"Occupy" movement as a reaction on global economic crisis: an overview

Introduction.

This article should be viewed as an attempt to describe how local economic protests in different countries situated on different continents in their entirety create a global phenomenon which puts (or not) its own agenda on global policy making.

In the first part of the article I give an overview of the genesis of #Occupy phenomenon in Madrid, May, 2011, as well as analyze its' value and scope of its value for political process in Spain in spring 2011-autumn 2012.

The second part of the article is devoted to the #OccupyWallStreet movement itself, its origins and timeline.

In the third part #Occupy as a new global social movement and 15.10.2011 and 14.11.2012 actions as its'activity culmination are reviewed.

Part 4 tells us about the tactics and methods of "occupying" as a non-violent peaceful protest.

1. Spain.

The greatest objective reason for the emergence of the 15-M movement[1] was the results of global economic crisis that hit the Spanish economy hardly, especially the percentage of unemployed people, especially through youth[2] - "this is the most educated generation that Spain has ever produced, but many recent graduates feel that they've been trained for a world that simply no longer exists here"[3].

Between June 2011 and June 2012, the common percent of unemployed in Spain has grown from 22,0% to 25,1%[4] - the highest level in the states-members of the EU. At the same
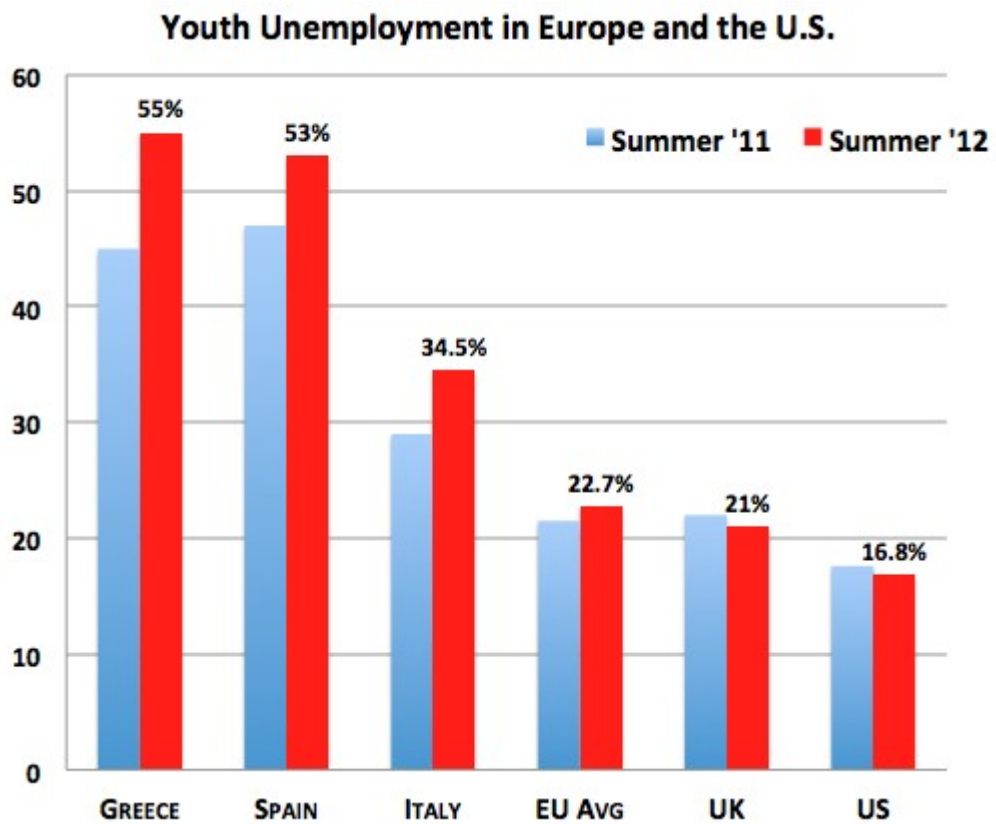
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[1] http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2011/05/16/actualidad/1305578500_751064.html

[2] Rocha F. The challenges of youth unemployment in Spain// http://www.social-europe.eu/2012/08/the-challenges-of-youth-unemployment-in-spain/

[3] Ward C. "Desperation, anger grows for Spanish youth, with 51 percent unemployed"// http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-18563_162-57449322/desperation-anger-grows-for-spanish-youth-with-51-percent-unemployed/

[4] https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/444525-eurostat-employment-report-for-august-2012.html

time, the percentage of unemployed Spanish youth has grown to 53% (when the average EU percent is 22,7 only[5])

Youth Unemployment in Europe and the U.S.

Summer '11   Summer '12

	Summer '11	Summer '12
GREECE	45	55%
SPAIN	47	53%
ITALY	29	34.5%
EU AVG	21.5	22.7%
UK	22	21%
US	17.5	16.8%

[5] Thompson D. Europe's most tragic graph: Greek youth unemployment hits 55%// http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2012/10/europes-most-tragic-graph-greek-youth-unemployment-hits-55/263118/

NÚMERO DE PARADOS Y TASA DE PARO

— Número de parados (escala izquierda)

▭ Porcentaje de población activa en paro (escala derecha)

5.693.100
II TR. 2012
5.639.500
4.696.600
20,33%
24,63%
Cambio metodológico
1.765.000
8,42%
7,95%

[6]

As not a trigger but as a primary initiator of May, 2011, protests, grassroots citizens organization "¡Democracia Real YA!" (Real Democracy NOW!) should be seen. It was created in January, 2011, and through social media (such as Twitter and Facebook) called people to take streets on May, 15.

So, May, 15, protest meetings had been held countrywide. Spanish people protested not only against high unemployment, welfare cuts and government's inefficiency in overcoming the crisis but also against current two-party system and political establishment as well and with willing to boycott May, 22, local and regional elections.

It resulted in a May-August, 2011, camping at the main squares of Spanish cities[7],[8],[9],[10].

The main thing I want to accent in this story – is some kind of "15-M" movement's (also known as "Indignados" (outraged)) staying in a parallel idealistic political reality where the

[6] http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2012/07/27/actualidad/1343372346_035257.html

[7] Tahrir Square in Madrid: Spain's lost generation finds its voice// http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/tahrir-square-in-madrid-spain-s-lost-generation-finds-its-voice-a-763581.html

[8] Rainsford S. Youth defiant at "Spanish revolution" camp in Madrid//http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13466977

[9] Tremlett G. Spain bans young protesters ahead of elections// http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/20/spain-bans-protest-ahead-election?intcmp=239

[10] Sol-power: the 15-m story so far//http://elpais.c om/elpais/2011/08/04/inenglish/1312435243_850210.html

national elections means nothing and politicians are frightened of tens thousands of people just gathering from time to time on main squares without any clear political programme (instead of it just having mottos such as "We are not goods in the hands of politicians and bankers" and "They don't represent us" (as we know, this motto will become extremely popular during 2011/2012 protest meetings in Russia)).

As we know, 2011 local and regional elections have become a landslide victory for a conservative People' Party[11] which became an omen of their coming triumph on parliament elections in November. Nevertheless, due to the results of sociological poll conducted for El Pais, in June, 2011, 64% of population supported 15-M movement and 71% believed that it's was a peaceful movement seeking to rebuild democracy[12].

