

**Uncovering Views from the Occupy Movement:
Johannesburg Leg**

by

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I declare that 'Uncovering Views from the Occupy Movement: Johannesburg Leg' is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

A handwritten signature in purple ink, consisting of a series of loops and horizontal strokes, positioned above a dotted line.

.....
Signed

Date: 2014/02/28

Key Terms: Occupy Movement; Occupy Johannesburg; social psychology; protest psychology; mixed methods; cluster analysis.

Abstract

This exploratory study set out to uncover views from the Occupy Movement's Johannesburg leg. The Occupy Movement arose in late 2011, aiming to occupy public space and challenge conventional economics, politics, and governance. Data were collected by means of an online survey amongst 39 'core' members of the group. The study took up a mixed methods approach underpinned by critical realism. Basic descriptive statistics and cross tabulations were used to analyse 6 closed-ended survey items in a quantitative fashion; thereafter, 4 open-ended items were qualitatively examined by delineating responses into discursive themes based on response content and positions taken up by respondents in their claims and statements. Finally, a cluster analysis was performed in order to cluster or profile significant groups that emerged from the data based on demographics, selection of closed-ended items, and quantitatively transformed response content to qualitatively examined open-ended items.

It was found that the sample mirrored the demographics present in foreign movements as it was primarily male (61.5%), white (87.2%), highly educated (51.4% holding a bachelor's degree or higher) and young (74.4% in the 21 to 40 age range). Furthermore, it was found that within a group that stood against various macro-level social systems, confidence in all social institutions was extremely low, in particular for big corporations, national government, and political parties. This sample was highly comparable to a representative South African sample as regards their views on the causes of social division; the factors that were seen as most socially divisive (in descending order) were: (1) socio-economic status; (2) race; (3) politics; (4) cultural differences; (5) language; (6) religion; (7) AIDS/disease.

Qualitatively, the first item asked whether or not they believed that their movement lacked focus. Upon analysis it was found that four distinct themes existed in response: (1) duality (those revealing support for the movement but disdain for its processes); (2) aggressive justification (vehement justification and defense of the Occupy stance); (3) denial (lacking full knowledge of Occupy processes but ardently defending them while moving away from the difficult questions); (4) straddling the fence (vague and contradictory positions). Members responded to the question of whether their movement differed from foreign movements by stating that it did, based primarily on local socio-historical, economic, and contemporary issues peculiar to South Africa – these members sought a special place for their movement and acted in contradiction to the global Occupy stances; others said no and based this on appeals to homogeneity of cause, global concerns, and an Occupy solidarity. When asked why they, personally, were motivated to engage with the movement, the sample maintained either: (1) the unfair world argument (a strong theme in which perceived 'systemic unfairness' proved motivation enough); (2) socialist argument (a string of socialist-based positions connected to classic socialist disdain for the creation of capital, accruing of personal wealth, estrangement of labourers from produce etc.); (3) personal plight argument (exclusively personal standpoints appealing to individual socio-economic woes). Finally, pressure was placed upon the Occupy protestors to reveal what their ideal, utopian society would look like, given the option. The sample called for: (1) orthodox anarchy (stark calls for

absolute anarchy); (2) anarchic socialism (marrying socialism and anarchy – less extreme than anarchy, more equal than capitalism, incorporating multiple freedoms and backed by orthodox socialist rhetoric); (3) advancing through decentralized civil society (no clear ideology, rather providing a special place for civil society with few central power structures; driving forth through family and community); (4) fundamental equality and freedom (emphasis of final desires over process and ideology with a belief that society does not require strict regulation, it rather holds its own 'homeostatic' capabilities).

The hierarchical cluster analysis for this study found 4 distinct clusters; each cluster was defined by a generally homogeneous set of responses and demographics. Significantly, cluster 3 included 50% of the cases analysed (50% of the sample) and uncovered a common profile (homogeneous demographics, vastly similar stances on sources of social division, similarity in terms of confidence in social institutions, and agreement on the rationale and motivation to be personally involvement in Occupy). Cluster 4 consisted of so-called outliers.

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1 INTRODUCTION

You say you want a revolution? Well, you know, we all want to change the world.

... You say you got a real solution?

Well, you know, we'd all love to see the plan.

— Lennon/McCartney, "Revolution"

'Occupy Movements' arose worldwide in the wake of the uprising that is 'Occupy Wall Street' – the original, most prolific and most publicised of them all, which started in New York City. The exact nature of the Occupy Movements was/is somewhat misunderstood or misrepresented by a great many individuals, organisations, and media correspondents. In addition, these movements appear to have had the effect of galvanising supporters and opponents alike. This dissertation seeks to simply and concisely analyse the views and backgrounds of a small sample of 'initiators' from the Johannesburg leg of Occupy. This leg was still in its relative infancy (as compared to European and North American legs) in 2011 when data collection was conducted, but had a dedicated band of supporters who regularly met at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and surrounds to drive forward in support of what they deemed to be a 'global movement'. The individuals under study, or 'initiators', were/are the original founders of Occupy Johannesburg and form/ed something of a 'core group' for the movement. This somewhat informal label arises from the group's desire, not only for equality in politics and socio-economics, but in internal structure as well, resulting in difficulty in using terms such as 'leader' or 'director'. Rather, for the purposes of this text, and in remaining congruent with the members' conception of the group, such terms as initiators, core-group members, and facilitators will be used.

The Occupy Movements worldwide source inspiration from a large variety of individual visionaries, 'revolutionary' organisations, internet-based groups, as well as what is deemed (by members of the movements) to be a necessary revolution against an unjust political, social, and macro-economic status quo imposed upon the life of the ordinary citizen.

While members propagated radical social views based on notions of economic equality for all, an annoyance with legal systems, disillusionment with capitalism and banking systems, and an anarchic stance towards many existing social conditions, they were, from various

purviews, grappling with what exactly their collective mission statement was and how it was to be achieved. At the time of writing this document the pioneering movement, dubbed 'Occupy Wall Street', had its members forcibly evicted from the Zuccotti Park in which they were 'occupying' (i.e. camping, remaining, residing, loitering, and squatting) and from which they were intermittently protesting. This ousting by authorities has in turn led to a generalised reduction in media attention, not only for the foundational movement, but for movements worldwide. Interestingly it would appear, for all intents and purposes, that many movements worldwide still enjoy a similar level of support despite institutional and press-related ignorance and even shunning. Turning attention to the local movements, which exist/existed in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Grahamstown (defunct), Durban, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth (defunct) and East London (defunct), little press coverage has been dedicated to any one of them - yet they continue to operate and even thrive alongside other, more 'traditional' protest organisations (e.g., in particular the South African Communist Party and the Unemployed People's Movement).

Data collection for this study began in late 2011 subsequent to my presence at a meeting of Occupy members near to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and was conducted using internet-based methods. This method of data collection was taken up primarily due to the favourable attitude that these protestors held towards information dissemination and collection via the internet. The internet has served as the only major medium, bar word-of-mouth, through which information sharing (including picture and video information), event and protest organising, and worldwide spreading of these movements has occurred. There is a certain amount of trust for the internet as a medium that is not censored and may be updated with information that can reach a large number of people instantaneously. It is viewed as a free tool for the spread of information and one of the strongest available to protestors. It is for these reasons that *online* surveys eliciting both quantitative and qualitative responses were disseminated in a purposive fashion to a core group of 'Occupy Johannesburg' members. Furthermore, this dissertation made use of a larger than usual (for an academic text) number of informal information sources. This was deemed as being unavoidable as the contemporary nature of the topic under study, the preferred channels of communication used by the study population, and the relative paucity of academic literature available on the topic necessitated consultation with informal blogs, web pages, and texts emanating from a wide variety of influential (to the Occupy Johannesburg Movement) but informal sources. In order to uphold a robust approach to the literature presented in this dissertation, only those informal sources deemed to be pivotal to insights into the group and its member's perceptions and motivations were consulted.

This study took up a mixed methods approach based on responses from a sample of 39 core Occupy Johannesburg members. The major aims were to quantitatively examine the demographic backgrounds of members; their confidence in various social institutions; and what they believed were the greatest sources of division in South Africa. In addition, qualitative examination in the form of 'discursive themes' was implemented in order to unveil the narratives employed by members in terms of how they respond to criticisms levelled against the Occupy Movements; how they believe that the Johannesburg Occupy Movement differs in any significant way from other such movements worldwide; what motivates individual members to be involved in Occupy; and, assuming a subjective utopian perspective, what each individual's social, political, and economic status quo would be if they were to lead a hypothetical community.

An exploratory mixed methods approach was used, which was underpinned by an epistemological stance characterised by critical realism. It was reasoned that such an approach to studying the intended phenomena would provide a comprehensive and complementary (to the nature of the study population's social views) body of research.

1.1 The Research Problem

The research problem for this study concerns factors pertaining to a lack of research focusing on the study population; and confounding information about the Occupy Movement, from both inside and outside of it, and relating to the group's motives, desires, proposed methods by which to achieve resolutions to their concerns, as well certain ironies and confusions about what exactly they stand for and against. These research problems are arguably applicable to all such Occupy Movements worldwide but, while foreign Movements will be mentioned in this study and while a large amount of information is sourced from them, all research problem statements will be asserted with only the Johannesburg leg of the movement as the primary focus of the text.

Below I provide a brief overview of the paucity of social science studies that have attempted to gauge the nature of Occupy Movements and their members and attempt to account for why so few studies exist, followed by a summary of the factors that make this population worthy of social scientific attention in terms of understanding their desires, motives, general rationale, and (at face value) theoretical shortcomings.

1.1.1 A Lack of Research

Occupy Movements have received copious attention from the social science community as regards the ways in which they problematise societal norms and challenge the status quo philosophically and through their protest approaches. As is evident further on in this dissertation, much of the attention exists within the realm of conjecture and pontification or quantitative survey-type studies that attempt to demographically frame those present. It is asserted here that these analyses may not be sufficient in fully comprehending the study population. Moreover, and of greater importance, the Occupy Movements in South Africa have received scant formal attention.

What is paramount in understanding the Occupy Movements worldwide is an initial insight into a unique:

1. **Form of protest:** in that members of these movements aim to be heard through occupation of public spaces in a passive to passive-aggressive manner with no intention of breaching laws within any nation state or territory in which the Occupation occurs;
2. **Subcultural emphasis:** on power relations in terms of “Us versus the State”; “Us versus Capitalism”; “Us versus the banking system”; “Us versus the political status quo” and “Us versus the legal status quo” all at once. In this instance the “Us” refers directly to what is considered to be the majority of the *world’s* citizens - as expressed in the popular statement “*we are the 99%*”. In essence then, members of these groups feel that they represent the *majority of the world’s population*;
3. **Lexicon:** that encapsulates, not only a protest ideology, but one directed at rallying a passive-aggressive, dedicated, critical and emotive uprising;
4. **Collection of people:** who believe in their own intellectual, financial, legal, political, and educational *emancipation* from the many macro-level status quos to which they are subject, and who operate by a knowledge-based ethos through which Anarchic philosophies; anti-establishment rhetoric; and protest discussions are propagated, justified, and furthered.

In the midst of a unique form of protest that has arisen worldwide, a subculture formation against so many commonly accepted social ‘norms’ (e.g., capitalism, common banking practices, the modern democracy etc.), a newly developed lexicon, and galvanised groups of people worldwide who do not share a common language or culture, it may be somewhat apparent as to why relatively little research has been conducted. This may be due, in part, to the complexity of the problem at hand, and the difficulty in approaching it. Another, perhaps more pragmatic reason, may lie in the fact that, at the time of writing this text, the Occupy

Movements' respective existences had been temporally short in nature. This may not have provided social science researchers with the requisite time in order to fully broach, understand, and examine the subject of participant demographics, discourses and the like. Another possible reason may be related to the unpredictable uprisings and global scale of the protests.

While there is an abundance of debate on the matter of Occupy, and an often emotive splintering of opinion regarding the many facets of it, both debate and theorising remain the two largest socially scientific engagements with the movements, as opposed to formal research endeavours. Available bodies of knowledge have been explored further on in this dissertation.

1.1.2 Why This Population is Worthy of Social Science Attention

All of the points below are to be addressed and expanded upon in the literature review of this dissertation but for the purposes of this sub-section they serve as a pertinent insight into that which is unique about the Occupy Movements' members and makes them worthy of research.

This is a band of individuals finding cohesion through overlapping ideologies, centred on a general dissatisfaction with the political, social, and economic climates of the 21st century. What have frequently troubled social commentators, legal institutions, politicians, the media, and even members of Occupy Movements worldwide are: the exact nature, direction, scope, and arrangement of these dissatisfactions. This study sought to explore exactly these, albeit in a South African context, towards understanding the factors bringing these people together; the causes inducing this discontent with the macro-level status quo; the nature of the demographic background of the individuals involved; how this group seeks to qualify the issues and concerns that initially brought its members together, the epistemological and philosophical approaches held within the group, their views on social division, their views on their own movement, and the kind of world they would want to live in.

Why this population of protestors is worthy of social science attention is exactly due to their uniqueness and their social psychological stance towards protest. It is not difficult to recall that, in the history of human kind, many protests have taken place with their aims being to alter or eradicate a major social system towards shifting the accepted zeitgeist of the day. It is somewhat less common though for a protest or revolutionary action to attempt to significantly alter nearly every major facet of economic, legal and political systems and/or

institutions in existence through a dissatisfaction with banking, capitalism in its modern form, the political status quo, numerous practices propagated by modern governments, unemployment, legal issues (such as corporate personage), environmental destruction due to perpetual economic growth, neoliberal economic practices, unequal distribution of wealth, and an anger arising from the perception that unfair and unwarranted circumstances are often forced upon the individual citizen due to the presence of such systems. This makes the movement more unique through a broad dissatisfaction with numerous macro-level institutions, systems, and practices. It by no means stands alone in this regard as some famous examples may attest, such as the French Revolution or the fall of the USSR. Significantly though, this movement differs in that it is not focused in one nation state or region; it is rather a global movement concerned with changing local and international systems. Moreover, the major feature of the movement is peaceful to passive-aggressive occupation. Members of Occupy generally go to great lengths to avoid breaking any laws, to remain non-violent (physically so) at all times, and to merely reside in a predetermined area, to be heard, to rally support, and to do so for an indefinite period (or until the change they are seeking takes place).

In summary, the Occupy Movement is not only idiosyncratic in its approach, but incomparable to other protest actions because:

- It aims to significantly alter multiple high level practices, systems, and institutions;
- It is a global movement with members occupying cities all over the world;
- It is a peaceful form of protest with no intent to inflict harm or damage to people or property.

It is asserted here that such phenomena may be of genuine interest and significance to social science as this movement represents the proverbial 'planting of seeds' for mass social change that may at least be collectively conscious, if not actual, in nature. Furthermore, the members of such movements have reacted to 21st century constraints in a unique way and have problematized the positions of law makers, governments, and big business while inducing dissent to the extent that support for the movements has snowballed. Understanding the perspectives from within Occupy may highlight the perception of 21st century macro-level constraints and pressures experienced by the global citizenry.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is intrinsically linked to the research problem and concerns an understanding of Occupy Movement members, their philosophies, goals, solutions to

sources of dissatisfaction, and demographics, with particular attention paid to the Johannesburg leg.

More specifically, this study sought to elicit responses from members that may assist in gaining insight into the race, age, gender, and education levels held by members in order to better understand their background and fundamental social positioning. In addition, closed-ended questions pertaining to member confidence in social institutions and beliefs about sources of major social division were posed. These were effected in order to better understand the direction and intensity of dissatisfaction towards specific institutions and sources responsible, from the perception of Occupy members, for major social division in South Africa today. Thereafter, four open-ended items allowed members to present views on the focus of Occupy, what makes the Johannesburg leg unique, the individual's motivation for being involved in Occupy, and what their respective hypothetical utopian societies would look like. The study incorporated mixed methods and was underpinned by critical realism.

The purpose of this study then was to:

Better understand, through exploratory mixed methods, the demographic backgrounds of those involved in Occupy Johannesburg, as well as perceptions on, and confidence in, contemporary social phenomena; while gaining insight into the individual and collective members' views on the focus of Occupy, motivation for involvement, uniqueness within the Johannesburg leg, and how they would construct society given the chance.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research, closely tied to the purpose of the study, are listed in point form below:

1. To understand which demographic groups are most heavily involved in Occupy Johannesburg in order to create secondary interpretive findings and as a measure of comparison across other variables/findings.
2. To provide findings on those social institutions that Occupy members hold in the highest and least esteem in terms of the confidence they hold in them. As this movement is one that shows generalised dissatisfaction with many large social institutions it is of value to delineate them and represent those that members indicate as being most and least worthy of their confidence.
3. To gain insight into what Occupy members believe to be the greatest sources of division in South Africa. It has largely been reported that the Occupy Movements are

solely concerned with economic injustices. This is only partially correct in that the major concern, at least as espoused publicly, is for the benefit of, and solidarity for, humanity in general. It is therefore necessary to understand the phenomena that members believe are most responsible for division in South Africa.

4. To understand what the real focus of Occupy is. Many critics have claimed that Occupy Movements consist of disenfranchised youths who lack any clear focus; an objective here is to provide members with the opportunity to clearly state the focus as they see it or to indicate why the formulation of a 'clear focus' might in their view be inimical to the purposes of the movement.
5. To gauge whether or not the Occupy Johannesburg movement is perceived as being unique or merely part of a larger global movement. Occupy movements show strong solidarity with one another and claim to stand for the same principles and against the same global issues. An objective is to understand whether this is truly the case or whether regionally relevant issues confound and/or complicate attempts at global solidarity.
6. To better understand which macro-level factors motivate the *individual* to be involved in Occupy and how he/she believes his/her involvement can alter the status quo. Occupy Movements involvement inherently implies members being dissatisfied with political, social, and economic norms (or a combination of these); it is reasoned that an understanding of the factors motivating respective parties to be involved will allow for perspective on the nature and direction of this discontent.
7. To understand what kinds of social conditions Occupy members would implement if they were allowed the opportunity to do so in a hypothetical community.

2 FRAMING THE OCCUPY MOVEMENT

“Every act of rebellion expresses a nostalgia for innocence and an appeal to the essence of being.”

- Albert Camus

This section of the dissertation aims to delineate and clarify the assumptions, practices, perceptions, and development within and surrounding the Occupy Movement. Overall the motivation for this section is to provide an overview of what exactly Occupy is and what it stands for while including relevant information from a variety of seemingly divergent sources. The section is logically compartmentalised into sub-sections dealing with (1) What Occupy is; (2) Group Dynamics within Occupy; (3) Views and Perceptions of Occupy Movements; (4) Occupy in South Africa.

2.1 What is the Occupy Movement?

In order to obtain information about Occupy activities one must, to a large extent, consult internet-based and, frequently, non-academic sources. Such sources are to be found on the internet in the form of blogs, dedicated webpages, forums, and direct multimedia accounts as they occur. Rarely, one may encounter more directed and formalised sources - these have been included wherever possible.

The Platypus Affiliated Society was established in 2006 as one that “organizes reading groups, public fora, research and journalism focused on problems and tasks inherited from the ‘Old’ (1920s-30s), ‘New’ (1960s-70s) and post-political (1980s- 90s) Left for the possibilities of emancipatory politics today” (Platypus Affiliated Society, 2011, n.p.). In October of 2011 the Society held a roundtable discussion with various stakeholders present in order to ponder the question “What is the Occupy Movement?” The following brief summary arose (Platypus Affiliated Society, 2011, n.p.):

The recent Occupy protests are driven by discontent with the present state of affairs: glaring economic inequality, dead-end Democratic Party politics, and, for some, the suspicion that capitalism could never produce an equitable society. These concerns are coupled with aspirations for social transformation at an international level. For many, the protests at Wall St. and elsewhere provide an avenue to raise questions the Left has long fallen silent on:

What would it mean to challenge capitalism on a global scale? How could we begin to overcome social conditions that adversely affect every part of life? And, how could a new international radical movement address these concerns in practice?

While brief, this summary concisely wraps several pertinent issues into a string of statements that provide insight into a political, economic, and (by implication) societal dissatisfaction and suspicion amongst Occupy members. Furthermore, and congruent with the introductory statements in this text, members are seeking to challenge globally held assumptions and practices.

The Occupy Movement is purported to have been started by 'Adbusters', a Canadian organisation centred on 'Culture Jamming'. The organisation was founded in 1989 with the term Culture Jamming being coined in 1984 as a modern example of *détournement*, which had new life breathed into it with the 'punk' movement of the 1970s (Burrows, 2011). The praxis (employed by this group) of turning the capitalist system on itself, by various techniques, holds great similarity to Occupy tactics and ontological stances. However, one particular difference is the exclusively figurative approach taken up by Occupy members as opposed to literal and physical action in the form of direct pranks or major practical mimicry. Occupy members largely appear to prefer satirical and passive approaches in the form of writings, speeches, and Occupations over actual pranks.

Moreover, Adbusters had arranged numerous protests and activities via online and magazine-type publications but the most well-attended and publicised protest became Occupy Wall Street in September of 2011 (Maillie, 2011). It is this regenerative and resurgent action that set the tone for that which is the subject of this dissertation. It is also this Movement that sparked a worldwide coming together under the banner of 'Occupy'. Wall Street, New York, was a logical place for the epicentre of a Movement engaging in a frustrated uprising against economic practices as it is quite literally the location of the world's most powerful stock exchange and is the location generally perceived to be responsible for the recent global financial crisis of 2008.

The Occupy Movements began to occupy public spaces in cities the world over (generally near to business hubs or stock exchanges) with all manner of individuals leaving their homes in order to camp/squat/protest for prolonged periods in these spaces. As this mass occupation flared into over 1 500 secondary occupations worldwide (Occupy New York, 2011) politicians, the media, businesses, academics, and many other social entities started to ask the question "why are they protesting?" This question is not easily answered and to date remains difficult to comprehensively satisfy. The problem in answering what, at face

value, should be a simple question is tied almost entirely to the nature of the causes of such protests. Occupy members are dissatisfied with major social systems to which global citizens are subject in the 21st century. These, broadly speaking, include the political, economic, educational, religious, environmental, industrial, legal and other social systems which are extremely complicated and multi-faceted as ever changing phenomena. Mass criticism of all of these systems inevitably results in an extraordinarily elaborate tapestry of critique emanating from a vast array of voices. This is further complicated by the globalised nature of the protests as the citizens of each nation state bring forward their own dissatisfactions with the unique systems to which they are subject. It is only possible, for the purposes of concision and the outcomes of this sub-section, to lay bare those particular portions of discontent that are shared by Occupy members the world over. Further, it must be noted at this point that many movements (once again led by the Wall Street leg) have, after careful discussion, created principles and/or constitutions for their respective dispositions in which clarifications are present. The most advanced of these, and one that is held in general agreement by members worldwide, is that of Occupy Wall Street. In this regard three documents are of importance; they are the 'Declaration of The Occupation', 'Statement of Autonomy' and 'Principles of Solidarity' (Occupy Wall Street, 2012). These documents were drafted based on multiple discussion forums, focus group meetings, and debates within the movement. Two of them, namely the Declaration of Occupation and the Statement of Autonomy, will now be analysed as the most valid approach to uncovering information about what the members stand for. The Principles of Solidarity were not included as they were considered as containing highly vague assertions and existed on a document that was significantly less substantial than the other two.

