions may be perceived as one and the same, so that processions by a number of different organisations which take place within a short time-frame may be perceived as cumulative processions by one organisation. In this respect, the loyal orders (Orange Order, Grand Black Chapter, Apprentice Boys of Derry) are often grouped together in the eyes of the general public.

6.29   This can be problematic when a procession is associated with disorder, subsequently incorrectly attributed. The disturbance at the Pride of Govan 30th Anniversary procession was reported in the media as 'Trouble at Orange Parade' (newsnetscotland.com 21 September 2013). Similarly, media reporting often presents a binary opposite, for example portraying the counter-demonstrators as 'Republicans' when in fact, this also included local people who wished to oppose the procession, given its routing through an area that had a traditionally high proportion of Catholics and people of Irish descent living there (comments in response to newsnetscotland.com 21 September 2013).

6.30   Similarly, Irish Republican organisations receive similar treatment despite very real differences, and some animosity, between different organisations within this rubric. One interviewee noted:

> *The thing for me is that a lot of people don't know the difference (between Republican groups) – they will say to me 'oh we seen your boys marching last week' and it had nothing to do with us (interview).*

6.31   On-line research, which provides an opportunity to access discussion groups and forums, illustrates divisions among particular groupings that are often erroneously 'lumped' together. For example, it was clear that the 'Republican community' was divided on the issue of the Irish Republican Band Alliance procession which took place in Airdrie on 13 July 2013. And taking place on the same day as the Cairde na h'Eireann procession in Coatbridge highlighted the differences between these Republican communities and the situated-ness of the events themselves. The atmosphere in Coatbridge in the afternoon was more family-friendly and community-orientated. It had been organised by people who lived in the local area; a factor that did not apply to the Airdrie event serving to increase the animosity to the Airdrie event in the local area (as evident from letters of protest sent to local Councillors and the local authority).

6.32   The symbolism and meaning of events is varied. While organisations with a religious basis (i.e. the Orange Order, Grand Black Chapter) hold public processions to mark specific events and to commemorate occasions of cultural/historical significance, often laying wreaths at cenotaphs; other organisations such as those with a Republican basis tend to hold processions to draw attention to particular campaigns or to commemorate events such as the Easter Uprising and the Hunger Strikes. Accordingly, the tone and nature of the events varies considerably.

6.33   Irish Republican processions to highlight anti-Irish racism or particular social justice issues are more sombre affairs, although people participating or observing/following greet each other warmly, sharing a laugh and a joke. The

procession itself constitutes an act of resistance, a political act in relation to a specific social justice issue, rather than as a celebration of culture. Although events are organised around these processions to highlight particular issues, it was evident that limited information is distributed on the procession itself meaning that people who come upon the procession may not be aware of its significance or meaning.

6.34   The Coatbridge event organised by Cairde na h'Eirean had a specific commemorative and social justice issue as a focus for the event, which was led by family members seeking redress. There was a clear attempt to create a respectable and dignified atmosphere. This was exemplified by frequent reminders by the organisers that this was 'not a football match' and by the steward stating that Cairde na hÉirean were trying to create a 'dignified procession'.

6.35   For members of the Orange Order, their processions were viewed as*: "a joyous occasion, a day for people to meet up and enjoy themselves and to celebrate our culture and heritage*" (focus group). Unlike Irish Republican events which were campaign-oriented, Orange Order events had a religious focus. One participant commented:

We are a Christian organisation, we are led by an open bible and to walk the streets with an open bible and our banners flying is a privilege for us, an honour (…) I'm walking for my faith, not just my religion" (focus group participant).

6.36   One of the challenges for all organisations is that their processions attract followers who may not share the meaning that members of the organisation attach to the procession, or even appreciate what the focus of the event is. The processions, and the large gatherings of similar-minded people upon which they are based, can be attractive to wider, and more disparate, groups. The excitement and shared sense of identity that processions can create was evident from the views of participants. One focus group member described the effect:

There are certain points – every town will have them – where everyone congregates (for the procession to pass). That is the point you just love walking by…where they are about 10 deep and the bands go 'whoom' and at the end of the day as you come to that final point (…) you might be feeling a bit tired but you come round that corner and all these people are there and the bands go wild...you actually feel yourself lifting, it really gives you a lift.

6.37   Another participant commented: "*I actually cried when I saw that amount of people that were there and it was a miserable day, and all these people had turned out and it really gave me a sense of pride to know these people were on the same side as you*".

6.38   There is a significant difference between organisations themselves and the bands they employ to accompany them on a procession. Concerns have been expressed by both the police and local authorities, about the behaviour (alcohol use, rowdiness) of some bands at public processions. Organisations which employ bands to accompany them require them to sign a contract which includes expected protocols and can impose sanctions for misbehaviour (i.e. disallowing them to travel to Belfast for the July events or failing to employ them for future events). However, it appears that bands are increasingly organising their own events. While particular

standards of behaviour are expected by organisations in relation to their members, these are much looser in relation to bands.

Mis-identification

6.39   There is often a mismatch between participant perceptions and how the procession is viewed by bystanders. Where the general public is unaware of the meaning or significance of the event or the organisation taking part, perceptions can be influenced by spectators/observers who follow the procession but may not be a part of the organisation which it represents. Procession participants made clear attempts to draw moral boundaries between the appearance and behaviours of the 'blue bag' brigade who follow the processions and those taking part.

6.40   Focus group participants commented: "*This (negative picture) has tended to come from some of our followers who tend to get a bit exuberant when we're parading. I think if you check the figures you would find there were very few Orange men or women who were arrested on the day of a parade, or bandsmen for that*" (focus group).

6.41   However, there was some acknowledgement of the importance for the organisation itself of addressing this and some focus group respondents made a number of suggestions as to how they, as an organisation, may go about educating problematic supporters. One focus group participant noted: "*It's something I would like to see happen within the institution, something I think we should be taking on board. We've got to educate people, get them to understand that what they are doing is damaging us beyond belief*".

6.42   Members of organisations holding processions rarely appear to drink alcohol prior to or during an event; however band members did appear to do so and there appeared to be quite considerable consumption of alcohol by followers, particularly at some events. Although organisations indicated that they have a contract with bands which lays down expected conduct on the day, it was evident that alcohol use was significant. This was often followed by public urination, at gathering points or on route. In some cases this may also have been due to the absence of toilet facilities along the route itself; subsequently causing problems for processors or their followers, and occasionally local businesses, when people from the procession entered their premises looking for a toilet. Intoxicated individuals walking alongside processions were frequently evident and may very well influence the impression of the general public when they encounter/interact with processions.

6.43   The similarity of uniforms worn by some Irish Republican bands with the para-military may have led to the continual association of these organisations of being 'IRA terrorists' (focus groups and interviews). While this was a view held by some members of the general public, it was also a view held by some individual police officers and people in authority (focus groups and interviews). In one local authority, permission to hold an Irish Republican procession aimed at highlighting anti-Irish racism resulted in one organisation being told they could not march wearing uniforms or playing instruments (interview and focus group). This also suggests that individuals and groups in positions of authority also make assumptions about organisations which influence the way they respond to them. This misperception is often perceived by organisers and procession participants as erroneous and unfair.

6.44   As well as different groups having their own specific identity, there also appeared to be some degree of dis/mis-information about this. For example one interviewee claimed that the Royal Blacks had gone past with a banner or flag with a particularly offensive message. Photographs taken by the research team however, indicated that other than the flag bearing insignia of the Royal Black preceptory, no other banners were on display; current practice with the Royal Blacks since the 1980s when the organisation stopped members carrying any other flags or banners.

6.45   More generally, procession participants voiced the opinion that they were ill-understood by government, police and local authorities and increasingly under scrutiny in relation to public processions. This, it seemed, had an impact on the extent to which they were required to prepare for these events and attempt to ensure that things went to plan on the day.

Public engagement

6.46   Different levels of opposition to, and engagement with, processions exist. While some opposition may be vocal and politicised (i.e. in the form of counter-demonstrations), other responses are more passive and resigned (i.e. leaving the area for the day or simply presenting resigned tolerance). Levels of engagement vary considerably between those involved in processions, or caught up in them on the day – and a broader community view.

6.47   As processions moved through residential areas various forms of 'engagement' could be identified. While some members of the public watched from their windows, others actively responded to the processors. This was done in a number of subtle and distinct ways: some people made their 'support' explicit by opening windows and leaning out, displaying markers of support such as football strips; while the response of others suggested a less confident or ambivalent level of engagement. People seemed to have an array of subtle and nuanced strategies of registering support/critique- badges, colour combinations in clothing.

6.48   While community engagement may be variable overall, local authorities can – and have – taken action to limit the impact of highly contentious processions on the basis of the potential impact on the local community.

Addressing contentious processions/demonstrations

Scottish Defence League, A static demonstration, Glasgow 27 July 2013

Event and planning
The Scottish Defence League (SDL) are a far-right organisation, closely aligned with their English equivalent, the English Defence League. The SDL positions itself as an organisation seeking to maintain what they perceive to be Scotland and Britain's Christian heritage and traditions, whilst at the same time mobilising against what they claim to be the 'islamification' of Scotland and Britain. A procession notification by the SDL to hold a procession in Pollokshields, a residential area in Glasgow with a sizeable ethnic minority community, was highly controversial. A previous static demonstration event which took place in January 2013, at which eight SDL members were present, with a sizeable counter-demonstration organised by Unite Against Fascism (UAF), had caused significant disruption and distress to the local community. Community grievances centred on the perception that a small number

of SDL members were effectively given a police-escorted procession to the demonstration site (and the police had indeed 'escorted' the SDL to the demonstration site as part of their effort to mitigate the risk of a direct confrontation between the SDL and the UAF). Moreover SDL members were accused of directing racist abuse towards community members without visible action being taken by the police, whilst the considerable scale of the police operation effectively trapped residents inside – or indeed outside – their homes, with residents being unable to cross police lines.

Consequently, this new procession notification was robustly contested by both residents, local councillors and police officials alike. Glasgow City Council subsequently denied the SDL the right to process in Pollokshields, and although the Council offered alternative sites outside of the area to hold a static demonstration, the organisers turned these down. Instead, they held a static demonstration outside Pitt St Police Station in Glasgow City Centre. The UAF meanwhile gathered in Pollockshields on the same day to hold a counter-demonstration.