October, 15, became the culmination of 2011 Spanish protest. In this day near 1 million people throughout the country (in particular, 500 thousand in Madrid and 400 thousand in Barcelona[13]) marched on the streets as a part of Global Protest Day (we also should mention that the data October, 15, itself was chosen to coincide with the anniversary of Madrid May, 15, events). So, it's becoming clear that 15-M/ Indignados movement can be seen as one of the resources of inspiration to the #OWS (OccupyWallStreet) movement, which emerged in September. 2011. But did it have any result which after that was displayed in the political process in the country? The answer is "No".

On November, 20, a general snap election for the Cortes Generales was held. Conservative "People's Party" had received 10 million 866 thousand of votes (44, 63%)[14], and became the ruling party with its leader Mariano Rajoy as a Prime Minister of Spain.

The point is that the main thesis in the economic program of People's Party was **sharp cut of state welfare spending, "big victims in the sphere of social needs"[15].** So, this electoral triumph of PP demonstrates us in the most clear way the real possibility of Indignados to turn their agenda into life.

As we know, Rajoy's government failed to overcome the problem of unemployment. And on September, 25, 2012, protesters have come back to show their outrage with the current

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[11] http://elecciones.mir.es/resultados2011/99MU/DMU99999TO_L1.htm

[12] Majority of Spaniards support 15-M movement//http://elpais.com/elpais/2011/06/27/inenglish/1309152044_850210.html

[13] Тарасенко П. Объединись во гневе// http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1796687

[14] http://www.infoelectoral.mir.es/min/congreso.html;jsessionid=0E63692FAEB14EA142AF8162FB106D60.app2?method=grafica

[15] Забродина Е. "Испанцы отказали себе в социалистах"//http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1821325

sitiation and protest against the "kidnapping of democracy". The idea of "OccupyCongress" (what meant a peaceful march and sitting in Plaza de Neptuno square) got out of the control when protesters had tried to tear down barriers blocking access to the parliament. As a result, the world have seen the violent clashes between the protesters and the police in the center of Madrid[16],[17],[18],[19].

And what are the results? #25S hashtag became a global trend in Twitter[20] (as well as #SpanishRevolution in May, 2011) – so it's a real success of protesters in the online-reality, in the reality of social media and social networks, where they achieved a real global attention and support.

But at this time we can see a real aftermath of clashes and on economic policies of government. On September, 27, a fifth austerity package was announced. And even though spending cuts policy will continue, it won't touch social spending – on the contrary, such spending will be increased[21]

So, 25S# events, unlike the #SpanishRevolution, can be considered as an example of influence on authorities policies. The question is to what extent it's bound to the radicalization of the protest.

2. #OWS

When we began to analyze the emergence of #OWS (Occupy Wall Street) movement, we have to notice the role of Adbusters in all this story. Adbusters Media Foundation is a "Vancouver-based anti-consumerist group best known for its award-winning, advertisement-free magazine Adbusters[22]". Adbusters editorial staff identify itself as a "global network of culture

[16] Spain police fire rubbet bullets at Madrid protests//http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19712203

[17] Protesters, police clash in Madrid// http://edition.cnn.com/2012/09/25/world/europe/spain-protests/index.html

[18] 25S cronica 2 25 septiembre 2012// https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UDCRgqspmyU&feature=player_embedded&oref=https%3A%2F%2Ft.co%2FOMwwkwqd&has_verified=1

[19] Anti-austerity violence: video of riot police clashing with protesters in Madrid// http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=CDcRpCHfRgs

[20] Spain's "Indignados" surround parliament// http://stream.aljazeera.com/story/spains-indignados-surround-parliament-0022352

[21] Benoit A., Sills B. Spain pledges cuts to meet deficit target as bailout looms// http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-09-27/spain-pledges-cuts-to-meet-2013-deficit-target-as-bailout-looms.html

[22] Fleming A. Adbusters sparks Wall Street Protest// http://www.vancourier.com/Adbusters+sparks+Wall+Street+protest/5466332/story.html#ixzz2BLkSjg9L

jammers and creatives working to change the way information flows, the way corporations wield power, and the way meaning is produced in our society[23]".

And two Adbuster's men have acted as inspirers of #OWS: magazine's founder Kalle Lash and its senior editor Micah White. "This is how Occupy Wall Street began: as one of many half-formed plans circulating through conversations between Lasn and White… Neither can recall who first had the idea of trying to take over lower Manhattan… In early June, Adbusters sent an e-mail to subscribers stating that "America needs its own Tahrir… on June 9th, Lash registered OccupyWallStreet[24]".

On July, 13, 2011, at www.adbusters.org appeared a proclamation "#OCCUPYWALLSTREET: a shift in revolutionary tactics" where we can read next points: "we go out and seize a square of singular symbolic significance… The time has come to deploy this emerging stratagem against the greatest corrupter of our democracy: **Wall Street, the financial Gomorrah of America.** On September 17, we want to see… people flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street for a few months[25]".

"Events in Egypt and Tunisia had become our impulse. We had had a look from our cosy Canada to the America and thought that America was ready to Tachrir. We created hashtag #OccupyWallStreet. And then an artistic breakthrough had happened with us and we came up with a poster… So, this way the movement was born – from the hashtag and the poster[26]"

[23] http://www.adbusters.org/

[24] Schwartz M. Pre-Occupied: the origins and future of Occupy Wall Street// http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/11/28/111128fa_fact_schwartz#ixzz2BLgWuIvJ

[25] #OCCUPYWALLSTREET: a shift in revolutionary tactics// http://www.adbusters.org/blogs/adbusters-blog/occupywallstreet.html

[26] Шишкова Т. Потеря революционного контроля// http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1792898

WHAT
IS OUR
ONE
DEMAND?

#OCCUPYWALLSTREET
SEPTEMBER 17TH.
BRING TENT.

So, as we can see, the point of view that "if anyone could claim responsibility for the Zuccotti situation, it was Lasn: *Adbusters* had come up with the idea of an encampment, the date the initial occupation would start, and the name of the protest—Occupy Wall Street.org[27]" is rather reasonable. At the same time the opposite view of Adbuster's editor Micah White ("we came up with the idea but independent activists just made it their own... and ran with it[28]") is reasonable as well – Adbuster's journalists had given people the idea what do do but they didn't govern them during the #OWS itself.

Howbeit, "almost every afternoon for two months... hundreds of people gathered in the park. Some were drawn to the cameras and the spectacle; some came for the free food, shelter, and medical care; and some showed up for the earnest political conversation and because they believed that this might be the beginning of a revolution.[29]"

The first reaction of city authorities to the emergence of Occupy camp at Zuccotti Park was tolerant. During his September, 17, press-conference New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg said that people have a right to protest, and if they wanted to protest, city authorities would be

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[27] Schwartz M. Ibid.

[28] Fleming A. Ibid.

[29] Schwartz M. Ibid.

happy to make sure they have locations to do it, 'cause as long as they did it where other people's rights were respected, that would be the place where people can speak their minds[30]

But in proportion of changing the number of protesters and their readiness to clash this opinion had been changing respectively.

September, 17, there was near 1 thousand protesters[31]. September, 24, protesters began marching uptown, as a result about 80 people were arrested for blocking traffic[32]. October, 1, - Brooklyn Bridge March, more than 700 arrested for the tooking over Brooklyn-bound roadway.[33] October, 5 – the largest event during #OWS: from 10 to 20 thousand of people marched through the Financial District. Couple of people (near 200) tried to storm blocking barricades, resistance with the police as a result[34].