First, the Declaration of Occupation is a document that outlines why members have come together in the first instance. Below is a tabulated version of the list of grievances bringing members together as it appears in the Declaration (Occupy New York, 2011) with notes added by myself (in this point-by-point breakdown *they* refers to large corporations and the perceived socio-economic elite who manage them):

Table 1: Declaration of Occupation with Analytic notes

Points of the Declaration of Occupation	Analytic Notes
1. "They have taken our houses through an illegal foreclosure process, despite not having the	This initial statement is an emotive one appealing to members whose homes have been foreclosed in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis. A major point worth noting is the reference to the fractional reserve

original mortgage.”	banking system in which only a tiny proportion of the money that a bank lends out must be held in reserve. This is a major complaint and point of anger propagated by Occupy members and hence the statement “...despite not having the original mortgage”.
2. “They have taken bailouts from taxpayers with impunity, and continue to give executives exorbitant bonuses.”	A statement from Occupy members expressing disdain at taxpayers bailing out major banks while their leaders enjoy financial rewards. Important to note is the continued targeting of financial institutions.
3. “They have perpetuated inequality and discrimination in the workplace based on age, the colour of one’s skin, sex, gender identity and sexual orientation.”	The list then shifts to more vague territory claiming that ‘they’, or the proverbial ‘powers that be’, are responsible for workplace discrimination. Ambiguities and vagueness aside, this statement does reveal the in-group positing that the political and socio-economic elite are largely accountable for discriminatory woes - a claim that may serve to galvanise support from marginalised populations worldwide by appealing to their lived grievances.
4. “They have poisoned the food supply through negligence, and undermined the farming system through monopolization.”	Occupy members have taken up a critical approach to commercialism and perpetual economic growth in general. In this instance a particular accusation is aimed at commercial agriculture and cost-cutting practices it promotes that result in degradation of the nutritional values of foodstuffs (Shiva, 2012). This statement, perhaps in particular the use of the term ‘poisoned’, shows increased solidarity with so-called ‘Green Movements’.
5. “They have profited off of the torture, confinement, and cruel treatment of countless animals, and actively hide these practices.”	Once again commercialism in its contemporary capitalist form is targeted as a source of outrage with a great many Occupy members revealing concerns relating to animal rights and the exploitation of animals at the hands of corporations. Surprisingly, members’ concern for animal rights is one that has gone largely unnoticed in the popular media but remains a significant area of abhorrence (One Green Planet,

	2011).
6. "They have continuously sought to strip employees of the right to negotiate for better pay and safer working conditions."	The Occupy members, together with various labour unions, have maintained solidarity on the issue of unjust labour laws (Bogardus, 2011). Members believe that large corporations and governments have exploited workers by introducing laws and norms that disallow expedient and fair resolutions to wage and/or safety concerns. This pertains particularly to unskilled and semi-skilled workers.
7. "They have held students hostage with tens of thousands of debt on education, which is itself a human right."	Student populations have notoriously been major contributors to protests worldwide and Occupy is no different. The corresponding statement serves two purposes, the first of which is an obvious appeal to the already massive student support for the movement. The second attacks the practice of charging 'exorbitant' fees for higher education which is, across democratic societies, considered to be a fundamental human right. Occupy members stand together on their insistence that (1) public higher education institutions ought to offer free tuition; (2) any student loan should not be considered as a standard consumer loan and should be offered 'debt-free'; (3) private institutions of higher learning must open their books such that financial transparency is the norm; (4) in a time of major unemployment all student debt should be cancelled by the state and corporations (Principles of Student Debt Campaign, 2011).
8. "They have consistently outsourced labour and used that outsourcing as leverage to cut workers' healthcare and pay."	Occupy members contend here that corporations' use of 'cheaper labour' from the developing world is a practice that undermines the said workers by perpetuating poverty and a lack of resources within those developing populations. In addition, and presented with greater fervour, is the idea that corporations point towards these 'cheaper labourers' in order to hold local labourers to a form of wage ransom. This, it is claimed, is achieved through non-provision of

	<p>benefits and diminished pay for local labour with the ever-present threat that local people may be replaced by their foreign counterparts. Some of the greatest outrage was levelled at the US communications provider AT&T. It is claimed that the company regularly retrenches employees only to re-offer the same positions to the retrenched employees at lower wage rates, even during periods of record profit (Occupy Atlanta, 2012). Even though this firm has received particular ridicule, many large corporations have been fingered as targets by the Movement. The group is also pointing to the increasing practice of big corporations appointing workers on a short-term contract basis rather than as full employees with job security and fringe benefits, and of outsourcing functions (such as cleaning) to smaller companies that have more lee-way to mistreat their employees (Sarmiento, 2012).</p>
<p>9. “They have influenced the courts to achieve the same rights as people, with none of the culpability or responsibility.”</p>	<p>It is important here to reiterate that ‘they’ refers to large capitalist corporations. One of the key precepts of Occupy Movements worldwide centres upon the notion of ‘corporate personage’. The concept of, or rather the practice of, corporate personage (also known as corporate personhood or corporate personality) can be found in almost all legal systems, including South Africa’s. Corporate personage allows registered companies (in South Africa Close Corporations, Private Companies, and Public Companies) to be treated as individual agents or ‘people’ within a court of law and to thereby be eligible for the same legal privileges. Conversely though, the potential negative legal repercussions for the owners/directors of such companies are massively diminished as compared to those of the individual. In South Africa there is a distinction between a natural person (a living human being) and a juristic person (an entity, such as a</p>

	<p>company, that has been provided legal rights under the law). Members of the movement take issue with powerful companies being afforded legal personhood while those who control the corporations remain largely exempt from potential legal proceedings against them. South African law holds that a juristic person is one that bears rights and duties but that is not a natural person (that is, not a human being) and is given legal personality by the law (Companies Act of 2008, 2009).</p>
<p>10. "They have spent millions on legal teams that look for ways to get them out of contracts in regards to health insurance."</p>	<p>Bitter sentiments from employees and former employees regarding unfulfilled obligations on the part of large corporations have been numerous within Occupy. The corresponding statement is aimed at both governments and corporates who are perceived as being responsible for failing to provide that which they originally pledged to. This perception is so strong that a breakaway movement was started in certain foreign countries by the name of 'Occupy Healthcare' (Occupy Healthcare, 2011).</p>
<p>11. "They have sold our privacy as a commodity."</p>	<p>Many of the issues (but not all) surrounding privacy concerns emanate from the lack of privacy in the age of the internet and how large corporations endeavour to sell demographic, opinion-related, personal, and multimedia information to governments, advertisers, and the media. The social media platform Twitter was recently implicated in a court case in which an Occupy member was charged in a court of law with much of the evidence against him being based on statements he made on the social media platform (Gawker, 2012). Further complaints have been levelled against online 'flash' video players through which so-called 'cookies' are stored within the user's web browser that provide personal information and can be accessed and used for online advertising and legal purposes (Occupy Flash, 2012). Furthermore, various consumer action organisations have joined forces with Occupy</p>

	<p>members in this regard claiming that personal financial information has been exploited without consent (Consumer Action Organisation, 2011). There are numerous accounts, press releases, and statements from within Occupy, and in support of Occupy, that reinforce this sentiment across a variety of contexts.</p>
<p>12. “They have used the military and police force to prevent freedom of the press.”</p>	<p>Freedom of press is a major concern within Occupy Movements and one that appears frequently in related discussions. This is due in part to perceived indiscretions on the parts of corporations attempting to conceal any given wrongdoing, but is also seen as a manifestation of a reduction in civil liberties orchestrated by governments worldwide. Occupy members, in support of these claims, cite corporate control over the media such as the ‘fact’ that 6 corporations control 90% of U.S. media (Lutz, 2012); or claims that a multitude of arrests of journalists covering the Occupy Movements have taken place as governments and corporates seek to reduce the overall Movement’s media exposure. In the South African context the passing of the recent Protection of Information Bill 6 of 2012 by the National Assembly (which carries with it potentially severe legal penalties for those in contravention) caused great consternation within Occupy Movements worldwide as they focused their attention on South African media freedom. Moreover, such statements regard the forceful prevention of information in the media with disdain.</p>
<p>13. “They have deliberately declined to recall faulty products endangering lives in pursuit of profit.”</p>	<p>The corresponding statement requires little clarification as it is one that is once again aimed at large corporates whose profit-making is claimed to be of greater concern (to the corporate themselves) than the quality of their product/s. In many instances (claimed by the Occupy Movement to be instigated largely by automotive and pharmaceutical manufacturers) corporate entities have knowingly failed to recall</p>

	products that may, due to their inherent deficiencies/defects, cause harm to human or environmental well-being.
14. "They determine economic policy, despite the catastrophic failures their policies have produced and continue to produce."	<p>Another direct reference to capitalism and its relationship with modern governments. In particular, a large number of Occupy members claim that those responsible for formulating economic policy are indeed the same individuals who stand to gain from it, an ironic and destructive (for the masses) dynamic. Additionally, unequal distribution of resources, global economic collapse, and widespread human suffering have been brought about on numerous occasions while being as a direct consequence of policies formulated by government leaders (influenced by the private sector). As Carter (2011, p. 1), an economist, states: "Perhaps one of the most revolutionary aspects of the expanding Occupy Movement is the open rejection of the economic theory of the 1%; an economic theory that pervades and dominates the curricula of 99% of the college and university courses certainly in this country and indeed worldwide. The arrogance of codified greed as somehow 'human nature', the profane notion that the disparities in income where the rich just keep getting richer at the expense of the rest of us as somehow the 'driver of incentive', and the woefully obscene idea that the most parasitic and unproductive members of society – the 'Paris Hiltons' of this world – somehow 'produce' the wealth that they own, is now being openly rejected (as it should be) by the People Who no longer will accept these lies as 'science.'"</p>
15. "They have donated large sums of money to politicians, who are responsible for regulating	Political donations have long been viewed as controversial in many parts of the world due to the potential for bribery (in the literal sense) within government structures. Occupy members strongly

them.”	<p>contend that corporations supplying ‘donations’ to politicians or political parties only do so in order to ensure the passing of favourable regulations and legislations and blocking of unfavourable ones for themselves (Jilani, 2011). Such activity would, of course, have detrimental effects for the people of any given nation state. Concerning the South African political arena, Judith February – head of Political Information and Monitoring at the African Democracy Institute – states that “Political parties have the right to raise money but they need to be transparent about their sources of funding. At present, in South Africa, there is no legislation governing the receipt of private funding by political parties. This lack of regulation represents a serious gap in the otherwise sound anti-corruption framework that has been put in place since 1994” (2012, p. 1).</p>
16. “They continue to block alternate forms of energy to keep us dependent on oil.”	<p>Another claim by Occupy in which large oil corporations are implicated as being to blame for continued environmental destruction, a perpetuation of world reliance on their products, and for annihilating alternate energy forms through dubious interventions. A list has been drawn up by Curren (2011) regarding the ‘top 5 ways to Occupy Big Oil’; these methods include: 1. Get oil money out of politics (as in point 15 above); 2. Cut subsidies to oil companies; 3. Cut indirect subsidies for oil through the use of current internal combustion engines, roads, and related urban sprawl; 4. Remove barriers to renewable energy; 5. Conserve & relocalise (by this he refers to the difficulty in replacing oil in the short term and suggests a scaling down of orthodox economic activity and a localised injection of efforts towards renewable energy).</p>
17. “They continue to block generic forms of medicine, which could save people’s	<p>Criticism is now levelled at pharmaceutical companies that protect their products (by disallowing, blocking, or challenging generic versions thereof) in the pursuit of</p>

lives or provide relief, in order to protect investments that have already turned a substantial profit.”	greater profits. The Occupy Movements hold such actions as being cruel and inhumane to the extent that potential suffering/death could be avoided/alleviated with the tools available to man but isn’t due to profiteering. An example of this may include the very recent debacle (early July 2012) in which drug giant Pfizer was sued by retailers for stalling generic supplies of the drug Lipitor which treats high cholesterol (Post, 2012). The sentiment against pharmaceutical companies also extends to perceived harm caused by some medications and medical systems. Occupy members even protested at the release of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Psychiatric Disorders 5 th Edition by the American Psychiatric Association, their reasons being that normal human behaviours have been pathologised and marginalised by what they dub to be ‘Big Pharma’ (Psych Rights, 2012).
18. “They have purposely covered up oil spills, accidents, faulty bookkeeping, and inactive ingredients in pursuit of profit.”	A general vagueness begins to descend upon the Declaration of Occupation as of point 18 onwards. This becomes evident in the less focused attempts at encapsulating several unarticulated, yet large, issues in one sentence (point 18). It is further asserted that misinformation is spread through the media in order to maintain a status quo of ‘fear’ within the population at large (point 19) before moving swiftly to point 20 in which accusations of ‘they’ (them) taking on private contracts to commit murder, colonialism (point 21), mass torture and further murder of innocents (22), and finally the creation of weapons of mass destruction towards financial gain. Commentary for these final 6 points has been grouped because (1) they reside within the same level of vagueness and near ambiguity; (2) doing so allows the reader insight into some of the more obvious criticisms levelled against Occupy as a movement (i.e. the proverbial ‘rebels
19. “They purposefully keep people misinformed and fearful through their control of the media.”	
20. “They have accepted private contracts to murder prisoners even when presented with serious doubts about their guilt.”	
21. “They have perpetuated colonialism at home and abroad.”	

22. "They have participated in the torture and murder of innocent civilians overseas."	without a clear cause') and (3) a last insight into the sheer scale and plethora of dissatisfactions furthered by the movement.
23. "They continue to create weapons of mass destruction in order to receive government contracts."	

It is once again evident here that the large number and wide scope of issues put forward by the Occupy Movement have resulted in a significant amount of confusion surrounding what it is that the Movement aims to achieve. Additionally, individual voices from the movement that arise seemingly at random and with their own sometimes idiosyncratic purviews relating to the importance of one issue over another, serve to further confound causes from within and perspectives from outside. Nonetheless, what must be noted are stances that are accusational, angry, imbued with dissatisfaction while holding generally high levels of insight into complicated systems-based subject matter, as well as the extent to which so-called systemic failures are perceived to have occurred. This insight and these claims extend into legal issues, commerce, economics, labour practices, politics, international relations, environmental awareness, human rights, and animal rights on a global scale. This is to say that Occupy protestors operate globally on an apparently informed basis even amidst the plentiful list of issues, dissatisfactions, and points of querulous vexation. These parties do not merely take to the streets in an effort to raise awareness about unemployment or to relay their political grievances; theirs is rather an overall systemic dissatisfaction with macro-level modern day capitalist and political practices as well as with those who perpetuate them.

Having laid bare the fundamental tenets that form the Declaration of Occupation, focus is now turned to the Statement of Autonomy. The Statement of Autonomy is a short set of principles espousing the independence of the Occupy Movement from other bodies, organisations, and/or donors, while claiming that the Movement is a voluntary, non-profit one that holds transparency in the highest regard. Fundamentally, this document lays out how the Occupy Movement operates as an entity. Below, and contained in table 2.2, the major precepts of the Statement of Autonomy may be found (Occupy New York, 2012) once again with corresponding analytic notes added. Additionally it must be stated that this version of

the Statement was released having passed through a general assembly meeting on the 3rd of March 2012.

Table 2: Statement of Autonomy with Corresponding analytic Notes

Points of The Statement of Autonomy	Analytic Notes
1. "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 brand. It is not for sale."	The Occupy Movement re-asserts its position as being autonomous and separate from any form of capitalist, value-based, ideology – this point also says more than that, namely that internally they will not operate in a traditional hierarchical or overly programmed manner (party-less, leaderless). It emphasises that there is representation of the members but that as a collective they are unwilling to seemingly 'reduce' their group to systemic conformity (politically or economically) – here the group displays its anarchist roots.
2. "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."	Occupy positions itself as a movement that is not based on race, gender, sexual orientation or creed (a fundamental that has been seen across the world) while promoting a forum for the expression of grievances through non-violent means. Thereafter there is reference to participatory democracy; a term that appears frequently in Occupy circles and literature, and one that refers to literal participation as well as near consensus requirements prior to decision-making. The final welcoming of dissent ties in neatly with the underlying anarchic sentiments within the movement (Graeber, 2012).
3. "We wish to clarify that Occupy Wall Street is not and never has been affiliated with any established political party, candidate or organization. Our only affiliation is with the people."	Yet another reinforcement from within the Movement showing that affiliations remain with members as well as the public at large and with no other entities. Interestingly the group uses the term 'clarify', suggesting that there is a need to pin down the exact agenda. This may well be a backlash at those attempting to 'make safe' the movement by framing it in terms that are suitable to conventional categories

	<p>or those attempting to undermine it through accusative statements that include affiliations with those they stand against. Further, it may be a focused attempt to reiterate the fact that the group does not hold desires to be defined or understood through conventional categories offered by the system. This statement shows clarification but also a certain subversion of the 'system'.</p>
<p>4. "The people who are working together to create this movement are its sole and mutual caretakers. If you have chosen to devote resources to building this movement, especially your time and labour, then it is yours."</p>	<p>A statement reflecting the sense of joint ownership that exists within Occupy circles. Camaraderie has formed within isolated movements and between members from different movements across the world who affiliate themselves with the Occupy stance. The corresponding statement fuses the attractiveness of camaraderie with a certain politicised claim that one may have a stake in (or be one with) the movement through the provision of one's time and labour. The second sentence shows a slight subversion of capitalist notions of ownership – not if you paid for it it's yours, but if you worked for it it's yours.</p>
<p>5. "Any organization is welcome to support us with the knowledge that doing so will mean questioning your own institutional frameworks of work and hierarchy and integrating our principles into your modes of action."</p>	<p>Here the references to work and hierarchy imply that any organisation looking to become allied with the movement will necessarily, in so doing, undermine their current (capitalist) mode of being, while shifting towards a generalised anarchist paradigm. The closing section of the sentence holds within it a robust stance, one that enforces the notion that Occupy shall not waiver and that external organisations may join and adhere or not join at all.</p>
<p>6. "SPEAK WITH US, NOT FOR US."</p>	<p>Reference to the joint action, joint democracy, and joint statement process that exists within Occupy. Members are not encouraged to make claims on behalf of Occupy, rather all press releases or information dissemination must take place after the staging of a general assembly, a forum, or a public meeting in which consensus is reached. This does</p>

	not necessarily mean that statements in isolation will not be tolerated, rather that such isolated statements may not be claimed as the general view of the movement.
7. "Occupy Wall Street values collective resources, dignity, integrity and autonomy above money. We have not made endorsements. All donations are accepted anonymously and are transparently allocated via consensus by the General Assembly."	Group values, human dignity, autonomous action, and collective efforts are explicitly stated as being valued above money. It is then iterated that no endorsements are made, any money or goods received or donated are done so without the donor receiving special credit while they are allocated with transparency it is claimed. Such practices marry with the Occupy principles as no single party may receive greater praise or exposure than another through the provision of wealth or goods to the movement and any such wealth or goods given to the movement may only be allocated with transparency and through collective democratic endeavours. While it is not known whether South African movements have working finance/goods handling wings, foreign movements do have Finance Working Groups and Accounting sections - whose job it is to manage resources, maintain transparency, and track donations (Aguirre, 2011).
8. "We acknowledge the existence of professional activists who work to make our world a better place. If you are representing, or being compensated by an independent source while participating in our process, please disclose your affiliation at the outset. Those seeking to capitalize on this movement or undermine it by appropriating	While notice and respect is given to those taking part in Occupy but who may emanate from other causes, it is required that they formally disclose such affiliations – this appears to be fully tolerated. It is once again all aspects pertaining to personal gain and/or monetary gain that are views with derision, especially in any instance in which the Occupy 'banner' is used to further such gains.

its message or symbols are not a part of Occupy...”	
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The Statement of Autonomy reflects some of the peculiarities of the Occupy Movement, particularly in the social sense. It is claimed to be egalitarian and leaderless simultaneously, a rare phenomenon among social movements, while maintaining undercurrents of an anarchist ethos. The movement continues (throughout the Statement and in general endeavours) to stress its independence from politics and corporations, and to vehemently position itself as a leaderless movement in which all who take part also take ownership, donations are received anonymously, and resources dealt with transparently. This explanation appears highly open, welcoming to members, and flexible based solely on the three sentences above, although restrictions and parameters slowly filter through for members: organisations are welcome to join but required to conform; members may not autonomously make claims on behalf of the movement; they may only express themselves alongside the entire group; and they may not leverage the Occupy name for any form of personal gain or furthering of individual desires. It is at this juncture that delving into the social dynamics of Occupy becomes pertinent.

2.2 Group Dynamics Within Occupy Movements

In the introduction to this text it was stressed that Occupy Movement members value the *sui generis* that they have manufactured from within. The groups have certain unique characteristics and it is within this section that such a claim shall be validated. This uniqueness comes about as a function of external demands and frustrations (as provided in the previous section) but also from internal and intra-group practices. Members hold in positive regard the basic dignity of humanity, particularly, and externally, as and when they perceive it to be threatened by systemic encroachment. Moreover, and internally, this ethos is furthered and perpetuated by a desire for solidarity in the face of such so-called systemic failures for the people. As has been clear in this text, the formation of committees and portfolios is central to movements the world over and it is through such committee formation that various internal mission statements, objectives, and principles are formed on an on-going basis. Within these, there are no clear leaders, rather a community system in which voices are heard, notions acknowledged and general consensus reached by way of organised interaction. It is intra-group communication in particular that holds the greatest intrigue for many. In an effort to avoid breaching laws in the public meeting/protest places that Occupy members make use of, members have to be creative in their communication

methods, particularly when thousands are present. The use of the internet is massively prevalent in terms of posting information or disseminating it to large worldwide audiences, but in live communication the use of digital speaker systems, microphones and the like has been avoided. Using such devices would attract legal attention as charges relating to disturbances of the peace (or their derivatives worldwide) could be levelled against the movement. Breaking of laws is strictly forbidden as Occupy members seek to uphold a passive-aggressive stance that does not infringe upon legislation/s or regulation/s but rather upsets the social zeitgeist, educates others about particular qualms, and rallies within the public eye. While maintaining public exposure and rallying towards various end goals, a great deal of interest has been focused upon the bottom up approach within the movement. By this it is meant that members behave interpersonally, and with social norms, that are in line with the structure of world systems that they desire. Occupy members purport to strive towards such ideals as financial, social, and educational equality through free markets, eradication of debt driven systems, egalitarian principles, and generalised systemic relief for global societies. This is claimed to be driven from within through consideration of numerous opinions among members, leaderless operations, the notion of 'gifting' (providing goods or services with no expectation of personal returns), and a certain positive regard for humanity in general. This brief description is undoubtedly indicative of a group holding utopian ideals focused both internally and externally. While the aim of this section is not to prove or disprove the utopian nature of the groups worldwide, but rather to outlay the pervasive social modes of interaction, it is worth noting that the desired status quos for human systems are purportedly manifested and practiced internally.

Firstly, the formation of general assemblies has already been broached and forms a pivotal part of movements worldwide. The notion of a general assembly is one that fits congruently with 'providing a voice for all' as it was proposed, from the very inception of Occupy, as the best mode of ensuring that all members have a say and that no single voices of greater strength permeate towards leadership and power over others. The general assembly then serves as a platform from which joint decision making, articulation of needs, strategy formulation, fundraising and growth can be discussed (Occupy Together, 2011). Much is centred on the general assembly in each movement worldwide as it plays a pivotal, tactical and inclusive role. It is indeed the inclusive nature of the assembly model that typifies the social dynamics within Occupy as a whole and it is the initial members of the Occupy Johannesburg leg's general assembly who formed the sample within this study.

