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국제학석사학위논문

**An Analysis of the Occupy Wall Street within the  
Context of the New Social Movement**

신사회운동 틀 내에서의 월가점거운동에 관한 분석

2017년 2월

서울대학교 국제대학원

국제학과 국제협력학 전공

이 민 호



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## Abstract

### **An Analysis of the Occupy Wall Street within the Context of the New Social Movement**

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The paper aims to illuminate the peculiar characteristics of the Occupy Wall Street (2011) within the context of the New Social Movement. At first, the Occupy Wall Street is a 21<sup>st</sup>-century self-limiting revolutionary movement. The Occupy Wall Street finds the problem matter with the cronyism between the politics and the corporations—which endangers the public representation and even the livelihood of the general public. Therefore, the revolution of the Occupy Wall Street implies the reconfiguration of the system-public space relations in a more liable mode. In an objective to reconfigure the alternative, the Occupy Wall Street attempts to prefigure the *new society* in the manner of managing the movement in participatory democracy. The movement forms a network of the networks that allows the engagement of the various organizations, and more importantly, the general public.

The research question divides into two stages: First, the research studies the similarities and differences between the previous new social movements and the 21<sup>st</sup>-century Occupy Wall Street. Then, the research unearths the peculiarities with the Occupy Wall Street. Primarily, the Occupy Wall Street arose at the time of the Economic Recession;

in contrary, the 1960s new social movements in the West occurred in the period of a relative economic prosperity. As the social condition differs, the Occupy Wall Street demands manifest the newness with the hybrid of the post-material and the material values. As a non-class new social movement, the Occupy Wall Street stems from the governing norm of, *mutual respect, love, and acceptance*. The movement emphasizes the diversity of the public demands. On such a basic agreement, the movement let inflow of the demands, which represents the critical mind of the Occupy Wall Street. The material values ergo transformed to prioritize on the mission to exposing the corruption of the 1%, while the classical notion of the material values foregrounds the guarantee of the labor rights.

The paper bases in the research methodology of historical institutionalism with critical juncture analysis. Overall research divides into two levels of analysis. At a macro-historical level of analysis, the paper examines the 2007-08 Great Recession, the 2010 Supreme Court ruling on *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010), and the 15-M Movement as the critical junctures to the rise of the Occupy Wall Street. Also, at a micro-historical level of analysis, the paper studies the institutional development of the Occupy Wall Street's arrangements through the agent-centered approach.

### **Keywords**

Occupy Wall Street (OWS), New Social Movement, 21<sup>st</sup>-century Social Movement, Anarchism, New Society, Politics-business Cronyism, Macro-historical analysis, Micro-historical analysis, Democracy, Institutional Arrangements

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## List of Abbreviations

OWS	Occupy Wall Street
NSM	New Social Movement
CSM	Contemporary Social Movement
OSM	Old Social Movement
FCIC	Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission
NYCGA	New York City General Assembly
FEC	Federal Election Committee
CJA	Critical Juncture Analysis
HI	Historical Institutionalism
Fed	The Federal Reserve
ORGS	Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey
NYPD	New York Police Department
HNI	Human Needs Index

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

The Occupy Wall Street (OWS) encountered its end on November 15, 2011, when the protesters were forced out of the Zuccotti Park. Since the end of occupation, mobilization commenced to slow, then dissolve ultimately. Micah White—one of the early OWS organizers—in an interview with Boomerang TV Canada, he asserted:

“The protest is broken because activists have been following up on storylines. Once we have achieved that storyline with Occupy Wall Street, we realized that it’s no longer true; so, I say protest is broken because the storyline that’s been dominating contemporary activism is basically if you can get lots of people into the streets, rallying around the unified message, largely nonviolent, then our electoral representatives would be forced to listen to us. But, it is not true. In fact, we have seen with Occupy Wall Street movement [...] Even when we achieved that difficult thing getting that many people out into the streets, doing synchronized behavior, it [still] doesn’t mean that our electoral representatives somehow magically listen to us”<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> White, Micah. "Why Protest Is Broken." Interview by Amanda Lang. *Bloomberg LP*. Bloomberg TV. Toronto, Ontario, 26 Apr. 2016. Television.

Micah White directed the OWS problem with its disconnection with the institutional politics. As a matter of fact, the Occupy Wall Street was an anarchistic movement, which emphasized the non-institutional approach in an objective to prefigure the alternative society that bases in actual representation of the general public.

The OWS movement likewise focuses its overall challenge with reinventing the public representation in the sphere of politics. The underlying cause lies with the dilemma of politics-business cronyism and subsequent loss of the public influence. Within such a general perception of the dilemma, the OWS network embraces a plurality of the public voices, a decentralization of the network, and a liberalization of all-around politics. Rather than focusing on a specific interest or group-based politics, the OWS has left the window open to the natural hybridization of the material and the post-material values<sup>2</sup>. In the end, the hybridization has proven itself to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the culturalization of the hybrid values has guaranteed an extensive mobilization; nonetheless, the variegation has directed to the obscurity with OWS demands.

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<sup>2</sup> The rise of post-material values attributes to the new social movement's core characteristic to defy industrialism-oriented values—which centers on modernization (or, economic growth) logics. Post-material values rather represent the uneconomical values—that regards to the qualitative improvement of livelihood (Inglehart 1990: 60-61).

As a central module of the action repertoire, the OWS adopts the anarchistic characteristics—the horizontalism, the autonomy, and the prefiguration. Such the features enhance the hybridization of the material and post-material values and the non-class identity. In summary, the anarchistic characteristics serve to construct the non-institutional public space—at the online forum and in the general assemblies.

The paper attempts to analyze the OWS in historical institutionalism approach with critical juncture analysis (CJA) to comprehend and re-identify the OWS within the NSM context, and to discover the *newness* with the OWS. At first, the paper studies the relationship between the society and the OWS movement through analysis of exogenous, contingent events to the rise of the OWS. The study of agency provides an analysis of endogenous, institutional arrangements that bases wholly on the choices and collective actions carried out by the OWS participants.

The research question studies: What are similar and different with the Occupy Wall Street (2011) from the New Social Movement? Moreover, if there are any differences, what feature the newness? At first, the paper at the macro-historical level of analysis asks, which critical junctures led to the rise of the OWS? The paper looks into three OWS critical junctures: 2007-08 Great

Recession and Subprime Mortgage Crisis and 2010 Supreme Court ruling on *Citizens United v. Federal Election Committee (FEC)* (2010), and friendly influence from 15-M Movement (2011). Subsequently, the paper at the micro-historical level of analysis asks, how does the OWS internal structure look? Through the question, the paper analyzes the agent-centered critical junctures with the OWS institutional arrangements. In specific, Chapter 5 looks into the formation of OWS demands and the network coalition under the 99% rhetoric.

The paper hypothesizes that 1) the OWS and the NSM share the general framework of, the system versus the general public and fundamental NSM institutional arrangements' characteristics, and 2) the OWS manifests the hybrid of the post-material and the material values—which nurse both the economic and the noneconomic concerns; and, this attributes to the difference in social condition between the 2011 OWS movement and 1960s NSMs. To explain, the OWS identity and collective action share the very NSM institutional arrangements' traits with the non-class identity, and non-institutional action repertoire. Nonetheless, the difference lies in the social conditions in which the NSMs arose. The 1960s new social movements arose in a period of relative economic prosperity, whereas the 2011 Occupy Wall Street arose in a period of economic recession. In such a particular social condition, the OWS occurs to embrace a larger scope of demands, not restricted to the

NSM's post-material ones. To the root, exists the OWS logical process of, the corporatocracy yielding to the multilateral concerns of the general public.

The paper divides into following chapters, the Chapter 2. Literature Review covers on the scholarly arguments on the transition from the “old”<sup>3</sup> social movement to the new social movement and classifies the differentiated characteristics of the NSMs. The chapter divides into the macro-historical and the micro-historical level of analysis and reviews the scholarly arguments and findings in relations to each level of analysis. Chapter 3. Analytic Framework defines the historical institutionalism methodology, which the paper adopts to view the OWS in critical juncture analysis and agent-centered approach.

In the body, the Chapter 4. Macro-historical Analysis of the Occupy Wall Street continues with a discussion of the OWS movement in relations to the 2011 American society through critical junctures--2007-08 Great Recession, 2008 Subprime Mortgage Crisis, and 2011 15-M Movement. Then, the Chapter 5. Micro-historical Analysis of the Occupy Wall Street analyzes the OWS

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<sup>3</sup> According to Touraine (1971 [1981]), Wallenstein (1991), Boochin (1989): since the 1960s, the new social movement swept across Europe and America. The movement was largely non-class, libertarian, and nonhierarchical; moreover, movement directed to the post-industrial concerns on lifeworld of the ordinary, rather than focused on economic aspect as of “old” or traditional movement.

institutional arrangements and defines the NSM characteristics through multiple of OWS data on demands, occupiers' backgrounds, and action repertoire.

Afterward, Chapter 6. Re-identifying Occupy Wall Street with the NSM

Context the OWS within the general NSM context. At last, the paper concludes with the OWS peculiarities.

## Chapter 2. Literature Review

Beforehand, it is important to fathom the previous new social movements. A number of scholars in the scholarship of social movements have come up with isomorphic arguments in defining the relative contradistinctions between old and new social movements. It is a preliminary step to analyze OWS whether the movement fits in the sphere of new social movement and to analyze whether OWS peculiarity exists.

The general agreement of the new social movement happens on the ground of 1960s U.S. Civil Rights movements and 1968 European counterculture movements (Kwon and Song 2001). The birth of the Western, post-industrial societies (Bell 1975) yields to the birth of the new social movements. In a brief introduction, as of the 1960s, the social movement has begun anew to demonstrate counterculture characteristic—to find an alternative form of lifeworld (Touraine 1985: 749). As Pichardo (1997) introduces, the new social movement paradigm concentrates on both the macro-historical and the micro-historical levels analysis. With the macro-historical level of analysis, the new social movement (NSM) paradigm illuminates the relationship between

new social movement and post-industrial society<sup>4</sup>, and the role of the culture within. Meanwhile, with the micro-historical level of analysis, the NSM paradigm highlights the values, identity, and behaviors in social movements (Pichardo 1997: 411). Accordingly, the paper formats the analysis into two levels to draw a complete picture.

## 2.1. Macro-historical Level of Analysis

### 2.1.1. System and the New Social Movement Relations

The macro-historical analysis ensues with the series of observations on the relationship between social movement and post-industrial society. Touraine (1977)—through the May '68 Student Movement case study—hypothesized that the post-industrial phenomenon is explicable through a new class relations argument; that is, the ruling class—the power-holding manager of the historicity of society<sup>5</sup> and dominated class—the new middle-class—are caught

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<sup>4</sup> By postindustrial society, Touraine explains that the definition ought to be defined by technological advancement with “technological production of symbolic goods which shape or transform our representation of human nature and of the external world” (Touraine 1985: 781), to avoid mixing of the term usage with other kinds of societies. Hence, he differentiates postindustrial society with four components; they are as follows: “research and development, information processing, biomedical science and techniques, and mass media” (Touraine 1985: 781).

<sup>5</sup> By historicity, Touraine explicates of “producing themselves their historical existence by their economic, political, and cultural capacity to act upon themselves and to produce their future and



in the struggle over the appropriation of historicity. The scope of the new middle-class is much larger than that of the economically defined middle-class. The new middle-class denies the technocrat-led utilitarianism, and in sociocultural aspect, seeks to enhance communitarian counterculture via shifting the value towards anti-nuclear, anti-war, and alike concerns on general livelihood (Touraine 1985: 780-784).

Touraine (1981) studied the rise of social conflicts as a collective response of the new middle class—by definition, the subordinated class—to the dominance of technocracy. On this point, Touraine (1985)—through 1980-81 *Solidarnosc* case study—explained that society is a different end to the community in definition. By society, Touraine (1985) described the collectivity of a high capacity—the government; and, by the community, Touraine (1985) depicted of the subordinated ‘people (or, masses).’ The variation that the Touraine (1985) drew from Touraine (1981) is that the subject of social conflict becomes the general public. Touraine’s (1977 [1981]) definition of post-industrial society lit the light on the core understanding of its developed characteristic from the classical Marxist’s industrial, class relations. The transition from the labor movement to new social movement bases in the

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even their memory” (Touraine 1981: 155). Thus, the actor identity of the post-industrial society determines social conflicts, and thus program the post-industrial (or, programmed) society.

change with the actor characteristic from laborers to the new middle-class (Touraine 1981) or the masses (Touraine 1985) in post-industrial society.

Alongside with Touraine (1977 [1981]), Melucci (1980) foregrounded the sociological aspect of the class relations. To the core of the Melucci (1980) assumptions, is the change with the mode of production in advanced capitalist societies—which accentuates the consumption, the service sector, and above all, the social relations (Melucci 1980: 217). Melucci (1980) elucidated the dual challenges of the contemporary social movements (CSM)<sup>6</sup> as 1) the re-appropriation of the material structure of production, and 2) collective control over socio-economic development (Melucci 1980: 219). Melucci (1989) hypothesized that the dual challenges to occur in two modes: pre-political and meta-political.

Simply put, by pre-political, it signifies the effort to generate new cultural code; whereas, by meta-political, it signifies the effort to publicize the perceived dilemmas of complex society. Melucci (1980) argued that, the CSMs regard to the dilemmas that “cannot be resolved by means of political decisions” (Melucci 1980: 222). Furthermore, the CSMs primarily struggle over

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<sup>6</sup> In Melucci (1980), the word *Contemporary Social Movement* is employed interchangeably with *New Social Movements*.

the “same resource.”<sup>7</sup> That said, while the definition of the same resource expands in the post-industrial societies, the social conflicts persist, and only expands socio-culturally.

Alike other studies, Offe (1985) assumed that NSMs attribute to the late capitalism’s Western state interventionism, which caused the rise of new politics movements. The norm of new politics evolves from the citizenry demand to strengthen civil society and put a stop to state encroachment. Rather than applying the term ‘post-industrial,’ Offe (1985) employed late capitalism instead. Furthermore, Offe (1989) introduced three hypotheses on the NSMs.

At first, NSMs—in a comparative analysis with the past movements—are “neither organized or created by nor dependent” on political parties (Offe 1989: 179). Secondly, NSMs do not retreat to cultural forms—such as “literary, artistic, religious forms” of expression yet retains the shape as a political movement from the outskirts of ‘normal politics’—seeking for an all-around reform (Offe 1989: 179-180). Thirdly, NSMs base in proactive (or, progressive) orientation, which represents the “non-reactionary, universalist critique of

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<sup>7</sup> Melucci (1985) explains that social conflicts occur within the relationship of interest parties fighting over the same resources—which, both sides give value to. Regarding such a relationship in post-industrial societies, Melucci explicates that within complex system, “post-industrial societies no longer have an economic basis; they produce by an increasing integration of economic, political, and cultural structures” (Melucci 1985: 795). Thus, the definition of resources also expands. And, on the logic of scarcity, the CSMs struggles over new ‘resources’ that occurs in accordance with such a structural integration.

modernity and modernization by challenging institutionalized patterns of technical, economic, political and cultural rationality without falling back upon idealized traditional institutions and arrangements” (Offe 1989: 180). Offe (1985 [1989]) suggested that the late-capitalism NSMs occurred on the basis of causality. Precisely, the NSMs arose in response to the authoritarian interventionism within a specific objective to restore the sphere of civil society.

On the one hand, Habermas (1987) differentiated the NSMs from the old movements by employing the descriptive term, “reform politics.” While Habermas (1987) did not employ the term—NSMs, the writing quoted Inglehart (1979)’s new politics tally his thesis of colonialization. On the macro-historical level of analysis, reform politics dictates of the socio-political demand for the democratization in sequence to the post-war economic reconstruction activities.

Habermas (1987) hypothesized that post-war reconstruction activities led to the “class structure shifted out of the lifeworld into the system” with both the social democratic and the conservative governments (Habermas 1987: 348-349). Hereupon, the social movements evolve as an ‘incessant competition’ between private persons and organs of state (Habermas 1987: 178). Habermas (1987) described the NSMs as a middle class’ defensive resistance to the colonialization of the lifeworld (Habermas 1987: 393-396).

In conclusion, the NSM scholarship manifests a few isomorphic arguments within the the macro-historical level of analysis; they are as follows:

1) NSMs arise in resistance to the state interventionism and modernization rhetoric. 2) NSMs occur in the post-industrial (or, late capitalism) societies—with the scope of the challenging group broadening from the middle-class to the new middle-class. 3) NSMs manifests the concerns over universalistic aspects of civil society, not just economic aspect. Moreover, 4) NSMs suggest an alternative form of society.

## 2.2. Micro-historical Level of Analysis

The micro-historical analysis is rather sociologically constructive. At the micro-historical analysis, the NSM scholarship attempts to elaborate on the values, the identities, and the collective behaviors of the NSMs. If macro-historical analysis lets the understanding of the systematic, social conditions and the structural characteristics of the NSMs, the micro-historical analysis, on the other side, allows the understanding of motive, identification, and collective behaviors of the NSMs.

### 2.2.1. Post-material Values: Multi-faceted New Social Movements

It is a general agreement of the social movement scholarship that the 1960s marked the turning point in the Western hemisphere. Following the end of the World War II, the Western Europe had experienced an unprecedented affluence and subsequently, witnessed the rising level of socio-economic index—with education, occupational structure, and mass communication (Inglehart 1977: 22).