SDL demonstration (and procession) - Glasgow City Centre
In Glasgow city centre there is a heavy police presence both near Central Station and around St Enoch Square. At Central Station four mounted police are stationed at the entrance nearby, and police support units are visible at strategic points. Just after 13.00, the SDL are led from Central Station, emerging from the station car-park entrance with a heavy police presence. On the opposite side of the road, three people with a communist flag are stopped by the police and made to show the police their flag.

The SDL are escorted from Central Station up to Pitt St. There are about 40-50 of them, almost all male of various ages, wearing casual clothing, some union flag shirts, a number of the group are wearing black t-shirts with logo: SDL Bellshill, one participant dressed entirely in camouflage gear. Although some of the group carry flags, they do not wave them and there are no banners on display. The group walk with police on the pavement, not in any formation.

The route is quiet, passing largely business areas of the city which are empty on a Saturday, few passers-by are around, and those that there are appear unaware of who the group are. Roads are not closed and traffic operates as normal. A couple of men appear to be observing the escort, although keeping a distance and occasionally stopping to take photos of the group. When the SDL stop outside Pitt St, another couple of younger men approach with a camera and start to take photos of the group more conspicuously. This leads to verbal abuse and threats from some of the SDL.

Opposite Pitt St the group stop and there are speeches for approximately 10 minutes followed by applause and cheers, there are no loud speakers or any form of amplification so it is not possible to hear what is being said. After the speeches, the group disperse towards Sauchiehall St with a much reduced police escort – most of the original officers simply turn back or head into Pitt St.

6.49   Whilst the SDL's subsequent demonstration at Pitt Street also involved a police-escorted 'procession' to the static demonstration site, the location of the procession and demonstration, in a non-retail area of the city centre, was such that the impact of the procession, in sharp contrast to the previous static demonstration in the residential area of Pollokshields, was minimal. The local authority action therefore effectively minimised negative impacts and disruption.

6.50   Similarly, problems resulting from a counter-demonstration organised by the Regimental Blues in Glasgow, provided a basis for the local authority and police to

oppose a later application to process through the Gallowgate. This highlights the potential disruption that particular, 'extremist' groups may present to local communities, but also illustrates the powers currently available to prevent this.

6.51   Key points:
- A number of factors are likely to affect the community impact of public processions including size and relationship (or lack thereof) of the procession to the local community through which it passes.
- Communities are not homogenous, nor are organisations and local people can be affected in different ways by the procession itself, and in some cases, followers and supporters. While in others, the presence and actions of counter-demonstrators can have a significant impact.
- Planning and preparation required by organisers and authorities, notably the police and local councils, is considerable. An increasing shift to group decision-making and dialogue appears to be positive and increases the potential efficiency of processes prior to and on the day of a procession by increasing the likelihood of co-operation between all parties.
- Traditional processing organisations were generally willing to make compromises for particular events, where the reasons for any changes proposed by the police and/or local authorities were clear and understood; there was reluctance, however, to reduce the number of processions.
- Debriefs were viewed as positive opportunities to address any issues that occurred on the day and organisations appeared to warmly welcome any indication of good practice on their part.
- Attempts to notify the community are examples of good practice and though information-sharing events organised by processing organisations were not particularly well attended out-with their own support networks, they were nevertheless important opportunities to highlight their profile and its relationship to the local area and population. This clearly distinguished traditional organisations, most of whom had bases (lodges, cummain) within the areas through which they processed, and those organisations deemed as 'problematic' which did not have established links with the communities through which they wished to process; adding to controversy and, in a number of cases, public concern.
- Stewarding arrangements are important for organisations, contribute to a reduction in police resources and appear to potentially affect the way in which processions are viewed (and possibly experienced) by local communities (i.e. see preceding chapter).
- Policing strategies that place more emphasis on policing spectators, and involve a more low-key approach to policing actual processions, seem to be both more effective, and demand fewer resources.   Nevertheless, there were still occasional criticisms of policing, from procession organisers, council officials and community representatives, in terms of consistency of approach.
- Counter-demonstrations present particular challenges for policing, though when demonstrators prove co-operative, and the level of policing is appropriate, such demonstrations can be accommodated without risk of disorder.
- Processing organisations, particularly Loyalist organisations and Irish Republican groupings, while not homogenous are often mixed up or

incorrectly grouped together. The tendency to associate Loyalist and Irish Republicans as 'two sides of the same coin' is not particularly helpful and overlooks the clear differences in identity, purpose and meaning attached to public events and processions. This is often exacerbated by inaccurate media reporting.

7   CONCLUDING POINTS

7.1   This study highlights the complex landscape which characterises the incidence and impact of public processions in Scotland. It illustrates the significance of public processions for the organisations for whom these events have cultural and/or political importance; and has examined the challenges that public processions can present to the authorities in accommodating and policing them. Furthermore, it highlights the diverse views and experiences of community respondents who contributed to the study.

Notification and decision-making

7.2   While notification procedures and processes have become much clearer and more transparent at the level of statutory agencies and procession organisation communication and decision-making, these improvements have not extended to communities themselves who still often: remain unaware of impending processions; do not understand the basis on which they might object to them; and do not know who to go to if they did want to object.

7.3   Communities and community representatives, including in some instances elected councillors, were often confused as to where to find information on procession notifications and/or were unaware of how to make representations regarding notified or completed processions. Some respondents who had contested procession notifications were not satisfied that their concerns had been addressed. Web-based approaches to handling and communicating procession notifications were diverse and of variable quality. Commonly objections to, and complaints about, processions were made on the basis that people disliked the processing organisation or what they perceived that organisation to represent. As public authorities cannot act on these types of complaints, complainants were likely to be frustrated with the response.

7.4   Clear information on forthcoming processions could be important in mitigating any disruption. For instance, whilst the impact of public processions on local business appeared to be mixed, one common issue that most business respondents agreed on was that timely information and consultation on impending processions would be invaluable in helping them plan to minimise any possible disruption. Edinburgh had a good working model, where not only were procession notifications automatically circulated to an extensive list of interested parties, but a town centre coordinator acted as a single point of contact for local businesses to communicate with relevant Council Departments about impending processions.

7.5   Irrespective of consultation arrangements, a balance needs to be struck between the different conflicting demands and uses made on city centres. Increasingly regenerated city centre quarters are subject to new business developments and new housing, and residents and tenants of such areas may object to the presence of too many events and processions. Clearly, a balance between different city centre use needs to be struck, and successfully doing so primarily depends on public authorities and processing organisers having constructive working relationships that are based on high levels of trust. That said, the symbolic and practical importance of city centres as communal spaces, as distinct from purely

commercial spaces, where people can congregate to participate in events, demonstrations and celebrations is of fundamental significance and should not be lost.

7. 6   Increasing moves towards multi-agency work in the management of processions appeared to signify positive developments. Through the enhancement of such relationships, some of the ongoing challenges associated with public processions may be navigated more effectively, notably balancing the ever-increasing demands made on city centres; and managing processions effectively to reduce the burden on public services, in particular with respect to processions that draw on police resources during peak periods of demand from the wider community (e.g. Friday and Saturday evenings).

7.7   Better working relationships between agencies and processing organisations are likely to reduce the planning burden and may also have the potential to reduce both the policing and other associated costs of facilitating processions. This is not to characterise the establishment of such arrangements as necessarily easy. In particular the development of the Event Management Plan approach in Glasgow has met with a number of challenges. Potential tensions are to be expected in the context of a city that shoulders a greater number of processions than any other, and where processions have in the past presented problems as much as presenting opportunities or moments of celebration. This appears to contrast with Edinburgh where processions have been perceived as intrinsic to the identity, brand, and economic prosperity of the City. Progress does however appear to have been made in Glasgow, and in particular the Council's open and consultative approach to reviewing its procession policy, appears to be helping establish stronger lines of communication and better relationships.

Policing processions

7.8   Policing arrangements have continued to evolve over time. Policing approaches that centre on targeted 'zonal policing' – focussing on potential 'flash' and 'pinch' points instead of heavily policing the processions themselves – are broadly welcomed by all stakeholders and appear to be more effective. Where possible[62], such approaches to policing may make more effective use of police resources. Much however depends on the experience and skills of those police officers who are responsible for planning, and leading such policing operations, on procession days. There was recognition that the availability, retention and development of officers with these skill sets was highly desirable.

Community impact and public perceptions

7.9 Well organised and effectively stewarded processions could be viewed negatively by observers but were less likely to instil fear or alarm as they passed through local areas. The ethnographic data highlighted that fear, alarm and public disorder were associated with events that attracted a counter-demonstration which did not appear to be entirely under police control; where the procession attracted a

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[62] Though it needs to be recognised that in other instances, where there is information to suggest that a procession may attract a significant risk of disorder, a 'light touch' policing approach will not be possible.

large following and where the behaviour of followers did not appear to be effectively stewarded; and/or when the procession moved through a geographical area where there was clear evidence of opposition to the organisation itself. Public processions often constitute 'contested spaces' and confrontations could emerge from a range of sources. Those areas of contestation were by no means always organised along sectarian lines, indeed respondents often claimed that confrontations were more commonly territorial or were between competing processing organisations, typically clashes between rival bands or between bands and supporters. Procession participants were often part of the local community through which the procession passed. This could, on occasion, result in less visible opposition, or in other circumstances, could increase already existing tensions within a local area. The ethnographic data was useful in identifying and illuminating this, but served to highlight the complexity of these issues rather than any regular pattern.

7.10   The 'cumulative impact' of public processions on more residential areas is extremely difficult to judge, even though some areas clearly hosted a disproportionate number of processions (e.g. see the visual depiction of cumulative processions in Parkhead/Bridgton in Annex F). Whilst large, one-off processions can be very disruptive, our own observations of smaller processions in residential areas demonstrated that they tended to be characterised by very limited numbers of supporters or bystanders, with processions passing very fleetingly through areas, and then disbanding quickly and leaving no discernible 'trace' on the surrounding area (in terms of people or processors loitering). Whilst some areas hosted a dozen or more of these smaller processions over the course of a summer, it would be a stretch to anticipate that these events caused much impact in terms of immediate and *direct* disruption. What our research could not evidence however, is whether cumulatively over the months and years such concentrations of processions in particular communities might have adverse impacts on community cohesion and wellbeing. Qualitative data did, however, indicate that negative impact is likely to be amplified by the frequency of processions through specific areas on an ongoing basis[63]. Moreover, whilst most small daytime processions seemed fairly low key in terms of nuisance or disruption, in some areas smaller processions were still permitted to process and play music in some residential areas at very early times (i.e. before 9 am on a weekend), or run-into times that were already problematic in terms of public nuisance and order (i.e. processions occurring during evening hours at weekends).