An insightful analysis of the occupation of time is provided by Adams (2011) when he analyses the Occupy Movement against other historical protest groups and isolates time as the 'winning' variable. Adams claims that it is foolish to classify Occupy Movements as static

groups merely occupying space; instead it is the grinding element of time that proves most decisive. In his essay ("Occupy Time") he further postulates that the occupation of time has led to a more tactical and ever-ready shift that allows for response in the face of constantly changing situations enforced from above (governments, law enforcement, potential sabotage etc.) and the introduction of new norms from below. As one social commentator (Chancellor, 2012, p. 1) puts it when referring to the recent Italian economic crisis (an occurrence met with a jaded disdain from within Occupy): "Rome wasn't built in a day, and nor can the Italian welfare state be dismantled in one". Such a statement succinctly ties into the dynamics present in the points made by Adams – that the decreased media coverage, efforts by governments (regardless of their motives), and other constraints have done little to actually squash Occupy Movements worldwide. Rather the Occupation of time itself has been shown over and over again when Occupiers are evicted from public spaces and merely restart in private ones, or in many instances the dispersion of members from one Movement has led to the uprising of several other Occupy Movements. This is yet another idiosyncrasy of the Movement – it does not appear to splinter, that is to say that rival groups do not arise from within, instead 'dendrites' of the same origin (in actuality and conscience) seem to disperse outwards across the globe.

Brown (2011) provides a political (and philosophical) perspective on the origins of Occupy in relation to neoliberal tendencies that have swept across the globe. Interestingly, her view ties into the temporal-political milieu in a way that is congruent with the Occupy stance when she states that:

"If neoliberal economic policies eliminating state benefits and public goods while plumping the nests of the rich have paradoxically joined the fates of heretofore diverse and often divided generations, job sectors, races and classes, neoliberal political policies aimed at breaking social solidarities have similarly paved the road for broad-based democratic uprising"
(Abstract).

While neoliberalism is not the focus of this section it is useful to juxtapose and relate the overall social uprising that is Occupy with neoliberal practices. Neoliberalism appears to have produced exactly what Adams proposes (above) – it has created conditions under which not only capitalist exploitation but also protest solidarity have thrived, at least in the case of Occupy.

Another factor mentioned previously is the Occupy Movement's anarchist roots. A pamphlet circulated at Occupy gatherings (van Gelder, 2011, p. 40) aptly sums this up by claiming that:

“Affinity groups...decide on their own what they want to do and how they want to do it, and aren’t obliged to take any orders from any person on top. As such, they challenge top-down decision-making and organising, and empower those involved to take direct action in the world around them...Affinity groups by nature are decentralised and non-hierarchical, two important principles of anarchist organising and action.”

This statement, broadly advertised at gatherings, succinctly underpins anarchist claims and backgrounds that seem to assist in justification for moving against the state and prevailing impositions.

It may be claimed overall that consensus-based democracy, neoliberalism as an aggravating force, leaderless structures, egalitarian approaches, the occupation of time, and anarchist principles are the salient features of Occupy – all driven from and through the various general assemblies. A turn is taken here towards how communication flows both within the group and from the group towards the outside world.

Communication is essential for any movement to ensure both structure within and dissemination of messages to the outside social environment. Internet technology is the most widely used communication tool within the movement. This is due to the relative freedom and anonymity it provides as well as the rapid pace at which updates, so that outcomes of decisions, and rally information can be released. Additionally, it links well with the largely regulated but informal nature of the protests. Social mobilisation through online mediums is a phenomenon that has received fair attention in the recent past but as Theocaris (2012) points out, we have extensive theoretical frameworks about these practices but little knowledge of how they work in actuality. Such groups who use online methods of social mobilisation have been (of which Occupy Movements are one) referred to as ‘Social Movement Online Communities’ by Caren, Jowers, and Gaby (2012). These researchers go on to define such a group as “a sustained network of individuals who work to maintain an overlapping set of goals and identities tied to a social movement linked through quasi-public online discussions” (Caren et al., 2012, p. 163). It has been purported that the recent Arab Spring was a large source of inspiration for the Occupy Movement and that it too shared the use of technological communications mediums in its uprising and coordination procedures (Skinner, 2011).

It is the term ‘quasi-public’ that is of importance here as these online communication mediums are generally designed for the consumption of Occupy members or for purposes of introducing the Occupy paradigm to prospective members; BUT the nature of online communication is such that a wide variety of individuals and organisations are able to view

internal and external bound interactions and information sending. Indeed major sources of information for the media reporting on the movement have been blogs, websites, and online forums while simultaneously and expediently serving the movement and curious members of the public at large. In this respect Occupy has also managed to subvert and blur existing categories of communication (in this case internal versus external and private versus public).

Perhaps of even greater importance has been the role played by social media in disseminating multimedia information such as videos and pictures while allowing people to follow trends as and when they occur. Clark (2012) conducted a qualitative study showing how social media effectively served as a communication and information gathering tool for those involved in the movement in various capacities. This form of communication has challenged beliefs that social movements consist of a 'groupthink' psychology with little personal initiative; instead it has provided increasing connection for individuals who, through web 2.0 technology, are able to converse as a group and with diffuse boundaries.

In addition to technological communication mediums there are orthodox rally conversations, speeches, and physical communication activities taking place at actual Occupations. One ingenious method of speech-delivering is conducted through a single spokesperson whose message is repeated by surrounding listeners in a concentric pattern. In this way individual speakers take turns to express their particular messages in a sentence-by-sentence approach (pausing after each) while the nearest others, in physical proximity, shout each sentence in series after it has been spoken with the next surrounding group after them shouting it again in an almost 'verbal Mexican wave' that moves outward concentrically. This has formed in a highly organised and efficient way for mass groups to be able to hear the messages of a single speaker without the use of microphones and speaker systems which, under many national or regional laws, would constitute an irregularity or breach of such laws. This became known as the 'human microphone'. Over and above technological and speech-making communications, support communications take place through pamphlet delivery and protest banners as well as a large number of interpersonal verbal communications that occur informally between members.

Well-conceived banner communications have become a hallmark of Occupy Movements, while interpersonal communications take place as a matter of course with large numbers of people camping in (Occupying) public spaces beside one another for lengthy periods of time or, at the very least, meeting regularly. In many such instances public mobile libraries, kitchens and sanitation facilities have been donated or slowly established in order for basic sustenance and group ideologies of sharing to be furthered. The lexicon and discourses employed by the Occupy Movement frequently provide the clearest indications as regards

group ideals and frustrations and these may be simply laid out in the form of popular phrases and banner terms coined by the group. Often acrimonious, humorous, or keenly thought out, many catch phrases have been generated, accepted, and spread (or have ‘gone viral’ in contemporary speak) that have accurately summated the Occupy stance. Table 3 provides brief insights into a selection of phrases that have become popular within Occupy and in the media when discussing the movement. Such phrases do much to additionally gauge the general discourses employed by the movement, a useful insight as qualitative data is arranged thematically and discursively as a form of analysis in this dissertation.

Table 3: Popularised Phrases Employed by Occupy Members

Phrase	Explanation
“We are the 99%”	This has become synonymous with the movement and has turned into something of a felicitous slogan. Quite literally it holds the implication that ‘we’ are the overwhelming majority, yet ‘we’ are perceived to be suffering financial and personal ills under a failing democratic system, while the 1% prospers. This dichotomy of 99% versus 1% is a sensationalised statistic, not one to be considered literally. This is rather a fabricated statistic with underlying meanings pertaining to dissatisfactions with disparities in access to resources and power and perhaps one aimed at showing that Occupy is much larger than merely those who arrive at meetings and protests.
“I could lose my job having a voice”	Direct reference to the hypocrisy of democracy and capitalism in that exercising the legal right to protest may indeed reduce one’s

	personal powers and opportunities within such systems.
"Give me back my future!"	A student protest statement that arose soon after the Arab Spring and in the aftermath of the financial crisis. The youth created posters with the faces of bank executives on them accusing such executives of literally 'stealing' future possibilities from the youth.
"Brother, could you spare a BILLion?"	A popular banner with a play on words, initially and sarcastically appealing to the perceived enemy as 'brother', and asking for a monetary bill (bank note), mixed with and juxtaposed against a billion such bills – a bitter attack on the economically privileged (so-called 1%).
"Lost my job, found an Occupation"	A powerful expression of solidarity with the movement after the loss of employment experienced by millions worldwide.
"Sorry, the revolution will not be televised due to media corruption, greed, and fear"	The 'revolution', as perceived by Occupy members, started to lose the media attention it first attracted, this prompted widespread indignation and accusations of media firms being controlled by governments and corporations.
"I'll believe corporations are people when we execute one of them"	A reference to the notion of corporate personhood with the clear message that corporations are not human beings and are not subjected to the same legal

	measures punitively but do enjoy the same privileges under the law.
"Politicians should wear suits like racing car drivers so we can identify their corporate sponsors"	An assertion aimed at creating awareness of large scale corporate sponsorship of politicians implying that this leads to diminished democracy.
"No bears, no bulls, just pigs"	A scathing attack, and very popular statement, using a play on the investment terms bull (upturn in value/activity) and bear (downswing) by stating that only 'pigs' - the powerful involved in the financial industry - are present within it.

These brief, informal, yet striking statements have found relevance for large numbers of Occupy members worldwide as poignant statements against macro-level systems. A myriad of such phrases exist within Occupy circles and, while what is presented above represents only a small yet popular sample thereof, it portrays a distinct passive-aggressive stance towards today's banking, capitalist, legal and political systems with a continuation of Occupy's culture jamming roots.

2.3 Views and Perceptions Against Occupy Movements

This section seeks to briefly expose the converse viewpoints and antitheses to The Occupy Movement's stance, dissatisfactions and approach to rectifying the perceived systemic ills. As with any social movement expressing mass dissatisfaction with norms, opposing debate and philosophical differences will always arise.

While presenting alternative arguments, and setting a space for them was deemed to be necessary in framing the Occupy Movement's theoretical position, it does not directly contribute to this text to a comparable extent as the preceding sections do. For this reason, major standpoints against the Movement are presented in bullet form below:

- In South Africa the top 1.5% of income earners in 2009 paid 25% of all income taxes (Anna-Maree, 2011), in the U.S. this figure, in 2007, was higher with the top 1% of

income earners contributing 40% of all income tax payments (Hodge, 2009). This is an obvious burden for those who are high earners and who belong to the so-called '1%';

- There are indeed companies who are inherently (or at least partially) 'good', i.e. corporates who do not work by manipulation tactics, large firms who are not responsible for financial crises, and companies whose creation of wealth arises through a symbiotic consumer relationship;
- The Occupy Movement does not have a defined manifesto, set of demands, or outright requirements;
- Members of Occupy groups have been found to have higher mean levels of education and other socio-economic measures; add to this the creativity and drive displayed in their structural and organisational capacities and they too may attain places among the '1%' (Occupy RWC, 2011);
- So many peripheral groups and bodies have attached themselves to Occupy concerns that delineating specific details pertaining to who members are and what they stand for is difficult;
- Occupy members frequently hold communal 'gifting' sessions or organised sessions aimed at assisting one another, e.g., knitting of woollen hats for people Occupying spaces in the cold or mass preparation of foodstuffs for sustenance. An argument against this ties into why Occupy members are not engaging in charitable activities for those who are homeless not out of choice (Occupying) but originally, helplessly and even necessarily homeless;
- A criticism that members have had difficulty responding to is one claiming that small businesses have suffered surrounding Occupied areas due to police presence, consumer weariness, and related issues. Added to this are claims of vandalism and theft, all of which are incongruent with Occupy standpoints as small business owners themselves are part of the '99%' (Bischoff, 2011);
- Protesting on behalf of people whose homes were foreclosed is useless as the majority of them did not read the terms and conditions of their loans;
- Banking and investment industries are vital economic institutions for a multitude of reasons. Simply put, they must exist in order for the economic system to grow, advance and diversify. Additionally, many protests are levelled against bankers, traders, and stock exchanges and the overriding sentiments emanating from those sources is that they fundamentally are unburdened and unperturbed by protests that they can merely pass off with great ease (Indiviglio, 2011);

- There have been too many arrests for unruly and violent behaviour at Occupations. Moreover, the protestors have openly received praise from communist and Nazi organisations, a fact that has alienated both liberal and conservative thinkers from their cause (Human Events, 2011);
- It would appear that a great number of people worldwide experience a certain cognitive dissonance in their view of Occupy Movements, particularly those of a more conservative persuasion. On one hand the movement represents the majority of the world's population in terms of income, socio-economic class, and dissatisfaction with systemic issues. On the other hand the people of Occupy Movements worldwide have been labelled as radicals, 'hippies', and the most fringe of liberals which is a group identity too foreign for many to associate with.

Although the major arguments against Occupy, presented above, hold both factual and debatable validities, one large shortfall is that they do not, as a general rule, discuss any systemic ills. All arguments exist within the realm of current systems - there is little desire to deconstruct, or even discuss them in a negative or (presumably) meritorious fashion. All discussions regarding the nature of economic, political, and corporate systems are avoided or ignored while details and processes receive focus. This has been a rebuttal on the part of Occupy members.

An additional comment worth adding here is that a relative lack of clarity, although a weakness of the movement, is also its strength. Occupy Movements are different from political parties, formal corporations, and religious organisations precisely because they do not have a clear platform but embrace an open agenda. Much of what has been written about them in the media and in the burgeoning academic literature, including sympathetic analyses, is an attempt at clarification and pinning down, but finding ways of being more in sympathy with the provisionality of Occupy is key. Occupy embraces its ever-provisional status and is not concerned with forcing an identity. Viewing the movement from this perspective is to move closer to understanding Occupy as it understands itself.

Exhaustive analyses of debates ensuing between Occupy members and others were deemed redundant towards the outcomes of this study. For this section the brief but prominent anti-Occupy criticisms will suffice in giving credence to those opposed to the movement while allowing for insight into possible shortfalls thereof.

2.4 Occupy in South Africa

Opposing current economic praxis, the political status quo, corporate greed and corruption, and infusing these with local and developing concerns are the Occupy Movements of South Africa. South Africa's Occupy Movements, like over a thousand worldwide, took inspiration from the original Wall Street uprising, were apparently motivated by the same systemic conditions and have adopted very similar norms and tactics. Movements emerged in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town, Grahamstown, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London with the Pretoria and East London legs being the smallest in terms of membership and support.

Below, are short descriptions of each of these seven legs, with the final section dedicated to Occupy Johannesburg, the leg which forms the focus of this dissertation.

2.4.1 Occupy Pretoria

A tiny movement that, for all intents and purposes, was only known to have held one formal protest.

2.4.2 Occupy East London

Once again, a very small movement that appeared active in late 2011 but has subsequently dissipated in numbers and intensity to the extent that there is currently no indication of its existence.

2.4.3 Occupy Durban

The Occupy Durban Movement has been quite prolific in the South African context through Occupations of Umlazi, Clairwood, and Marrianridge (Abahlali baseMjondolo Press Statement, 2011). Additionally Durban City Hall has been a venue for organised protest Occupation (United for #Globalchange, 2011).

This group has operated under the names Occupy Durban and 'Abahlali baseMjondolo' directly translated as 'shack dwellers'. It is a group comprising people from predominantly poor socio-economic areas who had initially banded together, prior to Occupy uprisings, in protest against service delivery, income inequality, and institutional failings. Abahlali baseMjondolo joined forces with Occupy Durban in late 2011 and the two groups shared

many ideals and learnt much from one another as regards the bases for their respective grievances. This merger may well be viewed as collaboration between those with ideological systemic grievances and the indigent with lived physical ones. What is interesting to note is that Abahlali baseMjondolo is an organisation that also does not hold a strong direct leadership structure, is not affiliated with any particular political party, and holds as its concerns all matters relating to empowerment of ordinary citizens economically and democratically.

The Durban Occupy Movement attained relative notoriety in December of 2011 when the city hosted the 17th Conference of the Parties under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, or COP17 for short. Protests took place outside of the conference venue with Occupiers claiming that the needs of the 99% were not being discussed and that large corporates were occupying seats that should be held by ordinary concerned citizens. They argued that superficial discussions were taking place about the future of Earth's natural resources and ecosystems and that the results thereof would ultimately benefit large corporates and the politicians supported by them (SAPA-AFP, 2011).

2.4.4 *Occupy Grahamstown*

Occupy Grahamstown has been a highly active movement considering the relatively small size of the town. Once again Abahlali baseMjondolo protestors have merged with Occupiers towards a similar ideological protest standpoint (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2011). The movement in this centre is supported almost exclusively by students, academics, and the socio-economically disadvantaged (as opposed to other movements with large numbers of middle-class protestors). In Grahamstown marches and Occupations have been arranged in public spaces such as the local botanical gardens, surrounding townships, and the town square (Frontlines ed., 2011).

2.4.5 *Occupy Port Elizabeth*

Occupy Port Elizabeth is yet another movement whose existence was short-lived and protest presence minor.

2.4.6 *Occupy Cape Town*

Occupy Cape Town has enjoyed passionate and sustained support with Occupations mostly taking place within the central business district and around the Gardens of Parliament (Urban Sprout, 2011) as well as Rondebosch Common. In fact approximately 40 people were arrested in Cape Town in early 2012 while preparing to launch a demonstration (Qalam, 2012). Occupy Cape Town was one of the first South African movements to respond to the global hype exerted by Occupy Wall Street (AFP, 2011) - inspired by that Movement, Occupiers in Cape Town deemed their city to be one of the most unequal and segregated in the world and therefore called for a 'World Revolution Day' and in so doing received support from movements worldwide (Sacks, 2011). Occupy Cape Town remains an active movement.

2.4.7 *Occupy Johannesburg*

Finally, and most notably as the subject of this dissertation, is a review of Occupy Johannesburg and its presence in the largest city in South Africa. Occupy Johannesburg is a movement that is active in the economic hub of the African continent, a position that is both a relative protest privilege and burden as regards Occupy standpoints. Compared with other South African cities Occupiers in Johannesburg face monumental institutions (governmental, corporate, banking) as well as the national stock exchange as protest targets. Additionally, the city is the most densely populated and faces some of the greatest social and urban difficulties in Africa, the likes of which are significant targets of discontent from an Occupy perspective.

Occupy Johannesburg is primarily an Occupation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE), an institution regarded as being at the virtual heart of African capitalism and one that, from the Occupy perspective, perpetuates inequality, corruption, and corporate power while undermining individual autonomy and playing into both the detested neoliberalism mentioned earlier as well as the perceived profiteering and greed-minded activities that ultimately create greater socio-economic inequalities. This group has picketed and continuously congregated outside the JSE while periodically falling back to a local common, The Mushroom Farm Park, a zone falling under the auspices of Johannesburg City Parks. In this common members are able to retreat from threats, meet to discuss strategy and protest ideology, as well as to delineate member concerns and insights from Occupy tactics and to arrange a certain identity for Occupy Johannesburg as a strategic Occupying force. The Mushroom Farm Park is situated in Sandton, Johannesburg, approximately 500m from the JSE. In terms of spatial

arrangements there is arguably no better location for an economic, political, and socio-economic protest than this as within short distances of the JSE one may find offices or branches of almost every major local and international investment or banking firm operating in South Africa. Such ubiquity of these firms allows for a greater sensation of 'presence' on the part of Occupy members and vice versa, although the 'protest burden' does extend that much further as the JSE and surrounds may be equated with New York's Wall Street in the African context.

Occupy Johannesburg is not a large movement consisting of thousands upon thousands of protestors like European and North American Movements; it is rather a movement consisting of a dedicated band of 'core' members with a large number of peripheral Occupiers whose presence is intermittent. While it is difficult to be accurate in estimating the actual number of members gathering physically, or through secondary facilitation, in Johannesburg, word-of-mouth reports would claim that approximately one thousand have, at some time or another, appeared in solidarity with the movement. It is the 'core' members who form the sample in this text as it is they who have pushed ahead with the group's ideological formation, physical presence, and assembly discussions in joint forum.

Occupy Johannesburg Members largely conform to the ideals set out by the original protest movements and are loosely motivated by the same dissatisfactions. Occupy Wall Street rhetoric is frequently quoted, as are anarchic and anti-establishment statements. This alone is insufficient for the progression of a South African movement of this kind and it would appear that members are aware of this in their acknowledgement of the developing world issues faced in South Africa. Moreover, it would appear that the disdain displayed in the general discourse employed by this group in relation to South Africa's income inequalities, poverty problems, and stark socio-economic divides in all spheres are indicative of a group galvanised towards their cause by local motivating factors. Banter surrounding these issues is a frequent topic of discussion.

2.4.8 *Occupy South Africa – Operation Ubuntu*

South African Occupy Movements hold one more idiosyncrasy that both distinguishes them from international movements and creates synergy between these local movements. All respective movements have operated under the banner of Occupy South Africa, also commonly referred to as Operation Ubuntu or 'Taking back South Africa'. This operation, or movement, holds little physical value as regards the presence of people or protest milieu; it is rather a 'virtual banner' under which representation takes place. Operation Ubuntu or

Occupy South Africa is a front that was formed through online mediums, such as social media, for the generalised representation of South African Occupy Movements and their allies as well as for the dissemination of information and coherent protest operations between movements.

It must be borne in mind that South African Occupy Movements are widely dispersed and do not, respectively, enjoy the immense support that many of their foreign counterparts do. It is likely these reasons that are responsible for the formation of a larger forum through which communication and representation can take place. South African supporters of Occupy Movements frequently interact in their thousands through these online channels in response to local and international events and issues. Occupy South Africa is not so much an independent movement as a blanket term for all local Occupy events, thoughts, debates, and standpoints.

3 THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVES ON OCCUPY & PROTEST

“Capitalism inevitably and by virtue of the very logic of its civilization creates, educates and subsidizes a vested interest in social unrest.”

- Joseph A. Schumpeter

While portions of the previous introductory and contextualising sections about the Occupy Movement may be viewed as reviews of literature in their own respective rights, I now turn towards a more formal review of literature by the academic social science community. It was mentioned previously that ‘a relative paucity’ of literature exists on the topic of Occupy; while this holds somewhat true it does not by any means imply that no literature exists that may be of use in framing the subject matter at hand. While many portions of literature could be applied in this section I limit the information contained here to social psychological theories of protest as well as a review of Anarchy. This literature review aims to frame the Occupy Movement alongside currently accepted notions of protest ideology and protest psychology, specifically in terms of the elements present in the formation of social protest. Thereafter, a section dedicated to anarchy and questioning authority is presented followed by information on the people involved in Occupy that has emerged from several surveys and interview studies that have taken place in foreign Occupy Movements. These survey findings may loosely serve as a baseline for the current study, both in terms of the demographic positions of Occupy members worldwide, as well in terms of their generalized beliefs about the movement and the perceived systemic injustices they stand against.

3.1 Social Psychology and Elements of the Formation of Protest

Classical theories of protest assert that individuals and organisations engage in protest in order to express grievances that arise from relative deprivation, frustration, or perceived injustice (Berkowitz, 1972). This may be understood as a high level description of protest that surrounds and captures almost any form of social unrest; furthermore one may logically agree that Occupy Movements and their members broadly conform to this description as protests have arisen from a sense of socio-economic, educational, and political deprivation with ensuing frustration in response to perceived injustice globally. More recently though, scholars have aimed not so much at exploring whether those involved in protests are aggrieved, but whether or not aggrieved people actually engage in protest (Goodwin & Jasper, 2012). From this interest onwards, the social psychology of protest has focused on

the roles played by grievances, efficacy, identity, emotions, and social embeddedness (Klandermans & van Stekelenburg, 2010). It will be these five notions and factors that will be investigated in relation to Occupy as they represent some of the most recent and most accepted research topics and areas of theorising within the field of protest psychology. This section has been heavily influenced by the works of Klandermans and van Stekelenburg.