On the 1950-70s Western Europe, Inglehart (1977) characterized the decades with following terms: 1) economic prosperity and 2) absence of total war. In summary, Inglehart (1977) wrote: “people are safe, and they have enough to eat” (Inglehart 1977: 22). Hence, in his hypothesis, Inglehart (1977) argued: 1) people places a high priority on needs that were short-supplied before, and 2) high level of individual and state securities led to the increasing emphasis on other *types of needs* (Inglehart 1977: 22).

The Inglehart (1977)’s logical assumption was that the prioritized values were changing in the Western post-industrial societies due to the economic prosperity and absence of total war. The post-material values, in typology, derive from Maslow’s self-actualization needs—which happen when the material and belonging needs are fulfilled (Inglehart 1977: 22-23). From the 1970-73 mass

survey, the result had shown that the wealthier and the young cohort the sample is, the more they are likely to mingle with post-materialist values<sup>8</sup>. Inglehart (1977) summarized the survey finding that, the wealthy and young sample accentuates the aesthetic, intellectual, and belonging and esteem concerns, not the safety and the sustenance concerns (Inglehart 1977: 50-71). Later on, Inglehart (1990) updated on the previous literature that the post-industrial generation is twice more active in the new social movement than the industrial generation (Inglehart 1990: 60).

Habermas (1987) introduced ‘new politics’ as “the new problems have to do with the quality of life, equal rights, individual self-realization, participation, and human rights” (Habermas 1987: 392). That is the new politics or the NSMs care for the non-material and multi-issue problems. Scott (1990) added that the NSMs are often a representation of the constellation of, the broad themes—such as on issues of peace and environment—and the broad interests—such as women and black rights (Scott 1990: 26). Scott (1990) described the contrast between old and new social movement as shown in Table 1:

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<sup>8</sup> Inglehart (1977) classifies of post-materialist value in order of high correlations: more say on job (.580), less impersonal society (.545), idea count (.514), more say in government (.484), freedom of speech (.434), more beautiful cities (0.75). Higher the decimals, the more relevant the topic is to post-materialist survey findings. For explanation, visit Inglehart (1977: 45-47).

[Table 1] Scott (1990) key points of contrast between old and new social movements

	Old Social Movement	New Social Movement
Location	Increasingly within the polity	Civil society
Aims (Objective)	Political integration/ economic rights	Changes in values and lifestyle/ defense of civil society
Organization	Formal/hierarchical	Network/grassroots
Medium of action	Political mobilization	Direct action/cultural innovation

Source: Scott, Alan. *Ideology and the New Social Movements*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1990. Print.

Scott (1990) alongside with Habermas (1984, 1987) argued that the objective of the new social movement concerns with cultural values and lifestyles (Scott 1990: 16). Thus, the organizational structure more or less seeks for the *networks of the network* (Kasse 1990: 86). The NSMs seeks for the value continuity and integration than an immediate outcome. As the Kasse (1990) quoted Raschke (1985), the NSM objective lies in the “orientations towards more or less basic change” (Kasse 1990: 85).

In conclusion, the post-material values arise with the birth of the new middle-class, who in a relative sense had experienced less economic concerns than the industrial generation. As Inglehart (1977) instituted, the post-material values bear aesthetic, intellectual, and belonging and esteem concerns, rather than the economic concerns. In character, the post-material values are non-material and multi-issue in nature and relate to the quality of livelihood and equal rights.



### 2.2.2. New Social Movements: New Middle Class and *New Left Politics*

Important to note, Offe (1985) offers an interpretation that the prominent values of the NSMs are personal autonomy and identity (Offe 1985: 829). By the NSM identity, Offe (1985) explained that the NSM actors act on behalf of ascriptive collectivities. Offe (1985) alleviated the problem with Touraine (1981)'s abstract definition of the new middle-class by classifying the NSM structural characteristics. Offe (1985) introduced three actor identities of the NSMs:

[Table 2] Offe (1985) Social Base of the New Social Movements

New middle-class	New middle-class constitutes of activists and supporters of high educational status, relative economic status, and with employment from personal service professions (Offe 1985: 833).
De-commodified or peripheral groups	De-commodified or peripheral group includes 'trapped' and schedule-flexible members, who range from high school and university students (including the unemployed youth), middle-class housewives, and retirees (Offe 1985: 834)
Old middle-class	Old middle-class group forms of self-employed middle class such as farmers, shop owners, and artisan producers; their economic interests coincide with raised concerns of the NSMs (Offe 1985: 834-835).

Source: Offe, Claus. "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics." *Social Research* 52.4 (1985): 817-68. Print.

According to the Offe (1985) suggestion of the new paradigm, the NSMs occur in the alliance between three actors. Thus, in a logical sense, the NSM demands are not class-specific and manifest rather universalistic values. By the

universalistic values, Offe (1985) provided an enlarging definition that, demands become “more or less inclusive, or categorical than class issues” (Offe 1985: 835). Offe (1985) phased in an insight that the size of NSM mobilization broadens; and in subsequence, the NSM demands betide to be inclusive and non-class specific.

Explaining in sociological aspect, Melucci (1980) explained CSMs as an action system of the *social group*—which constitutes of particular culture and way of life, not a single class (Melucci 1980: 199-226). In the observation, the contemporary social movements arise from the outer sphere of the political realm. Melucci (1980) elucidated that the social movements are often a complex challenge that “translate their action into symbolic challenges that overturn the dominant culture codes” (Melucci 1989: 75). Regarding the composition of the social group, Melucci (1989) studied that the CSMs form in the heterogeneous and pluralistic society. Such an observation is somewhat in alignment with Habermas (1987), in which dictated that, “In terms of social statistics, the ‘old politics’ is more strongly supported by employers, workers, and the middle-class tradesman, whereas the new politics finds stronger support in the new middle-classes, among the younger generation, and in groups with more formal education” (Habermas 1987: 392).

Kitschelt (1990) took a step further to define the demands of the post-industrial societies as having traits of “left-libertarian.” Kitschelt (1990) approached the matter of new social movement in the scope of giving birth to the left-libertarian parties in the welfare states. In a simple understanding, Kitschelt wrote that “left-libertarians represent consumer interests against industrial and bureaucratic producer” (Kitschelt 1990: 184). Seeing the left-libertarian parties as the exponents—rather as the representatives of the new social movements, Kitschelt (1990) introduced of the left-libertarian perspective as having had risen from: “1) the mistrust of the marketplace, [...] and a commitment egalitarian redistribution and 2) the rejection of private or public bureaucracies to regulate individual and collective conduct” (Kitschelt 1990: 180).

That is, the left-libertarian parties are one of the results of culture-oriented new social movement. Also, Kitschelt (1993) introduced the concept, politics of social identity to describes NSMs. According to the politics of social identity, the NSM participants redefine and refigure the personal and collective identities against the stereotypes that are built-in the society by the culture, political institution, and market relations (Kitschelt 1993: 14). Importantly, Kitschelt (1990) directed the cause to the commodification of social relations by the market economy.

In addition, Bookchin (1989) introduced the notion of anarchism components—of which autonomous libertarians get along to produce a non-hierarchical and horizontal networking constellation of demands—which in the case of the 1960s varies from environmental, municipal, to anti-militarist movements. The new characteristics of the NSMs in the Bookchin (1989) perspective arises with 1970s radical movements—which have manifested a nice mix of anarchist and libertarian components.

In a hermeneutic approach, Cohen (1985) attempted to focus on self-identification of the *New Left*. According to the very observation, the actors do not perceive themselves in terms of socioeconomic class, but as a new middle class. On a national level, they form an association that bases on grass-roots politics and horizontal direct democratic network. Cohen (1985) denied of the Inglehart (1977) post-material values, but rather identifies the structures of everyday life as the main concern. The new concerns are raised by “students, women, professionals, new middle strata” (Cohen 1985: 668). Such collective identity entangles old bourgeoisie of the *Old Left* to the proletariats—thus, the new concerns are off the boundary of class definitions.

Most importantly, Cohen (1985) took on the self-limiting radicalism and wrote that the *New Left* has the self-limiting character. As an explanation, Cohen

(1985) hypothesized the four senses of characters: 1) the actors do not seek for a community free of power or inequality; 2) the actors limit themselves in direct democracy for the greater social autonomy; 3) the actors self-limits their values—or relativize the values to one another for the success; and, 4) the actors self-recognize the existence of the state and the market economy (Cohen 1985: 669-670). The self-limiting character derives from the observation through the 1970s and 1980s NSMs; and, the self-limiting character is peculiar to the NSMs—that manifest the radical notion of redefining the society, albeit in a self-limiting character as suggested.

### 2.2.3. Defense of Lifeworld and Activation of Politics of Influence

The Collective actions occur out of NSM values and identity. The discourse on collective behavior often derives from the characterization as occurring in an offensive or defensive mode. Meanwhile, there exists a general agreement that the collective behaviors of the NSMs bases on the idea of redefining and refiguring the public space and authorities that have been previously defined and configured with industrial societies' mechanisms—of the market economy and thus, growth oriented state-interventionism.

Habermas (1981) famously hypothesized the NSMs to retain the defensive collective behaviors against the contemporary attack of the system into

the lifeworld. Habermas (1981) in theory wrote of *colonization of lifeworld* phenomenon—of which the NSMs attempt to fight off in collective action. Habermas (1981) argued that with the shift from OSMs laborers to NSMs new middle-class in the Welfare states, the objective reformulates from overthrowing the system of capitalism to stopping the colonialization of the capitalism. Thus, the NSMs in a fundamental agreement attempt to regenerate the public space once lost to the system. Thus, in such a sense, the NSMs are de facto defensive.

Melucci (1985) explained the new social movement as an action system. Rather than a reaction vis-à-vis social dysfunctions, Melucci (1985) introduced of the social movement as a social construction. In addition, Melucci (1985) perceived the social movement as a purposive orientation within a system of opportunities and constraints; and that, NSM structure bases on the unity and continuity of the collective actions of the individuals and groups (Melucci 1985: 792-793). Precisely, Melucci (1985) described the social movement as a collective action with characteristics of “1) solidarity, 2) conflict, and 3) breaking the limits of the system” (Melucci 1985: 795). At first, solidarity means the actor capability to share—through construction and series of negotiation and to recognize a collective identity—the shared definition of opportunities and constraints.

The collective action therefore is a result of solidarity, rather than a point of departure (Melucci 1985: 793). Solidarity is in another word a sign for integration and interdependence at full strength. Secondly, conflict is a natural phenomenon when the social system encounters a social movement or protest. Within systematic constraints, the social movement rises; and, the birth of conflict signifies a potential shift. Melucci (1985) illuminated that, with new social movements, the social conflict affects the cultural patterns of individual action, from identity to space. Moreover, the social conflict serves to break the limits of the system by challenging with old paradigm with a wave of new values, identities.

While Melucci (1985) and Habermas (1981) depicted of post-industrial societies, Cohen and Arato (1992) shifted the attention to the Eastern European and Latin American societies' struggle through authoritarian socialist party-states (Hogkinson and Foley 2003: 282). In an attempt to provide the dualistic characteristics of the NSMs, Cohen and Arato (1992) made a proposition that the civil society within the sphere of NSMs function in the form of limited civil disobedience vis-à-vis system and economy. Also, the NSMs work to redefine the civil society and reinstitute civil society's politics of influence to accomplish further democratization (Cohen and Arato 1992: 566). In historical institutionalism, Cohen and Arato (1992) argued that the modern revolution and

transition in the East and South has taken in the form of self-limiting tradition. Such a trait manifests the notion that civil society aimed not to abolish the state or market economy, yet to subordinate them to the civil society—the public sphere (Baynes 1993: 544).

Cohen and Arato (1992) built on Habermas (1981) distinction between the system and lifeworld with a state, economy, and civil society distinction. The update on Habermas (1981) distinction allowed the understanding of both defensive and offensive collective actions with the NSMs. On account of collective defensive action, it signifies of “preserving and developing the communicative infrastructure of the lifeworld” (Touraine, Clark and Diani 1996: 195). In contrary, on account of offensive collective action, it signifies the activation of politics of influence targeted at the state and the economy to pressure the system. Offensive collective action aims to democratize the structures of compromising politics between the civil society, state, and economy (Touraine, Clark, and Diani 1996: 195). Thus, Cohen and Arato (1992) alleviated the problem of seeing the NSMs as to occur solely in defensive manners by observing through the bigger scope of societies.



### Chapter 3. Analytic Framework

The research adopts qualitative analysis to emphasize the need to fathom the Occupy Wall Street movement as a social phenomenon in its natural settings, and also to illuminate the context, viewpoint, and interaction of the participants through looking at the OWS explanatory dataset. Primarily, the OWS dataset varies from the movement's demands, strategies, and tactics, to the participants' background and unstructured text. Each data represents the basis of the research—which attempts to analyze the formation and structure of the movement and to answer the hypotheses.

In a bid to visualize the studies in a historically based analysis, the research bases in the historical institutionalism (HI) approach. It is a mixture of agency and contingency approach, which analyzes the logic of actions and finding the historical orientations that lead to the institutionalization of the OWS. To the core of the research, are asked the general questions: what are the specific sources and patterns of the OWS, and how similar and different is the OWS from the previous new social movements. The value with HI is that it tells of “what political actors are trying to maximize, and why they emphasize certain goals over others” (Steinmo and Thelen 1992: 9); and, within which initial conditions the actors were drawn into the action.

Withal, the research implements critical juncture analysis to the path-dependent OWS. In academic writing, Capoccia (2015) elucidates that critical juncture is a “tool for studying the political origins and reform of important institutional arrangements that exert a long-lasting influence on their social and political environment” (Mahoney and Thelen 2015: 147). The CJA is built specific for the path-dependent<sup>9</sup> institutions—which in this research, may well be the OWS. Often, the critical juncture is appropriate to answer the sequence and timing of specialty actions taken by the movement. Also, to the core of CJA, are studies of agency and contingency (Mahoney and Thelen 2015: 148). The study of agency provides an analysis of endogenous outcome that bases wholly on the choices and subsequent actions carried out by the actors.

Meanwhile, according to the Capoccia (2015), the contingency has two characteristics of divergence. One, contingency is an exogenous thus unexpected event—which comes up, and the turnout depends largely upon the reactions of the actors. Such the reactions may vary within the group by the series of actions,

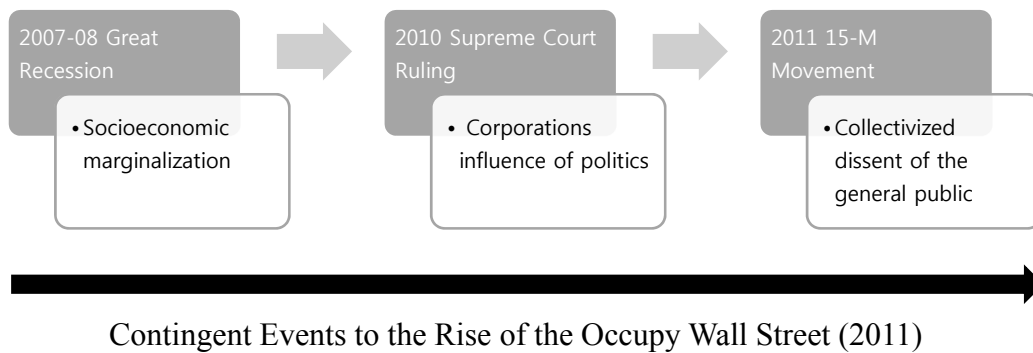
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<sup>9</sup> According to the Goldstone (1998), “Path dependence is a property of a system such that the outcome over a period of time is not determined by any particular set of initial conditions. Rather, a system that exhibits path dependency is one in which outcomes are related stochastically to initial conditions, and the particular outcome that obtains in any given “run” of the system depends on the choices or outcomes of intermediate events between the initial conditions and the outcome” (Goldstone 1998: 834). That is, while the initial conditions matter as in form of structural allowance or constraint, it does not serve as a direct cause to the turnout. Rather, it is the intermediate events—that occur in between initial conditions and the outcome—that carries the impotence within the system.

may not be a concerted action. Two, contingency suggests of a limited range of plausible options. Through such listing of characteristics, Capoccia (2015) argues that the critical juncture analysis at last returns to the study of the agency while also emphasizing the role of contingency in between.

By institution, it signifies rules and organization (Streeck and Thelen 2005). In the case of the research, the unit of analysis is the OWS. Through observing in such context, it allows the analysis regarding the decision-making process and collective behaviors. It is, therefore, a constructive approach—which primarily bases in direct observation. The research’s level of analysis divides into the macro-historical and micro-historical analysis. The research, at a macro-historical analysis, adopts the following critical junctures: 2007-08 Great Recession, 2008 Subprime Mortgage Crisis, and 15-M Movement (2011); at a micro-historical analysis, 2011 Occupy Wall Street’s internal arrangements—as the agencies. Each critical juncture explains the rise and the formation with OWS.

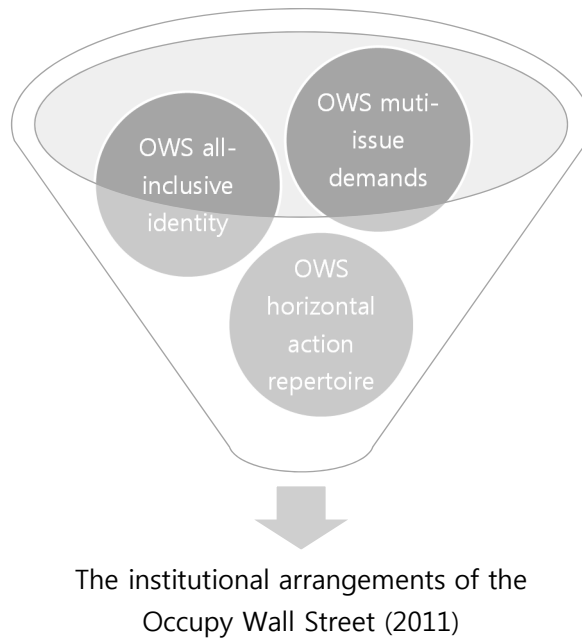
[Figure 1] Contingent Events to the Rise of the Occupy Wall Street



The significance with each critical juncture explicates, which historical events led to the rise and the institutional development of the OWS movement. In chronological order, 2007-08 Great Recession, 2010 Supreme Court ruling in *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010), and 2011 15-M Movement are reviewed in-depth. While each case conveys a different message to the rise of the OWS, all of the cases demonstrate the rise, and practice of ‘public dissent’ vis-à-vis the “broken” system.