7.11   In terms of evidence of direct links between processions and public disorder and other criminality and anti-social behaviour, crime figures for our case studies showed no clear association between the processions and any noticeable spikes in crime. This accords with the perceptions of our respondents, both official and non-official alike, and may also support observations by a number of respondents that traditional Loyalist and Irish Republican processions were becoming, over time, less associated with confrontation, whilst being better managed, policed and stewarded. However, our research, also found clear evidence that 'lower-level' provocations and anti-social behaviour did still occasionally occur, such as racist or 'hate' speech, but were not always observed, or dealt with formally, by the police.

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[63] See Annex F for indications of the cumulative impact on one geographical area.

7.12   This research has demonstrated that negative perceptions surrounding processions was often characteristic of residents who felt that their communities lacked social cohesion and who had general concerns with issues such as anti-social behaviour. Hostility to some processions appeared to be related to respondent's perceptions of racism and sectarianism as being problems for Scottish society; rather than simply religious background. Stewarding and the conduct of the processors themselves can also contribute to public perceptions of their organisation and the extent to which they are viewed as having a negative impact in local areas. Developing and ongoing attempts by processing organisations (notably both Loyalist and Irish Republican organisations) to be more transparent and open to the general public about the cultural significance and remit of their organisations should be welcomed as an opportunity to offer further reassurance to communities who may otherwise associate procession organisations with their anxieties regarding various social problems. Community members may of course have little interest in taking up some of these opportunities to learn about processing organisations, and they may indeed remain actively 'agnostic' or opposed to the aims of a particular organisation, but the very act of being open may contribute over time to easing some anxieties surrounding the conduct and purposes of processions.

Problematic processions

7.13   Whilst our case-study crime figures may have shown no clear associations between processions and higher levels of offending, such associations have been shown to exist in relation to SDL events. For instance there was a clear spike in the number of religiously-aggravated offences in 2012 as a result of one SDL event in Edinburgh (Goulding and Cavanagh 2013). Furthermore, SDL events in Pollokshields, with its sizeable ethnic-minority population, were clearly associated with high levels of community concern, and accusations in relation to one static demonstration of racially aggravated offences not being dealt with by the police on the day. This shows the potential for processions by organisations such as the SDL to increase the incidence of crime and to impact negatively on communities.

7.14   The circumnavigation of procession regulations by holding static demonstrations, as used by the SDL and others, is inherently problematic. These demonstrations often constitute a significant threat to public order with the result that the police are required to 'escort' demonstrators to demonstration sites, (thereby facilitating *de facto* – free and protected – processions). Where processions are held in more neutral public space (such as city centres), unless the organisation or the communicated messages are themselves unlawful, existing legislation ensures that the potential threat of public disorder from counter-protestors does not over-ride an organisations' legitimate right to protest however much one may disagree with the aims or values of that organisation. What constitutes provocative or offensive behaviour is clearly highly controversial and contested. In the matter of public processions, international legislation makes clear that unless an organisation has been explicitly outlawed, the simple presence of an organisation in public space should not constitute a provocation or justifiable grounds for disorder. The focus rather, should clearly first and foremost be on the conduct of that procession. That said, there are clearly circumstances where the timing, location or duration of a procession may in itself be considered particularly provocative or offensive, and therefore particularly liable to provoke public disorder. For instance, the police were

widely commended by respondents' for learning from their earlier experiences in Pollokshields and preventing any further static demonstrations in that area by the SDL.

Strengthening learning and moving forward

7.15   A key mechanism for minimising the negative impact of public processions, in particular those that are held regularly, is the capturing of police observations on the conduct of processions, and feeding these observations into the consideration of future procession notifications (usually through police 'remarks' and risk assessment documentation). This mechanism is usually formalised as a debrief process, where debrief forms are filled in by police officers, and debrief meetings can be held with procession organisers if required. There was a consistent view that police debrief processes were improving, and that this improvement was necessary to ensure that both procession participants and the community at large can have absolute confidence in their objectivity, transparency and fairness. For instance, whilst it is understandable and appropriate that police, on the day, may focus primarily on policing public order – and facilitating the smooth running of events to minimise the most obvious forms of disruption (e.g. traffic disruption) – it is important that provocations or incidents that may cause upset to community members, or indeed to procession participants, are captured and addressed.

7.16   The value of positive police-participant relationships is well evidenced in procedural justice research, which demonstrates that public co-operation with policing, and public identification with the laws that police officers are there to uphold, is greatly enhanced when members of the public feel that police officers deal with them fairly and respectfully. A more obvious and tangible benefit in the context of procession arrangements is that good police-participant relations will also facilitate better stewarding and self-policing by procession participants. Stewarding standards for most types of processions (particularly for organisations that process routinely), are acknowledged as having improved markedly, and the standards of conduct we observed in terms of procession participants was particularly high. Prior assistance with steward training provided by legacy Strathclyde police, had been well regarded.

7.17   One key area of progress is where processing organisations have indicated their willingness to work more closely with the police in order to minimise inappropriate, offensive, or anti-social behaviour by procession supporters or 'hangers on' (though both organisers and the police were mindful of the appropriate limits to the role of stewards in this respect). Improvements in stewarding arrangements by some traditional processing organisations (notably Loyalist and Irish Republicans) had been noted positively by respondents from local communities; reinforcing the findings from previous research that large groups are capable of self-policing and that this can result in less confrontation and more negotiated approaches to policing.

7.18   This study, by using a mixed-methods approach, has highlighted the complex terrain that local authorities, Police Scotland and the Scottish Government are required to navigate in order to ensure the right to free speech is upheld and that individuals and groups are entitled to freedom of expression. At the same time, the right of others to be protected from intimidation or harm is also paramount. In

Scotland, there is a positive tradition of managing the potential disjuncture between these rights and freedoms, and as this study has highlighted, there appears to be a willingness to work towards improving this. Our recommendations will hopefully assist in this development.

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ANNEX A: STAGE 3 RESEARCH METHODS[64]

The impact of processions in each live case-study area was examined through a range of qualitative and quantitative research elements both pre, during, and post the procession being investigated.

a) Interviews

Around each of the 'live' Group B processions, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders. These interviews explored the organisers' aims and plans for the event and were also used to agree the other elements of this field work stage where possible. These interviews (with event organisers, local authority representatives, senior police officers) sought to identify the preparations that were taking place prior to the procession, purpose and significance of the event, plans for stewarding and collaboration with local communities, anticipated numbers, travel arrangements and any potential concerns and (if appropriate) how these would be addressed. These interviews considered the events but also provided an opportunity to discuss field-work issues such as the facilitation of the ethnographic element of the study, location of structured observers on the day, ensuring organisers, police and stewards were aware of the research team and where they were located. In addition to the Group B sites, interviews with police and local authority stakeholders also covered the SDL and Airdrie processions.

b) Focus groups

Focus groups were held for selected processions aimed at identifying participants' understandings of the aims of the event, its cultural significance, the impact of the event on the community and if relevant, formal and informal responses to this.
Focus groups varied in size (from seven – 24 respondents)
- Two Orange Order focus groups – one male, one female
- One Irish Republican focus group
- Community Council – Parkhead
- Community council – Pollokshields
- Police – Coatbridge/Airdrie
- Three key stakeholder groups (local authority and Police Scotland representatives).

Community representatives tended to have a formal role in representing particular interest groups within the local community in an 'official' capacity. Particular attention was given to ensuring representation from different community groups (in terms of age, gender and ethnicity/religion). A member of the research team attended focus groups organised by the Scottish Women's Convention and Glasgow Women's Library (Mixing the Colours) which had been set up to discuss women's experiences of sectarianism and where issues of public processions were raised.

c) Ethnographic and structured observations

An important part of this study involved participating in and observing processions as they happened. On the day of the procession, the actual event was carefully researched. The opportunity to walk alongside processions and to observe the impact of the procession as it passed along the route provided a number of important contexts for data collection and analysis. As more recent crowd psychology research has emphasised, crowds of people can and do have a social identity, and can police that social identity quite strongly (Stott et al, 2008a and 2008b). At the same time, groups represent a mixture of social and individual identities, challenging any notion that they are homogenous entities. Ethnographic participation and observation also provided an opportunity to obtain the perspective of the

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[64] Due to limitations of size we have not included research tools in this Annex. If you would like to obtain a copy of surveys or questionnaires, please contact the research team at the University of Stirling.

participants and what the event 'means' to them. Similarly, in order to understand the 'impact' of the procession requires an opportunity to obtain the views of those immediately affected.

During the events selected for in-depth analysis, structured observation was carried out with paired researchers who observed the procession as it occurred, from separate points along the route. Using a checklist approach (as used by Stott et al., 2008 in football crowd research) the researchers charted the progress of the procession, noting a range of characteristics and identifying any changes over time[65]. Researchers took notes around predefined categories at agreed points in time (generally every fifteen minutes), focusing upon, for example the nature of police deployment and the quality and quantity of interactions between participants, spectators and police. This method of 'scan sampling' has proved effective for measuring behavioural states and incidents which occur, and police responses. The location of the researchers was identified in discussion with police and procession organisers, and in the case of the July 6th Coatbridge procession during attendance at a pre-event briefing meeting. At this meeting, detailed plans of the route of the procession were discussed and the priorities for police and stewards (in terms of public safety and anti-social behaviour) were planned and agreed. The position of researchers when observing processions is noted by Komarova and McKnight (2013).

In addition to structured observations, two researchers undertook walking ethnography and guided observation during the live processions. Unstructured observations provided an opportunity to examine action and reaction surrounding the following:

- *(visual)* Procession participants dress, presentation, flags, banners – what is the symbolism for the participants and how is this perceived by the observers?
  e.g. links to local communities, industries, traditions; uniforms or insignia. Gender and age of participants and observers; children present – participating/observing? Who are the observers?

- *(audible)* Music and tunes, singing, shouting *e.g. beat of drums – does it alter at different points, volume – increase or decrease at particular points on the route? Cessation of music i.e. when passing churches, cenotaphs? Singing? If so, what and how? Shouting – from participants or observers? Intimidating or supportive/participative?*

- *(atmosphere)* Ambiance of participants and observers, interactions with crowd, police and stewards, experiential encounters of researcher
  e.g. expressions of smiling, concern; any apparent tensions; family atmosphere?