3.1.1 *Grievance*

Beginning with the notion of *grievance*, people are understood to engage in protest due to a particular grievance or set of grievances with the protest coming about as a function of the frustrations symptomatic of the grievance. This is the relative deprivation theory that has pervaded social protest theories for over half a century. The fundamental precept of this theory is that “people’s reactions to objective circumstances depend on their subjective comparisons” with regard to those circumstances (Smith & Walker, 2002, p. 5). This theory would then state that one’s grievances stem from a comparison of one’s position with a given standard or perceived norm; in fact relative deprivation may be viewed as egoistic (comparison between oneself and other persons) or as fraternal (comparisons made between oneself and a group). Foster and Matheson (1999) rightly complicated this further by showing that when a group experience becomes relevant for one’s own experience, or when personal experience becomes politicised, motivation to protest increases; however, people who experience both personal and group deprivation show the strongest motivation to act.

It is important to halt here in order to begin to frame the Occupy Movement in terms of grievance and relative deprivation. Notable is that grievance is quite obviously present amongst the protestors as well as what may well be a complex form of relative deprivation in which all forms mentioned above are present. In order for protestors to show grievances towards socio-economic inequalities, perceived inequities in governance, to problematise capitalism, and to believe that the major economies of the world are governed by those (corporate and political) with a desire for personal gains and maintenance of a self-serving status quo, shows significant levels of grievance. Protestors must necessarily view themselves, individually, as being relatively deprived against a given individual holding power and wealth in the corporate or political spheres; furthermore they do, both implicitly and explicitly, view themselves as being relatively deprived against an elite group (i.e. the ‘1%’). Finally these protestors have banded together under the banner of Occupy and have begun to weave phrases and imagery such as “we are the 99%”, moves which almost certainly push the personal experience towards a group experience and forth into the realm

of the political. Moreover, the most active Occupations have occurred in the wealthiest nations of the world as well as in those with the largest inequalities in wealth (such as South Africa). These simple facts may bolster any arguments for the presence of relative deprivation-based protests. This would imply that the majority of citizens in the wealthier nations are, through direct or indirect mediums, exposed to a higher proportion of wealthy others against whom to compare themselves, thereby increasing the potential for a sense of relative deprivation. In the nations with the highest income inequalities an obvious connection exists between pervasive inequality witnessed daily and a potential for group and personal dissatisfaction with relational deprivation resulting from both group and personal angles, depending on one's perspective.

Continuing with the concept of grievance as a motivating factor, it is social justice theory that also holds potential in assisting with greater understanding of the Occupy protests. A distinction is made in social justice literature between procedural and distributive justice. A *Procedural justice* perspective refers to people being influenced by their judgements about the fairness or unfairness of the procedures employed in decision making that affects them directly (Blader & Tyler, 2000). Alternatively, *distributive justice* is an ancient notion that has changed its face several times over the millennia in response to religious, political, economic, and social forces. The notion, in its rawest form, was discussed *ad nauseum* by the likes of Aristotle, David Hume, Karl Marx, and Adam Smith with each providing his own philosophy regarding allocation of resources, social justice, morality, and economics (Fleischacker, 2004). While this dissertation does not reside within the realm of philosophy nor orthodox economics, the idea of distributive justice is unavoidable to the social sciences and a social psychology that is concerned with understanding people involved in protest against the economic status quo. Distributive justice, in its modern form, may be understood as "how a group or society should allocate its scarce resources or products among individuals with competing needs or claims" (Roemer, 1996, p. 1). Both the theory of procedural justice as well as the theory of distributive justice open major questions of their own in the protest sphere (among others) and could easily become exhaustive avenues of review as to their respective merits, demerits, historical values, and current applications. It was rather deemed necessary to concisely express their definitions and relevance to the topic under study.

Both of these justice-based grievances provide separate angles to what the Occupy Movement has dubbed 'systemic failures for the people'. Principally both theories could be applied to protest ideology in many forms and many cases but in the case of Occupy a deep justice-based dissatisfaction arises against major governmental and corporate structures globally. Firstly, procedurally grounded justice grievances are numerous within Occupy and

are aimed directly at government and corporate decision-making within capitalism and under neo-liberalism. The *procedures implemented in decision making* pertaining to national health systems, postmodern democratic party systems, corporate backing of those parties, environmental harm, perpetual economic growth at all cost and other issues discussed previously have been disregarded by Occupy Movements. While several issues are seen as grievances by Occupy members, these issues are very frequently reduced to the decisions made by those wielding political power making such decisions in order to maintain both control and wealth over the global citizenry. In essence, procedural injustices are the fundamental backbone of all grievances expressed within Occupy circles with a belief that bankers, corporate leaders, politicians, and other world leaders are responsible for decisions that culminate in economic, social, and political circumstances under which the majority of the world's population live, perceived through a relative deprivation. Secondly, distributive justice, or perceived injustice, may be viewed from an Occupy perspective as arising from initial procedural injustices. All peripheral Occupy concerns emanate from an original concern surrounding poor leadership, self-centred decision making, and questionable integrity within power structures. These peripheral concerns may at first appear to be major ones but this is likely due to their wide exposure and the use of the concerns in rallying support; they may also be viewed as symptomatic of perceived procedural injustice. These distributive, peripheral, or symptomatic dissatisfactions are centred upon the results of inequitable distribution of resources across the planet, questions of morality pertaining to preventable dread diseases that continue unabated, malnutrition, low education levels across the developing world, unemployment and its effects and related problems. Additionally, personal grievances will result in terms of 'I', e.g., "I cannot pay for my tuition", "I cannot afford to...", "I have lost my job due to negligence within the banking system" and the like.

Grievances are indubitably present in any protest movement; of importance is the nature, direction and scope of these. In the case of Occupy it may be stated that relative deprivation theory assists in explaining the geographic location of Occupy Movements (i.e. highly active in the West and in nations with major income inequality), as well as understanding distinctions between relative comparison and in terms of the self versus other selves, the self versus a group, 'my group versus other groups' and similar perceptual relativisations when the self sympathises with the group, and how these have been shown to increase protest motivation.

3.1.2 Efficacy

In some circumstances daily cases of grievances may abound yet there may be no evidence of protest or even willingness to protest over these grievances. It is apparent that grievance alone is insufficient to result in protest. Moving towards the concept of efficacy, social scientists have suggested that the availability of resources and political opportunities may well be the difference between grievances that become protests and those that do not (McAdam, 1982). Efficacy refers to the individual's expectations that he/she can alter a situation through protest and ties in directly with his/her perceived potential for agency. Furthermore, for the perception of the possibility of change to take place individuals need to perceive the group as being capable of uniting, this is *group efficacy*, and they need to perceive the political context as receptive, this is *political efficacy* (Klandermans & van Stekelenburg, 2010). Political efficacy has been further dichotomised into *internal efficacy*, the extent to which someone believes themselves to understand politics and therefore engage with it, and *external efficacy*, the extent of faith in government/leadership/political structures, the inverse of which is known as *political cynicism* (Capella & Jamieson, 1997). At its most basic the more effective a person believes a protest is going to be in altering overarching systems, the more likely he or she will be to take part.

Efficacy in the case of the Occupy Movements is difficult to gauge without the use of speculation at this point, although later on in this text Occupy members have been directly questioned as to their conception of the efficacy of the movement (see results of qualitative analysis). The fact that Occupy protests have sprung up globally must logically be interpreted as a large number of individuals holding the perception of generalised efficacy for the movement. More specifically, group efficacy is a present sensation and, intuitively, one may claim that it is a strong one as members have shown willingness to unite under the Occupy banner globally and to protest through prolonged occupations of public space. A certain resolve has evolved in the movement, but this must have been pre-empted by widespread perceptual efficacy in it. Regarding political efficacy it is axiomatic that at least a significant proportion of Occupy protestors *consider themselves* as people with an understanding of politics and other macro-level systemic phenomena, i.e. internal efficacy, as the sheer nuance and complexity of the claims and grievances voiced are the sort arising from those who believe in their own understanding of the subject matter. As opposed to external efficacy it is evident that political cynicism reigns within Occupy and, as has been discussed, forms the basis for much of the discontent exuded by members. Klandermans *et al.* also claim that the most active protestors are those who combine political cynicism with a sense of being treated unfairly; this serves to increase resolve while a sense of being treated fairly, yet holding politically cynical discourses, may undermine resolve. It is difficult to

dispute that many protestors within Occupy hold both a sense of being treated with unfairness by power structures and are politically cynical; if Klandermans *et al.* are correct then this state of being is one conducive to ardent protest ideology.

3.1.3 Identity

The presence of grievances and the perceived efficacy of taking to the streets based on those grievances have both been discussed, but once again these alone are insufficient for the formation and creation of social action groups. It is identity that provides the fabric through which similar (actual or perceived) grievances and efficacies come together and strengthen under united fronts. The generation of collective identities is crucial for the emergence of protest movements (Opp, 2012). Social psychological research has revealed that the more we identify with a group the more likely we are to protest with them or on their behalf, and it would appear that identification with others arises alongside an awareness of similarity and shared fate with those belonging to the same 'category' (Klandermans & van Stekelenburg, 2010). There also exists an affective component in which the more the individual feels a part of the group, the more he/she feels for it or 'us', the greater the motivation for standing up for the group (Dumont, Gordijn, Wigboldus, & Yzerbyt, 1990). Perceptions of sharing a fate, emotions, efficacy, and identity with others all generate an inner obligation to remain and behave as a conforming group member, particularly when weight placed on personal identity shifts to social identity. The more identification with the group that takes place, the greater the significance of the group norm to the individual and the greater the sense of obligation to participate (Jorger, Loewy, Simon, & Sturmer, 2003). This social identity within the group necessarily politicises the scene such that an 'us versus them' norm develops, antagonistic back and forth rhetoric may ensue and, overall, further politicisation may culminate in the group seeking support from the general public or other entities.

The Occupy Movements once again conform to theory in the case of identity, in fact they do so on a grand scale. First, categorical awareness or awareness of shared fate (true or false) has been constructed by Occupy members such that they align themselves with the plight of the vast majority of the world (99%). This serves a dual purpose as it both galvanises support from within and from without (the general public) by continually creating and re-creating similar group identities that are, at least superficially, applicable to almost every citizen living under 21st century neo-liberal practices. Furthermore, constant affective appeals may be seen in Occupy lexicon and rhetoric in which highly emotive slogans, statements, and sayings are disseminated and may well serve, in conjunction with appeals

to identity, to strengthen protest action. Overall the group is inherently politicised; they are political in their grievances, political in their choice of enemy (governments and corporate), political in their choice of action (occupation of public space in urban areas), and political as a global protest movement that has labelled its enemies, listed what it is that it stands against, and in its desire to exhibit power through attempts at gaining mass attention. The group adheres to the theories of identity in protest.

3.1.4 *Emotion*

Emotionally speaking, people are continually evaluating and appraising their environments and due to the variable nature of human perception, value systems, environmental and other influences, one person can evaluate a circumstance quite differently from another. Conversely though, when in-group membership becomes a major factor influencing large numbers of people at once the personal self no longer holds the same significance of affective influence on the individual.

If group membership becomes part of the self, events that harm or favour an in-group by definition harm or favour the self, and the self might thus experience emotions on behalf of the in-group... Thus people experience emotions on behalf of their group when the social category is salient *and* they identify with the group at stake.” (Klandermans & van Stekelenburg, 2010, p. 5).

Group-based emotions become a factor that dictates overarching in-group action and reactions to the effect that the self becomes extended towards a group identity, removed from the realm of the personal or individual. In emotive terms this may translate as a sweeping and generalized affect within the group with the typical emotive response in protest situations being anger. Anger quite simply typifies protest situations and is the archetypal force causing people to take to the streets while sharing this emotion with tenacity (Cheeseman, 2011).

Occupations worldwide have displayed this tendency through removal of personal statements and overt moves towards group emotion. The groups maintain a ‘99%’ identity but go further through active attempts at relating through shared conceptions of the root of their frustrations and grievances. Anger is exuded through the banners on display, the public acrimonious speeches, and the exceptionally pervasive anger-based discourses shown in all mediums used by the group, virtual and actual.

3.1.5 Social Embeddedness & Protest

The decision to take part in protest is one taken collectively with individual grievances and ideologies being projected over a wider sociological range, into the group, and through social networks (of all descriptions). Important in this concept is the idea of social capital, the components of which can be understood as being structural, relational, and cognitive (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). The structural component refers to the presence or strength of network ties that exist between agents and is essentially concerned with who can be reached (Lin & Pleskovic, 2010); the relational component of social capital is directed at the types of relationships people have developed through historical interaction – this refers to trust and emotional support amongst individuals; the cognitive component may be viewed as those systems providing shared representations, meaning, and interpretation – political beliefs and orientations toward action arising from an awareness of similarity (Opp, 2009). In socially embedded networks in which all components are present “...people talk politics and thus...the factuality of the socio-political world is constructed and people are mobilised for protest” (van Stekelenburg, 2012, p. 6). Being integrated in a network “increases the chances that one will be targeted with a mobilising message and the chances that people are kept to their promises to participate” (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987, p. 23).

It is indeed here that the power of today’s virtual social networks becomes clearer in protest action, particularly global protest action taking place across wide geographic ranges and territories. Beginning with the structural component of social networks (i.e. who can be reached) the Occupy Movement must surely have pushed this idea forward into new territory as regards our understanding of structural social capital in protest situations. Over and above news media and face-to-face discussions, online social networks have been the preeminent platform through which discussions, debates, information dissemination, education, and grievances have been spread between members and from members to the eyes of the world. A simple online search for Occupy protests on Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Blogger, or any other major social network will return thousands or hundreds of thousands of results. Social media have been embraced in a fashion unlikely to be rivalled by another protest movement for some time to come, with a certain trust being placed in these channels and a pragmatic stance towards the expediency they provide. In terms of the structural question of “who can be reached?” by a global movement making massive use of online communication mediums, the simple answer would be “anyone with an internet connection and enough interest in the movement”. The internet and social media have changed the ability for massive numbers of people across the globe to unite under a

common cause, share ideas and strategies, and 'reach out' to one another – essentially network ties are not only present and easily visible but are robust as well. Turning towards the relational component of social capital and the types of relationships people have developed historically, there are two views to take up here – an internal one and an external one. The intra-Occupy view is one that concerns the historical strength of relations within the group and how much trust is held between individuals. This element will again involve a dichotomy. On one side members may view one another as being historically aggrieved and may have initially developed relations of mutual empathy and strengthened trust as they united against common issues. On the second note, present-based emotional bonding and other relations will naturally occur in cases of prolonged meetings and Occupations. Looking externally towards the relational aspects of 'Occupy versus the powers that be' there is a definite historical relational component felt by members who express their distress at having lived their entire existences under systems that they consider to be foul in many regards. This is a detestation of outside systems holding historical value that may be perceived (if the individual has only recently come to detest these socio-economic systems but holds an imagined hindsight bias) or actual (in cases where the individual has long detested such systems). Finally the cognitive component wraps much of what has been discussed in this section; it is a raised consciousness found in social networks in which grievance magnitude is established, decisions regarding efficacy are made, emotions are synthesized, and overall motivations are construed from within the group and individual. This cognitive component, based on evidence from the worldwide Occupations, has certainly taken place around the world, within Occupy circles and through their networks.

Several sections of this text have mentioned the uniqueness of Occupy as a movement and protest action, while concluding that the global nature and sheer scale of the grievances articulated by the group are key factors in showing that it is unparalleled. This may be true, but one might well feel it counterintuitive to read the above section and discover that the Occupy Movement adheres rather orthodoxly to the five broad elements required for protest as set out by social psychology. It would appear that the global nature of Occupy and the scale of their grievances might not in any way affect the simple truth that potentially all protest actions form along similar social lines and through similar cognitive avenues. The section below assesses whether this is indeed the case for the protest action itself and not just the formation thereof, by addressing the 'characteristics of protest' alongside the Occupy protest approaches.

3.2 Anarchy & Challenging Authority

The concept of anarchy has arisen frequently in debates and discussions centred upon the Occupy Movement and its driving social philosophies. While some movements consist predominantly of leftists, socialists, 'free thinkers', capitalists, communists or those of any number of philosophical persuasions, time and again Occupy has, accurately or not, become synonymous with an Anarchist stance. It would appear that Anarchy is not so much an all-encompassing Occupy epistemology as it is a phenomenological manifestation of Occupy standpoints that emanate from various perspectives, anarchist and otherwise. This is not to say that anarchists and anarchy as a paradigm do not exist within Occupy circles, but rather that initiators and instigators appear to generally hold orthodox anarchist principles dear, while the majority of protestors would adhere to a more pseudo-anarchist challenging of the status quo. To be sure, undercurrents of anarchy are unmistakable in certain segments of the group discourse but are largely confined to acrimonious disdain and disillusionment with politics and socio-economic processes in the 21st century (Lang & Levitsky, 2012). What we are left with is potentially a loosely tripartite approach from protestors: the anarchists, the authority-challenging pseudo-anarchists who do not necessarily accept such labels but largely follow the ideals thereof, and those who merely take to the streets devoid of a rigid theoretical frame or epistemological underpinning – these people are apparently motivated by more pervasive and immediate cognitive, social, and personal perceptual drives. Such claims cannot be accurately validated as a multitude of opinions arise from global protests of this nature but organic groupings based on findings and informal communications do provide natural, albeit unshaped, insights into those participating.

The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2011) defines anarchy as (a) the absence of government; (b) a state of lawlessness or political disorder due to the absence of a governmental authority; (c) a utopian society of individuals who enjoy complete freedom without government; (d) absence or denial of any authority or established order. While these are the definitions of anarchy, to be an anarchist is to be one who desires a world that would fit these definitions. The word *anarchy* is frequently misunderstood as being connected with the *Punk Movement* of the 70s or associated with unruly and misguided adolescents (Graffin & Olson, 2012). The term comes from the Greek word *anarkhia* which translates as 'without rule' or a 'society without government'; French philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudon adopted the term in the 1800s, with his ideological descendants pushing the term into widespread use (Iorn & Kincheloe, 2007).

Anarchy is the philosophical, economic, social, and political stance taken up by those who do not believe in the moral or constructive efficacy of rigid order, hierarchy, and

authoritarianism. In particular such authority arises, in this age, in the form of the nation state and its sovereign government structure that exerts internal (citizens) and external (other nation states and their citizens) authoritative and punitive pressures. It is the citizens of a given nation who anarchists see as being victimised and deprived of a natural and free human existence due to the imposition of artificial pressures and constraints (Iglicar, 2011). Topics of critique for anarchists include economic restrictions that result in human suffering; punitive measures deployed by governments against citizens; the presence of social control phenomena, agents, and milieu (police, prisons, restrictive laws, intelligence agencies etc.); and hierarchical top-down decision making that pervades society and is said to reduce individual agencies and capacities (Rossdale, 2010). Anarchism is the generic idea that expresses negation of all power, sovereignty, domination, and hierarchical division and wills their dissolution; it rejects concepts that on the grounds of nature, reason, history, or God divide people into those who 'justly' dominate and those who 'justly' are subordinate (Ehrlich, 1979).

The idea of Anarchy forces critical re-conceptualisations of politics while offering glimpses of systems which refuse to be contained by protest, civil disobedience, or the state - **It challenges meanings of sovereignty and offers destabilising tendencies towards enclosure of totalising discourses of the state, class, or identity and political spaces are created in defiance of political restrictors or containers** (Shantz, 2009). In the postmodern and post-structuralist sense this poses some interesting questions as to the social arrangements of freedoms and liberties as they are necessarily juxtaposed against their counterparts – restriction, authority, laws, conservatism, restraint, confinement, and near systemic servitude.

Anarchists claim that changes in the structures of employment such as flexibilisation (occupational mobility; transferability of worker skills from occupation to occupation; non-permanent employment; wage flexibility based on supply and demand fluctuations; expectation that workers should move across geographical regions as part of the job); lean production (the consideration that spending resources on any endeavour other than that of satisfying clients is wasteful – e.g., spending money on worker satisfaction or increasing investment into spheres not directly related to productivity) and forcing greater precarity in the institutionalisation of labour, robs society of the time it may otherwise have spent engaging in community activities and resource building (Shantz, 2012). The philosophy of anarchy holds a special place for roles of human freedom and equality as drivers of social progress (often considered to be progress not defined by productivity or physical constructions), while attempting to show that it is social interaction that assists people in developing a natural sense of how to conduct themselves, to live effectively and

cooperatively (Bergeret, 2012). This is as opposed to rigid rules, authoritarian structures, and the perceived presence of artificial forces of control. The construction of social structures is seen, from the anarchy perspective, as taking place collectively with the intention for these to serve our daily and lifetime needs but, over time, these become stratified into political, legal, religious, and other organisations that ultimately interfere with the human needs that they originally were constructed to serve. The trouble, according to this philosophy, is that once such entities are established, and institutions created, their mere on-going existence can take on greater importance than the original needs they were intended to satisfy for society.

Anarchist philosophy goes on to draw a distinction between revolution and insurrection (Fransell, 2003, p. 77), a notion of interest here:

Revolution refers to replacing one structure with another while insurrection seeks to weaken all structures such that a new natural order can prevail. The forms that evolve to serve human needs should not be allowed to develop into an institution and insurrection acts to throw off institutionalised forms so that the natural laws can re-establish themselves.

There is an underlying belief in anarchist approaches that humanity has, in the past and prior to modern organised societies, existed without the rule of law, adherence to economic constructs, threats of state-sanctioned punishment for not conforming, and without political borders and systems that may ultimately serve to undermine human agency, dignity, and progress (Bowen & Purkis, 2005). The fundamental argument is one that opens the floor for a naturalised (not institutionalised) pedagogy, present-centred social progression, and the relinquishing of institutions, systems and organisations that become self-serving and not people-serving (Goodway, 1989) – ones that rampantly move out of the control of society at large and do not necessarily operate for the progression of social needs but rather for the mere fact that they exist and do so to the benefit of small circles of privileged people (Donner, 1990).

Noam Chomsky has written extensively on the topic of anarchy in psychology and these insights involve reviews of assertions made by influential philosophers; discussions of the formalised nature of the current social world; the need for the adoption of anarchist thoughts that are widespread and exist within contemporary pedagogy; as well as framing anarchy in a uniquely psychological fashion. Much of this work took place in response to postulations around post formalism and, in particular, the works of Joe Kincheloe. Chomsky notes some pertinent psychological viewpoints on Anarchy in his own unique fashion while maintaining

undercurrents of orthodox anarchy in his writings. Malott (2011) provides an overview summary of Chomsky's postulations on the matter of post formalism, psychology and Anarchy which is summarised below.