October, 6, Barack Obama himself showed the indirect support to the protesters during an East Room news conference. The President of the United States mentioned that in his opinion Occupy Wall Street expressed the frustration the American people felt, that they had the biggest financial crisis since the Great Depression[35]. October, 16, - White House Spokesman Josh Earnest said that Barack Obama was fighting to make certain that the interests of 99% percent of Americans were well represented[36] (protesters' "99%" self-identification will be reviewed further in this article).

But the point is that rhetoric is rhetoric and administrative control is administrative control. As we've seen higher, in October, 2011, there were a couple of incidents and clashes between the protesters and the police. That's why it's no wonder but logic that in October there were first signals that the #OWS would be removed. As Zuccotti Park is a private property, the protesters hadn't need the city authorities'permission to camp there and the police couldn't

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[30] "Occupy Wall Street" to turn Manhattan into "Tahrir Square"// http://www.ibtimes.com/occupy-wall-street-turn-manhattan-tahrir-square-647819

[31] Zerbisias A. "Protests dwindle in attempt to Occupy Wall Street"// http://www.thestar.com/news/article/1057018

[32] Police arrest 80 during "Occupy Wall Street" protest// http://www.foxnews.com/us/2011/09/24/police-arrest-80-during-occupy-wall-street-protest/

[33] Baker A., Moynihan C., Maslin Nir S. "Police arrest more than 700 protesters on Brooklyn Bridge"// http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/10/01/police-arresting-protesters-on-brooklyn-bridge/

[34] Boyle C., Sher E., Mullany A, Kennedy H. "Occupy Wall Street protests: police make arrests, use pepper spray as some activists storm barricades"// http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/occupy-wall-street-protests-police-arrests-pepper-spray-activists-storm-barricade-article-1.961645

[35] Memoli M.A "Obama: Occupy Wall Street protests show Americans' frustration"// http://articles.latimes.com/2011/oct/06/news/la-pn-obama-occupy-wall-street-20111006

[36] Miller Z. "White House draws closer to Occupy Wall Street, says Obama is fighting for the interests of 99%"// http://www.businessinsider.com/white-house-draws-closer-to-occupy-wall-street-says-obama-is-fighting-for-interests-of-the-99-2011-10

legally force protesters to leave without being requested to do so by the property owner – Brookfield Property Owners[37]. And the owner of the park had to provide 24/7 openness of the Park to the visitors for passive recreation.

But the formal reason to finish with the camp was found. It was the same as it would be for Russian authorities in May, 2012, in their explanation of finishing with #OccupyAbai camp – unsanitary conditions[38], complaints of residents[39] and the necessity to clean the park.

November, 15, - near 1.A.M police started to remove the protesters from Zuccotti Park. It was the end of "Occupy Wall Street camp".

The protesters wrote a pathetic proclamation that "you can't evict an idea whose time has come[40]". Authorities' answer was cynical: "Protestors have had two months to occupy the park with tents and sleeping bags. Now they will have to occupy the space with the power of their arguments[41]". And cold proved to be stronger than ideas.

There were some #OWS actions after November, 15. Of course, November, 17, OWS Day of Action throughout the country, which turned to be the biggest demonstration in the whole history of movement (near 30 thousand people in NY only, police use of force, 177 people arrested[42]). Also we should mention December, 17[43], 31[44], "re-occupations", as well as Marches, 17[45], 24[46], 2012. But despite these prominent flashes of activity the common decline of #OWS

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[37]Batchelor L. "Occupy Wall Street lands on private property"// http://money.cnn.com/2011/10/06/news/companies/occupy_wall_street_park/index.htm

[38] Statement of Mayor Michael.R. Bloomberg on clearing and re-opening of Zuccotti park// http://www.nyc.gov/portal/site/nycgov/menuitem.c0935b9a57bb4ef3daf2f1c701c789a0/index.jsp? pageID=mayor_press_release&catID=1194&doc_name=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.nyc.gov%2Fhtml%2Fom%2Fhtml %2F2011b%2Fpr410-11.html&cc=unused1978&rc=1194&ndi=1

[39] Saul J. "Angry Manhattan residents lambast Zuccotti Park protesters"// http://www.nypost.com/p/news/local/manhattan/angry_manhattan_residents_lambast_RjpTU0jG2z9yrgf5o4bRcO

[40] "You can't evict an idea whose time has come"// http://occupywallst.org/article/you-cant-evict-idea-whose-time-has-come/

[41] Statement of Mayor… Ibid.

[42]OWS Day of Action: Police vs People// http://rt.com/usa/news/occupy-wall-street-619/

[43] Dodley D.D and Solomon J. "50 arrested in Occupy Wall Street Demonstration"// http://edition.cnn.com/2011/12/17/us/new-york-occupy-arrests/index.html

[44] Paddock B., Mcshane L. "Protesters Occupy New Year in Zuccotti park"// http://www.nydailynews.com/news/yup-back-protesters-occupy-new-year-article-1.999412

[45]Moynihan C. "Scores arrested as the police clear Zuccotti Park"// http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/03/17/arrests-made-as-protesters-mark-occupy-wall-streets-six-month-anniversary/

[46] Devereaux R. "Occupy Wall Street demonstrators march to protest against police violence"// http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/25/occupy-wall-street-protest-police

after November. 15, is obvious. About #OWS achievements would be written in the 5th and 6th chapters of this article, as well as philosophical re-thinking of this phenomenon would be given.

And now I want to speak about the social-demographic portrait of the #OWS protester.

His identification as a representative of "99%" of population, suffering from the mistakes and greed of the wealthiest 1% is well known (in more detail such objectivity/subjectivity of such perception of income stratification would be given), as well as that for popularization of this meme/motto we should be thankful to http://wearethe99percent.tumblr.com/ - a blog where people share their lifestories and economic problems they have as the representatives as common people, "99 percent".

But for scientific goals we have to use sociological data - and it's nice there is such. In October, 2011, Ph.D. sociologist from the City University of New York Héctor R. Cordero-Guzmán analysed the data of the anonymous poll which had been conducted on http://occupywallst.org/ site[47]. So, having answers of 1619 respondents he found these demographic characteristics of the #OWS movement:

"□ 64.2% of respondents were younger than 34 years of age.

□ While the sample is relatively young, one in three respondents is older than 35 and one in five respondents is 45 and older.

□ 7.9% of respondents have a high school degree or less.

□ 92.1% of the sample has some college, a college degree, or a graduate degree.

□ 27.4% have some college (but no degree), 35% have a college degree, 8.2% have some graduate school (but no degree), and close to 21.5% have a graduate school degree…

□ 50.4% were employed full-time and an additional 20.4% were employed part-time.

□ 13.1% of the sample are unemployed.

□ 2.6% of respondents were retired, 1.3% disabled, 2.6% homemakers and 9.7% are full-time students.

□ 47.5% of the sample earns less than $24,999 dollars a year and another quarter (24%) earn between $25,000 and $49,999 per year.

□ 71.5% of the sample earns less than $50,000 per year.

□ 15.4% of the sample earned between $50,000 and $74,999.

□ The remainder 13% of the sample earn over $75,000 with close to 2% earning over $150,000 per year.

□ 27.3% of respondents considered themselves Democrats, another 2.4% said they were

Republican.