Where feasible, one researcher was embedded in the procession, walking alongside a representative (or steward) from the organising group. This approach ensured that 'independent' observation, unattached to the event or participants, was supplemented with 'informed' and guided observation by an event 'insider'. The method of 'walking with', and sharing the same visual field as participants has a precedent (Lee and Ingold, 2006; Pink, 2007). The unattached researcher walked along the periphery of the route undertaking a visual tour of the procession, walking with supporters and encountering public bystanders as the procession moved through the town/city. This was supplemented by researcher-created documentary photographs which captured the event visually. Visual tours combining photography by participants, with a tour between participant and researcher where a narrative is produced 'addresses the encounter with the city as phenomenological as well as discursive' (Peyrefitte 2012: 3). Photography was focused on capturing symbolism and

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[65] Structured observations have been used in previous research (for example in Euro 2000 and in UEFA matches in 2004).

imagery associated with the event (i.e. flags, banners, costume, density of crowd) rather than individuals. Specific consideration of the ethical issues related to visual research has been set out (Wilkes et al, 2008) and was considered fully throughout this element of the study.

Research tools were designed to guide ethnographic observations in each site and the same fieldworkers were used across research sites wherever possible. Field notes constituted the primary data source and included the observers' qualitative impressions of the behaviour of participants and spectators, police deployment, interactions between participants, spectators and police, songs and chants, as well as descriptions of specific events, places and people. The element of team work which underpinned the ethnographic research ensured that a number of different dimensions of the events were captured; however it also highlighted the significance which individuals bring to understanding and interpreting situations which they are a part of (Malacrida, 2007). Researchers also remained in the vicinity of the procession after it had ended, providing an opportunity to assess the dispersal (of processors, spectators and police) and any subsequent aftermath.

In seeking to examine the community impact of processions and parades, the study sought to balance the impact of these events on the local communities through which they passed, while remaining cognisant that procession participants were also part of the local community.

d) Scorecard mini-survey and business surveys

As well as conducting observational research around the procession, the experience of the general public around the perimeter of the procession was captured through short scorecard mini-surveys, administered during and immediately after the processional event (covering a three hour time slot in total). These short street surveys took five-eight minutes to complete and researchers targeted spectators leaving the procession, passers-by and people using areas that were near to the procession, or significant in terms of being a key hub for people going to and from the procession (i.e. railway stations and retail premises near the procession).

In addition the survey was amended to allow for the interviewing of business representatives near the survey route at the same time. This allowed us to capture the perspectives of businesses, in particular retailers, on the immediate impact of the procession, and in particular the impact on footfall and turnover.

e) Residential survey in communities bordering procession routes

A residential survey was carried out to directly assess how community members experience processions passing through their community. Processions typically follow relatively linear routes, passing through a number of communities prior to a final congregation point. In surveying whether a procession has had an impact on a community one is typically caught between two options. On the one hand, it is possible to opportunistically sample closely along the route of a procession, maximising the probability that community members who are affected by the procession will be selected, but thereby missing out on drawing a more systematic sample that would be generalisable to the community at large. Conversely sampling on the basis of a broader geographic area or telephone sampling around area codes, typically results in areas that are too large to allow clear discernment of procession impact.

Sample areas were identified via the Postcode Address File (PAF) with these areas being selected using radiuses derived from several points along the procession routes. The addresses were then randomly selected from each of these areas. All selected households were sent a letter in advance of the survey, describing the research and informing residents we would be conducting interviews on a certain date in their area.

Qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques were used to analyse the data and the research team worked together to ensure systematic and consistent quality analysis standards across the different methodological approaches employed.

In the field, our residential survey approach proved problematic. In Coatbridge we achieved reasonable responses from residents who were at home, but the time of year (the start of the summer holidays) and the fine weather, did result in a high number of householders being un-obtainable. In our subsequent fieldwork areas (Govan, Bridgeton and Parkhead) the logistical difficulties of conducing door to door surveys proved insurmountable given the very high prevalence of access controlled flats and tenements, often with disabled buzzer systems, and with a large number of derelict or vacant properties. Our fieldwork resources and the time available before each procession (usually about ten days), necessitated an alternative approach. We therefore adapted the survey to be administered as a street survey, and deployed fieldworkers at different times and locations before the processions to collect survey material. People stopped in the street who were not resident in the immediate geographic areas were thanked, but were excluded from completing the survey.

Though telephone details, and telephone follow-up surveys were subsequently conducted, gaining people's agreement to disclose their telephone number was much more difficult in an on-street setting. We therefore added an additional survey element, sending out postal surveys to our original, randomly selected households taken from the PAF. These surveys were sent out after the procession[66].

Though street and postal surveys cannot be viewed as non-random, or statistically representative of the communities in which the surveys were conducted, Table AA1 below nevertheless provides some indication of representativeness.

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[66] Though our original research design had made some focus of the pre-post element to the survey as a way of measuring whether a residents' exposure to a procession made a difference to how they felt about their area (in terms of crime, anti-social behaviour, sectarianism, community strength etc.), the low number of post-telephone responses did not facilitate a meaningful pre-post analysis. However, given our subsequent experience of working in these areas, this element now seems misguided. The communities we surveyed, with one exception, hosted multiple processions all summer, every summer. The notion therefore that one more procession should somehow fundamentally change a residents' opinion, may have been therefore in retrospect, naïve.

Table AA1: Characteristics of pre and post survey samples relative to ward areas

Pre-procession Surveys*	Govan (Govan ward**)	Coatbridge (North and Glenboig ward)	Parkhead (Shettlestone ward)
Census % Male	50%	49%	50%
Survey % Male (& no.)***	57% (n=25)	33% (n=15)	52% (n=43)
Census % Female	50%	51%	50%
Survey % Female (& no.)	43% (n=19)	67% (n=30)	48% (n=40)
% Population aged 16 to 29	25%	18%	19.9%
Survey % (&no.) aged 16 to 29	19.3% (n=8)	6% (n=2)	18.2% (n=16)
% Population aged 30 to 44	24%	20%	18%
Survey % (&no.) aged 30 to 44	29.5% (n=13)	32.4% (n=11)	10.8% (n=9)
% Population aged 45 to 64	22%	26%	29%
Survey % (&no.) aged 45 to 64	36.4% (n=16)	44.1% (n=15)	50.6% (n=42)
% Population aged 65+	14%	17%	18%
Survey % (&no.) aged 65+	15.9% (n=7)	17.6% (n=6)	19.3% (n=16)
Post-procession Surveys****	**Govan (Govan ward)**	**Coatbridge (North and Glenboig ward)**	**Parkhead (Shettlestone ward)**
Census % Male	50%	n/a	50%
Survey % Male (& no.)	45.8% (n=38)	n/a	47.4% (n=37)
Census % Female	50%	n/a	50%
Survey % Female (& no.)	54.2% (n=45)	n/a	52.6% (n=41)
% Population aged 16 to 29	25%	n/a	19.9%
Survey % (&no.) aged 16 to 29	12.6% (n=11)	n/a	16.5% (n=13)
% Population aged 30 to 44	24%	n/a	18%
Survey % (&no.) aged 30 to 44	28.7% (n=25)	n/a	34.2% (n=27)
% Population aged 45 to 64	22%	n/a	29%
Survey % (&no.) aged 45 to 64	36.8% (n=32)	n/a	27.8% (n=22)
% Population aged 65+	14%	n/a	18%
Survey % (&no.) aged 65+	8% (n=7)	n/a	15.2% (n=12)

*Pre-procession surveys consisted of street-based surveys in Govan and Parkhead and door to door residential surveys (based on a systematic sample drawn from the Post Office Address File) in Coatbridge.

** Ward figures are based on Scottish Neighbourhood Statistics figures, or on council summaries of those figures. Ward areas in all cases cover a significant portion of the areas surveyed, though in no instance are they simply coterminous with the survey areas. They are nevertheless the best available fit for which relevant Census statistics are available.

***Gender missing for 2 respondents in Govan and for 3 respondents in Parkhead. All similar figures and percentages presented in Table AA1 exclude figures where either there was no response or where respondents refused to provide a response, though the number of these cases was very low.

**** Post-procession surveys were administered via post in Govan and Parkhead. In Coatbridge the majority of post-procession surveys entailed telephone follow-up surveys of pre-procession respondents.

Survey characteristics and possible sources of bias
Looking at the figures in Table AA1, the distribution of survey respondent characteristics, with a few notable exceptions, do appear to correspond reasonably well to the characteristics of the broader ward populations. There are moreover, some clear reasons for some of the exceptions.

Superficially – in the pre-procession surveys – the street based approach appears to have generated a more balanced sample of respondents than the door to door sample. This however, may reflect the fact that the door to door interviewing was conducted during daylight hours and may therefore have naturally resulted in a higher representation of female respondents. Moreover, the Coatbridge survey area focussed on only one portion of the wider ward, and was notably dominated by relatively affluent semi-detached and Victoria villa–type housing, and this may account for the under-representation of young people relative to the population of younger people for the ward as a whole.

There is a tendency for 'bunching' in terms of the age of respondents, particularly with the post-procession postal survey. Though this bias must be borne in mind, one might reasonably expect some bunching towards the middle age groups for a postal survey of this type (see for instance Sheik, K. and Mattingly, S. (1981) Investigating non-response bias in mail surveys, in *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health,* 35, 293-296).

Race, ethnicity and survey respondents
Respondents were allowed to 'self-describe' their ethnicity and this led to a wide range of responses, nevertheless we would estimate that no more than 2% of responses equated to 'non-white' categories as found in the general census. This is a very low figure, though entirely in line with the very low non-white population estimates for two of the three areas (1.3% for Coatbridge and 2% for Shettlestone). However, Govan does have a more sizeable ethnic minority population (some 10% of the Govan ward being estimated as 'non-white' in 2010 (Glasgow City Council Estimate). However, the area in which the street surveys were undertaken – and indeed where postal survey were sent – notably excluded the principal areas of Govan which house non-white residents. This was a direct result of our sampling logic, which focussed on the start, and middle parts of the chosen procession route, as the start and middle areas were those noted for friction.

Combining data sources
Extensive ethnographic data collection (including audio and visual recording of processions, social media coverage of processions – which added an important dimension by allowing us to examine the presentation and debates surrounding a particular event on social network forums, walking ethnographic participation and observation, and structured observations) has provided a rich and innovative dimension to the study. The juxtaposition of ethnographic analysis alongside semi-structured interviews, focus groups, the collection of documentary records (procession plans, objection letters etc.) and statistical data obtained from residential door-to-door, postal and telephone surveys; and on-street surveys, has afforded us a comprehensive overview of perceptions and experiences of the community impact of processions in Scotland.