Chomsky's Anarchy celebrates humanity's unique trait of free will, particularly through our endless creativity of language; he claims that the essence of humanity is in fact freedom – freedom to act, think, engage, and create. Chomsky holds that social arrangements undermining these potentials (and thereby freedom itself) must be deposed. Chomsky challenges post formalists and others (potentially anarchists as well) to take care when waging wholesale attacks against Newtonian thinking, Western Science, and robust social structures because of the potential presence of counter-hegemonic insights to be discovered within these structures that may be too important to disregard. Hegemony, the 'threat of threat' or one power's manipulation over others due to its perceived intent or capability to act against the other powers, is a topic that has received much attention from Chomsky; counter-hegemony conversely refers to "organised social challenge that eventually replaces the former political order or the creation of an alternative hegemony on the terrain of civil society in preparation for political change" (Ramesh, 2008, pp. 4-5). Chomsky believes that the Behaviourist mistake is too often made – to reject science in an attempt to further an indoctrinating agenda while still calling oneself a scientist or purveyor of indubitable fact. Chomsky moves to state that Anarchist theory can legitimately invoke the authority of science and simultaneously expand the possibilities for taking post formalism to the streets.

Important in this very brief summary are the following points: (1) an emphasis on human freedom and agency; (2) deposition of socially and individually restrictive systems; (3) noting the presence of hegemonies and counter-hegemonic constructs that will always exist in any anarchist attack on major established systems and norms and advising that they be prudently approached; (4) a certain amount of reflexivity required in the anarchist stance to avoid hypocritically becoming or inducing that which is actively opposed, all towards the extension of one's own agenda or that of the in-group – in this case the breakdown of rigid political, economic, and social conditions; (5) for various reasons the authority of science may be invoked and embraced in a uniquely anarchist sense such that it may become allied with, and an extension of, a more generalised fight against large, restrictive, and authoritarian systems – this would have to take place under long-term agreement that science provides powerful truths but does not have to reduce human freedom and agency in its provisions thereof. In recent times Chomsky has publicly and explicitly claimed to support the Occupy Movement worldwide as well as certain elements of their anarchist approaches (Chomsky, 2012).

If we were to view the Occupy Movement as emanating from only one philosophical standpoint then anarchy would most certainly be considered a likely suspect. There is tremendous overlap between the epistemic, theoretical and ideological standpoints put forward by anarchist theory and the phenomenological and somewhat actualised but enterprising real-world activity shown by the Occupy Movements. At the beginning of this section it was noted that Anarchy does not necessarily inspire all who are involved in Occupy; to clarify:

1. Some outwardly label themselves 'anarchists';
2. Some act in accordance with Anarchic philosophy but not overtly so, rather to the extent that more immediate conceptual and physical concerns are met;
3. Some act alongside the previous two groups but may not be interested in, or aware of, anarchic philosophy - or they may act in response to present concerns (joblessness, poverty, perceptions surrounding inequality) aimed at initiating alleviation through revolution, not insurrection;
4. Some follow separate paradigms and ideologies as there have been reports of socialist supporters; those who sympathise with the capitalist approach but seek to significantly amend certain contemporary processes (such as the neo-liberal tendencies mentioned previously); religious groups who frame much of their action through the religious lens; and a myriad of other small groups.

On the whole though it is anarchic philosophy that not only fits the group action as a good descriptor but has been implicated as a driver of Occupy Movements, particularly amongst their initiators worldwide.

3.3 Overview of Survey Findings from Occupy Movements

The most effective baseline information sources about Occupy members are arguably those attained through previous surveys and polls conducted in Occupied areas and amongst members. While no formal studies have taken place in South Africa, information gathered in other countries may well serve to assist in understanding the grievances put forward by members globally, their stance on political and economic topics, demographic information regarding the segments of society most heavily involved, and other pertinent attributes associated with the protestors. This information must be viewed as both a standalone insight (as it does not necessarily reflect the positions held by South African Occupy members) as

well as loose baseline information that may be used later in a comparative capacity with findings from this study.

Presented below, respectively and in bullet form, are the most applicable and relevant (to this study) results of several Occupy-specific surveys and polls.

Researchers from Fordham University conducted a survey in late 2011 (301 respondents) at Occupy Wall Street with the following results (Panagopoulos, 2011):

- 78% believed that in the past year the state of the economy had significantly worsened;
- Only between 15% and 26% of respondents felt that their protest activities were 'very likely' to have an effect on politicians;
- A full 94% of respondents claimed that either 'never' or 'only some of the time' can their government be relied upon to 'do what is right';
- 31% of New York protestors felt that unemployment was the largest issue facing their country, 10% claimed that it was healthcare, 9% thought it to be war and budget deficit respectively and a total of 32% stated 'other' unlisted issues as being most important;
- 25% of protestors were students, 30% were employed full-time, 28% unemployed, and 18% were employed part-time;
- The majority of protestors were male (61%);
- 40% of protestors described themselves as 'extremely liberal' as regards political stance;
- Demographically, 68% of protestors were White; the next largest race represented was Black at only 10%. The mean age of protestors was 33 years with 68% of all respondents having attended a tertiary education institution, 22% to a post-graduate level.

Cordero- Guzman (2011) of The City University of New York used data from a questionnaire posted for several days on the Occupy Wall Street website, he came to a sample of 1 619 web users who navigated through the site and completed the survey and found the following:

- 92.5% of respondents either somewhat or strongly supported the Movement;

- One quarter of the people had participated in Occupy protest action;
- 92% believed that Occupy Movements would continue to grow;
- 64% of respondents were younger than 34 years of age with one in three respondents being older than 35 and one in five older than 45;
- 8% held a high school qualification or less, 92% had been educated at a tertiary level with 8% of those holding postgraduate qualifications;
- 50.4% of respondents were employed full-time and 20.4% part-time, 13% were unemployed and the remainder were students, retired, or disabled;
- Interestingly participants were surveyed regarding social media usage and 66.4% claimed to be regular users of Facebook, 29% regular users of Twitter, and 73.9% regular users of YouTube;
- Finally, 67% of responses came from males.

A survey was conducted amongst the Occupy California members subsequent to violent action by police; these are key the results (Policy Matters, 2011):

- 87% claimed that their interest in the Movement increased subsequent to violent action
- 66% indicated that they would be more likely to become heavily involved in the movement in the wake of violent clashes (vindication for the social psychological stances mentioned previously).

Singh (2011) conducted a study in the U.S. capital, Washington D.C., in which a large Occupy Movement exists. His results appeared as follows:

- 67.4% of respondents claimed to stay up-to-date with movement activities through online mediums, of these people only 26.7% used online mediums that were not social networks and 39% stated they were fully aware of the live use of Twitter to coordinate activities;
- 55% of respondents claimed to have spent at least one overnight stay at the movement;

- For 32.5% of people the Occupy Movement represented their first involvement in protest;
- 58% of people claimed to be either highly dissatisfied or somewhat dissatisfied with media coverage of their protest actions;
- A full 90% of respondents sampled were male, while a male dominance of samples is congruent with other studies, this likely indicates a sampling bias or error in the quantitative component of this study;
- 62.8% of respondents were below the age of 24, 32.6% were between the ages of 25 and 40, and 2.3% were aged 41-60;
- 44.2% of respondents held university degrees, 9.3% were educated to post-graduate level, and approximately 18% listed high school as their highest level of educational achievement, the remainder had 'some university/college' training;
- Only 45.2% of those sampled were employed either full-time or part-time, the remainder of these people were unemployed (whether or not they were actively seeking work);
- Finally, 71.4% of persons taking part were White/Caucasian, 14.3% were Black, 14.3% were of other races.

An online survey conducted by The Occupy Research Network, a group consisting of academics, activist, students, community researchers, and others was supported by the DataCenter, a U.S.-based research organisation. The group used some face-to-face interviewing but mostly employed snowball sampling through online social media mediums. Over 5000 responses were collected from all over the world with the following broad findings being uncovered (Occupy Research Network, 2012):

- 91.3% of respondents reported being actively involved in an Occupy Movement;
- The most common activities were posting on Facebook (74.3%) and holding face-to-face conversations (72.7%), then signing petitions (59.7%), and marching in protests (49.3%). A small proportion of worldwide respondents, 2.3%, reported getting arrested;

- 91% of respondents had signed petitions and boycotted or deliberately bought certain products for ethical, political, or environmental reasons, with 40% of them having contacted the media or appeared in it;
- 63.7% of respondents stated that they had used Facebook in the past 24 hours, 43.8% claimed to have used Occupy websites in the past 24 hours, 29.2% used YouTube, and only a quarter of respondents used newspapers, Twitter, or blogs to stay up-to-date with media on goings;
- Only 15% of the people who completes the survey were from outside of the U.S.A., with this survey showing that most responses (52.9%) came from women as well as revealing a higher average age of 42 years with 45% being between the ages of 25 and 44;
- Over 80% of people responding were White by race with a diversity of races making up the remainder; no single one of these made up for more than 5.4% of the total sample;
- Just under 50% of people responding identified themselves as working or lower middle-class, although 29.8% of people claimed to hold post-graduate degrees.

This brief overview of previous survey findings elucidates certain trends and insights from those involved in foreign movements. On the whole it may be claimed that a significant proportion of protestors were found to be pessimistic regarding their economy and government as well as the perceived effect that their protests may have on politicians, a surprising finding as the great efforts that protestors go to are (by implication, based on the findings) seen as somewhat redundant from within. This is also a finding that challenges the efficacy stage of protest formation discussed earlier. In New York the majority of protestors found that unemployment was the largest issue of concern; once again this is surprising as Occupy Movements claim to stand against *systemic ills*, while unemployment would logically be viewed as a mere symptom thereof – it may well be that immediate problems such as unemployment alter perceptions in the direction of attributing greater significance to symptomatic issues rather than depth causal concerns from the average protestor. While this claim cannot be verified here similar items were responded to in this study and will be examined more rigorously. On average between these studies, 41% of people responding were employed in some way while the majority of responses came from male protestors. Additionally most of the protestors were White and a significant proportion of people from all

studies were highly educated. This data speaks to conventional wisdom with a certain irony as White, well-educated males are generally considered to be the most privileged demographic the world over. While there is no evidence to state that the educated in these samples were not predominantly from other racial groups, or that the White respondents were not predominantly female, the data indicates that the minute proportions of other races represented and the large number of males in these samples would at least still make up for a large segment of the educated Whites. Why then would the educated, White males be protesting economic and political systems that effectively place them, on average, above other demographics? I would tentatively claim that through education and economic well-being these people are better positioned to take action against perceived injustices with economic systems through their privileged access to resources and education-based knowledge of the systems. The social privileges could serve to enhance systemic insights which may lead to personal rebellion based on perceptions of unfairness or philosophical immorality.

The proportion of respondents in these studies who were 'young', or below the age of 35, was also very high – a sign that perhaps the youth have galvanised behind the Occupy Movement to a greater degree than later cohorts. In fact Reimer (2012) went so far as to dub the Occupy Movement a 'youth movement'. Additionally, the proportion of respondents who were actively engaged in protest movements was high and general 'resolve', if measured by the significance of involvement with the movement (i.e. active participation), was significant. This would indicate that a certain dedication was elicited as members did not merely present themselves shortly, conveniently, or intermittently but rather camped, occupied, and/or showed resolute activity at some stage of their protests.

Overall these results do not necessarily prime the study for similar findings from Occupy Johannesburg, but they do provide a backdrop against which reference will be made during interpretation and conclusions from the Johannesburg leg.

4 RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODS

The study took place by employing a mixed methods, questionnaire-based, exploratory and descriptive design (some of which was discussed above). Additionally, it involved the synthesis of quantitative and qualitative information in order to inject depth into the study at hand. Over and above this, a critical realist stance was upheld as it was one deemed most epistemologically congruent with the nature of the study, the methods employed, the researcher stance, the sample, and in meeting the desired objectives.

4.1 The Mixed Methods Approach

A mixed methods approach was adopted because methodological eclecticism (Bowman, Duncan, Naidoo, Pillay, & Roos, 2007) assisted in avoiding restrictions imposed by the use of only qualitative or quantitative designs. Robinson et al. (2004, p. 2) describe mixed methods research as “a rapidly evolving field of study, both conceptually and practically”. For this very reason it is an approach to research that can often be misunderstood; shrouded in debate; dismissed; or viewed as controversial. Many of these reactions appear to stem from issues pertaining to triangulation; validity and reliability or transferability and dependability; and, probably most frequently, problems in reconciling philosophical and underpinning epistemologies with mixed methods of inquiry.

This study proposed a *concurrent* mixed methods methodology - i.e. methods of data collection and analysis occurred concurrently and not one after the other (Creed, Freeman, Robinson, & Woodley, 2004). Moreover, the aim was not only the stitching together of methods per se but also that the broader purposes of the research remained as the guiding precept for mixing methods. This is done such that the reason for inquiry, the instrument of data collection, the analysis, and deduction (and, at times, inference) stages were adequately satisfied in a pragmatic fashion (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). By this it is meant that methodological pluralism is desirable because it “enables the researcher to use different techniques to gain access to different facets of the same social phenomenon” (Olson & Delen, 2008, p. 33). It was reasoned that the exploratory nature of the research, the diverse social psychological facets of it, and the initially assumed heterogeneous nature of the sample all warranted the use of such techniques.

4.2 Triangulation

In the midst of numerous variables, a mixed methods approach to the study, and various data analysis techniques - it is necessary to discuss triangulation as a factor of importance for this study. As Green and Caracelli (1997, p. 5) wrote “using multiple and diverse methods is a good idea, but is not automatically good science”. For this reason a fundamental breakdown of the ways in which the study components converged, towards creating a constructive study, will be discussed.

Denzin & Lincoln (2011) outline four types of triangulation, and Neuman (2011) adds a fifth, these are:

1. Data triangulation – in which more than one form of data is employed;
2. Investigator triangulation – assumes more than one research investigator;
3. Theoretical triangulation – employs multiple theoretical perspectives to analyse data;
4. Methodological triangulation – the use of multiple methods (usually quantitative and qualitative);
5. Measurement triangulation – in which the same research sample provides different measures (and perspectives) of the same phenomenon.

This study employed data triangulation, partial theoretical triangulation, methodological triangulation, and measurement triangulation.

The quantitative component, it was reasoned, allowed the study to embrace the use of trend-based analysis, with certain survey items being adapted from other studies and deductive findings being compared against them. This also allowed for a form of standardisation in this exploratory study and for the usefulness and efficiency of statistics in drawing conclusions through numerical evaluations. In addition, it was deemed necessary to gauge the stances and intrinsically human elements of the population's social perspectives within the Occupy Movement in South Africa. In order to achieve this, statistics proved insufficient and a qualitative approach of basing themes both on content and on discursive considerations was preferred as it not only allowed an incorporation of respondents' voices on certain topics but also research outcomes that reflected motives, desires, frustrations, psycho-political sensations, and often ironies and inconsistencies.

This means that, although the initial data collection occurred simultaneously, analysis was conducted concurrently but separately such that two respective bodies of knowledge were derived. Thereafter, and true to the nature of mixed methods research, it was reasoned that an amalgamation of findings was possible through cluster analysis as a final merger of all quantitative and qualitative data into clusters, sub-sets, or profiles of responses (to be discussed in the section on data analysis).

4.3 Data Collection & Sampling

This study made use of nonprobability purposive sampling which took place on a convenience basis, making use of snowball sampling techniques in order to obtain additional cases. The major data source came in the form of an online questionnaire with component sources being: 4 open-ended questionnaire items (devised to elicit exploratory qualitative data), 2 closed-ended questionnaire items (analysed quantitatively), and 6 demographic variables (also for quantitative analysis). This was administered to participants from the Occupy Johannesburg leg in a purposive and semi-convenience fashion.

The questionnaire (see Figures 1 to 6) was administered to the desired sample in an informal online manner. Initially the author's presence at a single Occupy Johannesburg gathering was noted by others present and informal discussion ensued as to the merits of studying the protestors' backgrounds and reasons for making the effort to take to the streets. Upon realising the interest that such a study may hold it was agreed that a research endeavour would be pursued. Having forged moderate relations with several core members of the local movement (over several hours) I was introduced to a number of fervent Occupy members, including several bloggers, a protestor who had made his way to Occupy Wall Street and back, and the web designer responsible for creating an Occupy Johannesburg web page. This individual appeared to frequently take the lead in chairing discussions and was well connected within the in-group. Initially it was agreed that staying in line with Occupy practices by posting a survey on the website was the most appropriate course of action in terms of data collection. This was subsequently altered as I realised how many potentially irrelevant responses may be collected from all over the world and how many non-Occupy Johannesburg people could take part. Fortunately my initial liaison with the prolific web designer allowed me to propose that he contact those whom he held to be dedicated Occupy Johannesburg members such that a purposive sample could be drawn. Indeed sole reliance upon another's subjective opinion on who was and who was not 'a dedicated member' was a small leap of sampling faith. For this reason I attempted to meet each proposed individual personally during my short sojourn amongst the group. Those whom I was unable to meet

were contacted briefly via email with short digital conversations taking place to the extent that it was clear that each individual within the final sample was indeed a part of the movement. Additionally, my contact person had in his possession the email addresses of those present as well as others (contacted by me via email) and claimed that these individuals should be emailed with mention being made of the name of my contact and an explanation surrounding the nature of the research; I duly agreed.

The initial sampling list consisted of 52 core members of Occupy Johannesburg as defined by their frequency of physical presence at meetings and protests (qualified as greater than 5 appearances); their personal involvements in, and contributions towards, the movement (in the form of donations, information dissemination, and provision of skills – e.g., web design, artworks, providing transport, chairing of meetings, sharing of resources etc.); and finally through my own subjective interpretation of their respective depths of involvement. Members who had been formally introduced, as well as others whose email addresses were known to me, were contacted with a link to the online questionnaire and a preceding description of the research and peripheral factors (discussed in the section on ethics).

The questionnaire itself consisted of a total of 4 demographic variables that were largely congruent with the demographic variables employed by previous studies; these were introduced such that population-based comparisons could be made between this study and other studies, and in order to understand which social groups these core members belonged to. The demographic items, 1 – 4, are shown in Figure 1.

***1. Please indicate which racial group you belong to:**

- ☐ Black
- ☐ White
- ☐ Coloured
- ☐ Indian/Asian

***2. Please select your gender:**

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

***3. Please select your age range from the options below:**

- ☐ 11 - 19
- ☐ 20 - 29
- ☐ 30 - 39
- ☐ 40 - 49
- ☐ 50 - 59
- ☐ 60 - 69
- ☐ 70+

***4. What is your highest level of educational achievement thus far? Please select the most appropriate option below:**

- ☐ No Formal Education
- ☐ Some Primary School
- ☐ Completed Primary School
- ☐ Some High School
- ☐ Completed High School
- ☐ Diploma/Certificate
- ☐ Bachelor's Degree
- ☐ Honours Degree
- ☐ Master's Degree
- ☐ PhD/Doctoral Degree

Figure 1: Questionnaire Items 1 – 4

It was reasoned that these variables (race, gender, age, and level of education) were of importance in laying a foundation for exploratory claims to be arrived at. Additionally they overlap well with data gathered from foreign movements and these seemingly innocuous and simple demographic variables were included in the hope that they may produce broad insights through comparison and as stand-alone factors. These were analysed quantitatively.

Subsequent to the demographic variables two more closed ended items were included; these were items 5 and 6 (Figure 2).

***5. Please indicate how much confidence you have in the following institutions:**

	No confidence at all!	Some confidence	I am generally neutral on this one	I am confident in this institution	Absolute confidence
National Government	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Political Parties	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The legal system in general	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Big corporations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Broadcast media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Print media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Religious institutions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***6. Which of the following do you believe are the greatest sources of social division in South Africa? -You may select more than one option.**

- ☐ Race
- ☐ Politics
- ☐ Language
- ☐ AIDS/Disease
- ☐ Socio-economic Class
- ☐ Religion
- ☐ Cultural differences

Figure 2: Questionnaire Items 5 & 6

Items 5 and 6 moved closer towards perceptions held by Occupy members regarding the status quo in South Africa and they intentionally crossed over and probed issues asserted by the Movement as being of social concern. Item 5 consisted of 7 sub-items and concerned

itself with the extent to which members held confidence in particular institutions. This was a Likert type scale with 5 response options per sub-item ranging from 'No confidence at all!' to 'Absolute Confidence' (as well as a neutral option). As has been discussed previously – governments, political parties, the legal system, and large corporations have been blamed by Occupy members for being at the heart of systemic, human, environmental, and economic problems. For this reason members were asked to show just how much confidence they had in their macro-level environment. Media institutions have also received criticism from Occupy Movements and have been accused of furthering the desires and needs of the political and economic elite through corruption, bribery, non-reporting and lies. In this study I analysed the print and broadcast media in order to gauge the amount of confidence members hold in these mediums. Finally, Occupy Movements have largely skirted the issue of organised religion. Members within movements frequently express gratitude or faith in some or other deity, while others are ardent atheists, although the movements themselves in press statements, organised forum discussions and public speaking, do not engage with the subject of religious institutions to any significant extent. This final sub-item was included as an exploratory item aimed at understanding whether or not religious institutions have been classed alongside other major social structures as being harmful and untrustworthy.

Item 6 broached locally relevant issues that may be perceived as causes of social division. The Occupy Movement, anarchy, and related local protests (particularly The Unemployed People's Movement who have protested alongside the Occupiers) have voiced the majority of their concerns for social class divides, distinctions between the economically and politically powerful versus the powerless, and for the plight of people who lack various forms of resources. Overall, social division is a key area of critique and this item was included in order to understand which social phenomena were perceived as being responsible for the greatest and least social division in the South African context. Respondents were allowed to provide more than one response in this instance as they may logically have viewed more than one variable as being of importance in the area. The options available for selection as being possible causes of division were: race; politics, language, AIDS/disease; socio-economic class; religion; and cultural differences. These variables were chosen for three reasons: (1) they overlap with what is known about the Occupy stance; (2) they are of specific concern in South Africa where socio-cultural, economic, and political heterogeneity is abundant; and (3) they were borrowed from the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's Annual Barometer Survey (2010) as this is a South African social survey currently in use that shows validity and reliability across large samples. Both items 5 and 6 were analysed quantitatively and results were interpreted against the Barometer Survey results.

Items 7 to 10 were constructed as open-ended items designed to prompt emotive and/or impassioned responses by posing pertinent exploratory questions to Occupy Johannesburg members who are heavily involved with the movement. Each one will be described separately here and the rationale for each will be provided as well.

Item 7 on the questionnaire taps directly into the major criticism levelled at the Occupy Movement worldwide – that of a lack of focus shown by the groups. This criticism is well known to members and is one that attaches itself to (1) the wide array of dissatisfactions shown by the group, (2) the lack of a clear manifesto, as well as (3) the often loosely formed internal interactions shown by members (see Figure 3).

*** 7. Occupy movements worldwide have received criticism for lacking focus, how would you respond to such criticism?**



Figure 3: Questionnaire Item 7

This question was intentionally devised to open the possibility of receiving a wide array of responses and interpretations as opposed to narrowing the focus of it down to one variable. This is due to the fact that the Occupy Movement has received so much focal critique that member interpretations of what exactly that 'lack of focus' is may create a space in which not only responses to actual critique may arise but perceived lack of focus as well. This was particularly stark as the variable was analysed using discursive themes.

Item 8 (see Figure 4) of the online questionnaire was aimed directly at Occupy Johannesburg and asked respondents to state whether or not they believed their movement was unique and, if so, why?

*** 8. Do you believe that the Occupy Johannesburg Movement differs from other Occupy movements worldwide? Please first state 'yes' or 'no' and then substantiate your answer.**



Figure 4: Questionnaire Item 8

This item was constructed with international group cohesion in mind as well as locally relevant social phenomena (perceived or real). As the group adheres to a global banner, yet operates within a developing nation that experiences heightened levels of the issues that the global group claims to stand against, this item was implemented in order to ascertain whether or not the in-group believed that their movement differed in any real way from global movements or if it operated in a mimicked and subsidiary fashion.