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[47] 70% of #OWS supporters are politically independent// http://occupywallst.org/article/70-percent-ows-supporters-independent/

□ … A very large proportion of the sample, close to 70.3%, considered themselves Independents.

□ 66.4% in the sample agree somewhat or strongly that they regularly use Facebook.

□ 28.9% in the sample agree somewhat or strongly that they regularly use Twitter.

□ 73.9% in the sample agree somewhat or strongly that they regularly use YouTube[48]"

So, in main features #OWS protester seems as White young educated employed (but with rather low wages) active user of social media without party identification. A view on #OWS protester as an unemployed uneducated dull marginal freak is irrelevant to the reality. As Cordezo-Guzman wrote itself, "our data suggest that the 99% movement comes from and looks like the 99%.[49]"

Table 2--What is your age?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. Under 18	36	1.9	1.9	1.9
	2. 18-24	461	24.4	24.4	26.3
	3. 25-34	716	37.9	37.9	64.2
	4. 35-44	310	16.4	16.4	80.6
	5. 45-54	189	10.0	10.0	90.6
	6. 55-64	136	7.2	7.2	97.8
	7. 65 +	42	2.2	2.2	100.0
	Total	1890	100.0	100.0	

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[48] Cordezo-Guzman H.R. Main stream support for a mainstream movement. Pp. 2-3// http://occupywallst.org/media/pdf/OWS-profile1-10-18-11-sent-v2-HRCG.pdf

[49] Ibid

Table 6--Racial\Ethnic Background

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	White	1277	67.6	81.3	81.3
	Black\African American	21	1.1	1.3	82.6
	Asian	50	2.6	3.2	85.8
	American Indian	6	.3	.4	86.2
	Mixed	45	2.4	2.9	89.1
	Other	51	2.7	3.2	92.3
	Hispanic\Latino	121	6.4	7.7	100.0
	Total	1571	83.1	100.0	
Missing	.00	319	16.9		
Total		1890	100.0		

Table 7--Which of the following best describes your education?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. No formal education	5	.3	.3	.3
	2. Grade school	9	.5	.6	.9
	3. High school	110	5.8	7.0	7.9
	4. College educated, no degree	431	22.8	27.4	35.3
	5. College degree	550	29.1	35.0	70.3
	6. Graduate school educated, no degree	129	6.8	8.2	78.5
	7. Graduate school degree	337	17.8	21.5	100.0
	Total	1571	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	319	16.9		
Total		1890	100.0		

Table 10--What is your individual employment income?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. Less than $24,999	747	39.5	47.5	47.5
	2. $25,000 - $49,999	377	19.9	24.0	71.5
	3. $50,000 - $74,999	242	12.8	15.4	87.0
	4. $75,000 - $99,999	103	5.4	6.6	93.5
	5. $100,000 - $149,000	70	3.7	4.5	98.0
	6. $150,000 - $249,999	20	1.1	1.3	99.2
	7. $250,000 +	12	.6	.8	100.0
	Total	1571	83.1	100.0	
Missing	System	319	16.9		
Total		1890	100.0		

Table 9--Are you employed?

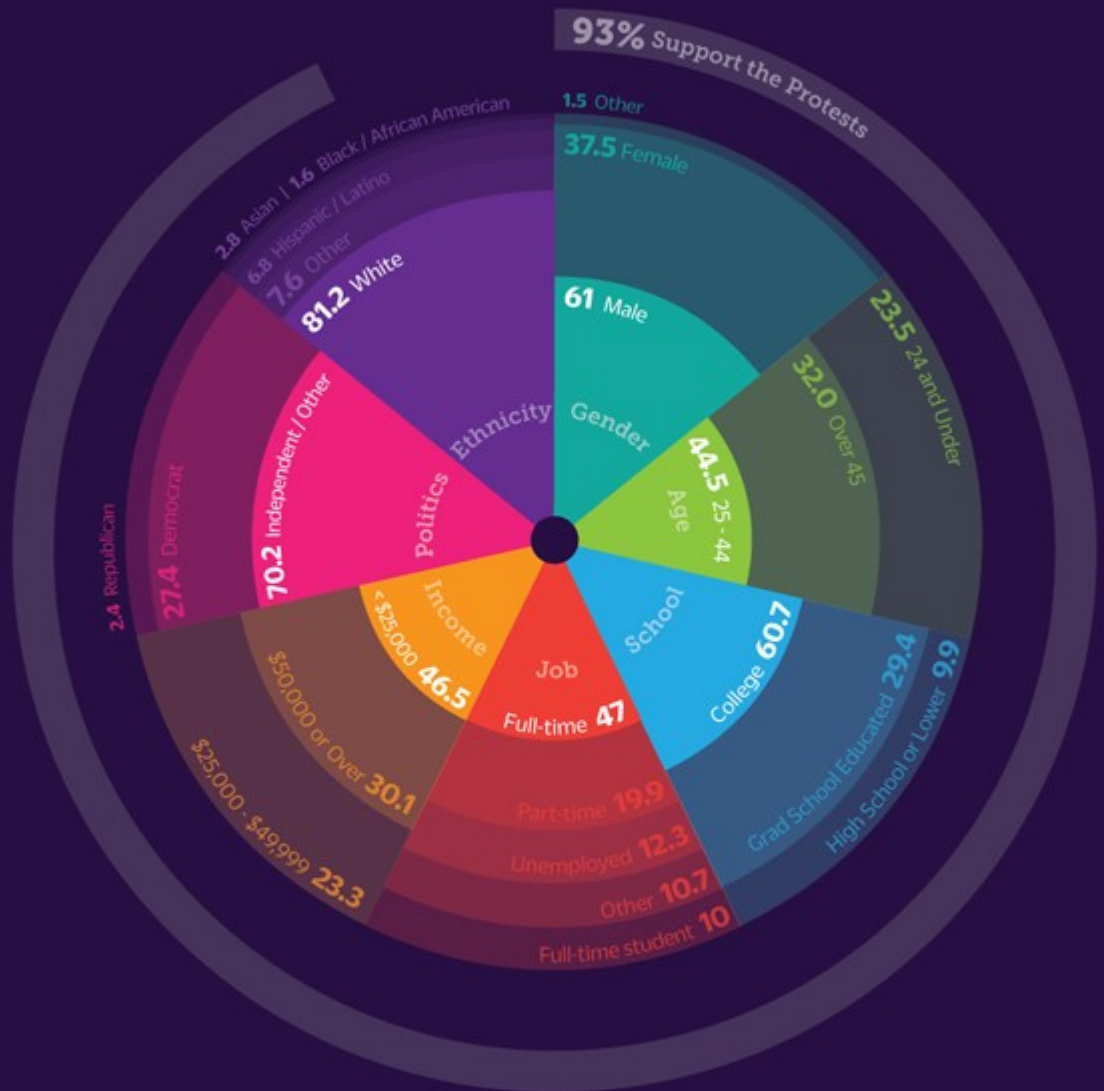|		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1. Full-time	789	41.7	50.4	50.4
	2. Part-time	319	16.9	20.4	70.7
	3. Unemployed	205	10.8	13.1	83.8
	4. Retired	41	2.2	2.6	86.4
	5. Disabled	21	1.1	1.3	87.7
	6. Homemaker	40	2.1	2.6	90.3
	7. Full-time student	152	8.0	9.7	100.0
	Total	1567	82.9	100.0	
Missing	System	323	17.1		
Total		1890	100.0		

In October, 2011, a second survey with the same methodology was held as well with 5006 respondents – visitors of http://occupywallst.org/. And its results confirmed the correctness of the demographic description of the protester in the first survey[50].