To explain the endogenous factors to the internal institutionalization, the micro-historical analysis—on the formation of the OWS arrangement with value, identity, and collective action—helps to fathom the process of the development with given institutional arrangements.

[Figure 2] The Institutional Arrangements of the Occupy Wall Street



The institutional arrangements of the OWS movement derive from the OWS characteristics of, being all-inclusive, forming multi-issue demands, and having the horizontal action repertoire. Such the characteristics—both individually and collectively—serve the essential role in the study of the OWS agents that led to the institutionalization through planning and practice throughout the OWS movement.

## Chapter 4. Macro-historical Analysis of the Occupy Wall Street

### 4.1. Broken Democracy and Rebuild the Public Space

The Occupy Wall Street (2011) tackled the overwhelming presence of sociopolitical injustice with the American Politics. At first, the OWS perceived the corporatism as pervading through the political sphere as of the Supreme Court ruling on *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010)—which guaranteed the corporate personhood in the American Politics. The OWS perceived the ruling not only as a sample of injustice but also, a factor to further breed the injustice. As the corporate personhood was legitimately ruled, the corporations have begun to influence American politics far more than the general 99%. The introduction of the super PACs<sup>10</sup> as of the 2010 ruling was that it enabled the independent expenditure of super PACs on advertising the political candidates that they support freely from amount limitation—since considered as outside spending. Previously, traditional PACs<sup>11</sup> were allowed to provide the only limited amount

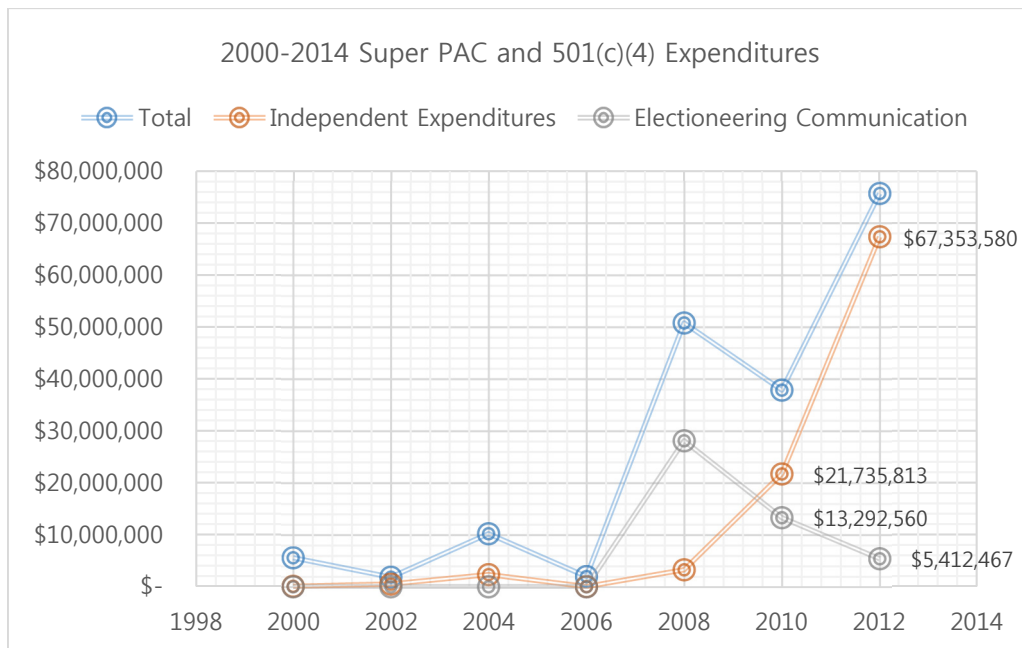
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<sup>10</sup> By definition, a Super PAC is an independent expenditure-only political committee. Refer to the Federal Election Commission. "Quick Answers to PAC Questions." *Federal Election Commission*. Federal Election Commission, 2012. Web. 20 Dec. 2016.

<sup>11</sup> By definition, the political action committee refers to separate segregated funds (SSFs) and non-connected committee (NC). SSFs are "administered by corporations, labor unions, membership organizations or trade associations" (Federal Election Commission). SSFs can ask for contributions from individuals related to the organizations; and, the contribution may contribute directly to the candidates within legal boundary.

to the campaign by law<sup>12</sup>. With the introduction of the super PACs, the independent expenditure rose as follows:

[Figure 3] 2000-2014 Super PAC and 501(c)(4) Expenditures



Source: Keller, Michael. "The Rise of the Political Nonprofit." The Daily Beast. The Center for Responsible Politics, 17 Sept. 2012. Web. 06 Jan. 2017.

Before all, the independent-expenditure only super PACs are accounted in the sphere of outside spending. Following the Supreme Court decisions on *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010) and *SpeechNow v. FEC* (2010), the independent expenditure rose by a solid rate from 2010 to 2012. In the case of the 2012

<sup>12</sup> According to the 2016 updated guide for contribution limit, individuals are allowed to contribute \$2,700 per election to a federal candidate and \$5,000 per calendar year to a PAC.

Presidential election, the outside spending<sup>13</sup> amounted up to approximately \$549,938,432—which the amount is equivalent to 22.9% of the total expenditures with 2012 presidential election<sup>14</sup>.

While the contribution from Super PACs is independent-expenditure only, the corporation mobilized the employees and families as a sum of bundles to pay support to the candidates; and, by law, the name and employers ought to be disclosed, it provides an ironic leeway for corporations to use back-door to enter the elections. For instance, amongst top contributors to the 2012 Obama (D) campaign and the Romney (R) campaign, were employers from: Microsoft Corps (\$815,645; Obama), Google Inc. (\$804,249; Obama), Goldman Sachs (\$1,045,454; Romney), Bank of America (\$1,017,652; Romney), Morgan Stanley (\$920,805; Romney), JP Morgan Chase & Co. (\$835,596; Romney), and Wells Fargo (\$693,576; Romney)<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> The cluster of the outside spending is exclusive to the methodology of the Center for Responsive Politics, it includes: independent expenditures, electioneering communications, non-party committees, non-disclosing groups, single-candidate groups.

<sup>14</sup> Author has drawn data from: The Center for Responsive Politics. "2012 Presidential Race." *Open Secrets*. The Center for Responsive Politics, 25 Mar. 2013. Web. 20 Dec. 2016. Beforehand, the Center for Responsive Politics drew 2012 election data from the Federal Election Commission on March 25, 2013. Note: The proportion calculation derives from author's equation: divide the total sum of the outside spending for the Democratic and Republic parties by the total spending of both parties.

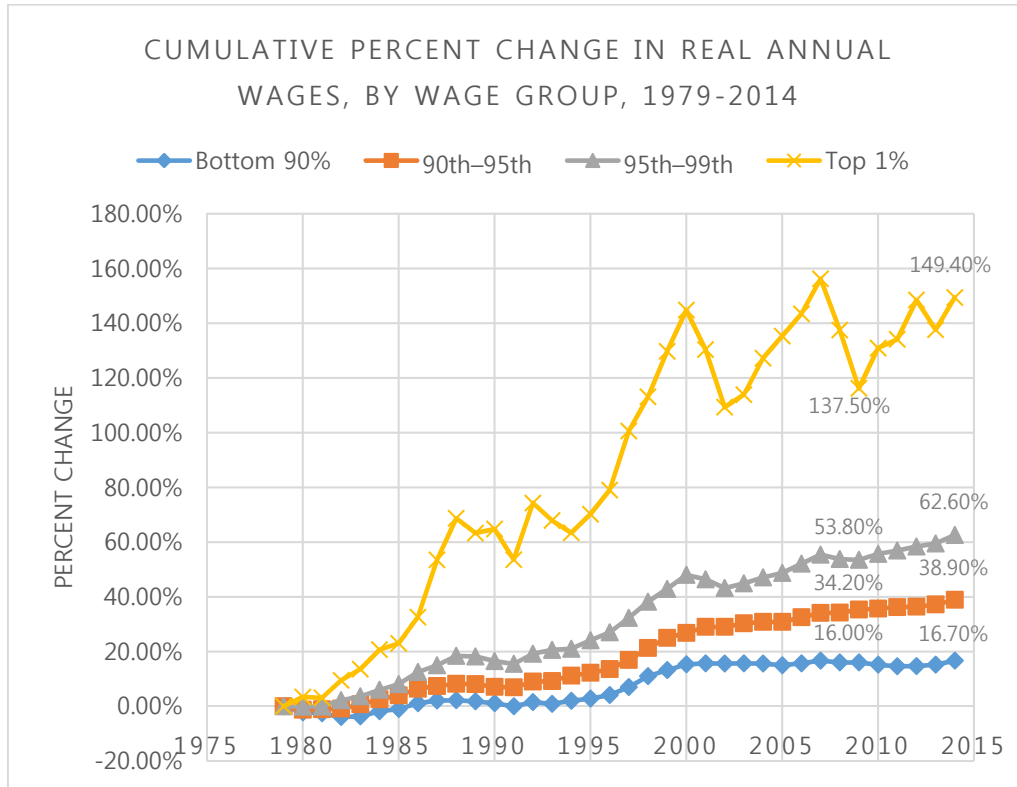
<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*



Total expenditure from 2012 presidential and congressional election cycle was near \$7 billion; among \$7 billion, independent expenditure marked more than \$1.25 billion (Federal Election Committee 2013). Thus, overall PACs spending was about 17.9% in proportion. The OWS rhetoric arises with ‘money’ becoming more than the medium of capitalism and pervading into the sphere of public space. In other words, with ill-turned 21<sup>st</sup>-century representative democracy, the general public stands on the verge of losing the control over the system to the cliché *money politics* of the 1% or the PACs of the corporations.

Moreover, the economy downturn has proven that ‘losing the control over the politics’ means the greater marginalization. Following the 2007-08 financial crisis or also known by the name Great Recession, the general public has noticed of such a connection—which was in place for a longer while. That is, it was not necessarily the year of 2008 when the gap started widening, rather it was when the general public started to feel and think about the ‘marginalization.’ According to the Social Security Administration data on annual wage growth, the top 1% growth rate continues to grow at skyrocketing rate even during the 07-08 crisis, whereas the bottom 90% growth rate stays the same around 16% growth for the last 15 years (2000-2015); the graph looks as follows:

[Figure 4] Cumulative Percent Change in Real Annual Wages



Source: Kopczuk, Wojciech, Emmanuel Saez, and Jae Song. "Earnings Inequality and Mobility in the United States: Evidence from Social Security Data since 1937\*." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125.1 (2010): 91-128. Print. Social Security Administration: Wage statistics.

According to the Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission (FCIC),  
*deregulation redux*<sup>16</sup> and *subprime lending*<sup>17</sup> were the major root causes of the  
 2007-08 economic and financial crisis. More importantly, bottom 90% or the

<sup>16</sup> Find chapter 4. Deregulation redux (pp. 52 – 66) for a complete analysis in Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission. *The Financial Crisis Inquiry Report: Final Report of the National Commission on the Causes of the Financial and Economic Crisis in the United States*. Washington, DC: Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission, 2011. Print

<sup>17</sup> Find chapter 5. Subprime lending (pp. 67 – 80) in *loc. cit.*

ordinary Americans were crisis-stricken at most. Deregulation of the banks and ever-growing scope, the size of financial institutions since the 1990s and subprime lending occurred not in coincidence, albeit in causation. Likewise, one of the main OWS demands concentrates on reinstating the *Glass-Steagall Act* (1933)<sup>18</sup>—which was overturned in 1999 by the Congress. In alignment, the FCIC report draws the analysis that governmental deregulations on Banks and Wall Street were in the driver’s seat as the 2007-08 global financial crisis<sup>19</sup>.

In details, the FCIC explains that the series of deregulatory legislations passed during the 1990s led to the growth of the financial sector; in reality, 74 cases of megamerger occurred between banks with asset size of more than \$10 billion each (FCIC 2011: 52-53). In accordance, the size of the banking industry—indiscriminate to the type, grew tremendously in a decade from the late 1990s. As in words of the former chairperson of the Fed, Alan Greenspan, the ‘self-interest, private participants’ regulations’ mechanism was told to be in

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<sup>18</sup> Glass-Steagall Act (1933) was passed in reaction to the Great Depression—when the public trust in banking system collapsed as the American economy and stock market lost its control. Maues (2013) writes that the Congress was much concerned that the cause of the crash with banking system had to do with the “incurring losses from volatile equity markets”. Adopted as an emergency legislation, the Glass-Steagall Act (1933) was designed to separate commercial banking from investment banking—the Wall Street in purpose to regulate banks’ use of the assets in a safer mode. However, as of the Riegle-Neal Act (1994) and Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act (1999), the Congress overturned the regulatory provisions for the blossoming banking industry. For detailed information, See Maues, Julia. "Banking Act of 1933, Commonly Called Glass-Steagall - A Detailed Essay on an Important Event in the History of the Federal Reserve." *Federal Reserve History*. Federal Reserve System, 22 Nov. 2013. Web. 21 Dec. 2016.

<sup>19</sup> See *Conclusions of the Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission* from page xv to xxviii in *loc. cit.*

a function. Both the commercial and investment banks began to invest more fiercely with higher risk in acknowledgment, and took less care about the leverage ratio rose with Federal Reserve's supporting rhetoric "the banks are too big to fail." At last, the private investments to the real estate and stock market rushed in with the Fed's low-interest rate policy (1999-2004). However, as the housing bubble popped in 2006, the median 60% Americans lost average of 65% in wealth since the real estate was the largest source of wealth; whereas, the top 1% Americans—who reserved much of their wealth in stock market—were not as badly affected (Gilson and Perot 2011). It was too late when the financial sector was told to be overrated than it was (FCIC 2011: 64-66).

In speaking of the subprime mortgage crisis, it all began with the Fed's low-interest rate. According to the FCIC, the housing market has seen a golden age with an annual rise of 5.2% between 1995 and 2000 and 11.5% between 2000 and 2005 (FCIC 2011: 83). With low interest and lowered mortgage rate, the consumer spending also rose above 100% of GDP in average during the years (FCIC 2011: 87); and, average Americans were attracted to buying homes—in the hope that price of real estate would keep jumping. However, as of 2004, the tragedy began to surface. The monetary policy encountered a turnabout as the Fed decided to raise the interest rate. As a result, the prime and subprime mortgage rate appreciated along. The most affected were the

subprime mortgage rate which appreciated at a tremendous rate. The characteristic of a subprime loan is that often low-income people—who present high risks to the lenders, applies to receive a mortgage. The domestic lenders resell the subprime mortgage in tranches to the investment banks in the Wall Streets, who then resells those to one another.

In a brief understanding, 80% of the low-income subprime mortgage borrowers selected adjustable-rate mortgages rather than fixed-rate mortgages, which led to the fluctuating rate of already-high interest rate. The borrowers defaulted as it rose to a tremendous rate. Also, at the Wall Streets, the investment banks that bought a significant amount of collateralized debt obligation and mortgage-backed securities went to bankrupt as well. Thus, when the crisis occurred, the financial firms went down alongside with low-income people, who were unable to repay the mortgage interests. The financial institutions (banks and credit rating companies) allurements—backed with government policies—to draw public investments led to the piling debt of the general Americans.

As in norm of 'too big to fail,' the government bailed out the financial institutions (Fannie Mae, Freddie Mac, JP Morgan and Chase, and so forth) in 2008. It sparked public criticisms from the taxpayers—who were also the

victims. In the eyes of the OWS participants, the money came out straight from the pocket of the general public, yet went into the pocket of the millionaire. More so directly, the sub-prime mortgage crisis (2007) led to millions of the bottom 90%—whose main source of the asset were home and car—to the street, while the government was busy to save big industries—for example, automobile sector, and banks, going default.

To the ground of the OWS formation, were the causal relationship of the public underrepresentation in the political decision-making process and subsequent, ever-worsening marginalization. It was not simply a victim rhetoric; rather it was an ownership rhetoric as the OWS poster “We are the 99% This is our country. We will occupy it,” suggests. While the historical junctures are with 2010 Supreme Court ruling and 2008 financial crisis, the demands go further from political, economic sphere. The challenge is formed on the very idea of ‘fighting back against the corrosive power [...] over the democratic process’ (Occupywallst 2011). The suggested model of ‘democratic process’ was to bring back the topics of politics to the public sphere—where, the ‘people’ discuss and debate for the consensus process. The wording of the 99% signifies the general public; the idea suggests of an alternative society—of which value prioritization does not occur on the basis of money possession, yet in a democratic process.

As a matter of argument, the OWS is somewhat varied from the new social movement occurred in the 1960s in Western Europe. The OWS occurred reactively to the exogenous environment of economic recession and implicit allowance of cozy relations between the politics and business by the judicatory ruling, whereas the new social movements in the 1960s had manifested more so proactive, endogenous characteristics within a relatively affluent stage of societies. To put concisely, the American-interventionism proved to be ineffective, and even advancing the socioeconomic polarization.