Item 9 (Figure 5) appealed more personally to the individual respondent and opened up room for justifications as to personal motivation for involvement in the Occupy Johannesburg leg:

*** 9. The Occupy Movement members are well known for being dissatisfied with the political, social, and economic status quo. Please explain which macro level factors motivate you personally to be involved in Occupy and how you believe your involvement can alter the status quo...**



Figure 5: Questionnaire Item 9

The above question placed emphasis on respondents providing their own personal perspective on why they feel motivated to be involved in the movement as well as the extent to which they believe their personal involvement can alter the issues they stand against. It was reasoned that allowing individual voices to emerge through the speculation surrounding the motivation for involvement in Occupy would provide deeper insights than today's largely speculative claims about members. Additionally, the sheer magnitude of the systems being

challenged begs the question of how each person believed his/her involvement could alter the status quo.

Finally item 10 (Figure 6) closed off the brief questionnaire with a highly exploratory question.

*** 10. Let us assume that you were personally able to develop new norms in an experimental community. Hypothetically, what would the status quo be in your community regarding politics, society, and economics?**



Figure 6: Questionnaire Item 10

Amidst mass speculation surrounding what exactly the Occupy members demand, as well as a plethora of criticisms about current societal norms emanating from the members, this item was inserted in order to place the onus on the individual Occupier to describe how they would desire the world to appear. The question provided a hypothetical opportunity for members to inject their own desires in an idealistic fashion. It was created in order for deeper understanding of what the ideal 'Occupy World' might look like as well as to push members away from the theoretically defensive and onto the theoretically proactive. All four of the open-ended questionnaire items were analysed by merging content-based themes with discursive intent.

The questionnaire itself was created such that it could be completed relatively quickly – in as little as 10 to 15 minutes – or with greater time taken and in greater detail by those wishing to do so. Additionally, a pilot study was run amongst 5 respondents prior to the main study. The pilot study revealed several shortcomings in terms of some items being incomprehensible and/or ambiguous (these items were modified) and in terms of one item lacking face validity (it was subsequently removed as face validity was seen as highly desirable).

In total, 39 acceptable (unspoilt and complete) responses were retrieved during data collection for the quantitative phase. This high response rate was attained due to my insider presence and the perceived benefit of 'being understood' on the part of respondents. However, one respondent's responses to the qualitative items was left blank, he/she was therefore excluded from that phase of analysis.

4.4 Epistemological Stance – Critical Realism

Few references have been made in this text thus far to the nature of the epistemological approach taken up by the study, namely that of critical realism. This is because a dedicated section on critical realism was reasoned to be the most effective way of assigning meaning to it within the context of the study.

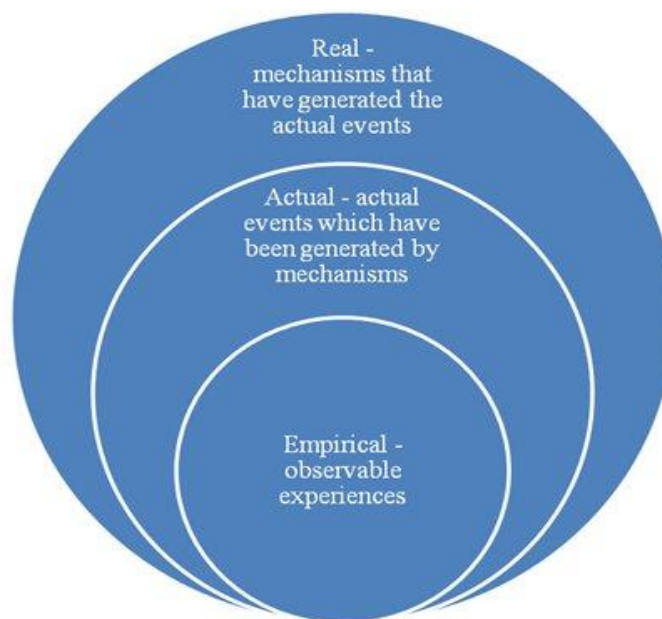
Positivism and constructivism, regardless of their prevalent positions amongst the research paradigms, have been criticised for their 'naïve realism' and over-emphasis on the position of human perception respectively:

“Among other criticisms, positivism is viewed as failing to acknowledge the inherent social nature of knowledge development, the influence of underlying unobservable factors/powers, and the meaning-centred nature of humans. However, constructivist philosophies are also criticized for over privileging these human perspectives and attendant problematic variations of relativism that cannot adequately resolve competing claims to knowledge or account for knowledge development”
(Clark, 2008, p.56).

According to Barrett, Scott, and Zachariadis (2010, p. 6): “as a reaction to this critique, a number of post-positivism paradigms have emerged that strive to address the ontological and epistemological flaws of positivism. Among the most prominent of these is critical realism which was largely established by the writings of Bhaskar”. Critical realism can be viewed as a middle ground between empiricism and positivism on one side and interpretivism and anti-naturalism on the other, with a major tenet being the belief that the world exists regardless, and independently, of our thoughts and perceptions about it (Mingers, 2004). Bhaskar claims that there are two aspects to knowledge; these are transitive and intransitive objects of knowledge. Transitive phenomena are “artificial objects fashioned into items of knowledge by the science of the day” (1978, p. 29), although these need not refer to ‘science’ as much as facts, theories, paradigms, knowledge, models, systems and so on. Intransitive objects of knowledge are those not dependent on human involvements such as gravity or elemental existence.

To resolve epistemological issues, Bhaskar conceived of the existence of three realms of reality (Lyubimov, 2011); these are the *real*, the *actual*, and the *empirical*. These can also be viewed as *stratified domains of knowledge*. Critical realism accepts that there is one ‘real’ world but not that researchers have immediate access to it or are able to observe its aspects

entirely. Social objects have structure and power and can exert influence in different ways to cause change. This potentiality exists even if it remains unexercised (Clark, 2008). Hence, the *actual* refers to events and outcomes that occur in the world and the *real* domain refers to underlying relations, structures, and tendencies that may cause changes in the actual realm. “Most often these causal influences remain latent; however, under the right circumstances, factors in the real domain can act together to generate causal changes in the actual domain” (Barrett, 2010, p. 3). The *empirical* refers to human perspectives on the world, i.e. on the actual and real domains.



Source: Mingers & Willcocks (2004)

Figure 7: Diagrammatic Exposition of the Real, Actual, and Empirical

Critical realism would indicate that it is the relations between the real world and the concepts we form of it that should be the focus points of the research process (Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2006). This approach further indicates that ‘facts’ themselves are, to varying degrees, theory-dependent or theory-laden. This is to say that it has been shown in convincing ways that there is a two-way dependence between ‘empirical facts’ and the theories or concepts that they affirm or negate with all knowledge being to some degree socially determined (Popper, 1963). Critical realism fights its way through the melting pot of social science debate and argument around claims to ‘truth’ or ‘reliable knowledge’ by maintaining that reality does in fact exist independently of our knowledge of it. This is so even if our knowledge is fallible - indeed not all forms of knowledge are equally fallible: “It is true that facts are theory-dependent, but it is not to say that they are theory-determined” (Danermark, Ekstrom, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2006, p. 17).

Bhaskar (1978) states that:

...men in their social activity produce knowledge which is a social product much like any other, which is no more independent of its production, and the men who produce it than motor cars, armchairs or books, which has its own craftsmen, technicians, publicists, standards, and skills and which is no less subject to change than any other commodity. This is one side of 'knowledge'. The other is that knowledge is 'of' things which are not produced by men at all: the specific gravity of Mercury, the process of electrolysis, the mechanism of light propagation – none of these objects depend on human activity... (p. 21)

In sum, "critical realism allows a place for phenomenological thinking without assigning an *overly* privileged place to the knowledge available through introspection" (Hilgard, 1980, p. 7).

I will continue here by briefly relaying the suitability of the study, the social phenomena under study, and the population under study to critical realism as a philosophical approach.

4.4.1 Why critical Realism is suitable for studying the Occupy Movement's Members

Critical realism allows several processes to take place within this study and these include: open acceptance of mixed methods; allowance and acknowledgement of systemic processes, perceptions about them, and the possibility of a 'truth' beyond conjecture (unattainable as it may be); and the recognition that social objects can exert influence while being fashioned into items of knowledge and subsequent to such fashioning.

Firstly, critical realism does not prescribe a rigid methodological approach for the researcher; rather it acknowledges the merits and shortfalls of quantitative and qualitative approaches while reasoning that the use of both will not affect bodies of knowledge to the extent that other, more polarised, epistemologies may do. The existence of the conceptualised actual, real, and empirical realms of reality become the main focus with access to those being of somewhat lesser significance than acknowledgement of them, and desire to promote this acknowledgement within knowledge production. In an instance in which quantitative population-based understandings are important, as well as distinctly human perceptions, this theoretical standpoint is useful. Furthermore, it is rather a pragmatic methodological pluralism that is promoted by realists than a traditional attempt at satisfying the arguments that exist between proponents in the traditional camps (Olsen, 2009). Such pluralism allows

for constant sight of end goals, required maintenance of the recognition of realism as a research approach, as well as the ability to apply flexibility to a given study.

Furthermore, this study is focused on researching transitive objects of knowledge as seen through the eyes of the individual protestor. These transitive, artificial ‘positions’ or objects have formed the basis for protest as major social institutions and practices come under scrutiny as targets for irate protestors the world over. Contemporary political, economic, and social arrangements on the macro scale have arisen through the creation of bodies of knowledge, dialectical syntheses, and, more pragmatically, human policy-making procedures and often conservative conventional wisdom. These are ‘artificial knowledge-based’ objects driven and propagated through over-arching top-down claims to ‘science’, ‘constructive human progress’, ‘efficiency’, ‘democracy’, and related issues largely considered to exist under the banner of conventional wisdom. What is interesting to note is the mass acknowledgement by ordinary citizens of the artificial and transitive nature of these structures. While the individual protestor may not be a critical realist, she/he has necessarily taken cognisance of artificial constructs in order to believe that she/he can effect change upon the social objects to which she/he is subject. Critical realism therefore allows two more places for this study: (1) a place in which transitive, artificial objects, fashioned by the ‘science’ of the day may be acknowledged as significant; and (2) a place in which the study population is privileged with an insight into the transitive objects under which they live and against which they protest. In the transitive aspect knowledge exists as a real social object and while primary protest activity may be taking place against the systems mentioned previously, it is unavoidable that further in-group knowledge production will take place (and has done so) in the transitive sense. This further complicates the study as on-going production of transitive bodies will always take place from within and without. It is for this reason that qualitative themes were extracted discursively in the study, as such a method allowed for acknowledgement of underlying power relations and differentiations between the various ‘transitive camps’ so-to-speak while accounting for face-value utterances.

In terms of the ontological domains – being the real, actual, and empirical – a summary of their respective positions in this study is provided below:

Table 4: Significance of the real, actual, and empirical realms

Ontological Domain	Application in this Study
The Real	Reality does in fact exist, but accessing it entirely is not possible for the researcher. There is one ‘real’ world existing independently of our perceptions of it. This realm includes underlying relations and structures that may (or may not) come

	<p>together to effect change. These are the mechanisms upon which events in the actual domain are causally dependent. In the Occupy sense a real world was in existence with real macro-level activities, occurrences, constraints, human organisms arranged in social strata and in societies that held the potentiality for social unrest.</p>
The Actual	<p>When underlying factors in the real domain come together they produce observable phenomena in the actual domain, frequently in the form of events. From an Occupy perspective it is the protests themselves that have been produced or have manifested as actual. Further, the nature and arrangements of the protests and the ideologies within them become objects of study from a social science standpoint.</p>
The Empirical	<p>Finally the empirical realm is the one in which human perceptions are considered. These perceptions are focused on both the real and actual dimensions and are the cognitive manifestations of thought, perception, introspection, experimenting, and/or philosophising about two preceding realms. In the context of this study, the responses that will be analysed and relayed further on in the text all emanate from the realm of the empirical and must be considered as holding varying degrees of what realists might call 'fallibility'.</p>

Overall, critical realism allows a variety of factors important to this study to be acknowledged and positioned effectively. These include the methods used in analysis; the stratification of the social world, particularly when large arrays of systems are the subjects of dissatisfaction; acknowledgement of the objects of knowledge that form in protest situations; and a certain flexibility for social psychological outcomes that may not be allowed by other research standpoints.

4.5 Quantitative Measurement Concerns

4.5.1 *Generalisability*

This study does not aim to achieve external validity in the formal sense as results are not intended to be statistically generalised to any other population. However, as an exploratory study amongst one group of Occupy members findings may be used to qualify Occupy Johannesburg standpoints and may be incorporated as a body of knowledge against which comparisons from other groups may be drawn.

4.5.2 *Measurement validity*

Standardised items were borrowed from the IJR survey have already shown some degree of measurement validity and demographic based variables were borrowed from other Occupy-centric surveys. Additionally, the pilot study helped to improve measurement validity proven measurement validity for items 4 to 6.

4.5.3 *Face Validity*

Items 1 - 6 were all intended to show face validity and were not composed as illusory items in any way. During the pilot study and in discussions with my contact person in Occupy, it became clear that the items did make sense to Occupy members. I also took some care to ensure that each item related to the research questions posed in my study.

4.5.4 *Reliability*

As this was a small, exploratory study, I did not attempt to empirically establish if the items would produce consistent responses if re-administered or if the items exhibited some collectively statistical coherence. However, given the relative 'transparency' of the items, there is no reason to believe that measurement reliability was a particular concern in this study.

4.6 Qualitative Soundness – Transferability & Dependability

4.6.1 *Transferability*

Transferability from the qualitative findings of this study to other settings or contexts is difficult to determine. I assert that these findings may well be transferable to other South African Occupy Movements' members as these movements share similar socio-cultural and economic milieu within South Africa that may serve to distinctly differentiate their collective perceptions from those of foreign movements. A certain amount of overlap between local Movements is also plausible as identity through the Occupy South Africa banner further knits and forges a collective identity. In sum, desires to be involved in Occupy, shared political, economic, and social conditions, and representation under the same banner, allow transferability, as a concept, to potentially hold between Occupy members locally. In addition, there is likely to be some degree of transferability to Occupy members internationally as they share a similar ideology, belong to the same movement and have at least some demographic similarities. However, caution should be exercised in considering how findings and interpretations from this study apply to Occupy members internationally.

4.6.2 *Dependability*

Dependability for this study was difficult to gauge as on-going interactions between the respondents and me did not always take place and the data were collected over a period of 6 weeks, from early December 2011 to mid-January 2012. Over this period of time many fluctuations occurred for Occupy Movements worldwide in the sense that they were violently removed from some areas of Occupation while others began to receive greatly reduced press coverage. Additionally, the founding Occupy Wall Street protestors were evicted in their thousands from the Zuccotti Park in which they were occupying and, although the movement continued in New York, this was viewed as a defeat. At this time critics of the movement started to appear and they generated more and more anti-Occupy rhetoric as time passed. Over the same period though the Johannesburg Movement received support through their website and in person from the Unemployed People's Movement and South African Communist Party. It is difficult to gauge how these affairs came together over the period of data gathering to potentially affect dependability. I believe that the occurrences over this period may have served to increase resolve for some, especially in the face of violent and unprovoked aggression from governments against protestors in foreign movements – in fact many people saw this as proof of corrupt governments lashing out at protests that were threatening the powerful's self-serving status quo.

Increases in resolve towards the movement may have translated into differing sentiments and responses to the questionnaire for those completing it first as opposed to those completing it later. Some may also have experienced a decline in affiliation towards the movement; I postulate that this may have come about due to decreased media exposure, less touting of the Occupy banner on television and the internet and lower levels of group affiliation in smaller satellite movements such as the Johannesburg leg. Additionally the increased criticisms and small dilutions through increasing presence from other movements' members may also have served to degrade resolve and, thereby, dependability.

Overall it is not believed that these external occurrences would have affected dependability to a more than minor degree as Occupy Movements worldwide enjoyed exceptional support over the period of data collection. It is my belief that slight wanes in support would have been seen over this time, a factor that may have reduced dependability, from the first data collected to the last, 6 weeks later.

4.7 Reflexivity

4.7.1 Introduction

The qualitative researcher is not positioned outside of the study at hand but is situated within its very processes (Denzin, 2001); for this reason the research in this section is not assumed to be value-free or neutral. In order to construct the discursive themes intended for the qualitative data representation in this study I will attempt to explicitly declare my subject position, that position in relation to participants, as well as relative to the subject matter at hand. Additionally, my own power relationships within the research context must be revealed and, since I too am a resident of Johannesburg who presented himself at an Occupy Johannesburg gathering with my own set of pre-conceptions and post-conceptions, I must also relate such power relations to the sample and my analysis of their responses. It is important to place myself within the research process as someone with a social science background, a personal concern for the socio-economic status quo, and various life experiences creating my own unique lenses. This section continues with sub-sections on: 'shaping my own lenses'; 'encountering social issues'; and finally 'encountering the Occupy Movement'.

4.7.2 *Shaping My Lenses*

I am the older of 2 children and was born in 1987 to immigrant parents from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). I was born in, and spent the vast majority of my life in, the West Rand of Johannesburg, Gauteng.

My early existence did not differ markedly from other young white children born in the late 80s as I received a sheltered upbringing in the suburbs of Roodepoort, a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking suburb, although my family was entirely English-speaking. Up until the age of 7 I had little awareness of the existence of strife for other races and classes because, even though I knew they existed, I had spared little thought for the possibility that they may experience vastly different realities from my own. At great expense to my parents I initially attended a private Catholic school for boys (as my entire family is Catholic), an experience that served as my first exposure to real social diversity and differences attached to those realities. Many Catholic schools had been well known for their 'liberal' stance on the race and class of pupil intake and this school was no different as I found myself in a class full of diversity – 7 year old boys of all socio-economic classes, races, and surprisingly, religions. It was only later in my life that I realised how primed I was for defensiveness in the face of social difference, that is to say defensiveness of my own language, race, and religious group. This was undoubtedly due to having a father whose racial bias permeated almost all interactions – a product of his 6 years of military service in the Rhodesian armed forces in which horrific experiences were endured at the hands of Black 'terrorist' forces and equally terrible acts were committed against this enemy.

By age 10 my family had taken to the prospect of farming and I was privileged enough to spend several years growing up on a small holding in which ample space and practical exposure to nature consumed me. Additionally I was sent to a government primary school in which it became increasingly evident that inattentiveness was becoming an academic hindrance, although I attempted to keep this knowledge to myself. Added to this was a deeply introspective and socially conscious dimension to my personality that both pushed me towards being quietly engaging and attempting to understand my fellows on the one hand and being infrequently boisterous and rebellious on the other. The rebelliousness and concentration issues led to a large number of disciplinary problems and a rather sour end to my primary school career. A social barrier that slowly became more and more evident to me was the shortfall associated with my inability to speak Afrikaans fluently while growing up in the predominantly Afrikaans town of Krugersdorp; this was no doubt due again to my father's immense bias towards Afrikaans language and culture as he frequently showed little interest in my progress in school-level Afrikaans, placing greater emphasis on other subjects. In

early adolescence such father-to-son discourses paved the way for the infusion of bias and prejudice in me as well. It is rather odd to note in hindsight how a 13 year old boy can hold massive racial and cultural prejudice based on no real conception of what he is believing but rather through the adoption of a respected figure's beliefs.

I received government education for high school as well and became acutely aware, through maturity, familial upheaval, and exposure to over 1 000 ordinary South Africans at school, of the role played by money and socio-economic status. What appears as obvious now only appeared in my consciousness in mid-adolescence – the revelation that some people have no luxuries, others struggle through their existences with little hope of respite, and still others contend with blatant class differences being pervasively evident to them, a difficult factor for teenagers. While my family's socio-economic status remained as somewhat average in relation to my peers, the sheer diversity of my schooling environment meant that some would deliberately break school rules by wearing and showing off their new shoes while others wore the same threadbare jersey day in and day out for 5 years. This was an 'injustice' that particularly clawed at my sensibilities to the extent that I would begin philosophising about the social world in my quieter moments. With no real exposure to philosophy or social science I based my thoughts on a personal sense of morality asking questions such as – "Is there really enough money in the world for everyone to be happy?"; "It is obvious that freedom is not very prevalent so how are so-called freedoms arranged in society and who gets more of them?".

Politics in the critical sense also came to the fore as my parents got divorced when I was in mid high school and I began to question conventional wisdoms in all spheres, often to my detriment. Politics in the home and school environments with their top-down structures and 'proper' or 'conventional' attitudes appeared to be greatly superficial and flawed beyond what I wanted to believe. I started to deal with many life problems by arranging them as points of critique, I was effectively engaging in a basic derivative of what I today understand as psycho-political criticism - where I would isolate power structures (human or bodies of knowledge) and internally or externally (verbally) unleash as much logic as I could muster against their perceived 'evils'. This behaviour at the time served as a wonderful way to decry that which I did not enjoy or that which stifled my independence, it was more than mere teenage rebellion and became a rather cathartic process for me in which I would spend a great deal of time deconstructing injustices and trying to understand why ineffective systems are furthered and perpetuated. This served personal desires as it made me feel empowered against larger constructs, it made me able to negate the importance of systems that did not suit me, and it worked as an escape as I found that theoretically destroying something

allowed me to keep it at arm's length and prevent it from being internalised – a factor that could result in personal pain.

In addition to my incessant need to break social systems down I also found that I had a knack for asking people 'the right questions' in attempts at consoling them or discovering more about a particular personal issue of concern at a given time; I also discovered some impressive, yet frequently immoral, powers of manipulation. I was told several times that "you should become a psychologist". Armed with such feeble reasoning I completed high school and entered the University of Pretoria to study a Bachelor of Social Science specialising in psychology. My high school results were far from remarkable, mostly due to enduring issues with my attention span and a continued creation of reasons as to why the world was not the way it should be that almost exonerated me in my own mind from engaging with the world. Nonetheless, my first exposures to both philosophy and psychology in particular were enough to shift my ideas about engagement in studious endeavours as I was enthralled by the nature of both with their respective desires to frame, understand, and push forth with workable or theoretical models of humanity. Continental philosophy and, unsurprisingly, the work of Michel Foucault as well as many portions of critical psychology in general became topics that drove and stimulated my fascinations. This may well be because they affirmed and vindicated (albeit in a far more advanced fashion) that which I was already absorbed in thinking. Overall the study of psychology and social science assisted me to thrive as I may well have failed to achieve in any other discipline.

4.7.3 *Encountering Social Issues*

Having concisely outlined my lenses I will now engage in an attempt to reveal how and why social issues were encountered by me and the stance/importance that they hold to me based on the information above.