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[50] Captain S. Infographic: who is Occupy Wall Street?// http://www.fastcompany.com/1792056/infographic-who-occupy-wall-street

Who is Occupy Wall St?

In mid-October, business intelligence analyst Harrison Schultz and professor Hector R. Cordero-Guzman from the School of Public Affairs at Baruch College analyzed results from 5,006 completed surveys at occupywallst.org. Here's what they learned from respondents.

FAST COMPANY

93% Support the Protests

1.5 Other
37.5 Female
61 Male
Gender

23.5 24 and Under
32.0 Over 45
44.5 25 - 44
Age

2.8 Asian | 1.6 Black / African American
6.8 Hispanic / Latino
7.6 Other
81.2 White
Ethnicity

College 60.7
Grad School Educated 29.4
High School or Lower 9.9
School

70.2 Independent / Other
27.4 Democrat
2.4 Republican
Politics

Full-time 47
Part-time 19.9
Unemployed 12.3
Other 10.7
Full-time student 10
Job

< $25,000 46.5
$50,000 or Over 30.1
$25,000 - $49,999 23.3
Income

Social Media Use

59.9% Facebook

20.1% Twitter

70.6% YouTube

Design by

But as we can see this methodology is far from ideal 'cause not majority of supporters of #OWS which had taken part in these surveys as respondents were protesters themselves (only 24% in the first and 43% in the second[51]). That's why it's advisable to have a look on another surveys with another methodology.

As an example of such survey we can see the results of the "Occupy Wall Street Survey Results October 2011" held by Fordham University: The Jesuit University of New York. It's based on interviews with 301 respondents in Zuccotti Park and here we see the bigger percentage of unemployed (28%) and less percentage of White (68% only[52]).

From mid-October to mid-November 2011 the American public opinion towards the protesters had deteriorated: if in October 35% of respondents supported the goals of OWS and 36% opposed, in November 33% respondents supported its goals and 45% - opposed[53]. And this was not a fortuity, it was a trend: in January, 2012, 51% of U.S. likely voters viewed the protesters as public nuisance and only 39% as a valid protest movement representing the frustrations of majority[54].

3. Global "Occupy" movement. 15.10.2011 and 14.11.2012 as global/continental economic protests days.

In this chapter I would like to view the #Occupy movement not in its local manifestations as I have done in two previous chapters but to show it as a global phenomenon and also overview global 15.10.2011 and 14.11.2012 actions as a peaks of global anti-austerity economic protests. It's also important to show that the global public protest against the economic realities and economic policies is not identical to Occupy tactics – occupying is only one of the forms of the protest along with strikes, for example.
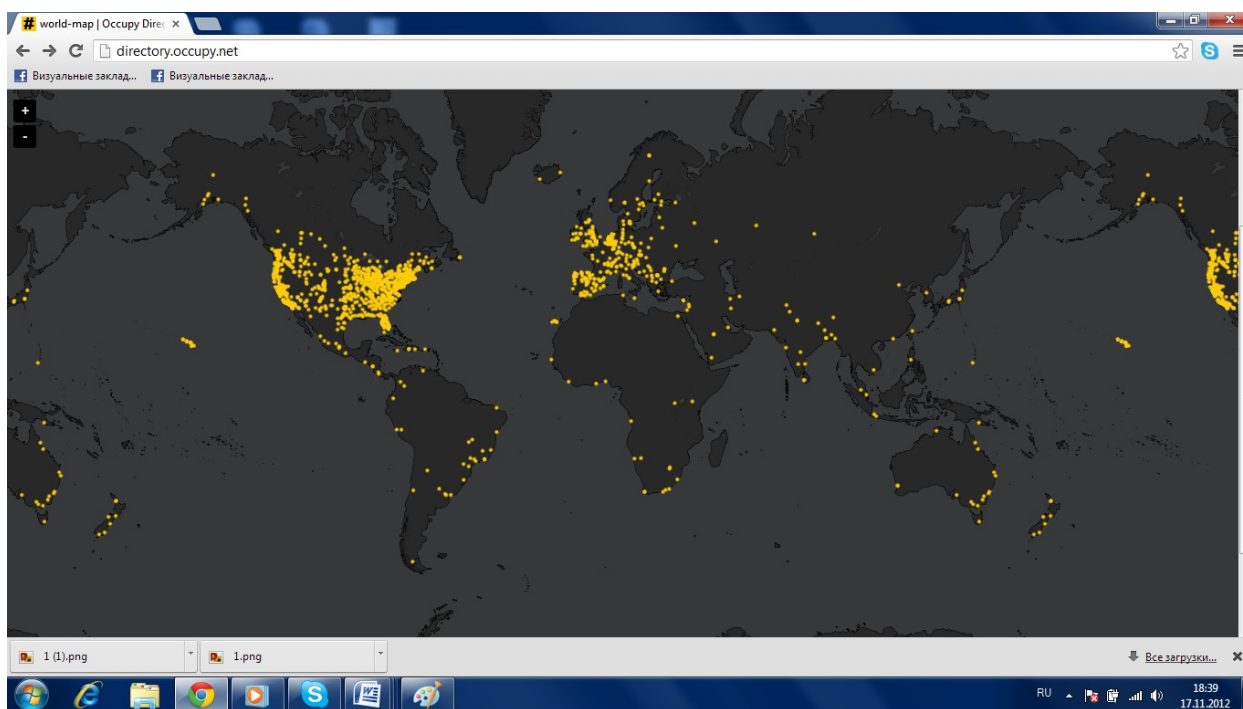
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[51] Ibid.

[52] Panagopolous C. Occupy Wall Streer Survey Results October 2011//
http://www.fordham.edu/images/academics/graduate_schools/gsas/elections_and_campaign_/occupy%20wall%20street%20survey%20results%20102611.pdf

[53] Jensen T. Voters moving against Occupy movement//
http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/2011/PPP_Release_US_11161023.pdf

[54] 51% see Occupy Wall Street Protesters as public nuisance//
http://www.rasmussenreports.com/public_content/politics/general_politics/january_2012/51_see_occupy_wall_street_protesters_as_public_nuisance

So, here[55] we can see the list of key occupations worldwide: from Sydney[56] to San Francisko[57] and from Amsterdam[58] to Rio De Janeiro[59]. And on this map[60] we can have the visualization of this protest Occupy globality

So, from these two sources we can see that the Occupy movement is global but at the same time Occupy actions are predominantly held in the states with "very high" level of Human Development Index[61] and which are classified as "free" in Freedom House'"Freedom in the World" classification[62].