ANNEX B: PROCESSIONS BY LOCAL AUTHORITY AREA

Table AB.1: Numbers of Processions by type by local authority (2012)+							
Procession Type	Loyalist	Community	Political	Diversity	Repub/ Irish	TOTAL	Population rank
Glasgow City	251	94	12	1	23	381	1
North Ayrshire	95	159	1	0	0	255	15
North Lanarkshire	137	55	0	0	14	206	4
Fife	16	182	3	0	0	201	3
Scottish Borders	0	160	0	0	0	160	18
South Lanarkshire**	86	60	1	0	1	148	5
West Lothian	55	92	0	0	0	147	10
East Lothian						*128	21
Dumfries and Galloway	2	115	2	0	0	119	12
Renfrewshire						*88	9
Falkirk	43	38	1	0	0	82	11
Stirling	8	67	1	0	0	76	25
East Ayrshire	33	39	0	0	0	72	16
City of Edinburgh	2	45	15	3	1	66	2
Argyll and Bute	2	64	0	0	0	64	26
Perth and Kinross						*63	14
South Ayrshire	11	40	1	0	0	52	19
Aberdeenshire	0	47	0	0	0	47	6
Inverclyde	11	25	0	0	1	37	27
Angus						*35	17
Midlothian	8	25	0	0	0	33	28
Moray	0	11	0	0	0	33	22
East Dunbartonshire						*28	20
Dundee City	3	22	2	0	0	27	13
East Renfrewshire	5	20	0	0	0	25	23
Clackmannanshire	not avail	not avail	not avail	not avail	not avail	22	29
Aberdeen City	0	17	4	0	0	21	8
West Dunbartonshire	4	13	0	0	1	18	24
Highland	1	13	2	0	0	16	7
Orkney Islands	0	14	0	0	0	14	32
Shetland Islands						*0	31
Na h-Eileanan Siar						* 0	30

+ Procession counts are based on individual procession notifications, and do not include
return processions which may (or may not) be detailed on the same notification form.
*Estimated total figures – though Perth and Kinross is based on incomplete data rather than
extrapolation from Orr report statistics. It should also be noted that these estimated figures
were excluded when working out percentages for Table 3.1 in the main body of the report.
**Figures for North Lanarkshire were available in paper form, but were only available
electronically for 2012 (see Table AB.3 below).

Local Authority	Loyalist etc. 2010	Republican /Irish 2010	Loyalist etc. 2011	Republican /Irish 2011	Loyalist etc. 2012	Republican /Irish 2012	% Loyalist Change	% Repb/ Irish change
Dumf & Gall	None	None	80	None	45	None	N/A	N/A
Dundee	51	None	47	None	50	None	-2%	N/A
East Ayrshire	81	None	109	None	94	None	+16%	N/A
Edinburgh	Not avail.	Not avail.	283	None	300	500	N/A	N/A
Falkirk	104	None	152	400	93	400	-11%	N/A
Fife	87	None	153	None	143	None	+64%	N/A
Glasgow	198	159	169	293	168	246	-15%	+55%
North Ayrshire	75	None	132	None	154	None	+105%	N/A
South Lanarkshire	202	100	125	187	237	400	+17%	+300%
Stirling	132	None	136	None	159*	None	+20%	N/A
West Dunbarton	70	None	70	None	107	150	+53%	N/A

Table AB.2: Estimated Procession size (yearly averages based on supplied notification figures). 2010 to 2012 with percentage change for 2010 to 2012[67]

*The Stirling 2012 average excludes participants at the Grand Central Lodge procession in July 2012. If participants for this procession were included the 2012 procession size average would increase to 1388

Table AB.2 shows figures for all local authorities in 2012, broken down where available, into procession types. The local authority with the greatest number of processions remains unaltered from the Orr report in 2005, with Glasgow retaining the top spot in terms of the overall numbers of processions.

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[67] Notification estimates are provided by the procession organisers and do not necessarily equate with the number of participants who attend. Moreover, one notable distinction between Loyalist and Irish Republican events is that Loyalist notifications provide estimates for members of the loyal orders (i.e. members of the organisation) while Irish Republican processions often include cummain members **and** supporters, who are all encouraged to join the procession. This means they can be stewarded by the organisation unlike Loyalist supporters who often remain outwith the procession and therefore, in the past, outwith the control of official stewards.

TABLE AB.3: BREAKDOWN OF PROCESSION NUMBERS AND ESTIMATED SIZES FOR THREE LOCAL AUTHORITY AREAS (Glasgow, Edinburgh and North Lanarkshire), JAN-DEC 2012 – *Including return processions*						
Size (estimated no. of participants)**	Under 99	100 to 199	200 to 499	500 to 999	1000 to 4999	Over 5000
Community processions	**102**	**56**	**40**	**12**	**6**	**3**
Loyalist affiliated processions	**274**	**116**	**48**	**19**	**8**	**1**
Orange Order	*153*	*91*	*41*	*10*	*4*	*1*
Apprentice Boys of Derry	*54*	*9*	*1*	*2*	*1*	
Royal Black Preceptory	*47*	*15*	*3*	*1*	*2*	
Loyalist-affiliated bands	*20*	*1*	*3*	*6*	*1*	
Irish/Republican affiliated pjrocessions	**13**	**3**	**17**	**6**	**0**	**0**
Cairde na hÉireann			*9*	*3*		
Irish/Republican-affiliated bands	*13*	*2*	*2*			
Celtic Commemoration Committee		*1*	*3*	*2*		
Irish Collective			*2*			
West of Scotland Hunger Strike Commemoration			*1*			
West of Scotland Commemoration Committee				*1*		
Political and Diversity processions	**4**	**1**	**7**	**7**	**7**	**3**
Trade Unions & affiliated austerity Processions			*1*	*2*	*3*	*2*
Free Tibet	*3*					
Gender & Diversity Processions			*2*	*1*	*3*	
Communities Against Turbines			*1*			
Middle East Processions	*1*			*1*		
Pedal on Parliament			*1*			
March Against War Criminals			*1*			
Scottish Independence						*1*
Unite Against Fascism				*1*		
Justice for Barry				*1*		
Pro-Life procession			*1*			
Scottish Republican Socialist Movement		*1*				
Rangers Supporters Protest				*1*		
Glasgow Campaign to Welcome Refugees					*1*	
TOTAL NUMBER FOR ALL PROCESSSIONS	**393**	**176**	**112**	**44**	**21**	**7**

*Note: Procession notification figures were provided by all three local authorities and were, as far as we can be aware, complete. However, these figures do not include processions that may have occurred without formal notification being given. Nor do they capture those events, typically involving far-right bodies such as the Scottish Defence League, which did not require formal notification because a 'static demonstration' was planned instead of any formal procession.

The count of processions includes 'return processions', e.g. processions involving the same organisations or participants on the same day. Typically, this would involve an outward procession ending in some kind of static event, followed by a further procession, either retracting the original route, or taking a different one. Either way such 'returns' were counted as two processions. Processions where notice of withdrawal or cancellation was noted have not been counted, though we cannot discount that some processions would have been cancelled without notification to the authorities.

**Note: Size estimates, e.g. the number of anticipated participants, are based on those provided by procession organisers. These can only be seen as indicative, and in many instances are probably optimistic, resulting in over-estimations of the numbers likely to attend.
Estimates of the number and size of processions are also affected by local authority recording practices. For instances at least one group of processions celebrating the Battle of the Boyne, are presented here as smaller individual processions because this is how the notifications process operates, even though the public on the ground interpret the 'many parts' as actually constituting one larger event. However, it is not possible here to make definitive decisions on how to appropriately 'group' multiple processions occurring on the same day, and therefore in the absence of over-arching notifications, these smaller notifications are presented separately.

Taking the figures for the three areas as a whole, they clearly differ from the picture for Scotland overall. With two of the three being populous, West of Scotland urban areas there is clearly a much higher proportion of Loyalist and Irish Republican processions compared to Scotland as a whole, and indeed these form the majority of all small processions, including those under 100 participants and those involving between 100 and 199 processions were Loyalist or Irish Republican related (accounting for 71% of all processions involving 199 participants or less). Loyalist and affiliated processions make up the great majority of processions of this type (466 in total), compared to only 39 processions associated with Irish Republicanism (circa.5% of the total – twice the incidence across Scotland, at less than 2%). The Orange Order accounts for the largest number of processions amongst Loyalist groups, but also accounts for the largest number of processions in each of the different size 'categories'.

Our three sub-areas constitute three of the busiest areas for processions in Scotland, accounting for 753 processions in 2012. However, they are also quite distinct from each other in terms of the types, volume and size of processions as well. Edinburgh, experiences very few Loyalist and Irish Republican processions, only 5 out of 86 (circa. 6% of all processions compared with North Lanarkshire which hosts 216 Loyalist and Irish Republican processions out of a total of 283 processions (circa. 76% of all processions). It should be noted that all but 18 of the 216 processions in North Lanarkshire are Loyalist or Loyalist affiliated. Conversely North Lanarkshire hosts no political or diversity processions, whilst Glasgow hosts 12 and Edinburgh 17. Moreover, the majority of North Lanarkshire's processions consist of notifications for less than 100 participants, whilst only two processions in 2012 involved notifications for events involving over a 1000 participants. In comparison, Glasgow

and Edinburgh hosted far more processions involving a 1000 or more participants (18 and 8 respectively). In Edinburgh all 8 of these processions (the largest involving crowd estimates of 250,000 to 300,000) related exclusively to community or political/diversity processions, whereas in Glasgow at least (see above) 7 of the 18 larger processions were associated with Loyalist processions. Glasgow proves in some respects the 'go-between' local authority area, hosting large numbers of processions of all types, though as with North Lanarkshire the biggest volume of processions remains smaller Loyalist processions.

ANNEX C: FURTHER ANALYSIS OF PRE AND POST PROCESSION SURVEY SAMPLES

A series of additional bivariate and other statistical analyses were conducted on the pre and post procession survey samples to explore possible relationships and associations between different responses. It needs to be borne in mind, given that the survey responses were largely generated via non-random convenience sampling, that these tests are used to explore *indicative* associations and relationships, and *not* to make definitive generalisations about specific areas of populations. In particular p values reported in this appendix are presented to give the reader an idea of the strength of the association between variables; they again should *not* be interpreted as signifying that findings are generalizable to broader populations beyond the survey samples themselves.