*Noblesse oblige* mechanism was missing in American democracy, and the system was only reinforcing the corporatism—even when it had failed in 2008. The OWS arose within the combination of the sociopolitical and the socio-economic concerns, and the movement founded the root cause with underrepresentation of the general 99%. Ergo, the OWS demonstrates of a unique characteristic with, economic regression yielding to the public coalescing on common concern with public underrepresentation in American politics. The OWS in relative manners sought to occupy with the adoption of direct democratic mechanisms.

The birth of horizontal public forum at the Zuccotti Park is clear evidence to the self-limiting NSM. The OWS did not advance further than

occupying the Zuccotti Park—the privately owned public park which once was public *Liberty Park*. The Zuccotti Park is a symbolic representation of American public losing the ground in the 1% led society. The battle—over historicity that Touraine (1981) suggests was indeed the theme with the OWS fight against the 1% system—in which 1% broadly entangles the polarization perpetrators under American corporatism and the broken democracy—where the norm of *res publica* is much diluted with the medium of *money*.

As in early take-off stage, Adbusters—a Canadian-based not-for-profit media organization—posted the first OWS article on February 28, 2011. The ‘Culture Jammers HQ’ wrote: “the crisis of capitalism is deepening. Hundreds of millions of people around the world are waking up to the fact that their future does not compute [...] that their lives will never be ending series of ecological, financial, political, and personal crises [...] and that if we don’t rise up and start fighting for a different kind of future, we won’t have a future” (Culture Jammers HQ, 2011). The initial organization sought to emphasize the inevitability of the social conflict over the current and future crisis that is in an abstract sense encroaching upon the general public.

The notion of ‘crisis’ was, in other words, the description of livelihood infringement. A simple word of crisis inflamed the public. A month later, the



Adbusters gathered constituencies with advocacy poster “#occupywallstreet”—no other words, but plain #occupywallstreet. The message nonetheless was well transmitted to the general public—through which, approximately 20,000 protesters gathered on the first day. The OWS’ suggested goal of radical transformations—driven by the notion of a plurality of voices—was well-shared, largely indebted to the influences of the Arab Spring and the 15-M Movement.

Is the OWS a revolutionary movement as the Arab Spring with the goal of displacement and radical goals to change the system with a method of cliché violence? The answer would be both yes and no. The OWS for sure manifests the revolutionary components in terms of the broad scope of a challenge. While the OWS at the earlier stage attempted to narrow down on a single demand, the result has shown ambivalent positions among the public in such an effort. Thus, the leaderless organization gave up on such an effort; and, let it flow as it is presupposed to be. On this, media commentaries, politicians, and scholars critiqued for not following an essential step for a normal movement; and, many predicted a failure. The result was a counterevidence. The mobilization expanded; and, received a nationwide node for having had left the OWS as an open-ended.

Meanwhile, the OWS suggested no displacement, yet radical goals. It was a different kind than the 21<sup>st</sup>-century revolution. Fundamentally, the problem in nature was a mismatch. Unlike the Arab Spring, the OWS gathered within a democratic environment; by democratic, the association was not in any way prohibited by the greater force—let it be government or insurgent forces. Thus, the goal was not to place democracy, albeit to fix the democracy. Within such a mission, displacement is an unfitting motive. Rather, all-around systematic reforms and amputating the financial and business connection from politics. It is quite similar in such a format of abstraction to the Spaniard 15-M movement.

The 15-M movement (2011) served as an endogenous motivation for the OWS to rise in the New York. To introduce the movement briefly, the viral movement of *Los Indignados* <sup>20</sup> (in English, “The Outraged”) received nationwide support from the youth—who joined the coalitions of online and offline networks, such as the *Real democracia real ya* (in English, “real democracy now”) and the *Juventud sin Futuro* (in English, “Youth without Future”). Los indignados gathered on reactive purpose to the governmental austerity measures—which occurred in response to the 2009 European debt crisis,

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<sup>20</sup> The 15-M movement is also entitled as the anti-austerity movement and the indignados movement.

and the infringement on negative rights of the Spaniards. Much of its popularity was due to the growing breach between institutional politics and livelihood of the youth. Mostly organized by youth<sup>21</sup>, the movement's slogans were: *No les vote* (Do not vote for them), *No somos mercancía en manos de políticos y banqueros* (We are not products in the hands of the politicians and bankers).

Its anti-austerity goals were divided into five sets: 1) No more euro to bail out the banks. Citizen audit of the debt. We will not pay for the illegitimate debt caused by those who provoked this crisis. 2) No cuts in public spending in education, public health, and welfare budget. No to the privatization of public services. 3) fair working hours and decent wages, and no to the precarization. Withdrawal of the labor reform—that extended the retirement age to 67. 4) right (guaranteed access) to the affordable and decent housing. Cancellation of collateral payment in case of foreclosures. Promotion of housing cooperatives. Provision of the social rental housing. 5) Fiscal reform for fair and just redistribution of the wealth, which we all produced. Universal basic income for the citizens (DRY 2012). The fear arose from the possible austerity measures which the Spaniards knew it would mean shrinking the size of the public welfare,

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<sup>21</sup> According to the report *Especial 15-M*, “*Grafico 1: Edad*” shows that composition of the movement is much crowded between the age of 19 and 30; moreover, the 70 per cent of the participants are studying in, and graduated from university. From: Calvo, Kerman, Teresa Gómez-Pas-Trana, and Luis Mena. “Especial 15-M.” *Zoom Político - Laboratorio De Alternativas* Apr. 2011: 1-28. Print. Pg. 7

and permanent downsizing of the political and civil rights (as previewed with *Sinde Law*<sup>22</sup>).

The main tactic of the 15-M movement was occupying *La Puerta del Sol* until the May 22, 2011, the election day. The 15-M movement manifested built-in provision of non-institutional and counter-hegemonic culture—which centered on decentralized initiatives of self-organization (Lopez and San Juan 2014: 1). While the *Podemos* movement (2014) established a left-wing political party, the non-institutional culture at *La Puerta del Sol* served as the root-cause to the booming of the party membership itself. The non-institutional culture was, in other words, the public forum—which functioned as the stage for the meta-political process of sharing perceived dilemmas.

The OWS and the 15-M movements demonstrate common trait—that is different from the 1960s NSMs. Rather than being a proactive movement—during the golden age of economic affluence, the OWS and the 15-M movements were formed on the ground of reactive posture to the economic crisis—perceived to have caused by institutional politics, which was far distanced from the general

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<sup>22</sup> The Content of the *Sinde Law* (enacted on December 30, 2011) restricts the non-permission usage of copyrighted photos, contents by allowing judicial review on the whole of the website upon the request of the copyright holder; within the youth population, the law was perceived to be a governmental pervasion into public space of internet, which led to the message *No les vote* went viral on social networking services. See, El País. "El Congreso Aprueba La 'ley Sinde' Con El Apoyo De PSOE, PP Y CiU." El País. El País, 15 Feb. 2011. Web. 29 Dec. 2016.

public. In summary, Johnson and Suliman (2015) writes, “2011 protest movements, linking economic crisis to a crisis of democracy, shifted the normative question of the equilibrium of the economic system to the survival of democracy as such” (Johnson and Suliman 2015: 193). While the rhetoric behind the rise of the 2011 movements was different, the 1960s Western movements and the 2011 movement share the commonality with non-institutional, counter-hegemonic culture. The OWS movement was motivated by the 15-M movement—which had shown a high possibility of permeation among the public. Not only the movement rhetoric was shared, the tactic of occupation, the non-institutional and counter-hegemonic cultures was also in common.

At a macro-historical level of analysis, the OWS demonstrates a distinctive characteristic in terms of the social condition. While the 1960s Western NSMs arose in the condition of relative economic prosperity, the 2011 OWS occurred in the status of absolute economic recession. Thus, it hints that the values (or, demands) that the OWS manifest would be quite distinguished than the 1960s NSMs. Meanwhile, the OWS received a friendly influence from the 15-M movement—which has proven cliché the potential of the non-institutional, all-around challenge. Similar to the Spaniard movement, the OWS rhetoric was built upon the logic of public underrepresentation in politics; and, the public dilemmas were introduced hereupon. To the roots, were the direct

causes that brought OWS to live. Those were the 2007-08 Great Recession and Subprime Mortgage Crisis, and the 2010 Supreme Court ruling in the *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010).

## Chapter 5. Micro-historical Analysis of the Occupy Wall Street

### 5.1. The Hybrid Values: Multi-faceted Demands of the Occupy Wall Street

The OWS movement attempted to narrow down on ‘one demand’ for the sake of efficiency. Nonetheless, on- and off-line endeavors to narrow down on ‘one demand’ evanesced with an open-ending result. On July 2011, the OWS movement had created an online post on Facebook. On official Facebook web page #OccupyWallStreet, the poll ‘What is our one demand?’ was set up to define ‘one demand.’ Online participants were allowed to cast a vote by own preference—or to add a new criterion; the result was as follows:

[Table 3] Vote Counts and Share of the OWS Demand Poll

List of Demands	Vote Count	Proportion
Revoke corporate personhood	3086	24.77
Raise taxes on the top 2%	1173	9.42
Abolish Capitalism	940	7.55
Public Health Care	693	5.56
Tax Wall Street	655	5.26
End the War, withdraw from Iraq, Afghan, etc.	646	5.19
End Corporate Welfare	634	5.09
Resource-based Economy	631	5.07
presidential commission to separate money from politics	618	4.96
Close half of America’s 1000 military bases	475	3.81
democracy, not corporatocracy	313	2.51
Four Hour Workday	310	2.49
Legalize marijuana	275	2.21
End the Federal Reserve Profit Empire	262	2.10
Eliminate corporate tax loopholes	232	1.86
a shrubbery	183	1.47
Put those responsible for crisis in Jail	182	1.46

Separation of church and state	180	1.44
demilitarize the police	175	1.40
dramatic campaign finance reform	164	1.32

Source: #OccupyWallStreet. (2011). “What is our one demand?” Retrieved 3 January 2014, from <http://facebook.com/events/144937025580428>.

The demands varied in types from taxing rich to ending the war. Overall, the degree of demand variation is explicit. To the question where the division all began, the survey provides the notion of different order of prioritization. To be precise, the OWS movement comprised of all-around issues. The OWS movement cannot be answered through a class approach, but rather with the logic of plurality—of the public. Not only it embraces the material but also the post-material concerns.

The material concerns were far-stretched from traditional income concern; the OWS demand, by data, speaks of *your* (the 1%) not *my* (the 99%) income. Mostly formed on the political matter of money, the perceived issue arises with current taxation mechanism—which further enhances the political and economic marginalization among the population, not functioning in its job of wealth redistribution. The underlying concern divides into two parts: a medium of money acts far more than a traditional medium of exchange; and, the money 1) functions as the medium of cronyism between politics and corporations, and thus 2) functions to advance the return of capital.



Within such a concern of expanding norm of money, the top priorities of demands—for instance, revoke corporate personhood, raise taxes on the top 2%, abolish capitalism, and tax Wall Street—are built thereupon. At a glance, many of such ideas are not concrete to suggest alternative answers. Nonetheless, the concerns on changing the norm of money are well embedded. The focus of the material concerns is that the money is halting the politics of general public and their voices in the representative democracy.

Evidently, the call for revoking the corporate personhood is the only demand that most of the OWS participants agreed upon and that OWS network put out a resolution on behalf of the movement. In the *Resolution to End Corporate Personhood* (2011), the NYCGA called out on the corporations as the main source of destruction to the American communities, economy, democracy, and environment. Also, the Supreme Court's recognition of the corporations—that in nature seek only for profits empowered the corporate money to *intervene to destruct* the constitutional and human rights of the *real people*. The resolution called for the communitarian efforts to engage in political activities to reverse the Court's decision by amending the Constitution and adding a convention of the States at the state-level approach.

Meanwhile, the post-material concerns were also elaborated, albeit with not as much momentum. The post-material concerns were related to the health, education, and environmental matter. Whereas the material concerns were presupposed among the participants, the post-material concerns were *de facto* reliant on individualized efforts by the participating organizations. For instance, *350.org* and *Occupy Nukes* were independent bodies that each raised the environmental and peace issues alongside with the mainstream message of the 99%.

For example, the *Occupy Nukes* protested against weapon laboratories, which produced hazardous barrels of radioactive materials into the environment at Los Alamos, New Mexico. Also, *Occupy Nukes* raised the peace concern with further production of nuclear weapons. The idea expanded out from New Mexico to the NYC General Assembly. Likewise, the *350.org* organization also expanded their fossil fuel effect on climate change. The movement sought to stop extraction, and limit carbon emission into the air. Such the individualized efforts led to the gradual acceptance as a consensual demand at the General Assembly. In the *Declaration of the Occupation of New York City* (2011), one amongst the 23 listed concerns was about the nuclear weapon, and two amongst the 23 were about the environmental concerns of oil usage. Such a broad range

of demands hints that the background of the participants would demonstrate such a trend accordingly.

Overall, the OWS mobilization arose in the nexus of various demands. In specifics, the participants were divided by their ordering of preferences. Such the allowance of individualization with demand led to the activation of varied approaches. At the base of the OWS, is the core agreement on being the representative of the 99% and simultaneously, sharing the burden of the 99%. In categorizations, it is plausible to depict the OWS movement into four categories: political, economic, social/cultural and environmental—of demands. None of the categories work independently from one another. All of its categories function under the joint perception of systematic dysfunction. The demands may categorize as the chart below:

[Table 4] Categorizations of the OWS Demands

POLITICAL	ECONOMIC	SOCIAL/CULTURAL	ENVIRONMENTAL
✚ Revoke corporate personhood	✚ Raise taxes on the top 2%	✚ Nationalize health care	✚ Ban fracking
✚ End the wars, withdraw from Iraq, Afghan, etc.	✚ Removal of a tax deduction, subsidies, and loopholes for any corporations or entities generation income in	✚ National repeal of the capital punishment	✚ Legislation to establish independently funded program for safe, reusable, renewable, and carbon neutral sources of energy
✚ Presidential Commission to separate money and politics		✚ Free education (kindergarten through college)	
		✚ Eliminate the immense student loan debt	✚ Legislation to provide the Environmental Protection Agency
		✚ Legalize marijuana,	

✚ Separation of Church and State	✚ the U.S. Congress reclaim its sovereign ability to create money by placing the Federal Reserve under Treasury	✚ end war on drug	✚ Removal of exclusionary restrictions on immigration	✚ (EPA) the power to regulate and penalize business entities that harm environment
✚ Transparency in negotiations between the military and multi-national industrial contractors	✚ Legislation to reinstate the Glass-Steagall Act and strict enforcement of Sherman Antitrust Act	✚ Criminal penalties for business entities that exploit undocumented immigrants	✚ Require mandatory labeling of all genetically modified organisms (GMO)	✚ Legislation to regulate carbon dioxide emission
✚ Outlaw Lobbyism	✚ Return to Hamiltonian “fair trade” policies and tariffs			
✚ Demilitarize the police	✚ Repeal the 16 <sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution			
✚ De-privatize all prisons				
✚ Repeal of the Patriot Act (2001)				

Source: Compiled by the author based on 1) #OccupyWallStreet. (2011). “What is our one demand?” Retrieved January 3, 2014, from <http://facebook.com/events/144937025580428>; 2) The 99% Declaration. (2012). “A New Declaration: Petition for a Redress of Grievances” Retrieved July 17, 2016; 3) #OccupyWallStreet. (2011). “Declaration of the Occupation of New York City” Retrieved July 15, 2016.

The OWS movement was a constellation of various interests.

Originally, the OWS organization framed the OWS demand as “we want what everyone wants: the ability to have a home, to make a livelihood, to have a

family or community, to live free. We all want economic and social justice” (NYCGA 2011). As long as the demand was a concern that regards to the economic and social justice, and regards to the ordinary livelihood, the issue proponent could expound the proposal through the public forum. Hence, the proposal depends on the consensus process and individual mobilization within the network to become one of the OWS official demands. To the core of the effort, were often the young, educated people—who urged for economic and social injustice in various themes.

For instance, the environmental groups—*The Sierra Club*, *350.org*, *Corporate Ethics International*, *Natural Resources Defense Council*, *National Wildlife Federation*, *Friends of the Earth*, *Greenpeace* and *Rainforest Action Network*—formed No Tar Sands Oil Campaign (2010) to stop the project from advancing into actual operation (Zelman 2010). However, as the project seem to progress, Bill McKibben the co-founder of *350.org* and environmental activists protested at the White House for the Presidential desertion of the Keystone XL Pipeline projection with non-violence. The *Keystone XL Pipeline Protest* (2011) raised the concerns on 1) risk of the oil spill and 2) more carbon dioxide emissions than the conventional production (NYT 2011). The protest emphasized the possibility of human-made catastrophe; at last, the protest translated and allied with the OWS in mutual aid relations. To the core of the

No Tar Sands Oil Campaign (2010) was the young, educated people, who study the possibilities of the oil spills. In fact, the campaign was much propagandized by the professors, environmentalists, and activists across the nation<sup>23</sup>.

The OWS movement bespeaks of the hybrid of the post-material and material values. At the bottom, exists the general agreements on the underrepresentation of the general public within the sphere of institutional politics, and the notion of jeopardized livelihood of the general public. The material values zero in on the 1% taxation and corporate personhood; the perceived dilemma hereof is that the 1% has overwhelming control of politics, not the general public. By the Court's ruling to guarantee corporate personhood, the OWS sees that the democracy is not representing the voice of the public.