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[55] http://occupywallst.org/infotent/

[56] http://www.occupysydney.org.au/
[57] http://occupysf.org/
[58] http://www.facebook.com/OccupyAmsterdam

[59] https://www.facebook.com/OcupaRio

[60] http://directory.occupy.net/
[61] http://hdr.undp.org/en/data/map/

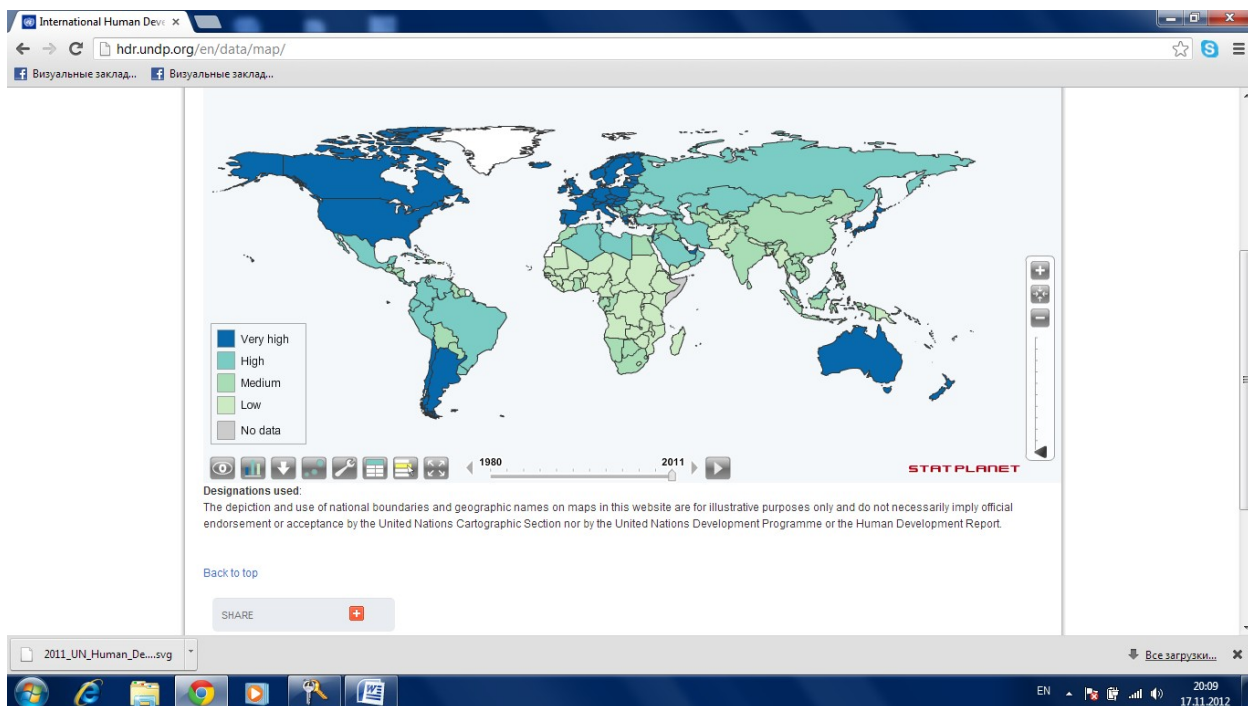[62] Freedom in the World 2012: the Arab uprising and their global repercussion. Pp. 14 - 19//
http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FIW%202012%20Booklet_0.pdf

The reason is, in my opinion, that the "occupy" tactics (it will be analyzed in details later) is tactics of educated suffering from not objective but relative deprivation people knowing how to work with social media technologies. And they know that they live in democratic (except some cases like it was in Egypt) society. Even if they despise own political system there are independent courts) and won't be killed or sentenced in criminal charge without crime. Yes, they can be beaten to blood, injured and detained but it's not a question like "freedom or death".

October, 15, 2011, state authorities of more than 80[63] countries faced "Day of Rage" – a global social protest against financial and social inequality and/or governments economic policies. Overall more than 1 million people had been protesting that day (see the map[64]) .

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[63] Occupy Wall Street spreads worldwide// http://www.theatlantic.com/infocus/2011/10/occupy-wall-street-spreads-worldwide/100171/
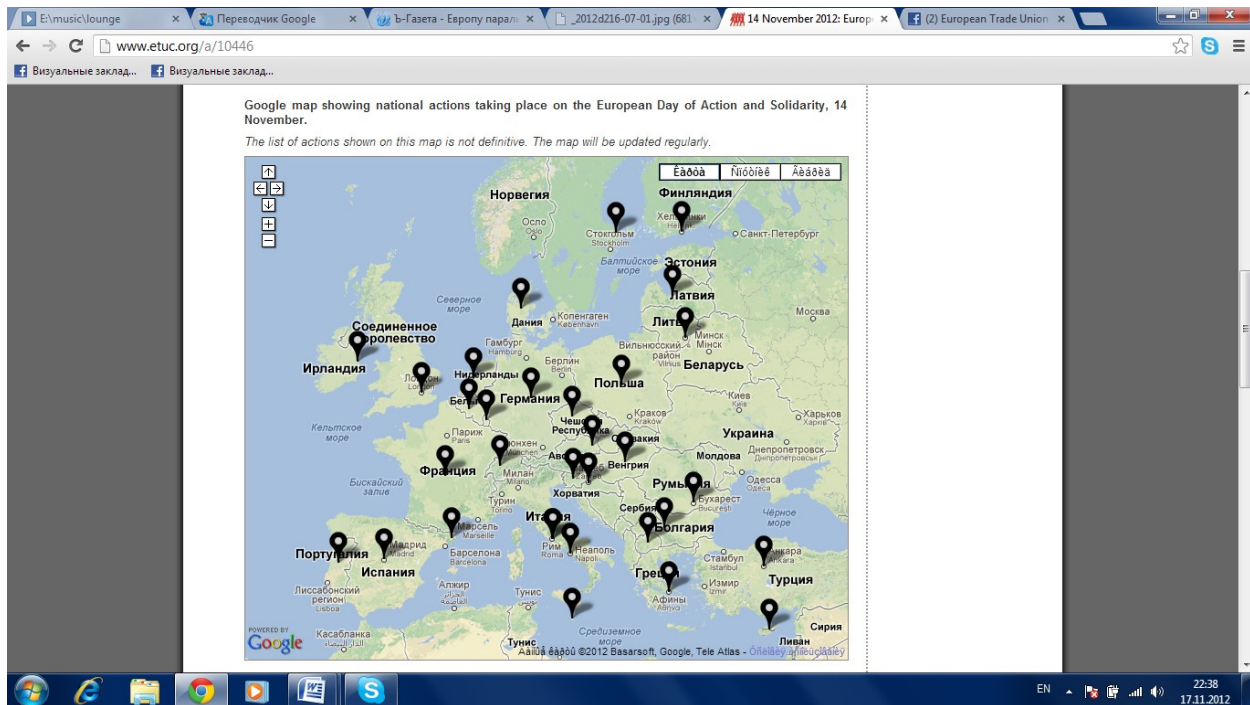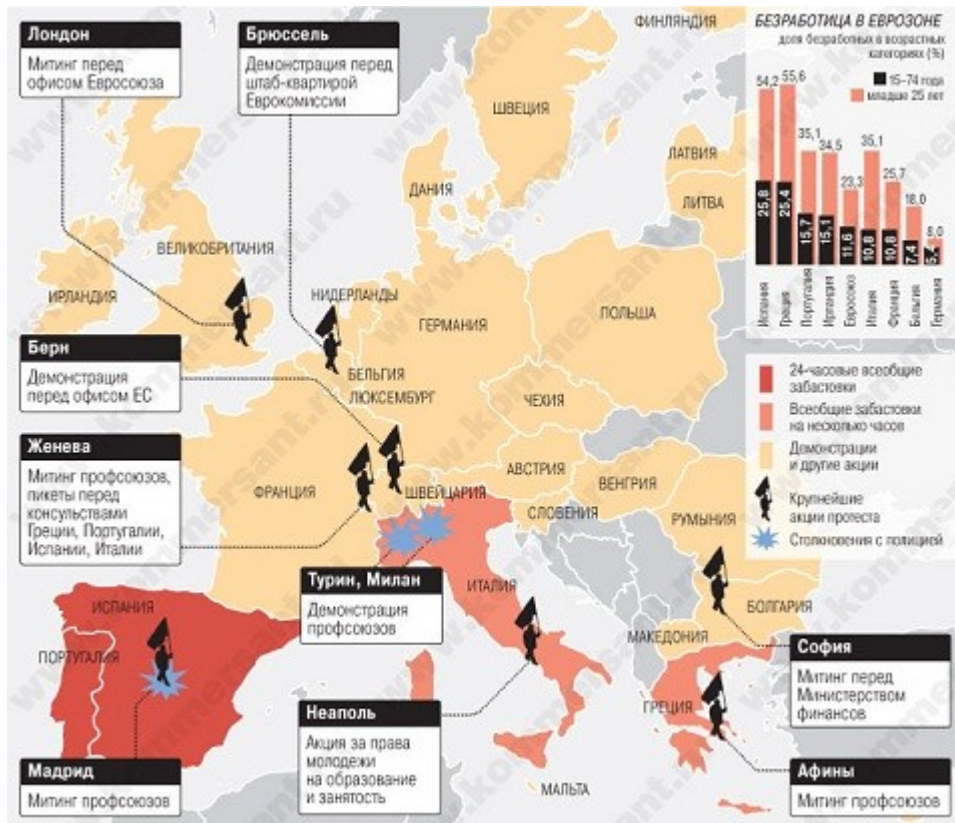
[64] Тарасенко П. Объединись во гневе// http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1796687