Pre-procession

Respondents of different religions were not evenly distributed across the sites in the sample – for example, around two thirds of Coatbridge respondents who indicated a religious affiliation were Catholic (29 people), compared with less than a third of Parkhead (24 people) and just over a third of Govan respondents (16 people). To investigate whether it was area or religion that had the strongest association with opinions in this sample, two binary logistic regression models were estimated that predicted, respectively, the probability of holding negative views of Loyalist and Irish Republican events. Location and religion were included as covariates.

Table AC.1: Binary logistic regression models predicting negative views of processions

	Odds ratios	
	Loyalist	Irish Republican
Area (ref: Coatbridge)		
Parkhead	0.33*	0.20**
Govan	0.45	0.13**
Religious affiliation (ref: Catholic)		
Protestant	0.09**	0.87
Other or none	0.47+	1.20
N	161	144

+ p<.1, * p<.05, ** p<.01

These indicate that both area and religion could be important. Holding religion constant, Coatbridge respondents were more negative about Loyalist and Irish republican events than others; holding area constant, Catholics in the sample were more likely to be negative about Loyalist parades, but there was no independent association between religion and views of Irish republican events.

Area and religion were not the only respondent characteristics associated with views of processions. Female respondents were more likely to be negative about both Loyalist and Irish republican events. Three fifths of female respondents felt negative about Loyalist processions, compared with two fifths of male respondents (51 and 35 people, respectively).[68] Similarly, less than half of male respondents (35 people) were negative

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[68] χ^2=8.34, p=.02

about Irish Republican events, compared with nearly two thirds of female respondents (46 people).[69]

5.11   Respondent's views also varied according to age. Figure AC.1 plots the association between age and negative views of Loyalist processions.[70] The figure shows that respondent's views first tended to become more negative as they got older, reaching a peak at the early 40s, then began to become less negative with increasing age. There was less association between age and views of Irish Republican events.

Figure AC.1: Association between age and negative views of Loyalist processions
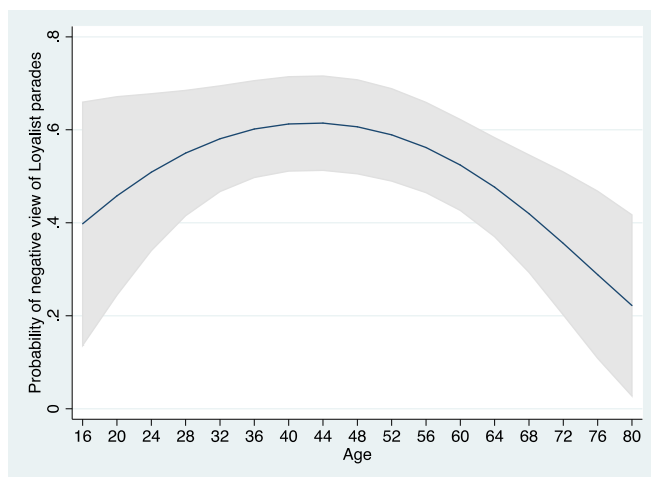
5.12   Survey respondents' views of processions were also associated with the perceptions of community characteristics and racial/ethnic prejudice in Scottish society. Notably, perceptions or experiences of social cohesion[71] were associated with respondent views of Loyalist parades – those who experienced less social cohesion tended to be more negative (see Figures AC.2 and AC.3).[72] Interestingly, this generally negative association (i.e. people who perceived more social cohesion tended to be less negative about Loyalist processions) was found among Protestants, Catholics and those with other or no religion. By contrast, the association between perceptions of social cohesion and negative views of Irish Republican events was weaker (see Figure AC.3).

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[69] χ^2=8.89, p=.01
[70] The figure plots estimates derived from a binary logistic regression model predicting the probability of holding negative views. Age and a quadratic effect for age were included to capture the non-linear effect shown. The shaded area around the line shows the 95 per cent confidence interval.
[71] Measured by a factor score combining responses to survey items such as "I feel like I belong in this area" and "I'm proud to be a resident of [place]".
[72] Produced in the same way as Figure AC.1.

Figure AC.2: Association between perceptions of social cohesion and negative views of Loyalist processions
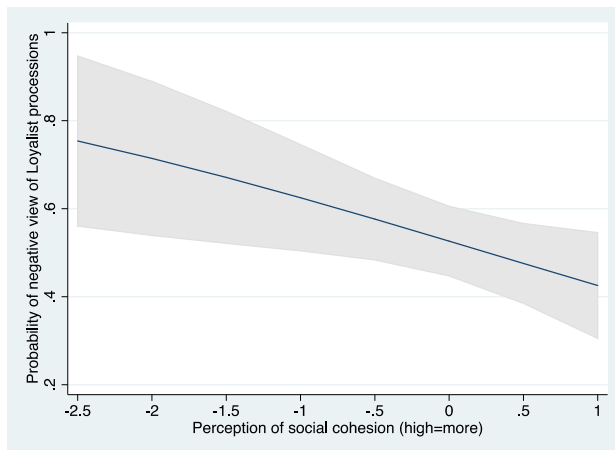
Figure AC.3: Association between perceptions of social cohesion and negative views of Irish Republican processions
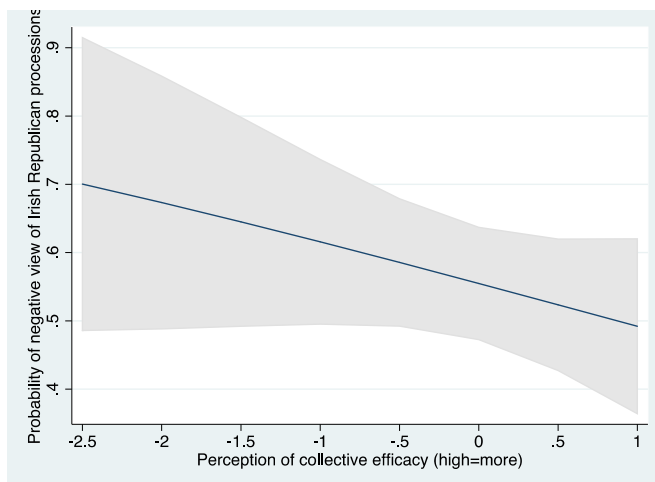
5.13   Similarly, respondents who perceived more racial and ethnic prejudice in Scottish society[73] tended to be more negative about Loyalist processions; however, this association was driven almost entirely by respondents with other or no religion (see Figure AC.4). That is, among respondents who didn't belong to either the Catholic or Protestant groups there was a very strong association between perceptions of racial/ethnic prejudice and negative views of Loyalist processions, but this association was essentially absent among Protestants and Catholics. Respondents who perceived more racial and ethnic prejudice in Scottish society also tended to be more negative about Irish Republican processions; and, again, this association was driven almost entirely by respondents with other or no religion (Figure AC.5).

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[73] Measured by a factor score combining responses to survey items assessing respondents' views on the extent of racial prejudice toward Black, Asian, Muslims and asylum seekers.

Figure AC.4: Association between perceptions of racial/ethnic prejudice and negative views of Loyalist processions, by religion
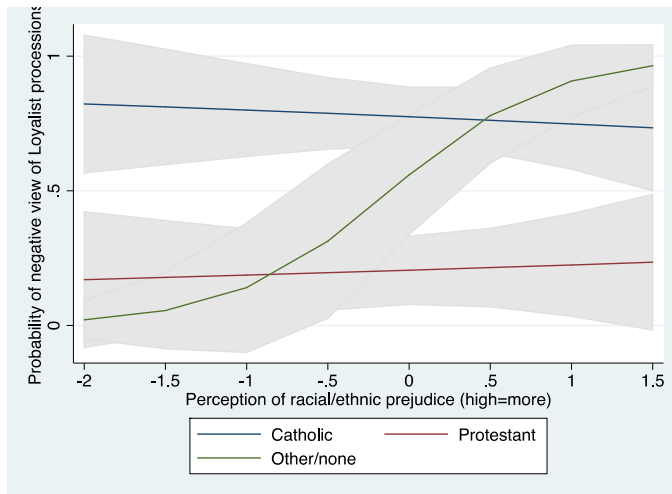
Figure AC.5: Association between perceptions of racial/ethnic prejudice and negative views of Irish Republican processions, by religion
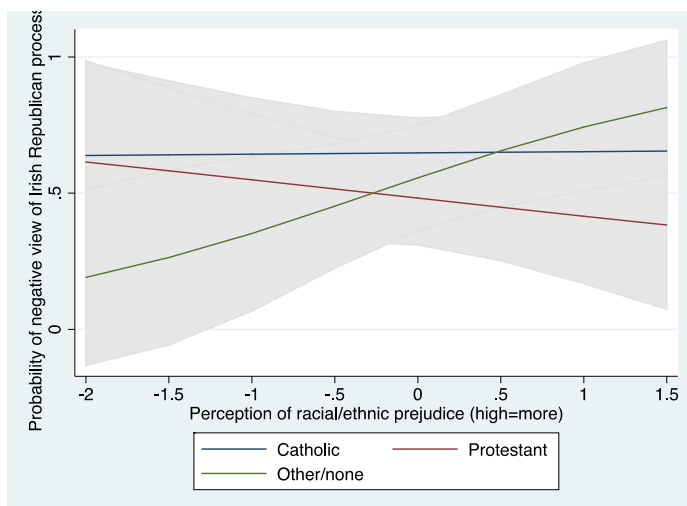
Post-procession residential surveys

Figure AC.6 shows that respondents who perceived there to be more sectarianism in Scottish society tended to be *more* negative about the Loyalist procession they recalled.[74] However, unlike in the pre-procession survey neither social cohesion *nor* location were associated with views of the processions. When it came to taking a negative stance toward a recent procession it was someone's religion and perception of sectarianism that was important, not where they lived (and thus the specific procession concerned).

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[74] The figure plots results from a simple linear regression model that regressed views of the recent procession (as measured by 5 survey items tapping respondents assessments as to the tension the procession caused, whether they felt threatened by (a) onlookers or (b) participants, whether they felt angry and whether they felt in danger) on perceptions of sectarianism (as measured by 5 items assessing how common respondents thought sectarian behaviour to be). In this model the beta for sectarianism was .60, and the model R^2 was .33, indicating a strong correlation between these two variables.