Meanwhile, the post-material values tell of the 1% brutality that jeopardizes the livelihood of the general public. Precisely, the post-material values are nonmaterial in nature, and reared by the future-oriented concerns. Important to note, the post-material values—especially, the environmental issues—were often induced by the individual organizations from the OWS network of networks.

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<sup>23</sup> Refer to the section 'participants' for the more information at: Tar Sands Action. "Tar Sands Action - Participants." Tar Sands Action. Tar Sands Action, 13 Feb. 2010. Web. 11 Jan. 2017.

## 5.2. The Non-class and All-inclusive OWS Identity

The OWS identity was all-inclusive and non-class. As a matter of fact, putting OWS identity into a word or two is unfeasible. In a most generous description, the participants were educated, fairly young population. In terms of the income range, the participants vary from low-income to high-income range. The participants are also politically active and have participated in political activities before and other than the OWS participation. As Offe (1985) introduces, the OWS movement denotes the NSM identity notion that the participants include old middle class, new middle class, and peripheral group; hereupon, both the material and post-material values are born. The significance of this study is to tell, how and why the wide range of interests are stated with the OWS through participants' identity analysis, and who constitutes the 99% on the ground.

To explore, the paper adopts the survey results on the OWS background. The Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (ORGS) is a public survey co-conducted by the Occupy Research Network and Data Center—Research for Justice<sup>24</sup>; thus far, the ORGS prevails

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<sup>24</sup> For the sample of the survey questions, visit: “Preliminary Findings: Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey” page with webpage address at: <http://occupyresearch.net/2012/03/23/preliminary-findings-occupy-research-demographic-and-political-participation-survey/> and click on ‘print version survey’

as one of the most reliable OWS background surveys. In total, the ORGS gathered 5074 completed responses with a few double entry questionnaires. To note, the majority of the sample (5040 or 99.3%) population are the active internet users. Few of the selected results are as follows:

[Figure 5] OWS Participants' Background

Gender			Age		
	N	Percent		N	Percent
Female	2277	52.9	Under 18	41	1.0
Male	1881	43.7	18-24	529	12.5
Transgender	45	1.0	25-44	1910	45.0
Decline to state	96	2.2	45-64	1437	33.9
Marked multiple responses	8	0.2	65 and over	324	7.6
Total	4307	100.0	Total	4241	100.0

Employment Status (double-entry may exist)		
	N	Percent
Employed full-time	1605	31.6
Student	894	17.6
Self-employed	749	14.8
Part-time	729	14.4
Unemployed	438	8.6
Retired	399	7.9
Under-Employed	388	7.6
Disabled	269	5.3
Full-time homemaker	173	3.4
Veteran	133	2.6
Temp/Per-diem	67	1.3
Seasonal	63	1.2
Armed Services (active service)	12	0.2
Other (please specify)	280	5.5
Total	6199	100.0



Annual Household Income in U.S. Dollar		
	N	Percent
No income	133	3.7
1-9,999	253	6.9
10,000-19,999	473	13.0
20,000-29,999	427	11.7
30,000-39,999	370	10.2
40,000-49,999	323	8.9
50,000-59,999	257	7.1
60,000-69,999	195	5.4
70,000-79,999	194	5.3
80,000-89,999	149	4.1
90,000-99,999	109	3.0
100,000+	458	12.6
Decline to state	300	8.2
Total	3641	100.0

Educational Attainment		
	N	Percent
No formal education	1	0.0
Grade school (grades 1-8)	7	0.2
Some high school (9-12), no degree	54	1.5
High school, completed diploma/GED	162	4.4
Some college, no degree	842	23.0
Associates degree	240	6.5
College degree (BA, BS, AB, etc.)	955	26.0
Graduate or professional school, no degree	314	8.6
Graduate or professional degree (MA, MS, MD, JD, Ph.D.)	1093	29.8
Total	3668	100.0

Class Identity		
	N	Percent
Working class	1192	29.7
Lower middle class	784	19.5
Middle class	1489	37.1
Upper middle class	503	12.5
Upper class	50	1.2
Total	4018	100.0

Source: Compiled by Author. Occupy Research and Data Center: Research for Justice. (2012). "Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (ORGS)" Retrieved on July 21, 2016, from [http://www.occupyresearch.net/archive/20130322\\_OR\\_data\\_download\\_clean7\\_mnemonics.csv](http://www.occupyresearch.net/archive/20130322_OR_data_download_clean7_mnemonics.csv).

Through observing the result, a critical question arrives at the heart of the OWS movement research: In reality, who constitutes the 99%? The data shows: in summary, on annual household income, 458 out of 3641—the second majority, reported having earned \$100,000 +. On educational attainment, 1093 out of 3668—the majority, reported having attained graduate or professional degree. Meanwhile, on class identity, 1489 out of 4018—the majority, reported belonging to middle class. The data clearly demonstrates ‘broadness’ of the group identity. In fact, 99% was never defined concretely. Rather, it remains as a describing term to the concerned groups of the society that does not belong to the powerholders of the corporatocracy—which OWS movement website describes as those who: “writes the rules of an unfair global economy.”<sup>25</sup>

In a strict income-based analysis, in the year of 2012, the richest 1% earned more than \$434,682 in terms of aggregated gross income. Ergo, in an approximation, those—that earned less than the amount is considered to be within the boundary of the 99%.

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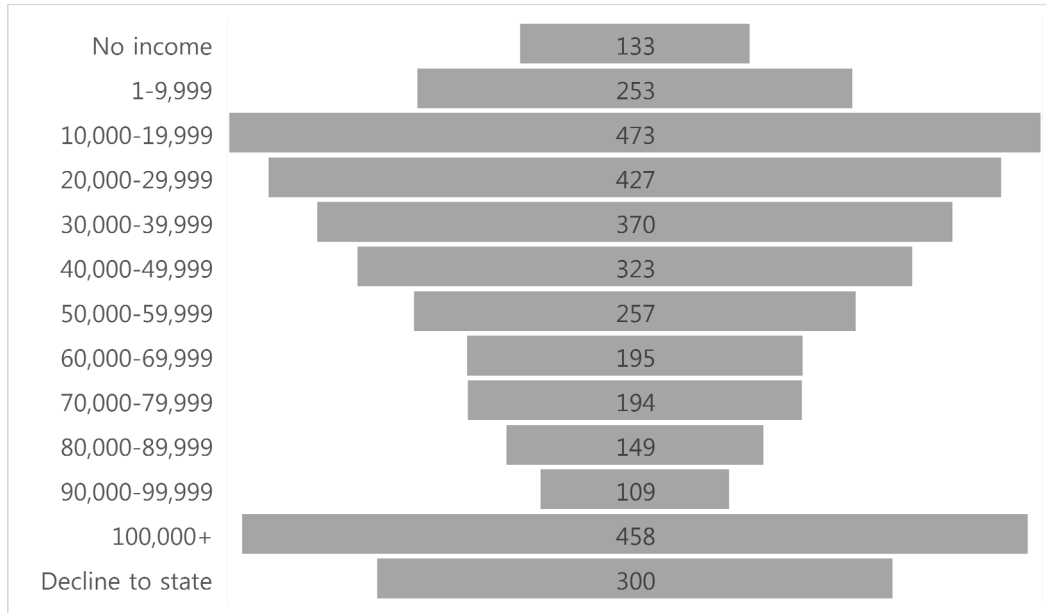
<sup>25</sup> Occupy Solidarity Network, Inc. "About." *Occupy Wall Street - We Are the 99%*. Occupy Solidarity Network, 14 July 2011. Web. 22 July 2016.

[Table 5] Summary of Federal Income Tax Data, 2012

	Number of Returns*	AGI (\$ millions)	Income Taxes Paid (\$ millions)	Group's Share of Total AGI (IRS)	Group's Share of Income Taxes	Income Split Point	Average Tax Rate
All Taxpayers	136,080,353	9,041,744	1,184,978	100.00%	100.00%		
Top 1%	1,360,804	1,976,738	451,328	21.90%	38.10%	\$434,682	22.80%
1-5%	5,443,214	1,354,206	247,215	15.00%	20.90%		18.30%
Top 5%	6,804,018	3,330,944	698,543	36.80%	58.90%	\$175,817	21.00%
5-10%	6,804,017	996,955	132,902	11.00%	11.20%		13.30%
Top 10%	13,608,035	4,327,899	831,445	47.90%	70.20%	\$125,195	19.20%
10-25%	20,412,053	1,933,778	192,601	21.40%	16.30%		10.00%
Top 25%	34,020,088	6,261,677	1,024,046	69.30%	86.40%	\$73,354	16.40%
25-50%	34,020,089	1,776,123	128,017	19.60%	10.80%		7.20%
Top 50%	68,040,177	8,037,800	1,152,063	88.90%	97.20%	\$36,055	14.30%
Bottom 50%	68,040,177	1,003,944	32,915	11.10%	2.80%	\$36,055	3.30%

Source: Internal Revenue Service. (2012) "Individual Income Tax Rates and Tax Shares"  
Retrieved on July 21, 2016, from: <http://www.irs.gov/uac/SOI-Tax-Stats-Individual-Income-Tax-Rates-and-Tax-Shares>.

[Figure 6] Distribution Chart on OWS Self-Identified Annual Household Income



Source: Occupy Research and Data Center: Research for Justice. (2012). "Annual Household Income in U.S. Dollar" *Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (ORGS)* Retrieved on July 21, 2016, from: [http://www.occupyresearch.net/archive/20130322\\_OR\\_data\\_download\\_clean7\\_mnemonics.csv](http://www.occupyresearch.net/archive/20130322_OR_data_download_clean7_mnemonics.csv).

If class stratification is the rhetoric of its mobilization, it is easy to imagine the participants of the OWS movement were likely to lean towards the bottom end regarding income level. Nevertheless, as seen from the figure 6, participants were everywhere in terms of income level. More interestingly, 458 participants had reported being in a group of \$100,000 +, which the number is only second to the \$10,000 – 19,999 level. Roughly, one in ten participants were among top 10-25% of the income level or higher.

What it suggests is that the uniting force was not only the economic difficulties. Simply, such clear dispersion of participants' background cannot be answered in such a fashion. Herein, the question arises: why were the top 10-25% of the income level drawn into the movement? The reasons are likely to lay elsewhere than just the economic difficulties.

For example, Peter Schiff—the principal of the Euro Pacific Capital—was one of the quasi-supporters of the movement; he publicized his viewpoint that he believes in the value of the OWS movement while he finds the target of the movement ought to have posed towards the government interventionism, not towards the capitalism. In his interview with the 99% at Zuccotti Park, he stated: “[...] if there is a bank that is going to fail, I said, you let it fail. You let the shareholders lose money, let the bondholders lose money because if you bail them out now, it's a moral hazard. And, we are just going to get more of that bad behaviors in the future. You know, capitalism means private losses and private profits. It does not mean private profits and socialized losses. [...] Banks are keeping interest rate artificially low to prop up the speculative activity on Wall Street. What we actually need in this country is higher interest rates, not lower interest rates, because that will take the money out of Wall Street, and put it back on main street [businesses]” (Schiff 2011).

Schiff pointed out that the anger towards the system is misleading, and rather, he makes a proposition that the creator of such a cronyism is due to the existence of the big government. Moreover, he finds the resolution with making the government small again, so that the government will not guarantee payments for failure as did with Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac—which, according to Schiff, was an intervention that socialized the losses.

On the one hand, Robert Halper—the former New York Mercantile Exchange (NYME) vice chairman—donated a single-largest amount, \$20,000, to help the OWS movement to launch. In his interview with J. Goodman from *The New York Times*, he stated that his motive of the donation was on his concern on health care. However, as the OWS movement went far more than so, Halper mentioned that, the progress of the movement made him think about “the people who have money—they should pay something more, whether that is in taxes or somewhere else” (J. Goodman 2011).

Put asides the income variation, the ‘level of participation’ data also tells a similar story. From the beginning, the OWS movement was built by politically-active occupiers. Looking at the below chart on the association of the participants, among 4537 respondents, 67.1% reported to belong to a nonprofit organization; among 4296 respondents, 39.8% reported to belong to a voluntary

association; among 4452 respondents, 43.2% reported to belong to a social justice organization; and, so forth. Such information manifests that the OWS movement is an accurate representation of 'dense network.'

As a matter of fact, the OWS was a compacted network of organizations. Movements, such as *Wolf PAC*, *Rebuild the Dream*, *OurWalmart* were born as a community- or state- level organizations to develop and actualize the OWS demands. It served as supplementary, or even complementary organizations to the OWS movement. The cases like *Student Power*, *Rebuild the Dream*, *OurWalmart* are the representations of the OWS individualized efforts—which drew onto the institutional approach. For instance, *Rebuild the Dream* has worked to end skyrocketing federal student loan interest rate. To alleviate such an issue, it has gathered over “330,000 petitions and letters, wrote 3,200 opinion pieces for their local newspaper and created a map with over 1,100 stories of student debt”, as an effort to make it a national headline. In the end, 113<sup>th</sup> Congress passed *Bipartisan Student Loan Certainty Act* (H.R. 1911); and, was enacted by the President in 2013. A collective effort has taken a long time as a debate between House and Senate continued during the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress.

*Wolf PAC*—a non-partisan action committee—was formed on the ground of reason—to ensure ‘free and fair elections.’ *Wolf PAC* urged for an action at the state legislative—to add an *Article V Convention* of State. Its action was taken by contacting the state representatives and engaging in formal negotiation. By 2016, it has succeeded to produce a result in California, Illinois, New Jersey, and Vermont. *Wolf PAC*’s 20,000 volunteers ask residents to write a simple email, letter or give a call to the State Representatives to vote ‘yes’ on the bill to end ‘corporate personhood’ at the State legislative<sup>26</sup>.

[Figure 7] OWS Participation by Data

Participation and level of participation different kinds of groups or associations.						
	N	belong, actively participate	belong but don't actively participate	used to belong, do not anymore	have never belonged	can't choose/don't know
Nonprofit Organization	4537	42.5	14.6	17.9	22.8	2.1
Another voluntary association	4296	29.4	10.4	24.8	27.8	7.5
Social Justice Organization	4452	28.8	14.4	11.8	40.0	5.1
Political Party	4592	21.6	30.9	16.3	28.8	2.4
Non-government Organization	4361	21.0	10.0	12.2	45.9	10.9

<sup>26</sup> For the details of the Volunteer’s daily log, please visit: *What IS a Wolf Attack?* Prod. Todd Jagger. Wolf PAC, 4 May 2016. Web.



Professional Association	4410	19.6	18.2	16.0	41.6	4.6
Cultural Groups	4314	19.5	10.7	13.4	48.5	7.9
Affinity Group	4295	14.6	5.4	8.6	48.5	22.8
Church or Religious Organization	4441	14.6	8.3	37.0	38.4	1.7
Sports group or teams	4296	8.9	3.7	36.9	46.4	4.0
Labor Union	4479	8.0	8.1	20.9	61.3	1.7
Business Association	4288	7.8	6.4	12.2	67.5	6.1
Worker Center	4227	2.0	1.6	4.1	78.9	13.5

Participation in different forms of political and social						
	N	In the past year	Over a year ago	Not done it but may	Would never do it	Can't choose/don't know
Signed a petition	4623	91.1	5.9	1.9	0.7	0.4
Boycotted, or deliberately bought, certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons	4593	89.9	4.3	4.1	0.8	0.8
Contacted, or attempted to contact, a politician or a civil servant to express your views	4575	77.1	10.1	10.6	1.5	0.7
Donated money or raised funds for a social or political activity	4545	67.7	12.9	14.6	3.0	1.8
Took part in a demonstration	4556	66.6	15.3	15.5	1.6	0.9
Joined an Internet political forum or discussion group	4543	65.1	6.8	22.7	2.8	2.6
Attended a political meeting or rally	4547	62.5	18.9	15.5	2.2	1.0
Contacted or appeared in the media to express your views	4479	40.3	16.1	33.7	7.1	2.7

Source: Compiled by Author. Occupy Research and Data Center: Research for Justice. (2012). "Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (ORGS)" Retrieved on July 21, 2016, from [http://www.occupyresearch.net/archive/20130322\\_OR\\_data\\_download\\_clean7\\_mnemonics.csv](http://www.occupyresearch.net/archive/20130322_OR_data_download_clean7_mnemonics.csv).

Regarding participation, during 2011-12, almost every participant had signed a petition before; boycotted or bought a product on political, ethical, or environmental reasons. Meanwhile, in average, a half of the population have attempted, or contacted a politician; participated in the demonstrating; donated money, or raised funds for social, political activity; participated in an internet forum; and, attended meeting or rally.

People were enraged but with different rationales. The OWS had provided the platform for the networking of different voices. The movement had made it evident that it had no intention and could not to form one demand after realizing the importance of letting participatory democracy to grow on its own. The leadership was unnecessary in such a process, instead was there the general assembly to keep it in the accountable manners<sup>27</sup>.

Likewise, the OWS manifests the all-inclusive, non-class identity. Again, the participants were coming from everywhere in the chart; some were self-employed, students, unemployed, retired, and underemployed. Thus, the OWS identity cannot be told in one or two words, but only by employing as

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<sup>27</sup> While general assembly is seen as a sign of facilitating element of the OWS movement, its existence was widely contested for creating a quasi-leadership, as few were in charge of 'mic-test'. The division of opinions started grow at the earlier point of its mobilization—specific to such an attribution. To see the division, visit: OccupyWallSt. "Public Forum." OccupyWallSt. The Occupy Solidarity Network, 2011. Web. 25 Nov. 2016; keyword: general assembly, leaderless.

many adjectives. The chart of the OWS demands is a clear representation of the diversified OWS identity. At the same time, the active participation of the 99% demonstrates the reason to why the movement was able to burgeon and sustain. Active participation is a critical element to the social movement. Without participation, no movement survives. In the case of the OWS movement, thousands of people encamped at the Zuccotti Park while millions of individuals acted on and offline to draw a result, or to show support or spread news.