Encountering and internalising social issues is an act that almost every human being will take part in, no less those growing up in South Africa. When I entered the schooling system it was 1994 and the country was indubitably abuzz. For a 7 year old (and a white one) much of this was too complicated to fully understand but many of the micro mechanisms that came about that year affected millions of South Africans in their personal memories. Two of my first and most memorable encounters with social issues came about in 1994. The first occurred when I attended school in a multicultural environment and entered into seemingly harmless discussions with other young boys of differing backgrounds. In particular I befriended a young black boy from Soweto who would tell me in class about the gunfire that

he could hear at night leading up to the elections and we would exchange information about our families and houses and what our parents did for a living. Even at such a young age I was affected by the stark differences between my ostensibly privileged space and his anxious, oppressed, and under-privileged one. The other young boy and I frequently engaged in discussions that could only be considered as anthropologically rich and he and I formed the literal first points of grassroots contact for one another between races, cultures, and creeds. Later that year my second memorable social encounter occurred when my mother took me down to the local voting centre in April of 1994. I remember standing in the queue with her, holding her hand, and looking up at all the larger beings of numerous colours. My father declined to vote and my younger brother was not present but my mother was forced to answer a barrage of questions from me about what voting was and why it was done. Eventually, as we left, she confided in me with a short whisper “I voted for the ANC, don’t tell your father”. This experience has remained with me as it was my personal memory of the beginnings of mass social change locally; it left me in a quandary about politics and what it meant; it revealed to me the micro-level issues that are almost unavoidably attached to politics with my mother effectively defying the will of my father and then confiding in me her seemingly great secret. Such immense dynamics present in a single 7 year old’s Wednesday morning outing perhaps define South Africa at that time.

My experiences of social issues in the years thereafter were almost overwhelming but no more so than for every other child my age who grew up in the South African suburbs mixing for the first time with others. All around me words such as ‘TRC’; ‘education’; ‘reform’; ‘racism’; ‘freedom’; ‘affirmative action’ and so on were brandished. I believe that growing up in South Africa at that time necessitated being an amateur social scientist beyond one’s years as these children (my peers and I) could not help but be subjected to national political, social, and economic concerns in informal discussions, news reports, in classrooms, and across institutional settings. Furthermore, being a white English boy growing up in a mostly Afrikaans settlement affirmed the fact that in South Africa looking the same is not tantamount to group cohesion and acceptance.

While the masses of encounters I had with social issues cannot all be recounted here, it is what I did with them and what they did to me that are rather more important. During adolescence, and later in high school, I continued to indulge in critical social thought. In my own personal space I was known to have led and staged several small protests at school (none ending in my favour), which may be linked to my enduring fascination with protest. By mid-adolescence what I despised and was depressed by was what I now know to be neo-liberal capitalism. I was frequently infuriated by the hold it had over life, morality, and almost all aspects of existence. How is it that something we made up over several years can be

responsible for so much deprivation? How could it be that in a world full of resources some people are forced to starve because they do not have any of this artificial stuff we call 'money'? Additionally I continued to question politics in terms of: who decides that this system is actually democratic, just, suitable for all involved, and why are concepts such as 'hard work' espoused as being honourable even when one is doing a redundant task all day? Such questions plagued and intrigued me until, in my final year of school, I re-read three of the classics by Charles Dickens which dealt with inequality, poverty, and man's brutality to his fellow man. I somehow related these to the current age and my sentiments changed from intrigue to anger as my mind was possessed with thoughts surrounding the injustices of the world. This was added to the socio-political climate of South Africa as well as the myriad of personal schemas I had developed in understanding relations in my community.

It took Dickens to elevate my negative sentiments towards the workings of the world but soon afterwards it took Marx and Adam Smith to frame economics; Descartes, Rousseau, and Heidegger to place my understanding of people, the self and consciousness, as well as Foucault to advance my abilities to legitimately, not blindly, criticise. I entered a tertiary education in the social sciences at a perfect time as my own philosophies about human systems had become almost senselessly liberal and directionless. I was able to make intellectual contact with the great thinkers who made me realise that much greater minds than mine had already considered these issues and, in some cases, resolved them; while those issues without resolution could become far further advanced than my meagre opinions had previously allowed. I felt incredibly small, infinitely privileged to have daily exposure to these great works, and most of all I was able to construct a scaffold upon which personal frustrations and questions could be outwardly debated as a science – psychology.

4.7.4 Encountering Occupy Johannesburg

With further social science education and personal opinion formulation my position became less militant and more superficially sound yet deeply confusing. I still wondered how our economic system was created by us yet runs away with itself regularly. How can we construct a system as a species that does not necessarily work for us as a species and then study this invention as if it were a natural phenomenon? National politics is hardly ever just and appears as a mass manipulation process that interferes with doing what it was created to do. More than anything society seemed so ignorant about all the things it was subject to, all the things that ran it and controlled it were seemingly considered to be organic in some way. Only through taking a keen post-graduate interest in research did I alter my frame of

reference towards understanding how these issues are themselves understood, such as how the subject or experiencer of all of these massively complicated social systems perceives them, views them, finds conciliation with them, applauds them, or detests them and why?

In November of 2011 the Occupy Movements made headlines across the world and I watched intently as catchy banners and peaceful protest Occupations took place. I was torn between a romantic obsession with their demands and a 'realistic' desire to palm them off as ignorant and misled. I was soon contacted by two friends and told that the Johannesburg leg would be holding a meeting the next day that would be open to all interested parties - I took the chance to attend.

Initially I listened in Johannesburg's Mushroom Farm Park as the group entered into discussion in an incredibly orderly fashion, with anyone who wanted to speak receiving the opportunity. Discussions centred upon how the group would move forward, how they would spread the word and gain support, and the many injustices that were perceived to exist in South Africa and the world. Much reference was made to the foreign movements and these appeared to be held in high esteem. I felt that the group's desires were noble but that they were naive about the huge complexity of the systems that they were criticising. Additionally, and from any perspective, the lack of a manifesto or list of demands made me consider their cause as weak - who would take such a movement seriously without it having a list of demands, manifesto, or desired set of obvious outcomes?

Eventually all present were asked what skills they possessed in an attempt to request that the group come together and supply their talents and skill sets towards the communal cause. None of those present who spoke had formal backgrounds in social science but several were well-spoken and well-versed in philosophical concepts important to the movement. In essence I thought to myself that many present reminded me of myself prior to moving forth with my studies – ideological, impractical, and philosophically aware and engaged. Once again this attracted me and repelled me simultaneously. Much of my time spent with the Occupy members was characterised by a cognitive duality in which I (a) enjoyed and respected their desires for change and their propensities for critical thought while (b) unavoidably judging what I thought to be naivety, impracticality, and sometimes even ignorance regarding politics, economics, and social norms. I felt that these people were idealists who were living out their own utopian fantasies in a vexing manner with delusional ideas that they would effect real change with neither theoretical nor practical vision on their sides. I later decided that I had been overly cynical at the time, but still hold similar, yet less intense, thoughts.

While many offered up their skills in various fields I mentioned that I was a researcher in psychology conducting social impact assessments for a living (at that time). This was received with both confusion and excitement and upon explanation I was able to clarify what that meant. Slowly and informally it was suggested that I conduct research into what Occupy Johannesburg stood for and who was involved. I immediately stated that I would be interested in doing so but that the study would not be conducted from a 'for' or 'against' perspective – rather it would be an exploratory effort aimed at arranging information about the movement and a descriptive one providing an overview thereof as well. This was interpreted by those present as 'objectivity' and it was agreed that I would be 'objective' and would not necessarily take the side of the movement. As is mentioned in section 4.9 on ethics, those who did take part in the study were well-informed of the intended outcomes and the strategies to be employed. Add to this the online and anonymous nature of the research, and my brief personal meetings with protestors, I believe that data collection was conducted in a manner that all parties felt comfortable with. This is due almost entirely to the perceived equality in the discourses that took place as I attempted to engage with members on their own terms – terms in which egalitarian principles prevail.

It is possible that my outspokenness regarding attempts at taking up a neutral position for the study may have induced desires for participants to exaggerate their positions and frustrations in their responses so as to sway the study towards their respective stances.

4.8 Outlining the Data Analysis

Data analysis took place in several steps:

Firstly, the capturing of all quantitative findings on a data sheet in Microsoft Excel was conducted; this included findings from items 1 to 6 per respondent. These variables were intended to be descriptive and to complement later qualitative findings. For these reasons simple descriptive statistics were employed as well as exploratory cross tabulations. These analyses were conducted using the Statistica software package. The small sample size, aims of the study and the small number of closed-ended items meant that more advanced analyses were largely dismissed as any statistically significant findings were highly likely to be invalid.

Secondly, the four open-ended items (7 to 10) were examined through extraction of content-based themes, backed by a discursive identification of irony, vagueness, inconsistency, and motive. This unorthodox approach was selected as the qualitative analysis method because it complimented the stance of critical realism, it assisted in revealing underlying power

structures or relations from a protest group, and it assisted in the expansion of imagery and idiom used in the Occupy lexicon and arising from their dissatisfactions. Moreover, it allowed for face-value representations of actual statements by theme while discursively investigating peripheral factors surrounding the protest. Discursive themes and sub-themes were extracted from the 38 participant responses per open-ended item (as one of the 39 respondents failed to answer the open-ended items). My original intention was to use conventional thematic analysis, based on the manifest content of the participants' responses. However, I found it impossible to do justice to the nuance and complexity of the material without making some allowance for the rhetorical, discursive and performative aspects of how the participants expressed themselves. I therefore eventually settled on a form of analysis which, although still essentially thematic, incorporated some discursive elements. The discussion and analysis of the thematic and discursive positions formed part of two processes - (1) a stand-alone analysis which was an end unto itself and (2) sub-themes per item were then quantitatively coded in the data sheet for step three.

The third step involved cluster analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data combined. All raw quantitative data was re-recorded in a data sheet as binary categorical data per case (i.e. each case was recorded in terms of 1=present, 0=absent as regards their responses to each and every item and sub-item). Thereafter, qualitative data was also transformed on the same data sheet as binary data (i.e. a respondent or case either was a proponent of one of the themes with their statements or was not; in the former case they received a 1 coding for that category, in the latter case they received a 0). All binary coded items 1 to 10 were run in a cluster analysis. These were: qualitatively coded sub-themes from the discourse analysis, demographic variables, as well as closed-ended items 4 to 5. This was an exploratory hierarchical analysis based on Euclidean distances making use of the average linkage clustering approach, and was employed as a profiling technique in order to exploratorily determine distinct groupings within the sample (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984) which could then be understood through critical realist principles. The cluster analysis was conducted using the STATISTICA software package. Cluster analysis was deemed to be acceptable, even with such a small sample, as it epitomised the mixed methods approach, would contribute greatly to the outcomes of the study and there is no rule of thumb in terms of sample size for cluster analysis. Any number of elements between 10 and many thousands may be acceptable; the concern is to make certain that the numbers of cases and variables are correlated and to use logical intuition in the interpretation phase (Dolnicar, 2002). In cluster analysis, the sample size and the ratio between the number of cases and the number of variables is somewhat contentious, but is generally agreed to be less critical than in analogous procedures such as factor analysis. A reasonable sample size is primarily a

pragmatic rather than a statistical issue – there should be enough cases for them to be sorted into clusters consisting of more than just one or two people each. Similarly, a very large number of variables might make differences between clusters difficult to interpret and sometimes it is best first to reduce the number of variables, e.g. by means of factor analysis, before performing a cluster analysis. As the present study is an initial explorative enquiry the relatively small sample size and the fairly high number of variables was considered acceptable.

This process of data analysis is illustrated in Figure 8.

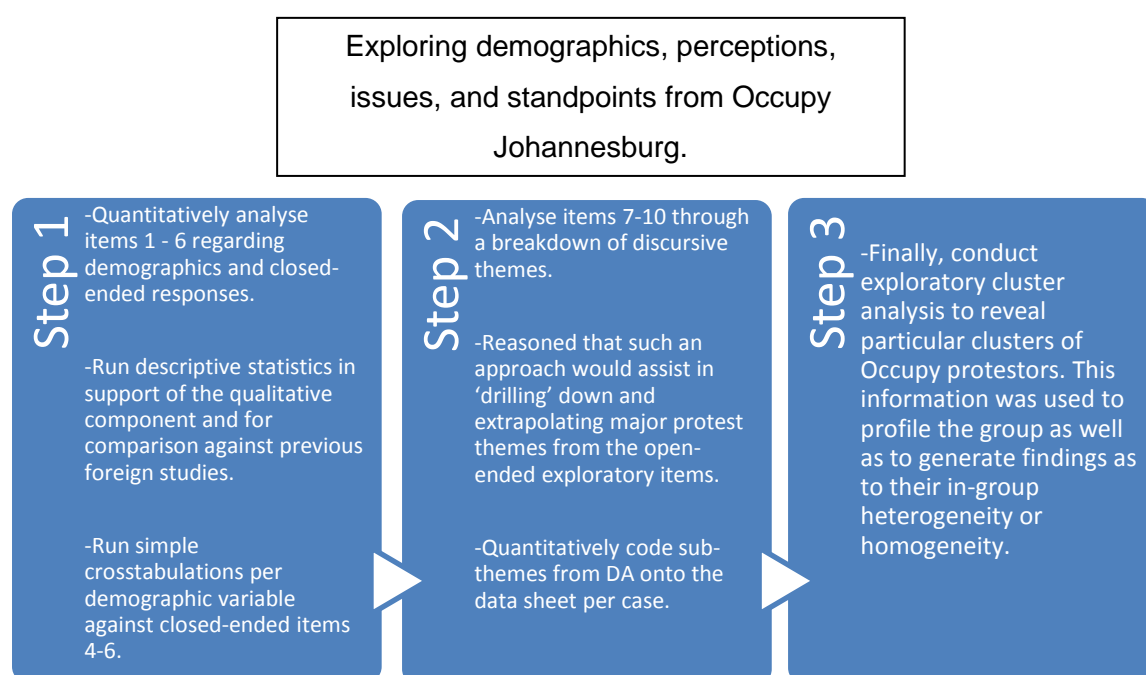


Figure 8: The Data Collection Process

4.9 Ethics

In conducting this study:

- A full covering letter was supplied in correspondence with potential respondents on the mailing list. The 1 page letter comprehensively detailed what the study required of those willing to take part, what the study aimed to achieve, and why and how they were being asked to take part.

- Respondents were fully briefed by personal correspondence as to the nature and requirements of the questionnaire. Only those willing to take part were sampled as they were informed that “only if you wish to take part should you click the following link” in the correspondence. It was feared that respondents may believe that my contacting them directly could result in me revealing who did and did not take part, thereby threatening relations within the in-group. It was therefore addressed in the email correspondence, and where possible in person, that anonymity would be assured and that the researcher would have no access to knowledge of who did or did not participate. No personally identifiable information was required in any form on the questionnaire.
- No other experimentation, harm, judgement, or other negative outcome was foreseen for respondents.

Despite these measures, it should be acknowledged that the small size of the Occupy Johannesburg group and their strong anti-establishment political views exposes group members to some risk of being identified as participants in the study and in some way punished for it. However, it can be reasoned that the type of information asked of participants concerned matters that they were already openly raising in public – there was no attempt to elicit information that might be considered confidential.

5 DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter on data analysis is ordered according to the following three sub-sections: (1) simplified quantitative analysis; (2) qualitative discursive themes; and (3) clustering of responses/respondents.

5.1 Quantitative Analysis

Overall 39 responses were collected and analysed. This section details basic descriptive findings in the form of counts, percentages, and cross tabulations.

5.1.1 Demographic Findings

Table 5 below indicates that the vast majority of respondents were White by race, followed distantly by Black respondents, then by Indian while no Coloured people took part in the study. Put differently, this finding shows that a full 34 of the 39 highly active Occupy Johannesburg members sampled were White people (87.2%).

Table 5: Counts and Proportions of Respondents by Race

Coloured	0	0%
Black	4	10.3%
White	34	87.2%
Indian	1	2.6%

With reference to gender breakdowns, Table 6 below outlays the finding that the majority of those sampled were male. This table shows that 24 of the respondents were male, making up for 61.5% of the core Occupy Johannesburg movement members sampled.

Table 6: Counts and Proportions of Respondents by Gender

Gender	Count	Percentage
Male	24	61.5%
Female	15	38.5%

Age ranges were separated into 7 segments, beginning at age 11 to 20 and ending with those aged 70 plus (see Table 7). It was found that the majority of responses came from those aged 40 and below. This group constituted 82.1% of all responses with those aged 30 and below making up for almost half of the sample at 46.2%. No one aged 61 and above

took part in the study of core members and only 1 individual was aged between 51 and 60. The age range 21 to 40 made up for a full 74.4% of respondents.

Table 7: Counts and Percentages by Age Range

Age Range	Count	Percentage
11 to 20	3	7.7%
21 to 30	15	38.5%
31 to 40	14	35.9%
41 to 50	6	15.4%
51 to 60	1	2.6%
61 to 70	0	0.0%
70+	0	0.0%

The Occupy Johannesburg sample showed relatively high levels of education with none of the respondents having had no exposure to formal education and none showing 'some primary school' or 'completed primary school' as their highest level of education (See Table 8). 7.7% of respondents showed that 'some high school' as their highest level of education while 17.9% had completed high school and almost a quarter (23.1%) had attained a diploma or certificate. Over half of the sample had attained a university level qualification at 51.3%. Of those the vast majority held Honours degrees (30.8%) with 10.3% holding Master's Degrees and one individual in possession of a PhD.

Table 8: Counts and Proportions of Respondents by Education Level

Educational Level	No. of Respondents	Proportion of Sample
No Formal Education	0	0.0%
Some Primary School	0	0.0%
Completed Primary School	0	0.0%
Some High School	3	7.7%
Completed High School	7	17.9%
Diploma/cert.	9	23.1%
Bachelor's Degree	3	7.7%
Honours Degree	12	30.8%
Master's Degree	4	10.3%
PhD	1	2.6%

5.1.2 Social Perceptions

This sub-section focuses on items 5 and 6 of the survey, which were concerned with eliciting perceptual information surrounding confidence in social institutions and beliefs about the sources of social division in South Africa.

Firstly, item 5 allowed respondents to indicate levels of confidence in social institutions. Table 9 below reveals a breakdown of respondents' indications in relation to each of these. Additionally there is a 'rating average' statistic – this has been included in order to gauge the mean rating for each social institution. The rating average was provided by scoring each option with 'no confidence' = 1; and 'absolute confidence' = 5.

Table 9: Respondents' Confidence in Social Institutions

Social Institutions	Some Confidence	No Confidence	Neutral	Confident	Absolute Confidence	Rating Average
National Government	60.5% (23)	31.6% (12)	5.3% (2)	2.6% (1)	0.0% (0)	1.5
Political Parties	57.9% (22)	34.2% (13)	2.6% (1)	2.6% (1)	2.6% (1)	1.58
The Legal System	36.8% (14)	44.7% (17)	5.3% (2)	13.2% (5)	0.0% (0)	1.95
Big Corporations	71.1% (27)	18.4% (7)	5.3% (2)	2.6% (1)	2.6% (1)	1.47
Broadcast Media	52.6% (20)	36.8% (14)	2.6% (1)	7.9% (3)	0.0% (0)	1.66
Print Media	44.7% (17)	36.8% (14)	5.3% (2)	10.5% (4)	2.6% (1)	1.89
Religious Institutions	60.5% (23)	18.4% (7)	10.5% (4)	5.3% (2)	5.3% (2)	1.76

National government received ratings of no confidence by 60.5% of respondents and some confidence from 31.6% while the remainder (7.9%) was either neutral or confident in this institution. None of the respondents revealed absolute confidence in this institution.

Political parties fared slightly better than national government as 57.9% of Occupy Johannesburg respondents revealed holding no confidence in this institution. 34.2% of these people held some confidence, 2.6% were neutral, confident, and absolutely confident respectively. Once again the results are skewed in the direction of little or no confidence.

The legal system received the lowest proportion of no confidence responses at 36.8% and the highest proportion of some confidence responses 44.7%. 2 individuals were neutral on

this sub-item and 13.2% in fact revealed confidence in the legal system; none of the respondents held absolute confidence in the legal system.

It is evident that big corporations received the greatest proportion of 'no confidence' ratings with a full 71.1% of respondents providing a no confidence rating here; 18.4% revealed holding some confidence (equal to the same rating provided for religious institutions); 5.3% were neutral here and 5.2% of people actually showed confidence or absolute confidence in big corporations.

Print and broadcast media held the same proportion of respondents with some confidence (36.8%) in them although more people held no confidence in the broadcast media (52.6%) than in the print media (44.7%), a differential of 7.9%. Print media also received one absolute confidence rating that broadcast media did not and a slightly higher proportion of responses revealing confidence.

As regards religious institutions the results show that 60.5% of Occupy Johannesburg respondents selected a rating of no confidence, tied as the second highest rating along this option; 18.4% of people claimed to hold some confidence in religious institutions which is the lowest rating amongst social institutions along this option. 10.5% of the sample was neutral, the highest rating of neutrality amongst the social institutions; while 5.3% of respondents were confident and absolutely confident respectively.

Overall, and based on the rating averages, the big corporations received the lowest rating of 1.47 and the legal system received the highest of 1.95. In order of highest to lowest ratings the social institutions were ranked as follows (1) the legal system; (2) print media; (3) religious institutions; (4) broadcast media; (5) political parties, (6) national government; (7) big corporations.

This information can be concisely understood through figure 9 below:

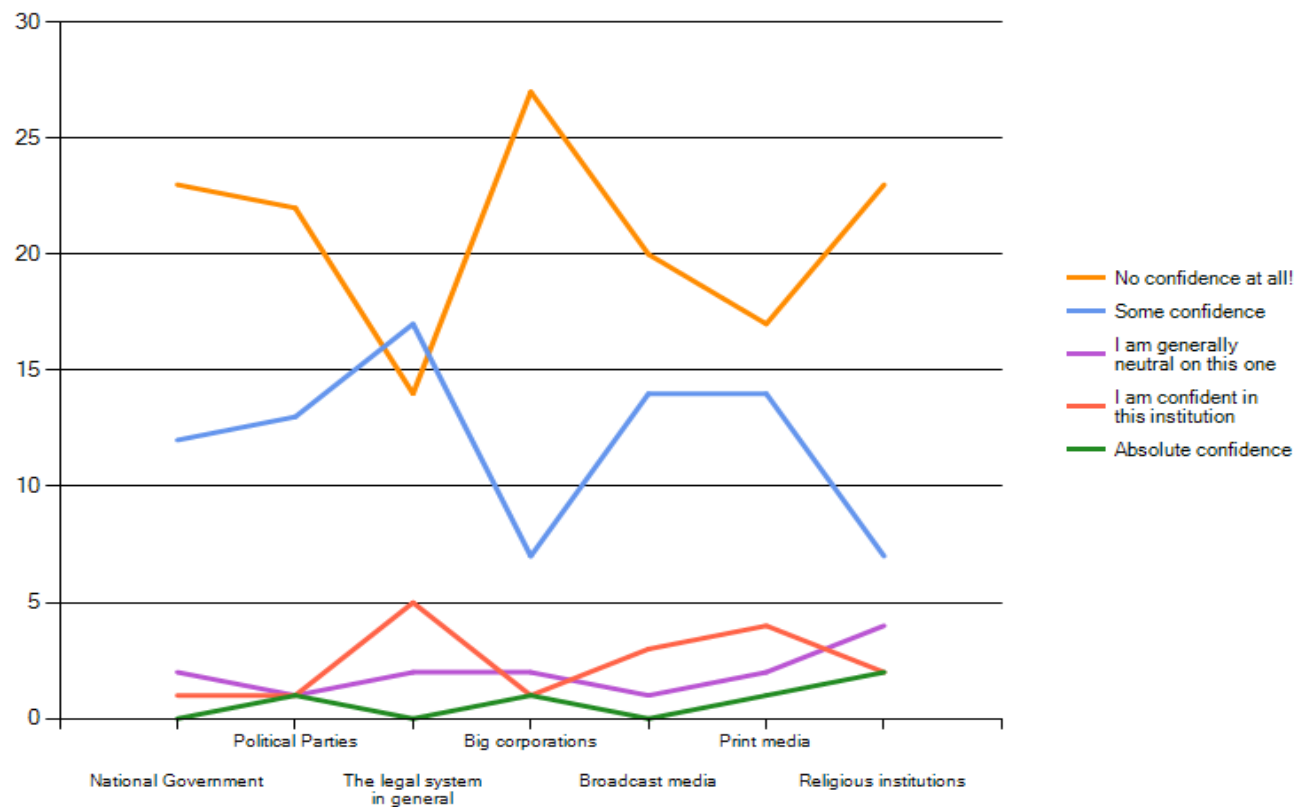


Figure 9: Graphical Representation: trends of confidence in social institutions by rating

Figure 9 reveals the trends per rating option and by social institution. As is evident here, a rating of no confidence was indeed the most popular across social institutions, followed by a rating of some confidence, with the exception being the legal system. Neutrality and confidence ratings were highly similar while absolute confidence rating proved least popular.