Figure AC.6: Association between views on sectarianism and recent Loyalist procession
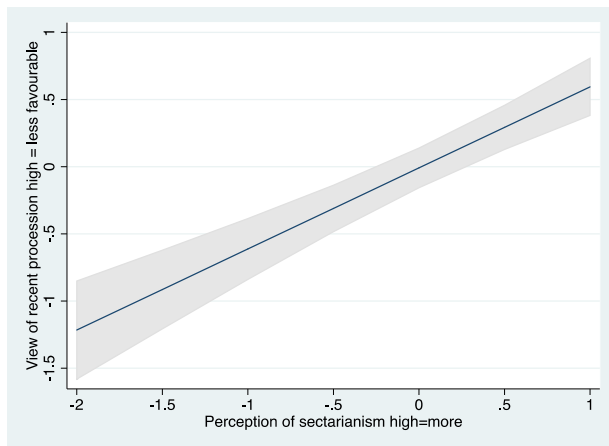
ANNEX D: POLICE INCIDENT TYPES

Police incident types collected as part of our analyses of impact in case study areas.

- assist member of the public
- public nuisance
- missing person
- sudden death
- drugs/solvent abuse
- disturbance
- parade/demonstration
- escaper/absconder/AWOL
- deliver message
- bail/curfew/address checks
- firearms involved
- bomb call
- suspicious incident
- domestic incident
- road traffic collision
- driver alleged drink/drugs
- vehicle escort
- vehicle pursuit
- abandoned vehicles
- drink driving call
- standing complaint
- drinking in public
- hate crime
- ASBO
- sexual offence
- robbery, theft
- vehicle crime
- theft from motor vehicle
- housebreaking
- housebreakers
- suspect persons
- assault
- licensing
- domestic bail check
- child protection
- damage
- crime other
- external agency request
- fire, explosion
- intruder
- personal attack alarm
- urgent – constable requires assistance
- police generated activity.

ANNEX E: RECORDED CRIME INCIDENTS

Figure AE.1: Daily incidents, Bridgeton (procession took place on 10 August)
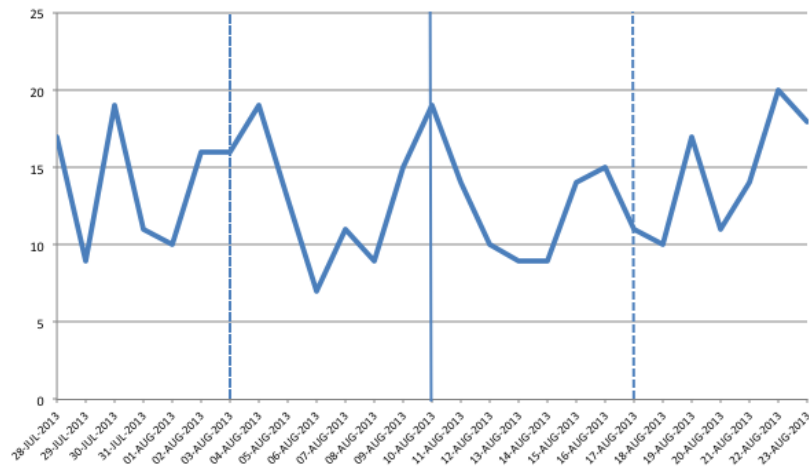
Figure AE.2: Daily incidents, Parkhead (procession took place on 10 August)
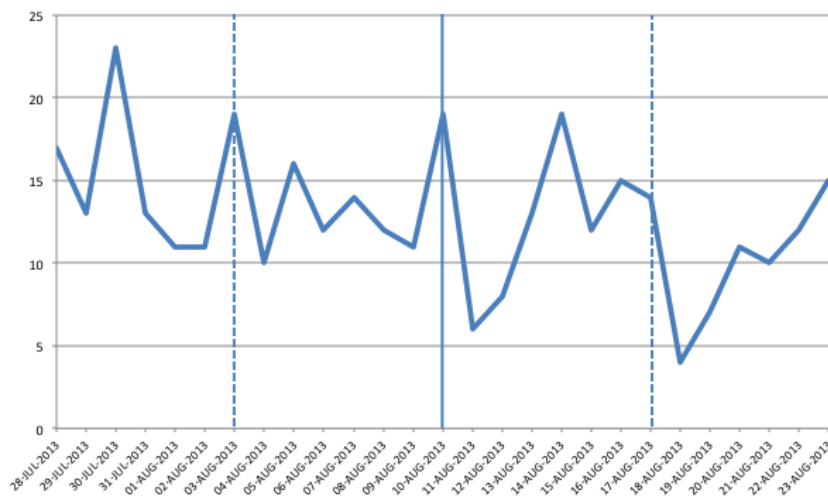
Figure AE.3: Daily incidents, Govan (procession took place on 21 September)
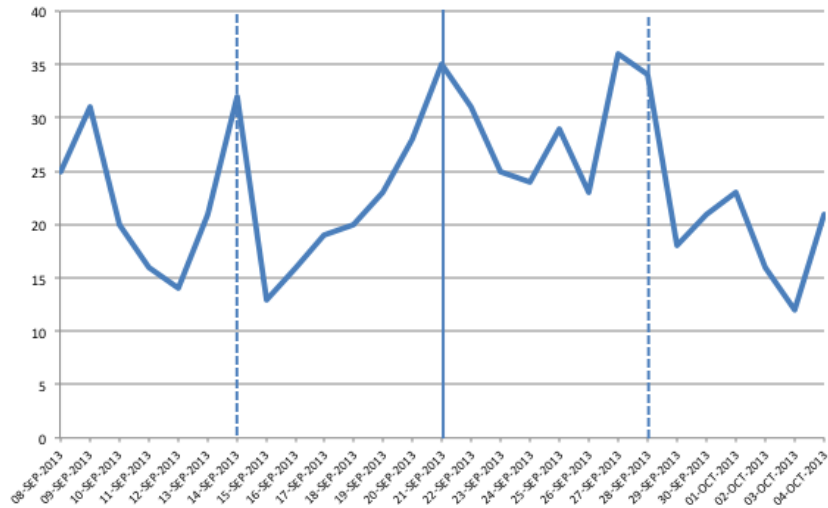
Figure AE.4: Saturday incidents: Bridgeton, Glasgow Division and Strathclyde
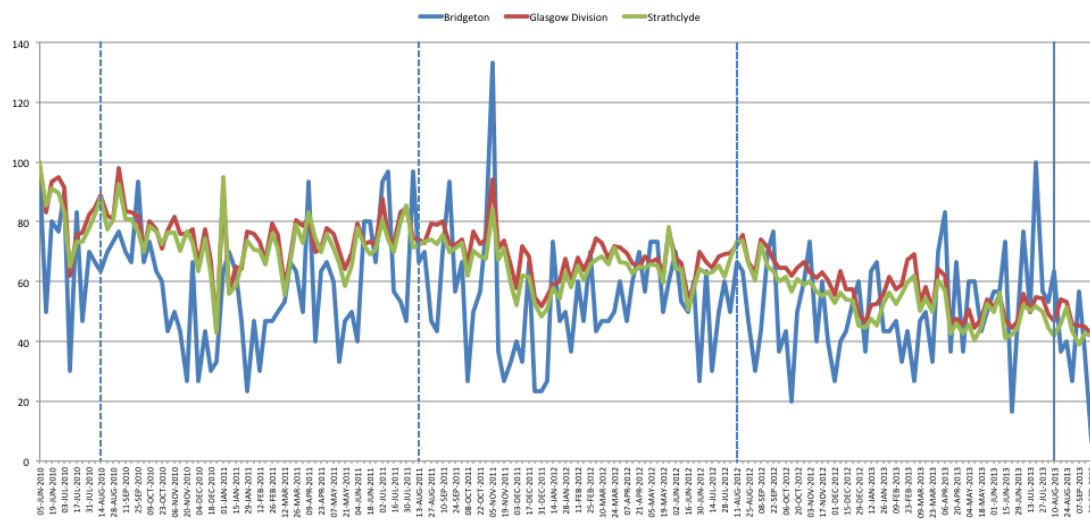Indexed on 5th June 2010