### 5.3. The OWS Collective Action: The Leaderless and Non-institutional Movement

The OWS movement was a leaderless and non-institutional movement. The collective action in alignment with non-hierarchy was missing of a roadmap for the grand challenge. Rather, the movement relies on the non-institutional approach—which bases on the direct democracy and decision-making process of, and by the people. The OWS action mechanism bases on the maximization of accountability; in such a manner, the OWS distanced itself from the institutional politics by forming the accountable yet slow decision-making process and the fair opportunities for the participants to grab the human microphone at the assembly.

Why has the OWS movement relinquished efficiency in trade for accountability? The answer lies with the norm of post-ideological anarchism—or also labeled as anti-systemic<sup>28</sup>. As the Curran (2006) explains, the OWS movement challenges the status quo—formed, then predominated by neoliberal globalization<sup>29</sup>. At large, the underlying principles of the anarchism, herein, arises with the followings: 1) horizontalism—that embraces, direct action and democracy, 2) autonomy and 3) prefiguration<sup>30</sup>. Above all, the anarchism rejects the state as an agent<sup>31</sup>, rather conceives the state as a factor of social control. Moreover, not only it rejects of the state as an agent of change, it denies of, the main components of representative democracy; Graeber (2004) writes: “To an anarchist, one must utilize means in line with ideas of liberty and autonomy in achieving one’s ends<sup>32</sup>.” Known as ‘conflation of means and end,’ it manifests cliché the ideality of anarchism.

Deep through its development, its leaderless, direct democracy had helped to deliver its legitimacy, and furthermore, to increment its universality

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<sup>28</sup> Wallerstein, Immanuel. "New Revolts against the System." *New Left Review* 13.18 (2002): 29-39. Print. Pg. 29.

<sup>29</sup> Curran, Giorel. *21st Century Dissent: Anarchism, Anti-globalization and Environmentalism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Print. Pg. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Hammond, John L. "The Anarchism of Occupy Wall Street \*." *Science & Society* 79.2 (2015): 288-313. Web. Pg. 288

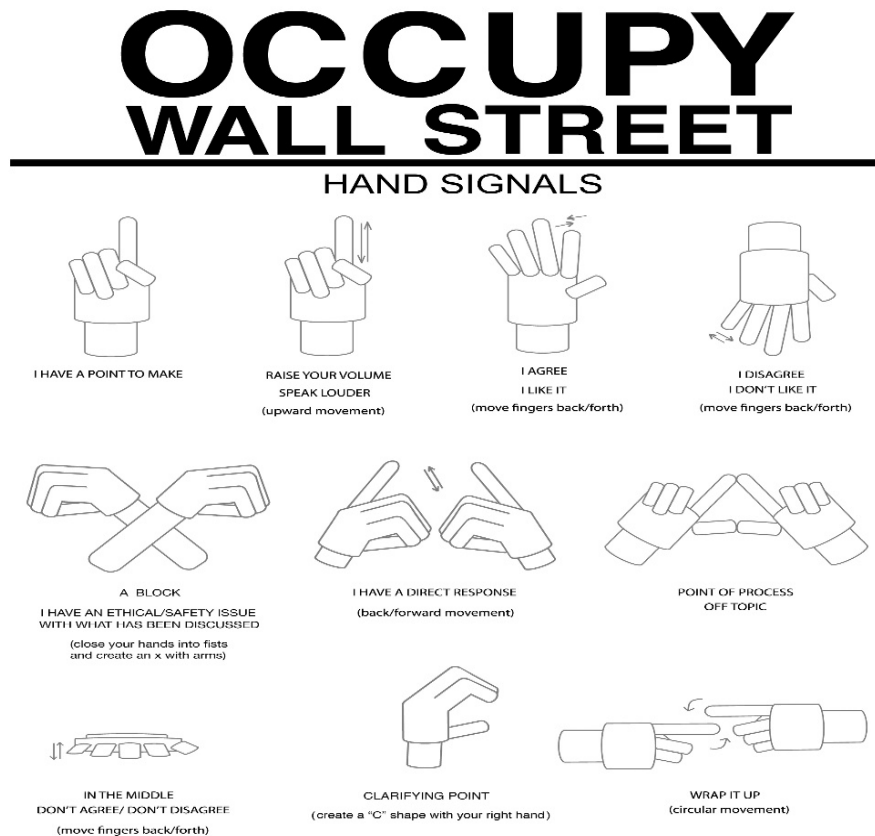
<sup>31</sup> Graeber, David. "The New Anarchists." *New Left Review* 13.6 (2002): 61-73. Print. Pg. 61.

<sup>32</sup> Graeber, David. *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm, 2004. Print. Pp. 7 – 10.

with demands list. The idea of equal standing made the consensus process immobile on contested issues; however, by employing popular tools (e.g. hand signals and human microphone), it strengthened the accountability of decision-making process.

The horizontalism is visible through and well-embedded with the methods of the OWS communication. At first, the OWS movement employed the hand signals to avoid interruption, and facilitate large-scale discussion at the assembly. Such a method of the OWS communication replaced the traditional method of communication—which was largely vocal, and interruptive to the speaker. According to the NYCGA Guide (2011), the hand signals are to “ensure everyone’s voice is heard, and every opinion is respected” (NYCGA 2011).

[Figure 8] OWS Hand Signals



Source: Batista, Elysa D. "OWS Sign Language." *#Searchunderoccupy*. Parsons School of Art Media and Technology, Mar. 2012. Web. <<http://searchunderoccupy.parsons.edu/ows-sign-language/>>.

At large, the hand signals evince opinions and feelings and facilitate the debate with no moderator. If a person wants to raise a supporting or opposing opinions, the person may employ either "I have a point to make" or "I have a direct response" to express the desire to intervene in between by requesting to do so. If a person wants to evince feeling but has no particular words to say, the

person may use either “I agree,” “I disagree,” “block,” or “neutral” to let the speaker know. Last but not least, facilitating components also exists since the debate has no moderator. Those signals are “off topic,” “clarify point” and “wrap it up.”

The assembly based on collective agreement—the consensus. According to the NYCGA, each proposal ought to follow the basic format of the assembly steps; that is, the proponent ought to explain what is being proposed, and in subsequence, why the proposal is important, and if there is a consensual agreement, how it can be implemented. As a matter of fact, such the “basic format” was not so basic regarding the workloads. Not only the proponent had to be ready to advocate and defend the idea, but also, the proponent was supposed to suggest the implementation measures.

How difficult is it to reach a consensus with the OWS assembly? Within the given format, if a person expresses the “block”—the moral or ethical rejection of the proposal, no action can be taken on an organizational level theoretically. While its overall presence served as a facilitating tool—to better the communication among the participants at the general assembly, such expressions as “block” made decision-making process immobile. It is a bit ironic. On one stance, it strengthens horizontality as anyone of the participant

may express “block,” meaning it does not require physical ‘authority’ to express so. On another stance, it is the tyranny of an individual; consensus may be reached on a subject, but if a sample of the self-identified participants—who may be a mole—expresses “block,” then the deal returns to the square one. Thus, except for the cases—where there be an absolute consensus, no deal could be passed through general assembly in its system. Meanwhile, the accountability reaches to its maximum degree—by rejecting to produce internal hierarchy. It was truly an innate dilemma of the OWS movement.

In 2013, the OWS editors posted series of, *to Consensus or Not to Consensus?* (2013) articles at the open forum; and, explains the fallacy and misuse of the consensus process. In one of the articles *Occupiers! Stop Using Consensus!* (2013), the OWS editor testified:

“the first time I saw a block used at Occupy was at one of the first general assemblies in August 2011. There were about a hundred people that day and in the middle of the meeting a proposal was made to join Verizon workers on the picket line as a gesture of solidarity in the hope that they might also support us in return. People loved the idea and there was quite a bit of positive energy until one woman in the crowd, busy tweeting on her phone, casually raised her hand and said, “I



block that." The moderator quite flabbergasted asked why she blocked and she explained that showing solidarity with workers would alienate the phantasm of our right-wing supporters. The discussion then abruptly ended and the meeting went on" (OccupyWallSt 2013a).

Not only the "block" was overused in practice, but the body of strangers also intervened in the consensus process. The OWS editor quotes Starhawk—an activist and OWS participant who wrote, "consensus works best in a group that cultivates respect, where people care not only what gets done but how we treat one another in the process" (OccupyWallSt 2013b). While the process was formed to engender participatory respect, its practice with a large crowd was counter-evidential. For instance, the consensus process became competitive than collaborative. The testimony continues that the three-quarter of all proposals was on money; nonetheless, the proponents fought on same issues but with varied approaches (OccupyWallSt 2013b). It was just as what has happened on the floor of Congress.

Another component of horizontalism is the human microphone. Initially, the OWS adopted the human microphone as to substitute the use of amplified sound—such as electric bullhorns. The NYPD requires the

acquisition of permission for the use of a sound amplifier. Thus, the OWS utilized the human microphone to repeat the words of the speaker, so that the people sitting or standing far may hear the message. The human microphone, in other words, served as the human amplifier. The usage of the human microphone was, in fact, a slow process, yet led to the attentive streaming.

As an effort to generate a free movement filled with the will of the people, the OWS movement went further than creating a horizontal and leaderless forum and added autonomous components to the movement. At first, the movement's first and foremost consensus was formed with the *Declaration of Occupation of New York City* (2011). So known as the founding principles of the OWS. The text includes the variety of perceived dilemmas of the American society, and furthermore, demonstrates the unwillingness to coopt with institutional politics. In such a sense, autonomy functions as a supplementary maneuver to eradicate external influence or intervention into the movement.

The autonomy is well-shown through its establishment of the general assembly at the Zuccotti Park. It manifests not only the idea of gathering but also the arbitrary governing. The *Declaration of Occupation of New York City* (2011)—a unanimously passed document—depicts the perceived failures of the government and her control over the expanding corporatism:

[Table 6] The Declaration of Occupation of New York City (2011)

“They have taken our houses through an illegal foreclosure process, despite not having the original mortgage.  
 They have taken bailouts from taxpayers with impunity, and continue to give Executives exorbitant bonuses.  
 They have perpetuated inequality and discrimination in the workplace based on age, the color of one’s skin, sex, gender identity and sexual orientation.  
 They have poisoned the food supply through negligence and undermined the farming system through monopolization.  
 They have profited off of the torture, confinement, and cruel treatment of countless animals, and actively hide these practices.  
 They have continuously sought to strip employees of the right to negotiate for better pay and safer working conditions.  
 They have held students hostage with tens of thousands of dollars of debt on education, which is itself a human right.  
 They have consistently outsourced labor and used that outsourcing as leverage to cut workers’ healthcare and pay.  
 They have influenced the courts to achieve the same rights as people, with none of the culpability or responsibility.  
 They have spent millions of dollars on legal teams that look for ways to get them out of contracts in regards to health insurance.  
 They have sold our privacy as a commodity.  
 They have used the military and police force to prevent freedom of the press.  
 They have deliberately declined to recall faulty products endangering lives in pursuit of profit.  
 They determine economic policy, despite the catastrophic failures their policies have produced and continue to produce.  
 They have donated large sums of money to politicians, who are responsible for regulating them.  
 They continue to block alternate forms of energy to keep us dependent on oil.  
 They continue to block generic forms of medicine that could save people’s lives or provide relief in order to protect investments that have already turned a substantial profit.  
 They have purposely covered up oil spills, accidents, faulty bookkeeping, and inactive ingredients in pursuit of profit.  
 They purposefully keep people misinformed and fearful through their control of the media.  
 They have accepted private contracts to murder prisoners even when presented with serious doubts about their guilt.  
 They have perpetuated colonialism at home and abroad.  
 They have participated in the torture and murder of innocent civilians overseas.  
 They continue to create weapons of mass destruction in order to receive government contracts.\*.”

Source: "Declaration of the Occupation of New York City." *#Occupy Wall Street*. Ed. NYC General Assembly. New York City General Assembly, 29 Sept. 2011. Web. 27 Sept. 2016. <<http://www.nycga.net/2011/09/declaration-of-the-occupation-of-new-york-city/>>.

The text manifests the various demands and the rule of no co-optation with the government. The demands that have been organized through multiple channels of online and offline networks are listed in the document in the mode of ascribing to “They”—by whom the OWS refer to the institutional politics and 1% cronies. More importantly, the OWS expands autonomy and recognition from the general public through distancing itself from the institutional conventions. Simultaneously, it signifies that the chances for political engagement with the government remained questionable, and remained a concern to the participants, who believed in institutional capacity to resolve the issues ultimately.

Also, the *Statement of Autonomy* (2011) writes: “Occupy Wall Street is a people’s movement. It is party-less, leaderless, by the people and for the people. It is not a business, a political party, an advertising campaign or a band. It is not for sale. We welcome all, who, in good faith, petition for a redress of grievances through non-violence. We provide a forum for peaceful assembly of individuals to engage in participatory democracy. We welcome dissent” (NYCGA 2011). The statement was an elaboration of the OWS identity as a network. Autonomy, in brief, signifies of 99% led decision-making process—which, in theory, cannot be intervened by or interwoven with the party and the business.

In practice, the OWS limits the activities within the boundary of moral law and pursued nonviolence. The stages of the OWS movement divide into preliminary and main activities. From the August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2011, the movement organized weekly, planning sessions at the Tompkins Square Park. Throughout the preliminary sessions, the participants discussed the OWS demands, non-violent and leaderless resistance. Such the planning sessions—before the encampment at the Zuccotti Park—proved that, while the OWS would pursue non-violent resistance, the OWS would also deny to co-opt with injustice. At the Tompkins Square Park, the OWS refused to follow the NYC ordinance, which proscribed the gathering of more than 12 people at the public park. Before moving to the Zuccotti Park—a private park, the OWS fought local ordinance by continuing the gathering for weeks. Likewise, the moral law—that the OWS pursued was largely based on group conscience.

The occupation at the Zuccotti Park is a prefiguration, and simultaneously, an experimentation of the new society. By definition, the prefiguration signifies to design, and ultimately, to fulfill the demands in own ways. In a similar fashion, Graeber (2013) described it as: “building the new society in the shell of the old<sup>33</sup>.” At the stage of prefiguration, it deals with

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<sup>33</sup> Graeber, David. *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement*. New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2013. Print. Pg. 190.

prefiguration of the alternative society through forming a horizontal and accountable network. Graeber (2012) wrote: “Zuccotti Park, and all subsequent encampments, became spaces of experiment with creating the institutions of a new society<sup>34</sup>.” As in the development of the General Assembly at the Zuccotti Park, this has taken into perspective; and, let it remain open to the public. Any topics were discussed openly without a restriction of membership.

Within the *Principles of Solidarity* (2011), the OWS allows the readers to take a look at the new society that the OWS participants were prefiguring. The content looks as follows:

“Engaging in direct and transparent participatory democracy;  
Exercising personal and collective responsibility; Recognizing  
individuals’ inherent privilege and the influence it has on all  
interactions; Empowering one another against all forms of  
oppression; Redefining how labor is valued; The sanctity of  
individual privacy; The belief that education is human right;  
and Making technologies, knowledge, and culture open to all to  
freely access, create, modify, and distribute” (NYCGA 2011).

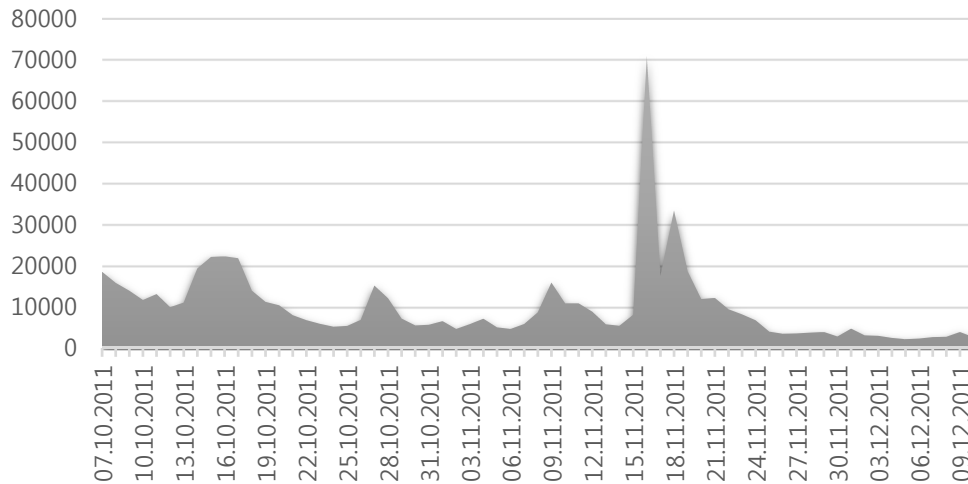
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<sup>34</sup> Graeber, David. "Occupy Wall Street's Anarchist Roots." *Occupy Wall Street*. Occupy Solidarity Network, 30 Apr. 2012. Web. 02 Oct. 2016.

The *Principles of Solidarity* (2011) in other words are the principles of action repertoire—which bases in the norm of mutual aid, respect, and acceptance. From micro-level to macro-level of the organization, the consensus process, the general assembly, and the occupation function in the mode of pursuing the socio-politically and socio-economically alternative society. As a nonhierarchical movement, the movement let the inflow of various demands within such the norms. The movement grew as in all-inclusive, albeit left-leaning characteristics; the right-leaning demands were often ignored at the general assembly. In fact, the left-leaning OWS identity in nature served as a cause, not the norms of the action repertoire.