КАК ПРОШЕЛ ВСЕМИРНЫЙ «ДЕНЬ ГНЕВА»

Города, проявившие наибольшую протестную активность
(число участников акций протеста)

Мадрид	500 000	Сантьяго	10 000
Барселона	400 000	Берлин	10 000
Рим	150 000	Франкфурт-на-Майне	5 000
Лиссабон	50 000	Лондон	5 000
Нью-Йорк	50 000	Торонто	3 000
Порту	20 000	Сидней	2 000
		Тайбэй	1 000

Страны, в которых 15 октября прошли массовые акции протеста.
*Специальный административный район КНР.

November, 14, 2012, was a not easy day for European authorities too: in this day a pan-Europe strike, "European day of action and solidarity" with millions[65] of protesters have happened.

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[65] Ефимова М. Европу парализовал протест// http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2066906

66 http://www.etuc.org/a/10446

The most significant strikes racked countries of Southern Europe - Spain, Portugal and Greece[67], [68].

The initiator of the Day this time is not online activists but an institution and "independent actor" of public policy – European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), which has calles "called for a Day of Action and Solidarity, across Europe on 14 November in order to mobilise the European trade union movement behind the ETUC policies set out in the 'Social compact for Europe[69]'"

In its' program document "A social compact in Europe" it's postulated that "fundamental social rights must have priority over economic freedoms[70]" that's why it rejects "all policies leading to downwards competition be it on labor rights, wages, working time, social security, taxes or the environment[71]".

The difference is seen in their identification: if "Day of Rage" had been made by groups of Internet-activists having coordinators but no leaders and no one common program, through year we saw "European day of action and solidarity" made by "trade union leaders of Europe[72]" having institutionalized organization structure[73] and program document. So we see that 15.11.2011 day hasn't become a Rubicon of leaderless non-organization protest.

4. Principles and tactics of "Occupy" movement

As the main principles of "Occupy movement" we have to distinguish:

1) consensus model of decision-making;

2) leaderlessness;

3) direct democracy with General Assemblies (common meetings of all present participants) as the only legitimate structure.

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[67] Wilkinson P. Clashes as austerity anger drives Europe strikes// http://edition.cnn.com/2012/11/14/business/europe-strikes/index.html

[68] Moffet M., Brat I., Kowsman P. Big Europe strike have little effect// http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887324556304578118263611154772.html

[69] http://www.etuc.org/a/10446

[70] http://www.etuc.org/a/10024

[71] Ibid
[72] Ibid
[73] http://www.etuc.org/r/11

"In Madrid, as in London and New York, all decisions, from the smallest breakout circle to general assemblies of thousands, are made using the "consensus" model of direct democracy… operating with discussion facilitators rather than leaders[74]".

Not surprisingly that these principles have their pros and cons.

What are the pluses? Protesters are not afraid that leaders would distort the goals of the movement, that some kind of protest bureaucracy would emerge which, firstly, would has become trader of protest as such with the authorities and secondly, would has developed in accordance with Michels' "iron law of oligarchy"[75]. They are not afraid that they would have a feeling of perplexity of elected leaders and their initiatives (as, in some opinions, Russian protest public has now towards Coordination Council of Opposition[76],[77]).

They feel the "Occupy" as a real grassroot manifestation of **public** policy and their involvement in it together with the feeling of being their issues really represented and bringing to life postmaterial values of tolerance and self-realization. "The sense of collective engagement overwhelms the multiplicity of different strategies and suggestions within the movement: everyone turns up with their own problems and grievances, but the process of engagement becomes just as important . "I do not come here to affirm who I am already," one visiting Spanish activist in New York said last week, "I come here to discover who I can be with other people. This is a new kind of politics[78]".

But these pluses were dialectically the minuses of the movement: consensus model of decision-making during General Assemblies showed itself not very convenient for decision-making as such. "Consensus… wasn't easy among hundreds of self-identified ninety-nine-per-centers, whose politics ranged from "Daily Show" liberalism to insurrectionary anarchism. Because of … no decision could be made without giving everyone in attendance the chance to cross his or her arms and bring the meeting to a halt. According to the G.A.'s rules, a nine-tenths vote could override a block, but only after each block had explained his or her objections and the facilitators had responded. The least reasonable people often got the most time to speak… The G.A. is beautiful, but it's not an effective decision-making body[79]".

[74] Penny L. Protest by consensus// http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/laurie-penny/2011/10/spain-movement-square-world

[75] Astor M. Occupy Wall Street Protests: a Fordham University professor analyzes the movement// http://www.ibtimes.com/occupy-wall-street-protests-fordham-university-professor-analyzes-movement-321066

[76] Козенко А. Оргкомитет с корочками// http://lenta.ru/columns/2012/11/16/protestday/

[77] Пионтковский А. Граждане и гражданки в Юрьев День// http://echo.msk.ru/blog/piontkovsky_a/952248-echo/

[78] Peny L. Ibid.
[79] Schwartz M. Ibid. http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/11/28/111128fa_fact_schwartz?currentPage=4

The second minus is that due to plenty of policy issues and ideological attitudes of the protesters making a clear program statement during OWS (their versions will be overviewed below in the 5th chapter of this article) was a real trouble. Neither people of America nor political establishment had heard clear policy proposals from a legitimate (in protesters' opinion) speaker/s.