Figure AE.5: Saturday incidents: Parkhead, Glasgow Division and Strathclyde
Indexed on 5th June 2010
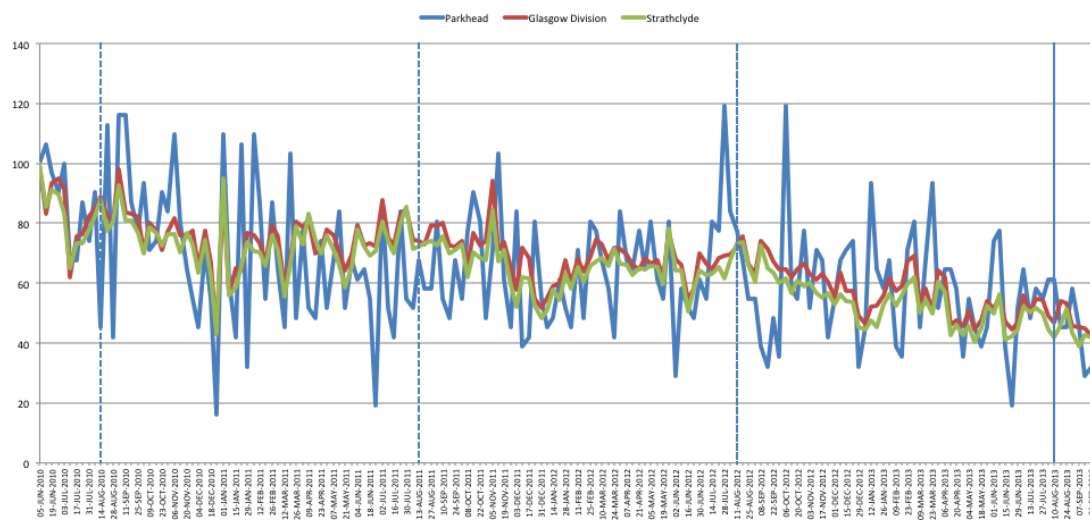
Figure AE.6: Saturday incidents: Govan, Glasgow Division and Strathclyde
Indexed on 5th June 2010
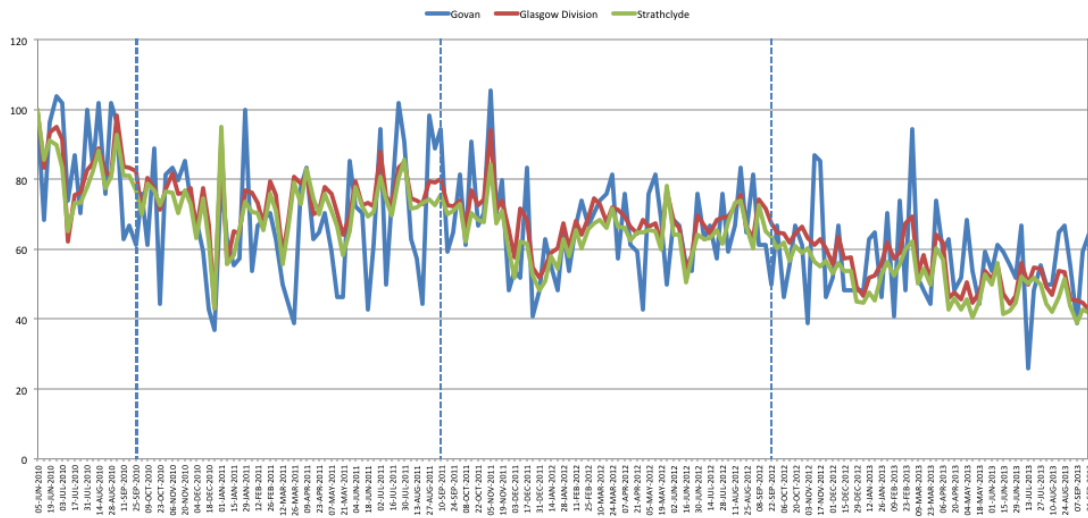
Figure AE.7: Weekly incidents, Bridgeton
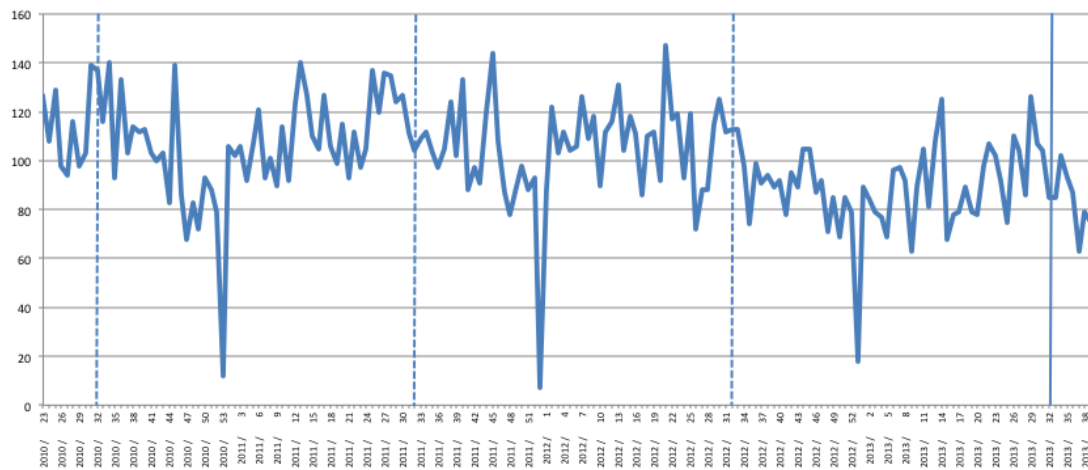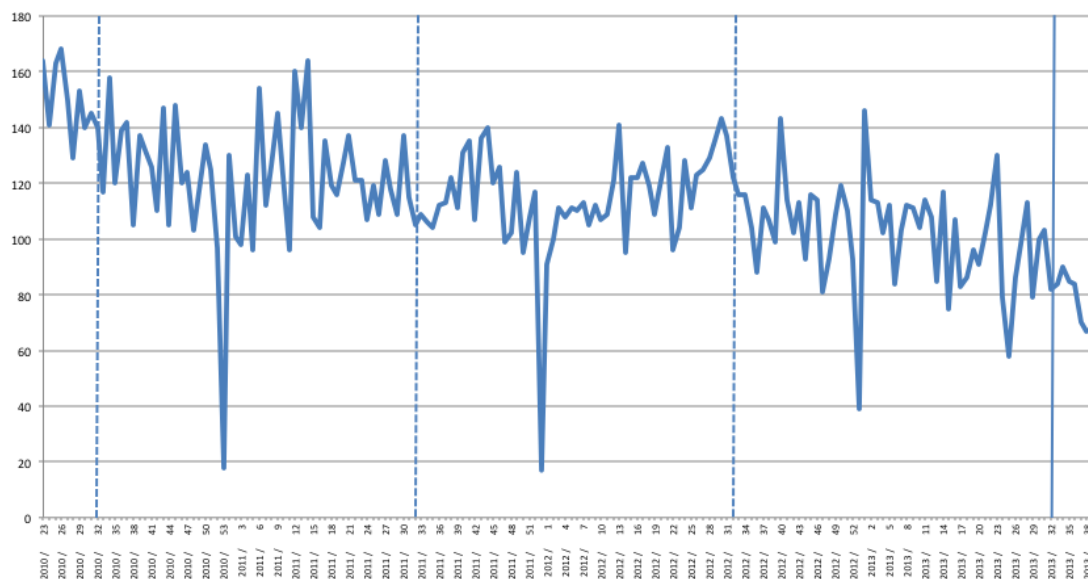

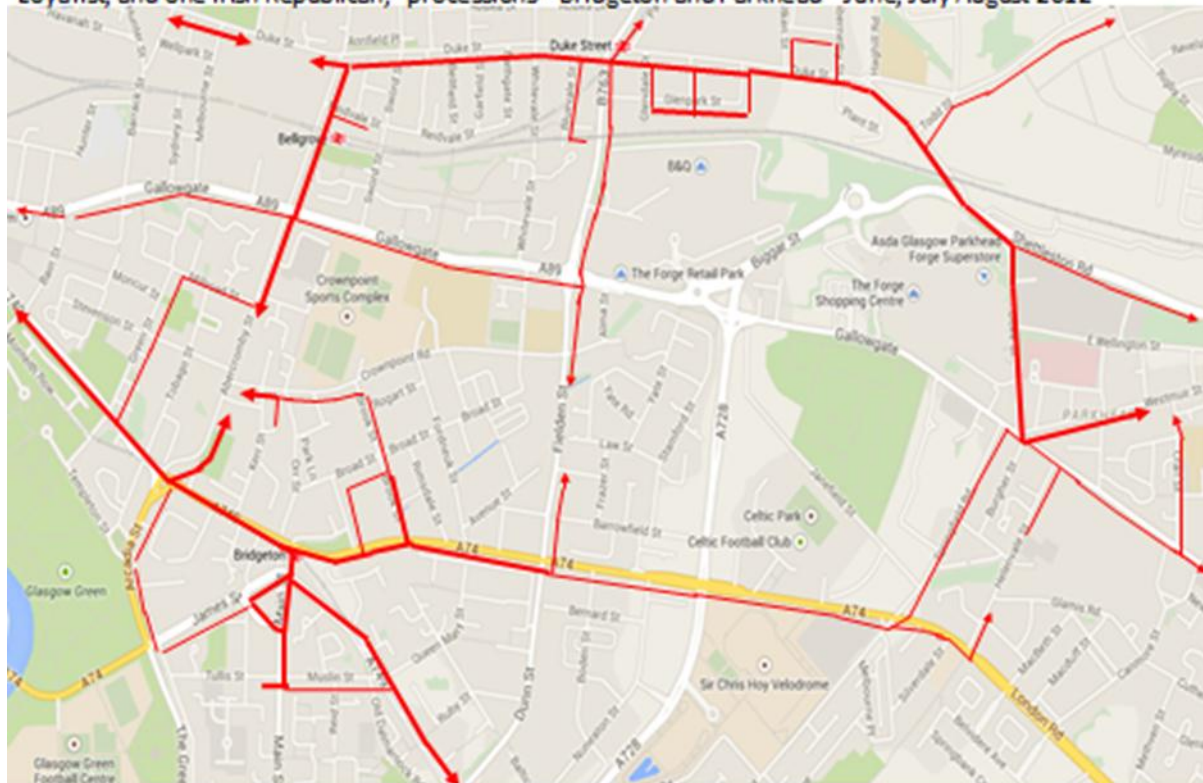**Figure AE.8: Weekly incidents, Parkhead**

Figure AE.9: Daily incidents, Govan
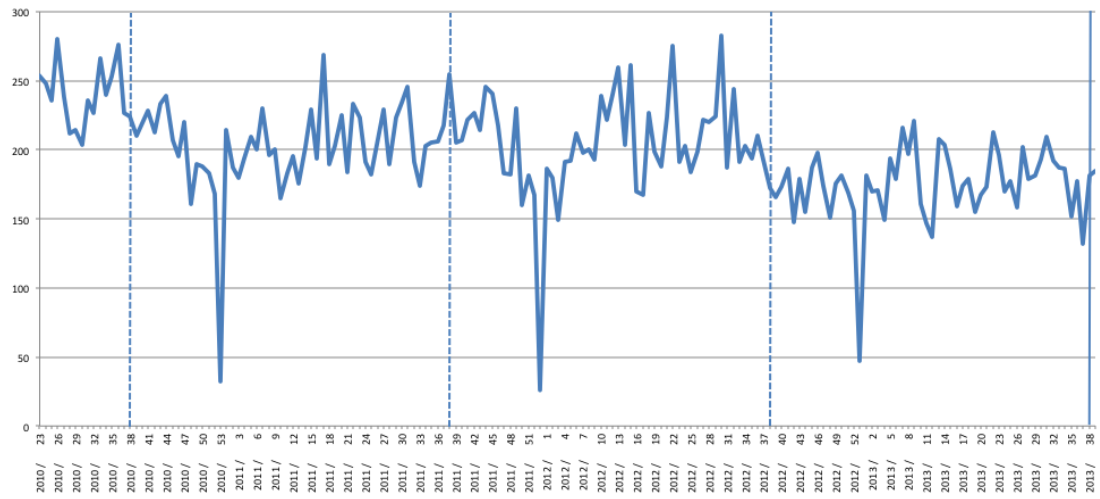
ANNEX F: PROCESSION MAP

Loyalist, and one Irish Republican,* processions – Bridgeton and Parkhead – June, July August 2012

Key

| | 1-2 processions | | 5-7 processions |
| | 3-4 processions | | 8 or more processions** |

* Note all but one procession in this period (in the Parkhead area) are Loyalist processions

** The most processions along any route, of any reasonable length, was 18 processions around the Bridgeton section of the A749 (London Road)

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