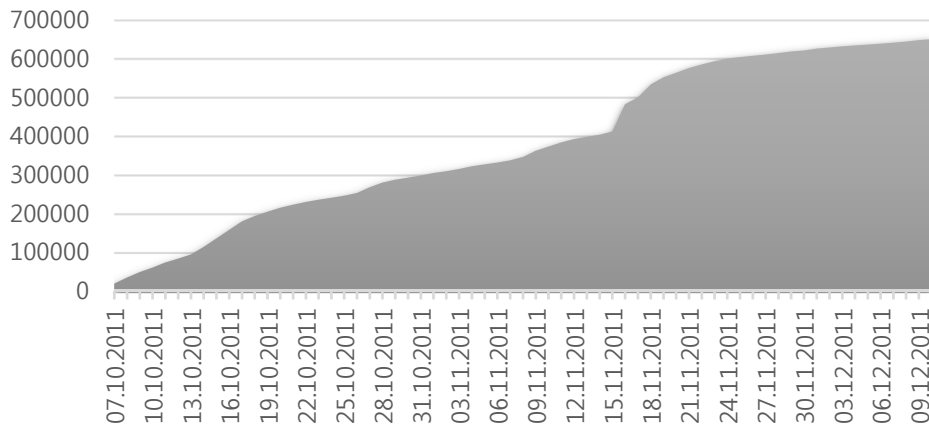
Such the anarchism components altogether have influenced stage of mobilization. Regarding the online contribution, the data below demonstrates, the movement participants' tweets incremented as the days passed from its early mobilization, and it caught nationwide attention. Moreover, marchers' number also have incremented as it is shown below. To a question whether a causal relationship exists between anarchism components and incrementing participants' size is discussable.

[Figure 9] Number of OWS Participants' Twits by Day



Compiled by Author. Occupy Research and Data Center: Research for Justice. (2012). "Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (ORGS)" Retrieved on July 21, 2016, from <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1uPf7oHAd16qhXoXDpM4R1uzPeX6c3OPZpdguLqIeMgs/edit#gid=0>

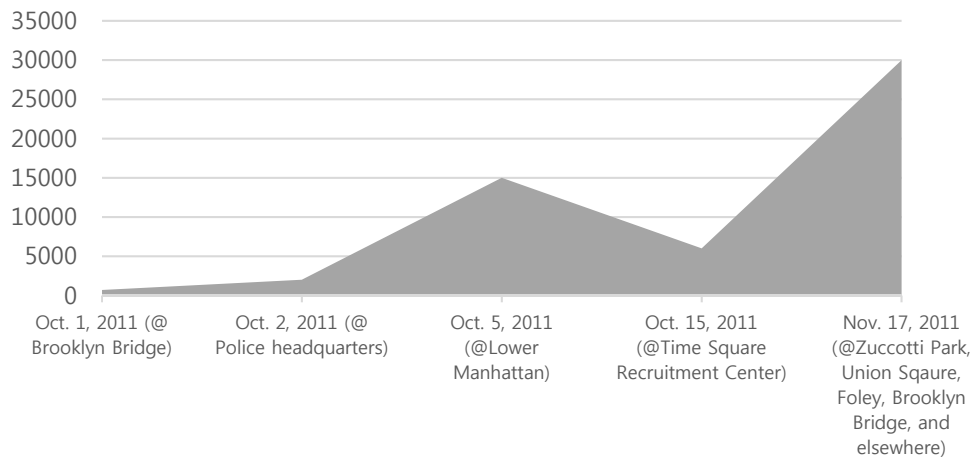
[Figure 10] Number of OWS Participants' Twits on Twitter



Compiled by Author. Occupy Research and Data Center: Research for Justice. (2012). "Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (ORGS)" Retrieved on July 21, 2016, from <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1uPf7oHAd16qhXoXDpM4R1uzPeX6c3OPZpdguLqIeMgs/edit#gid=0>



[Figure 11] Estimated Number of OWS Marchers by Events



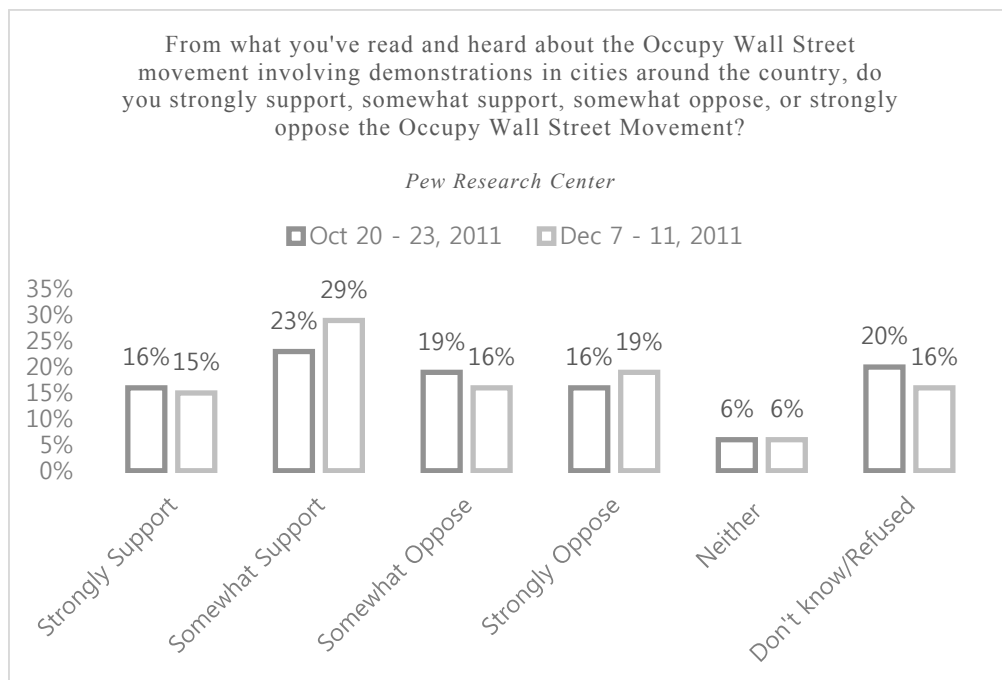
Compiled by Author: 1) BBC News. "Hundreds of Occupy Wall Street Protesters Arrested." *BBC News*. BBC News, 2 Oct. 2011. Web. 16 Nov. 2016. 2) Bloomberg News. "Wall Street Protests Span Continents, Arrests Climb." *Crain's New York Business*. Crain Communications Inc., 17 Oct. 2011. Web. 16 Nov. 2016. 3) FOX News Network. "700 Arrested After Wall Street Protest on Brooklyn Bridge." *Fox News*. FOX News Network, 02 Oct. 2011. Web. 16 Nov. 2016. 4) Gabbatt, Adam. "Occupy Wall Street: Protests and Reaction." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, 06 Oct. 2011. Web. 16 Nov. 2016. 5) OccupyWallSt. "November 17: Historic Day of Action for the 99%." *Occupy Wall Street*. Occupy Solidarity Network, 18 Nov. 2011. Web. 16 Nov. 2016.

The relationship lies with following logics: 1) horizontalism lowered the barrier of entrance to the movement; 2) prefiguration led people to perform voice in its manner as no overruling authority existed, and 3) autonomy allowed people to state the perceived dilemmas without a presupposed frame. Overall, anarchism components—each functions in the adjacent intersection with one another to serve the movement as the prefigurative module.

Hence, how did the general public react to the OWS movement? The question is also a critical question to seek an answer. Usually, the general voice of the public is what that matters to enhance the mobilization. Considering the

period of occupation from September 17, 2011, to November 15, 2011; the research divides the term of poll and surveys into two periods: 1) October 2011, and 2) November (or, December) 2011. The division is made to observe the change in attitude vis-à-vis movement as it proceeded. Also, in such manners, it also shows the progress of the movement—which may attribute to the increasing media attention, or the movement’s expansion itself. The purpose of such a supplementary review is to understand the trend in change of attitude of the general public.

[Figure 12] Pew Research Center's General Poll on OWS Movement



Source: Pew Research Center, “Public Divided over Occupy Wall Street Movement.” Pew Research Center. Pew Charitable Trusts. Web. 24 Oct. 2011; and, Pew Research Center,

“Section II: Occupy Wall Street and Inequality” From Frustration with Congress Could Hurt Republican Incumbents. Pew Research Center. Pew Charitable Trusts. 15 Dec. 2011.

[Figure 13] USA Today/Gallup's General Poll on OWS Movement



Source: Saad, Lydia. "Support for "Occupy" Unchanged, but More Criticize Approach." Gallup. Gallup, Inc, 21 Nov. 2011. Web. 06 Nov. 2016.

Both of the data demonstrates a relative increase in support or approval of the OWS movement. Simultaneously, there also has been a relative increase in opposition or disapproval of the OWS movement. Meanwhile, the importance lays with the fact that ignorance rate has been cut down to a small margin in both data. No significant change has been marked as these demonstrate; however, the fact—that support/approval rate has gone up while ignorance rate

has gone down, tells that more general public has started to follow up on the OWS events.

How has the OWS action repertoire affected the snowballing effect of the demands? The OWS shares the NSMs trait in collective action of ensuring the culturalization of the general concerns. Not only the collective action was to defend the general public, but the OWS action repertoire also went far as to activate and strengthen the politics of influence through the all-inclusive organization, which was facilitated through the anarchism components of the OWS movement.

## Chapter 6. Re-identifying Occupy Wall Street with the NSM Context

The OWS movement implies of a new social movement that is quite distinctive from the 1960s Western proactive new social movement. First of all, the demands reflect more so a mixture and the hybrid of material and post-material values. The material values were not simply socioeconomic gain, albeit a manifestation of concerns on democracy—that the 99% was underrepresented in the modern system; the post-material values were born with concerns on sustainability in numerous aspects. Secondly, the OWS identity comprised of the both ends of the population. The OWS identity cannot be identified with socioeconomic status; and, rather with participant's order of prioritized values. This is, in part, indebted to the expanded scope of the OWS demands—which takes into account the general concerns such as cronyism and underrepresented democracy.

The starting ground of the challenge was loud and clear that the people were sick of underrepresentation, and the oligarchy of the governance. Last but not least, the collective action—or action repertoire—embraced the 99% in the norm of mutual respect, love, and acceptance. Also known as the moral law, it kept the participants from the outbreak of violence and led to the horizontal and accountable networking between the participants. The norms functioned as an

implicit agreement and control factor to the OWS marches, consensus process, and occupation at large. The collective actions occurred in self-limited radicalism—by which the movement functioned within the legal boundaries, and not threatening the overall system.

### 6.1. In Time of Recession: Hybrid Values

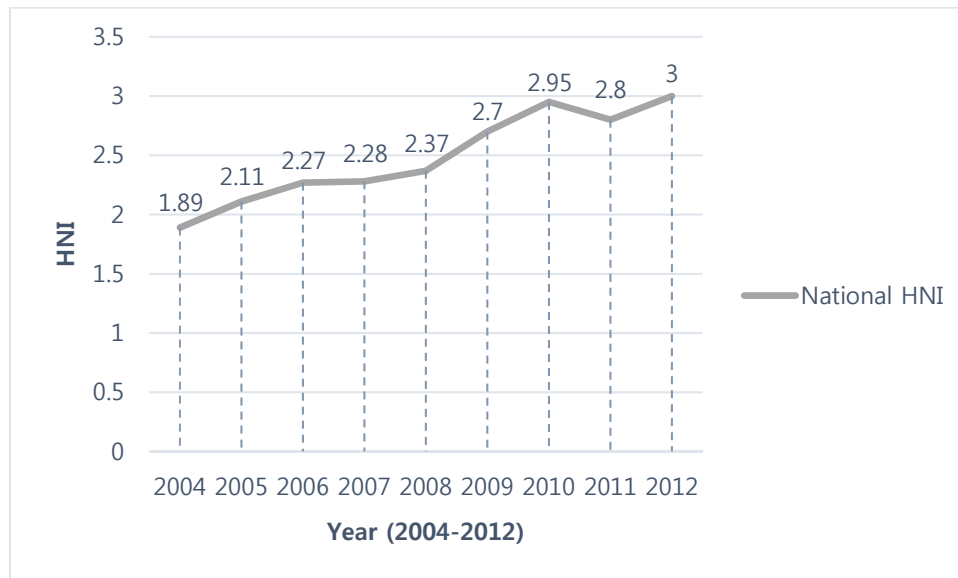
The OWS values are peculiar with 1) social conditions and 2) form<sup>35</sup>. If the 1960s Western states' NSM rose in an environment of relative economic stability, the 2011 Occupy Wall Street occurred in a climate of relative economic instability. The Human Needs Index (HNI)<sup>36</sup> 2004-2012 shows an increasing trend with U.S. human needs measurement. Especially, after the 2007-08 financial crisis, the trend is even clearer; the HNI indicator rose from 2.27 in 2007 to 3 in 2012. As the index tells, the livelihood of the general public was standing on the edge of a cliff.

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<sup>35</sup> By form, author tries to tell that the OWS values include both of the material and post-material values. Also, the form of the OWS material values is distinctive from the Old Social Movement's definition.

<sup>36</sup> The Human Needs Index (HNI)—developed by Indiana University and The Salvation Army—comprises of the 7 line-item variables that tells of the “goods or services that are essential for survival”. The items of needs are: meals provided, groceries, housing, clothing, furniture assistance, health/medical care, and energy assistance. For methodology, please visit: <http://humanneedsindex.org/>

[Figure 14] U.S. Human Needs Index (HNI) 2004-2012



Source: The Salvation Army, and Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. "The Human Needs Index (HNI)." *Human Needs Index*. The Salvation Army USA, 2004. Web. 04 Jan. 2017.

Ergo, the OWS values were the manifestation of the hybrid values. At the bottom, were the core agreements among the participants that the system is wrecked with on 1) underrepresentation of the general public and 2) politics-business cronyism. To say, the shared mistrust in governance was stimulated by the effects of the critical junctures—the 2007-08 financial crisis and the 2010 Supreme Court ruling in *Citizens United v. FEC*. Furthermore, the 2011 15-M movement has denoted the potential of a favorable outcome.

At first, the material values are not the same as the traditional practices have shown. Rather than it being the matter of *my* income, the material values

are about the misuse of the money as a distorted medium in the modern system and subsequent, breeding of all side marginalization. Ergo, the material values speak of *your* authority, which over-represent the voice of *the haves* over the *have-nots*. The material values, in fact, were non-material in nature. If to draw a comparison, a post-socialism revolution in the Eastern Europe and the South fits in somewhat parallel to the OWS. The idea behind the revolutionary movements was to bring political authority to the citizens. The nature of the movement is the same; yet, the conditions differ by much. While the ones of the East and the South happened in a period of transition with the absence of a new system, the OWS occurred in a period of consolidated reign. Thus, it was unlikely that the OWS would place a whole new system in such a reformatory manner.

Also, just like the 1960s Western movement, the trend of the OWS demands also shared the “aesthetic, intellectual, and belonging and esteem values.” According to the Inglehart (1977), the underlying hypothesis is that 1) people place a high priority on needs that were short-supplied before, and 2) high level of individual and state securities led to the increasing emphasis on other *types of needs* (Inglehart 1977: 22). The notion of individual securities is skeptical in the case of the OWS participants as the general public’s basic needs were not being well-supplied than before. Not to say the level of individual and



state securities matter less, the post-material values are born simultaneously within the given index of the American society. Largely indebted to the individualized efforts from the existing organizations that tied up with the OWS, the young and educated people led the generalization of the future-oriented concerns—which includes in broad themes of interest, environment and peace issues (Scott 1990).

With the OWS, both the material and post-material values were reflected in its list of demands without a constraint. The hybrid manifestation was possible as of the movement's unrestrictive identity and collective action—which focused on the expansion of non-institutional, alternative characteristics. The accepting mode of the movement did not enclose the movement to a certain value, yet to both kinds. Accordingly, the scope of the OWS challenge expanded to embrace demands of all the participants. To fully grasp an understanding on the OWS, it is essential to review the indemnity and action repertoire of the movement.

## 6.2. All-around Challenge and Diversified OWS Identity

The OWS participants were diverse in terms of income, age, employment status. There is no single defining identity of the OWS movement. Just as Offe (1985) puts, the NSM characteristic of the socioeconomic

challenge has not changed much, yet the actors act on behalf of ascriptive collectivities rather than acting as groups. In the suggestion of a new paradigm, Offe (1985) introduces that the NSMs occur in the alliance between three actors—the new middle class, the old middle-class, and the peripheral groups; thus, the social conflicts are not staged by a single class.

Offe (1985) Social Base of the New Social Movements	
New middle-class	New middle-class constitutes of activists and supporters of high educational status, relative economic status, and with employment from personal service professions (Offe 1985: 833).
De-commodified or peripheral groups	De-commodified or peripheral group includes ‘trapped’ and schedule-flexible members, who ranges from high school and university students (including the unemployed youth), middle-class housewives, and retirees (Offe 1985: 834)
Old middle-class	Old middle-class group forms of self-employed middle class such as farmers, shop owners, and artisan producers; their economic interests coincide with raised concerns of the NSMs (Offe 1985: 834-835).

Source: Offe, Claus. "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics." *Social Research* 52.4 (1985): 817-68. Print.