As University of Southern California sociologist Nina Eliasoph, specializing at grassroots social movements, mentioned, in case of OWS not leaderlessness as such was a problem but spokespersonlessness[80]". As a result, in American public opinion, as we have seen in the sociological polls data above, "Occupy" movement had transformed into a meaningless mob of slackers.

Now I'd like to say same words about the methods of Occupying as such. Cause it's an interesting topics about the ways of presence in public geographical, meaning and informational areas and it deserves a separate article here I'll outline only some main features of it.

As a resource for such study we can use "How to #Occupy: grassroots practices for global change" site - http://howtooccupy.org/. On this site we can find a lot of methodical guidelines on different aspects of occupy protest: how to camp, how to cover events in (social) media, how to coordinate with each other, how to deal with police. As a main document we should consider so called" Quick guide for a revolution[81]"

And what it does suggest to the protesters?

1) To be 99%;

2) To gather in public spaces and re-invent them;

3) To create open flexible spaces;

4) To be always horizontal (to have horizontal connections);

5) To be non-violent;

6) To be active not reactive[82].

Sooner or later each "occupy" meets with a problem of sense of the action itself – should it be continued? For how long it should be continued? Story shows us that one of the greatest problems of occupying is that it's lasting too long and so looses not any clear sense but the number of the participants too.

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[80] Wood D.B., Goodale G. Does "Occupy Wall Street" have leaders? Does it need any?// http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2011/1010/Does-Occupy-Wall-Street-have-leaders-Does-it-need-any/ (page)/2

[81] 15M/Occupy Movement. Quick guide for a revolution// http://howtocamp.takethesquare.net/files/2012/09/Quick-guide-for-a-revolution-multilanguage.pdf

[82] Ibid.

For example, Russian #OccupyAbai (Moscow) and #Isaakievskaya (St.Petersburg) cases. They finally stopped in mid-summer but really they had ended in the end of May. As one of the OccupyAbai General Assembly activists Pavel Ovchinnikov has told in his interview to the information portal Lenta.ru, "people are interested in freedom, civil society and self-ducation only when there is "movement", and after the police had leaved the space, they went back to their habitual consuming-family-work world[83]").

Probably, it can be connected with the existence of protest/occupy "spiral of silence", but for verification of this suggestion a sociological data (by surveying polls of occupy activists or taking a series of interviews with them) should be collected.

That's why it'so important to divide occupying as a goal itself from occupying as a tool of (potential) influence to municipal/city/state authorities and implementing of desirable policies into life.   "Occupation of a space is itself a tactic… But an ongoing occupation of space is also more than a tactic. An occupation serves as a base camp from which we launch many different tactics… This *tactic star* names some key factors that change agents can consider when determining tactics[84]".

As such key factors are mentioned: message; tone; timing; audience; allies; resources; target.

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[83] Азар И. Дети Абая// http://lenta.ru/articles/2012/07/26/postabay/
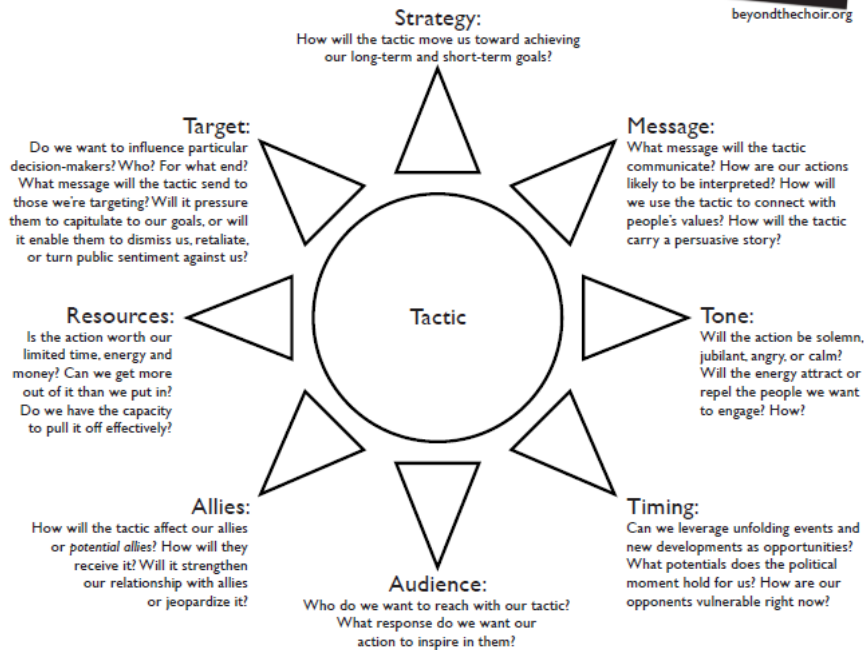
[84] Occupy Tactic Star for planning and evaluating tactics// http://owsdirectaction.com/da/resources_files/occupy-tactic-star.pdf

Occupy Tactic Star

for planning and evaluating tactics

Strategy:
How will the tactic move us toward achieving our long-term and short-term goals?

Target:
Do we want to influence particular decision-makers? Who? For what end? What message will the tactic send to those we're targeting? Will it pressure them to capitulate to our goals, or will it enable them to dismiss us, retaliate, or turn public sentiment against us?

Message:
What message will the tactic communicate? How are our actions likely to be interpreted? How will we use the tactic to connect with people's values? How will the tactic carry a persuasive story?

Resources:
Is the action worth our limited time, energy and money? Can we get more out of it than we put in? Do we have the capacity to pull it off effectively?

Tactic

Tone:
Will the action be solemn, jubilant, angry, or calm? Will the energy attract or repel the people we want to engage? How?

Allies:
How will the tactic affect our allies or *potential allies*? How will they receive it? Will it strengthen our relationship with allies or jeopardize it?

Audience:
Who do we want to reach with our tactic? What response do we want our action to inspire in them?

Timing:
Can we leverage unfolding events and new developments as opportunities? What potentials does the political moment hold for us? How are our opponents vulnerable right now?

In the first issue of "tidal: occupy theory, occupy strategy" magazine, "an ongoing horizontal conversation among those who have spent most of their lives thinking about this moment, and the people in Occupy Movement that are making decisions every day about its future[86]", we meet with the next comprehension of "occupying": "the encampment-form of political activity highlights a central characteristics in the formation of group-space… A class- or group-for-itself consisits of:

1) social agency – the possibility for a given group to change society ad history;

2) self-consciousness - some degree of awareness of itself as a movement for social change and mechanisms for collective thought and

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[85] Ibid

[86] We believe we can't have radical action without radical thought. Editorial statement// tidal: occupy theory, occupy strategy. Issue 1, December 2011, P. 22.

3) the prerequisite class-in-itself characteristics – common interests, similar analysis of the society, and proximity either physically or digitally[87]".

So, as we can see these principles are highly relative to the definition of public as such given by Nina Belyaeva: "selective part of the society members, uniting knowledgeable, competent citizens who are able to organize themselves in pursuit of common interests[88]". So, without any doubt, "occupy" movement can be considered as both **global public** and **global public policy** phenomenon.

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[87] Christie I. Possibility, universality & radicality: a universal chorus of emancipation// tidal: occupy theory, occupy strategy. Issue 1, December 2011, P. 20.

[88] Belyaeva N.Y. Public as a social actor vs. public as a target audience: conceptual connction between the public, civil society and community// http://www.hse.ru/org/hse/ouk/politanaliz/globman/articles