Likewise, Melucci (1989) introduces that CSMs form in the heterogeneous and plural society. A common argument of the NSM writings [Melucci (1989), Offe, (1985), Habermas (1987), et. al.] centers on the notion of the heterogeneous base of the NSMs. Meanwhile, Touraine (1979, 1981) emphasizes the birth of new middle-class in between. The OWS identity is an explicit example of heterogeneous, new middle-class involved participant base.

In the case of the OWS movement, the composition of membership is largely heterogeneous; whence, the movement is largely non-class based. The Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (ORGS) tells few of interesting facts: 1) age: among 4241 answers, the 12.5% answered to belong in the 18-24 age group; 45% in 25-44 group; and 33.9 in the 45-64 group. 2) employment status: among 6188 answers, 31.6% answered as being employed full-time; 17.6% being students; 14.8% being self-employed; 14.4% being employed part-time; 8.6% unemployed; and 7.9% retired. 3) class identity: among 4018 answers, 29.7% answered to belong in the working class; 19.5% in the lower middle-class; 37.1% in the middle class; 12.5% in the upper middle class; and, 1.2% in the upper class.

Within an all-inclusive naming of the 99%, the 2011 rainbow coalition occurred, yet with a larger scope of the challenge. As *Statement of Autonomy* (2011) addresses “[...] We welcome all, who, in good faith, petition for a redress of grievances through non-violence [...]”, a total of 23 different yet coalesced grievances were dictated through an official channel—the NYCGA. In addition, many more demands were undertaking the consensus process both online and offline at the assemblies.

When grouping the list of grievances at least, the effect of the non-class challenge is well-permeated within. In the *Declaration of Occupation of the New York City* (2011), the perceived dilemmas of the 99% are on:

[Table 7] Who are “they” from *Declaration of Occupation of the New York City* (2011)

Government	perpetuating the subprime mortgage crisis; bailing out the investment banks and industries with taxpayers’ money; misusing the military and police against the constitutional freedom of the press; participating in torture overseas.
Corporations	perpetuating inequality and discrimination in the workplace; lobbying to not pay for employee’s health insurances; selling our privacy as a commodity; declining to recall the faulty products that may endanger lives; lobbying the politicians that are responsible for regulating the corporations; lobbying to keep U.S. oil-dependent; lobbying to block generic forms of medicines; keeping people misinformed and fearful through their control of media; covering up the oil, spills, accidents, faulty bookkeeping , and so forth; creating weapons of mass destruction to receive government contracts.
Government-Business Cronyism	monopolizing of the farming system; privatizing jails; stripping of collective bargaining (e.g. Wisconsin); guaranteeing corporate personhood; determining economic policies that led to the catastrophes; accepting private contracts to execute criminals; perpetuating colonialism at home and abroad.

Source: Regenerated and compiled by the author from: "Declaration of the Occupation of New York City." *#Occupy Wall Street*. Ed. NYC General Assembly. New York City General Assembly, 29 Sept. 2011. Web. 27 Sept. 2016. <<http://www.nycga.net/2011/09/declaration-of-the-occupation-of-new-york-city/>>.

So to label, the participants were the anti-consumerist, anarchist, environmentalist, human rights activists, socialist, and so on and forth. While the participants were united under the 99% rhetoric, each participant was coming from distinctive backgrounds with varied interests. The OWS identity is such an all-inclusive and non-class identity, which leads to the breeding of the OWS hybrid values. As Offe (1985) put, the demands become “more or less inclusive, or categorical than class issues” (Offe 1985: 835) due to the non-class identity. The Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (ORGS) proves that under the notion of public underrepresentation, the both ends of the people—in terms of socioeconomic scale—came together regardless of the interest gap, which was in practice alleviated through the OWS means of open and horizontal consensus process.

### 6.3. The OWS Collective Action and the Components of Anarchism

The OWS action repertoire was defined by the self-regulating rules and norms. On the basis, the OWS movement emphasized the need for horizontal, non-hierarchical networking, and accountable consensus process. Under such the rules and norms, was the plea for not only the defense but also the activation of the politics of influence through non-institutional means.

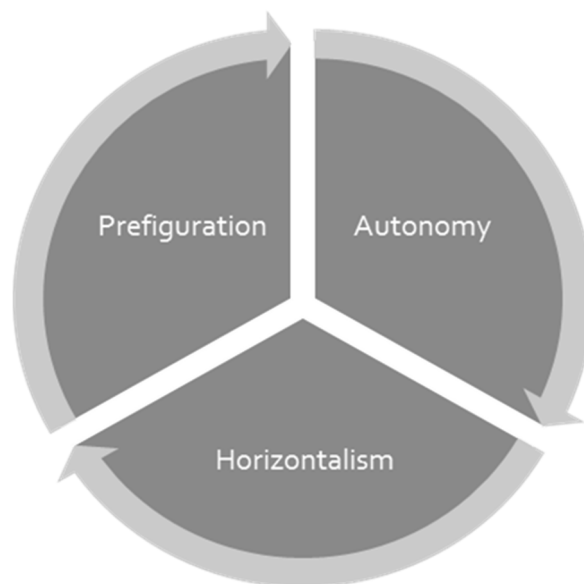
On collective action, Habermas (1981) and Melucci (1985) describes the rise of the NSMs as in objective of preserving the communicative infrastructure of the lifeworld from the intrusion of the system. Meanwhile, Cohen (1985) adds that the rise of the NSMs as in objective of redefining the civil society and reinstituting civil society's politics of influence.

Especially, Cohen (1985) builds the *New Left* hypothesis on self-limiting radicalism. In his observation of the 1970s and 80s NSMs, he provides four indications: 1) the actors do not seek for a community free of power or inequality; 2) the actors limit themselves in direct democracy for the greater social autonomy; 3) the actors self-limits their own values—or relativize the values to one another for the success; and, 4) the actors self-recognize the existence of the state and the market economy (Cohen 1985: 669-670).

The OWS movement manifests both the traits of defending and activating the politics of influence, of the civil society or the lifeworld—which comprises of the 99%. More so, is the OWS close to achieving the politics of influence by activating the direct democracy in public forum. The Cohen (1985)'s self-limiting radicalism is also the defining trait of the OWS movement.

The OWS movement centers on anarchism components to guarantee open membership, free exercise of the constitutional freedom of speech, and express perceived dilemma without being framed. The underlying idea of the OWS movement was neither to create the society of anarchism nor to bring down the state and capitalism. Rather, the objective was to engender social justice—by which, OWS approached the matter with the resolution of redefining democracy so to revive public representation in the sphere of politics through non-institutionalism approach. Such the effort was demonstrated through its application of non-violence as the movement repertoire, and binding to the moral law.

[Figure 15] Anarchism Components in Circular Effect



As to ensure direct democracy—as in effort of society prefiguration, the movement set a number of rules and self-regulation. The norm of mutual respect, love, acceptance tells that the movement kept itself in self-limiting and horizontal networking. Moreover, the open membership to the assembly meetings—while it had done much damage to its consensus process—managed to guarantee the free entrance. Thus, the process had been slow; still, the mobilization had expanded to embrace a broad spectrum of the voices. The representation of the 99% was possible due to the movement's action repertoire to 'let it flow on its own' through direct democracy.

Likewise, the OWS collective action remained as a representation of self-limiting radicalism. The OWS did neither seek for a society free of power or inequality nor absence of the state and the capitalism; rather, the OWS bespoke of an alternative to the overpowered corporations—which breaks down the democracy and engages in cronyism to further marginalize the society by the medium of money. While the OWS network was largely non-institutional, the involved organizations—such as Wolf PAC, Rebuild the Dream, OurWalmart—brought the issues to the institutional politics. Such the rationality finds the root with the acceptance of the need for the government to engender the change.



Also, the actors sought for autonomy within self-limitation. The direct democracy functioned in the moral law and the norm of mutual respect, love, and acceptance. To the core of the movement rules, was the non-violence and abidance to the ordinance—as long as it pertains to the category of the moral law and OWS rationality. Above all, the actors let the demands to broaden. It had happened within the norm of mutual acceptance, which would say, the perceived dilemmas cannot be generalized as the demands differ by individualized experiences and concerns.

## Chapter 7. Conclusion

Throughout the research, the paper focused on first, analyzing the characteristics of the OWS movement; then, re-identifying the OWS in the context of the NSM. The paper attempted to do so through historical institutionalism approach with CJA on 1) study of contingent, exogenous events that led to the rise of the OWS movement, and 2) study of OWS institutional development—through agency centered approach. The core imperative of the paper was to find the underlying *newness* with the OWS movement within the NSM context.

In the literature review, the paper reviewed the scholarly arguments on the characteristics of the NSMs and the social conditions that attribute to the rise of the NSMs. Throughout the research, the paper accordingly divided the analysis into two levels: macro-historical and micro-historical level of analysis. On the macro-historical level of analysis, the paper established the relationship between the post-industrial system and the NSMs. Also, on the micro-historical level of analysis, the paper reviewed the development of the NSMs through the studies of agents—the values, identity, and collective action in the cycle. Overall, the paper focused on finding similarities and differences between historical evidence of the NSMs and the OWS.

The hypothesis stands that, first, the OWS is different in terms of value manifestation. As in social condition, the 2011 OWS arose in the time of absolute economic recession. Thus, the OWS values were more so the hybrid of the material—economic and post-material—noneconomic. The material values in specific were also different from the classical notion—of class-specific demands. The OWS material values bespeak of *your* (the 1%) income and capital gain, not *my* income. That is, different than the OSM; the movement does not concentrate on representing the wage or salary of a certain labor group. Rather, the OWS material values base in the notion that, the politics-business cronyism spawns the economic marginalization; thus, the problem matter centers on broken democracy. Likewise, the OWS manifests the politico-economic, material demands, as following: revoke corporate personhood, raise taxes on the top 2%, removal of a tax deduction, subsidies and loopholes for any corporations, reclaim of congressional ability to create money by placing the Fed under Treasury, outlaw lobbying, reinstate the Glass-Steagall, and so forth.

Meanwhile, the OWS post-material values arise as in a similar format as the 1960s NSMs. The post-material values concern with the qualitative improvement of *our* livelihood. Largely consisted of socio-environmental demands, the post-material values manifest the demands that regard to the health, environment, human rights and general livelihood of the American 99% and the

future generation. Such demands are: nationalize health care, free education, removal of exclusionary restrictions on immigration, require labeling of genetically modified organisms, regulate greenhouse emissions, ban fracking, regulate corporations that harm the environment, and so forth. Important to note, the OWS observers—the activists in relevant fields—often carried the problem matters to the OWS table of the consensus process. To name a few, *Keystone XL Pipeline Protest* (2011) and *Occupy Nuke* (2011) were the examples.

Second, the OWS retained the NSM identity and action repertoire. On the identity, the study of the agency on the OWS institution proves that the OWS identity is at most non-class and all-inclusive in nature. OWS participants were coming from diverse backgrounds in terms of the income, employment status, age range. The non-class identity contributes to the occurrence of the diversification with the OWS demands. As discovered throughout the study, the motive of the participants varied by internal clustering by similar interests and concerns. In practice, such the non-class identity led to the dilemma of consensus process; yet ironically, to the gradual culturalization of demands through the individualized efforts by like-minded organizations. *Wolf PAC*, *Rebuild the Dream*, and *Our Walmart*—each approached the problem matter through own consensus process on institutional approach to solving the issue. *Wolf PAC*, for instance, approached the issue of ‘corporate personhood’ through state legislative

by urging the state representatives to take action—which is to add *Article V Convention* of State to eradicate corporate influence over the politics.

Moreover, the collective action finds similarity with the Cohen and Arato (1992)'s hypothesis of the self-limiting radicalism. OWS norms and self-regulation mechanisms functioned to keep OWS in mutual respect and acceptance. The OWS neither sought for a society free of power or inequality nor absence of the state and the capitalism; rather, the OWS bespoke of an alternative that the society becomes of a more democratic society by breaking down on the politics-business cronyism which marginalizes the society by the medium of money.

In such an objective, the OWS documents—such as *Principles of Solidarity* (2011), *Statement of Autonomy* (2011), and *Declaration of Occupation of New York City* (2011)—outline the prefigurative and horizontal rules and the all-inclusive perceived dilemmas. Moreover, on the ground of actual practice, as the Bookchin (1989) describes the components of anarchism functioned to tie the coalition stronger. The hand signals, open membership, online public forum supplemented the OWS pursuit of a prefigurative and autonomous society. While the collective action centered on the primary objective of getting money out of

the politics, the realization efforts were much dependent on the like-minded or like-prioritized clustering of the participants.

Hence the paper found that it is plausible to depict the OWS as sharing the general aspects of the NSMs. The newness of the OWS is that the movement suggests of the hybrid values—which manifest both the economic and noneconomic concerns and that the NSM could arise in the time of economic recession. The OWS movement implies of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century NSMs yardstick. Unlike the previous cases, the OWS proves to be more comprehensive and inclusive. This attributes to the changes with NSM characteristics. To the core, was the rational understanding of democracy, which is de facto nonmaterial in nature.

The OWS movement perceived the state system's malfunctioning—within an aspect of public underrepresentation—as the root cause of all problems. It is de facto the problem matter of the developed democratic society on the one hand. Solving both material and nonmaterial concerns underlies with the rebirth of the public representation in the political sphere, which—in the case of the OWS—objective and approach lived with direct democracy. Today, through the case of the OWS movement, we find the stretching development of the NSM scale and the hybrid value; and affirm that, at the bottom, exists the philosophical

background of 'democracy.' The OWS movement hints us that the 21<sup>st</sup>-century new social movement would 1) manifest stretched hybrid values, and 2) underlie with multi-issue and prefigurative characteristics.

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## 초록

### 신사회운동 틀 내에서의 월가점거운동에 관한 분석

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본 논문은 신사회운동 틀 내에서의 월가 점거운동(Occupy Wall Street)만의 특수한 성격을 밝히고자 한다. 먼저 월가 점거운동은 21세기 자기 제한적 급진주의(self-limiting radicalism) 형태의 신사회운동이라 일컫을 수 있다. 월가 운동은 제 일의 문제 인식으로서 정계와 대기업 사이의 정경유착(政經癒着)을 손꼽는다. 이러한 거대 문제 인식 중심에는 정경유착으로 수년간 지속하여 온 대중 정치의 유실 그리고 그에 따른 전방위적 생계 위협이란 일반 대중의 지각이 동반된다. 월가 운동은 이에 대한 해답으로서 대중정치의 귀환을 일으키고자 했다. 실제로 월가 운동은 대안 사회의 모습을 운동의 참여 민주주의제 장치들을 통해 책무성 및 수평성(horizontalism)에 의거한 연대 운영에 힘써왔다.

본 논문의 연구 질문은 두 단계로 나눈다. 일차적으로 이 전의 신사회운동과 월가 점거운동의 공통점과 차이점을 비교 분석 함을 기점(起點)으로 한다. 그리고 이차적으로 월가 점거운동이 내포하는 21세기 신사회운동의 새

로운 면모를 심층 분석함을 완성점으로 한다. 일차적 단계에서의 분석을 통해 본 논문은 월가 점거운동의 특수한 성격들을 찾아낸다. 제일 먼저 월가 운동은 1960년대 신사회운동과는 다르게 경제 불황 속에서 전개되며 이에 따라 월가 운동이 내포하는 가치(value)는 기존 신사회운동의 탈물질주의적 가치들(post-material values) 그 뿐만 아니라 기존의 물질주의적 가치들(material values)을 동반한다. 월가 운동의 물질주의적 가치를 들여다보면 이 또한 구사회운동의 물질주의적 가치들과는 다소 다르다는 점을 발견할 수 있다.

월가 운동은 신사회운동의 비(非)계층적(non-class) 성격을 띠고 있다. 월가 운동의 상호존중, 사랑, 수용의 지배 가치에서 확연히 드러나듯이 월가 운동은 다양한 관점에서의 대안적 요구들을 품고 있다. 이에 따라 월가 운동은 기본적인 합의 틀 위에 사회 비합리성의 복합적 예시들을 열거하는 방식으로 99%의 문제의식을 대변한다. 기존 구사회운동의 물질주의적 가치는 노동시간, 임금과 같은 99%의 노동권 신장을 내포한 반면에 월가운동의 물질주의적 가치는 1%간의 정경유착(政經癒着)으로 인해 비롯된 여러 형태의 부정부패(不正腐敗)를 전체적으로 드러내는데 초점을 둔다. 이 과정 속에서 물질주의적 가치와 탈물질주의적 가치는 복합적 형태로 나타나게 된다.

월가 운동은 현 국가 및 경제체제를 유지하는 방향과 대중 정치를 강화하는 방식으로 사회 정의(social justice)를 구현하고자 했다. 본 논문은 월가 점거운동을 역사적 제도주의(historical institutionalism) 연구 접근법을 통해 월가 운동의 발단 동기 그리고 제도적 발달 과정을 거시적 그리고 미시적 측면으로 접근한다. 첫째로 거시적 분석 측면에서 최근 2007-08 경제 대침체, 2010년 연방 대법원 판결(*Citizens United v. FEC*) 및 2011 스페인 15-M 운동을 결정적 국면들(critical junctures)로 설정해 점거운동의 발단 동기를 설명한다. 그리고 둘째로 미시적 분석 측면에서 월가 점거운동의 가치(value), 정체성(identity) 그리고 집합 행위(collective action)의 형성 과정을 행위자(agent) 중심적 해석을 통해 제도적 발달 과정을 설명한다.

**핵심단어:** 신사회운동, 월가점거운동, 대안사회, 무정부주의, 정경유착, 탈물질주의적 가치, 물질주의적 가치, 복합적 가치, 일반 대중, 대중정치

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