Shifting towards responses to item 6, Table 10 below provides counts and percentages for respondent perceptions on the largest sources of social division in South Africa. The sample was asked to indicate which of the provided factors were viewed as being the greatest sources of social division. They were allowed to select more than one option.

Table 10: Beliefs regarding the sources of social division in South Africa

Perceived Sources of Social Division	Response Percentage	Response Count
Race	60.50%	23
Politics	44.70%	17
Language	28.90%	11
AIDS/Disease	10.50%	4
Socio-Economic Class	86.80%	33
Religion	23.70%	9
Cultural Differences	42.10%	16

86.8% of respondents selected socio-economic class as a divisive factor, this was the most selected variable by a margin of 20.3% with race being second at a response rate of 60.5%. This was followed by politics at 44.7% and cultural differences at 42.1%. The three factors being viewed as contributing the least overall to social division in South Africa were AIDS/disease (10.5%); religion (23.7%); and language (28.9%).

5.1.3 Cross tabulations

In this section of the analysis phase the demographic variables of race and gender were cross tabulated against other quantitative items. Cross tabulations involving race should be interpreted with caution given the small number of Black and Indian participants and the consequently small cell sizes.

5.1.3.1 Cross Tabulations by Race

The table below provides a cross tabulation of the gender of respondents against their racial backgrounds. It is evident that the Black respondents were equally split across gender, while White respondents were heavily skewed in favour of males with almost two thirds of responses originating from that group. There were no Coloured respondents and the single Indian respondent was female. Overall it was found that significantly more males than females were present as part of the core members of Occupy Johannesburg.

Table 11: Cross tabulation: Racial background by gender

Gender	Black	White	Coloured	Indian	Totals
Male	50% (2)	64.7% (22)	0.0%	0.0%	61.5% (24)

Female	50% (2)	35.3% (12)	0.0%	100% (1)	38.5% (15)
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The racial groups were then cross tabulated against the variable 'age range' with the following findings:

- The Black racial group's respondents were predominantly found to be in the age range 30 to 39 with one respondent in each of the categories 20 to 29 and 50 to 59 respectively.
- The White group held members in the first 4 categories but no one older than 49. Most of these people were in the 20 to 29 (38.2%) and 30 to 39 (35.3%) ranges, or a total 73.5% of White respondents were between the ages of 20 and 39. Additionally 8.8% of responses came from those in the 11 to 19 age range, revealing a strong youth presence overall for this group.
- There were no Coloured respondents.
- The single Indian respondent was found to be in the 20 to 29 age range.
- In total across races – the groups 20 to 29 and 30 to 39 were the most dominant.
- There were no respondents occupying the final two age categories, meaning that no respondents were aged 60 or above.

Table 12: Cross tabulation: Racial background by age range

Age Range	Black	White	Coloured	Indian	Totals
11 to 19	0.0%	8.8% (3)	0.0%	0.0%	7.7% (3)
20 to 29	25% (1)	38.2% (13)	0.0%	100% (1)	38.5% (15)
30 to 39	50% (2)	35.3% (12)	0.0%	0.0%	35.9% (14)
40 to 49	0.0%	17.6% (6)	0.0%	0.0%	15.4% (6)
50 to 59	25% (1)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6% (1)

60 to 69	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
70 +	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

The breakdown of education against racial background reveals that no respondents appeared in the first 3 possible age categories. The Black respondents were all educated at completion of high school level or above with the categories 'completed high school', 'diploma/certificate', 'bachelor's degree' and 'master's degree' all occupied by 25% of Black responses respectively. The White sample showed wide heterogeneity in terms of education with 8.8% of the sample claiming that they had not completed high school, 17.6% stating that they had completed high school, 23.5% held a diploma/certificate and a full 50% had been educated at university level. This section of the White sample was comprised significantly of those with honours degrees (32.4% of total sample) and one respondent held a PhD. There were no coloured respondents and the single Indian respondent, much like many in the White sample, also held an honours degree. In total 25.6% of respondents had no tertiary education whatsoever; 23.1% held a diploma/certificate; and a full 51.4% of the entire sample had attained a university degree.

Table 13: Cross tabulation: Racial background by education level

Education Level	Black	White	Coloured	Indian	Totals
No Formal Education	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Some Primary School	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Completed Primary School	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Some High School	0.0%	8.8% (3)	0.0%	0.0%	7.7% (3)
Completed High School	25% (1)	17.6% (6)	0.0%	0.0%	17.9% (7)
Diploma/Certificate	25% (1)	23.5% (8)	0.0%	0.0%	23.1% (9)
Bachelor's Degree	25% (1)	5.9% (2)	0.0%	0.0%	7.7% (3)
Honours Degree	0.0%	32.4% (11)	0.0%	100% (1)	30.8% (12)

Master's Degree	25% (1)	8.8% (3)	0.0%	0.0%	10.3% (4)
PhD/Doctoral Degree	0.0%	2.9% (1)	0.0%	0.0%	2.6% (1)

Respondents were asked to provide an indication of their levels of confidence in various social institutions. The Table 14 provides a cross tabulation of this per social institution and by race with an indication of average ratings. Ratings of no confidence were transformed such that they were assigned a score of 1 and ratings of absolute confidence a score of 5. The mean scores or rating averages were calculated through this transformation of data.

Table 14: Cross tabulation: Racial background by confidence in social institutions

Social Institution	5 Point Confidence Scores	Black	White	Coloured	Indian	Rating Average
National Government	No confidence at all!	75% (3)	60.6% (20)	0.0%	0.0%	1.5
	Some confidence	25% (1)	30.3% (10)	0.0%	100% (1)	
	Neutral	0.0%	6.1% (2)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Confident in this institution	0.0%	3% (1)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
Political Parties	No confidence at all!	50% (2)	60.6% (20)	0.0%	0.0%	1.58
	Some confidence	25% (1)	36.4% (12)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Neutral	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100% (1)	
	Confident in this institution	0.0%	3% (1)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Absolute confidence	25% (1)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
The Legal System in General	No confidence at all!	50% (2)	36.4% (12)	0.0%	0.0%	1.95
	Some confidence	50% (2)	45.5%	0.0%	0.0%	

			(15)			
	Neutral	0.0%	6.1% (2)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Confident in this institution	0.0%	12.1% (4)	0.0%	100% (1)	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
Big Corporations	No confidence at all!	75% (3)	72.7% (24)	0.0%	0.0%	1.47
	Some confidence	0.0%	21.2% (7)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Neutral	0.0%	3% (1)	0.0%	100% (1)	
	Confident in this institution	25% (1)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	3% (1)	0.0%	0.0%	
Broadcast Media	No confidence at all!	75% (3)	51.5% (17)	0.0%	0.0%	1.66
	Some confidence	0.0%	42.4% (14)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Neutral	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100% (1)	
	Confident in this institution	25% (1)	6.1% (2)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
Print Media	No confidence at all!	25% (1)	48.5% (16)	0.0%	0.0%	1.89
	Some confidence	25% (1)	39.4% (13)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Neutral	0.0%	6.1% (2)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Confident in this institution	25% (1)	6.1% (2)	0.0%	100% (1)	
	Absolute confidence	25% (1)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
Religious Institutions	No confidence at all!	50% (2)	63.6% (21)	0.0%	0.0%	1.76
	Some confidence	0.0%	18.2% (6)	0.0%	100% (1)	
	Neutral	0.0%	12.1% (4)	0.0%	0.0%	

	Confident in this institution	0	6.1% (2)	0.0%	0.0%	
	Absolute confidence	50% (2)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	

75% of Black respondents claimed to hold no confidence in national government while, of the White respondents, 60.6% stated that they had no confidence in this institution. One quarter of the Black sample (25%), 30.3% of the White sample and the single Indian respondent all claimed to hold 'some confidence' in national government. 6.1% of the White sample claimed to be neutral in terms of their confidence levels in national government and one White respondent indicated they he/she was confident in this institution. The average rating for this item was 1.5.

While Black respondents were less confident than White ones in national government, White respondents were less confident in political parties. 60.6% of White respondents indicated that they held no confidence in political parties, 50% of Black respondents revealed the same. 25% of Black respondents showed that they had 'some confidence' and absolute confidence in this institution respectively. 36.4% of White respondents were somewhat confident in political parties and one individual indicated that he or she was indeed confident in political parties, while the Indian respondent was neutral on this item. Overall the average response rating was 1.58, slightly higher than the 1.5 for national government.

Respondents generally showed higher confidence in the legal system with an average rating of 1.95. Despite this, 50% of Black respondents revealed holding no confidence in the legal system and another 50% holding only 'some confidence'. The highest proportion of White respondents (45.5%) indicated that they held some confidence in the legal system and 36.4% claimed to hold none at all in this institution, additionally 12.1% in fact indicated being confident in the legal system along with the single Indian respondent.

The institution dubbed 'big corporations' received the lowest average response rating at 1.47. In total 75% of the Black sample and 72.7% of the White sample demonstrated that they held no confidence in large corporations. 21.2% of the White sample showed some confidence in big companies, while one of the Black respondents was actually confident in large corporations as institutions. The lone Indian respondent was neutral on this item.

The sample showed higher confidence in the broadcast media than in large corporations although this was still low in general. Black respondents revealed that 75% of them held no confidence in broadcast media and 51.5% of White respondents showed the same. 42.4% of White respondents indicated holding low confidence in the broadcast media as an institution

although 6.1% showed that they hold confidence in broadcast media. The single Indian respondent was neutral on this item. Overall the rating average was 1.66 on this item.

Results showed that the sample held greater confidence in print media than broadcast media, particularly as the rating average for print media as an institution was 1.89. 25% of the Black sample and 48.5% of the White sample indicated holding no confidence in print media as an institution. One Black respondent, one White respondent and one Indian respondent held confidence in print media; one Black respondent also revealed that he/she held absolute confidence in the print media.

Confidence in religious institutions was also low with 50% of Black respondents and 63.6% of White respondents holding no confidence in them. 18.2% of White respondents, as well as the single Indian respondent, revealed holding some confidence in religious institutions. 12.1% of the White sample was neutral on this item and 50% of the Black sample revealed absolute confidence in religious institutions. The rating average for this item was 1.76.

Overall confidence ratings were low for all items with the lowest confidence being in big corporations and the highest in the legal system.

Respondents were asked to select the factors that they believe are the largest sources of social division in South Africa and were allowed to select more than one factor on this item. The results of this item are tabulated by race below in Table 15.

Table 15: Cross Tabulation: Racial background by views on divisive social factors in South Africa

Factors	Black	White	Coloured	Indian	Totals
Race	75% (3)	57.6% (19)	0.0%	100% (1)	60.5% (23)
Politics	75% (3)	42.4% (14)	0.0%	0.0%	44.7% (17)
Language	0.0%	33.3% (11)	0.0%	0.0%	28.9% (11)
AIDS/Disease	0.0%	12.1% (4)	0.0%	0.0%	10.5% (4)
Socio-Economic Class	75% (3)	87.9% (29)	0.0%	100% (1)	86.8% (33)
Religion	50% (2)	21.2% (7)	0.0%	0.0%	23.7% (9)
Cultural Differences	50% (2)	42.4% (14)	0.0%	0.0%	42.1% (16)

The Black group felt most strongly that race, politics, and socio-economic class were major factors promoting division; these were followed by religion and cultural differences. The White sample showed more complex responses with the majority (87.9%) of responses indicating that socio-economic class is a major divisive factor. This was followed by race (57.6%) and then politics and cultural differences holding equal weight 42.4% respectively. The single Indian respondent indicated that race and socio-economic class were perceived as the major divisive factors locally. In total socio-economic class was viewed as the major socially divisive factor, followed by race, politics, cultural differences, language, religion, and finally AIDS and other diseases.

5.1.3.2 Cross Tabulations by Gender

With gender cross tabulated against race it is evident that the male sample was comprised almost exclusively of white respondents at 91.7%, the remainder, 8.3%, were Black respondents. The female group was also skewed towards the White race but not as heavily as among males. 80% of the females were White, followed by Black females (13.3%), and the single Indian respondent was also female (See Table 16).

Table 16: Cross tabulation: Gender by racial background

Race	Male	Female	Totals
Black	8.3% (2)	13.3% (2)	10.3% (4)
White	91.7% (22)	80% (12)	87.2% (34)
Coloured	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Indian	0.00%	6.7% (1)	2.6% (1)

In terms of age range and gender it appears that the first two age categories (11 to 19 and 20 to 29) are very similar proportionally between the genders. At age range 30 to 39 there is a large difference with 41.7% of all male respondents being within this range and only 26.7% of females within this category. On the other hand the age range 40 to 49 is more female oriented (20% versus 12.5% for males) and the female group was the only one with a member in the 50 to 59 range.

Table 17: Cross tabulation: Gender by age range

Age Range	Male	Female	Totals
11 to 19	8.3% (2)	6.7% (1)	7.7% (3)
20 to 29	37.5% (9)	40% (6)	38.5% (15)
30 to 39	41.7% (10)	26.7% (4)	35.9% (14)
40 to 49	12.5% (3)	20% (3)	15.4% (6)
50 to 59	0.00%	6.7% (1)	2.6% (1)
60 to 69	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
70+	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Education levels across the two genders reveal wide differences in all categories (see Table 18). The respondents who stated that they had some high school as their highest level of achievement thus far were all male and accounted for 12.5% of the male sample. Once again 12.5% of the male sample had indicated that they had completed high school and 26.7% of the female sample indicated that completed high school was their highest level of education. Exactly one third of the male sample held a diploma or certificate while only one of the female respondents had a diploma or certificate as their highest educational achievement. In raw numbers both males and females had attained the same number of bachelor's degrees although proportionally this came to 25% of males and 40% of females. 40% of females had attained honours degrees or master's degrees compared to only 8.4% of the male sample; but it was a male who held the only PhD in the sample.

Table 18: Cross tabulation: Gender by education level

Education Levels	Male	Female	Totals
No Formal Education	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Some Primary School	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Completed Primary School	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Some High School	12.5% (3)	0.00%	7.7% (3)
Completed High School	12.5% (3)	26.7% (4)	17.9% (7)
Diploma/certificate	33.3% (8)	6.7% (1)	7.7% (3)
Bachelor's Degree	25% (6)	40% (6)	30.8% (12)
Honours Degree	4.2% (1)	20% (3)	10.3% (4)
Master's Degree	4.2% (1)	20% (3)	10.3% (4)
PhD/Doctoral Degree	4.2% (1)	0.00%	2.6% (1)

Moving towards confidence in social institutions by gender, table 19 provides the cross tabulations for each of the social institutions from the survey against each of the genders.

Table 19: Cross tabulation: Gender by confidence in social institutions

Social Institution	5 Point Confidence Scores	Male	Female	Rating Average
National Government	No confidence at all!	54.2% (13)	71.4% (10)	1.5

	Some confidence	33.3% (8)	28.6% (4)	
	Neutral	8.3% (2)	0.0%	
	Confident in this institution	4.2% (1)	0.0%	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	0.0%	
	Rating Average	1.63	1.29	
Political Parties	No confidence at all!	54.2% (13)	64.3% (9)	1.58
	Some confidence	41.7% (10)	21.4% (3)	
	Neutral	0.0%	7.1% (1)	
	Confident in this institution	4.2% (1)	0.0%	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	7.1% (1)	
	Rating Average	1.54	1.64	
The Legal System in General	No confidence at all!	20.8% (5)	64.3% (9)	1.95
	Some confidence	62.5% (15)	14.3% (2)	
	Neutral	8.3% (2)	0.0%	
	Confident in this institution	8.3% (2)	21.4% (3)	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	0.0%	
	Rating Average	2.04	1.79	
Big Corporations	No confidence at all!	75% (18)	64.3% (9)	1.47
	Some confidence	20.8% (5)	14.3% (2)	

	Neutral	4.2% (1)	7.1% (1)	
	Confident in this institution	0.0%	7.1% (1)	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	7.1% (1)	
	Rating Average	1.29	1.79	
Broadcast Media	No confidence at all!	45.8% (11)	64.3% (9)	1.66
	Some confidence	50% (12)	14.3% (2)	
	Neutral	0.0%	7.1% (1)	
	Confident in this institution	4.2% (1)	14.3% (2)	
	Absolute confidence	0.0%	0.0%	
	Rating Average	1.63	1.71	
Print Media	No confidence at all!	37.5% (9)	57.1% (8)	1.89
	Some confidence	45.8% (11)	21.4% (3)	
	Neutral	8.3% (2)	0.0%	
	Confident in this institution	4.2% (1)	21.4% (3)	
	Absolute confidence	4.2% (1)	0.0%	
	Rating Average	1.92	1.86	
Religious Institutions	No confidence at all!	58.3% (14)	64.3% (9)	1.76
	Some confidence	16.7% (4)	21.4% (3)	
	Neutral	12.5% (3)	7.1% (1)	

	Confident in this institution	8.3% (2)	0.0%	
	Absolute confidence	4.2% (1)	7.1% (1)	
	Rating Average	1.83	1.64	

As regards confidence in social institutions it is once again revealed that little homogeneity existed between the genders. Females held less confidence in national government on the whole with 71.4% of them claiming to hold no confidence in this institution compared to 54.2% of males. 28.6% of females held some confidence in national government while it was only the male sample who revealed either neutrality or overt confidence in this institution. We can see by the rating averages of 1.63 for males and 1.29 for females that females held far less confidence in national government on average.

Confidence in political parties was lower, once again, amongst the female group with 9.9% more females holding no confidence in political parties and 20.3% more males holding at least some confidence in political parties as a social institution. Conversely though it was a female who revealed absolute confidence in political parties and the female rating average of 1.64 is 0.1 points higher than the male average of 1.54.

Females also held significantly lower levels of confidence in the legal system with 64.3% of females holding no confidence in the legal system compared to only 20.8% of males. Moreover, 62.5% of males indicated holding some confidence in the legal system compared to only 14.3% of females. At the higher levels a reversal can be observed 21.4% of females showed confidence in this social institution. On the whole the rating averages of 2.04 for males and 1.79 for females would show greater positive outlooks from males than females regarding confidence in the legal system.

For the item gauging confidence levels in big corporations it was the male group who showed much lower levels of confidence as compared to the female group. 75% of males claimed to hold no confidence in big corporations, versus 64.3% of females, although 6.5% more males than females indicated holding some confidence in these large corporate entities as social institutions. Only females revealed any overt confidence in big corporations with one registering absolute confidence. The rating averages of 1.29 for males and 1.79 for females would suggest that the males sampled were considerably less confident in big corporations in general.

A high proportion of females (64.3%) indicated holding no confidence in broadcast media, 14.3% held some confidence in it, 7.1% were neutral, and 14.3% were in fact confident in this institution. There were proportionally fewer males with no confidence in broadcast media at all (45.8%) but a much higher proportion showing some confidence in broadcast media (50%) than females. Females also revealed that they held higher overt confidence in the broadcast media and had a higher overall rating average of 1.71 versus the male average of 1.63.

Print media was seen more favourably than broadcast media with 62.5% of males and 42.9% of females indicating that they held at least some confidence in it or neutrality towards it. Overall 37.5% of males and 57.1% of females indicated that they held no confidence in print media. The rating averages of 1.92 for males and 1.86 for females are low but relatively high in the context of the responses achieved; show little overall difference in sentiment between the genders.

Finally, females and males showed similarly low levels of confidence in religious institutions with 58.3% of males and 64.3% of females holding no confidence at all in them and 16.7% of males and 21.4% of females holding some confidence. 12.5% of males were neutral on this item compared to 7.1% of females while 8.3% of males were confident in religious institutions and one individual from each gender revealed their absolute confidence in religious institutions. The rating averages of 1.83 for males and 1.64 for females reveal that males were slightly more confident in religious institutions.

With a focus on the factors chosen by respondents as being responsible for social divisions in South Africa it is evident that a certain similarity existed between the genders. Socio-economic class was overwhelmingly selected by respondents as being of the greatest importance to causing social divisions in South Africa and this translated evenly across genders as 87.5% of males and 85.7% of females selected it as a perceived cause of division. The other factors chosen by respondents did not show any clear similarity although, after socio-economic class, males selected race and politics as the next most important factors while females selected race and cultural differences as being the next two most divisive factors.

Table 20: Cross tabulation: Gender by views on divisive social factors in South Africa

Factors	Male	Female	Totals
Race	50% (12)	78.6% (11)	60.5% (23)
Politics	50% (12)	35.7% (5)	44.7% (17)
Language	25% (6)	35.7% (5)	28.9% (11)
AIDS/Disease	8.3% (2)	14.3% (2)	10.5% (4)
Socio-Economic Class	87.5% (21)	85.7% (12)	86.8% (33)
Religion	20.8% (5)	28.6% (4)	23.7% (9)
Cultural Differences	33.3% (8)	57.1% (8)	42.1% (16)

5.2 Qualitative Analysis – Discursive Themes and Sub-Themes

The qualitative analysis component took place by separately analyzing each of the four open-ended questions which were items 7 to 10 on the original survey. For this reason the qualitative analysis phase was unpacked into four sections; each delving discursively into the respective batches of responses per open-ended survey item. The analyses conducted here were separated into ‘discursive themes’ i.e. each recurring or prominent theme was considered discursively and a separate sub-section was dedicated to the discussion thereof. This approach was taken up because (a) it assisted in being clear when responses to four separate items were all analysed for this section and (b) it allowed for later quantitative coding for phase three of this analysis section which entailed a cluster analysis.

5.2.1 Discursive Themes for Item 7 – Occupy Movements worldwide have received criticism for lacking focus, how would you respond to such criticism?

Item 7 of the survey posed the question “Occupy Movements worldwide have received criticism for lacking focus, how would you respond to such criticism?”

Responses to this question were varied and created a near perfect polarization in claims and responses from members. Surprisingly, a prominent response was to agree with the statement and to criticize the current approach employed by Occupy in which clarity in demands and requirements are lacking. On the other hand, this statement was vehemently disagreed with and near tirades of defense were entered into by some. There was also a proverbial 'middle ground' of responses that were included in the analysis although they were not particularly prominent. This polarization of responses was probably due to the issue of a lack of focus that has been debated in the mainstream media, within the movement, and on internet platforms with two significant camps emerging. The first camp was one that demanded a focus for Occupy, claiming that it cannot achieve any real goals without acknowledging the importance of an initial manifesto; the second school of thought stated that Occupy was forging its way towards its objectives through a discovery of who and what it is by a process of active engagement between members and agreement that it is self-fulfilling. Another possible reason for the large polarization was the phrasing of the question - requiring a response that could have been interpreted in a 'for or against' that primed Occupy Johannesburg members to defend a position; it is likely that they answered either affirmatively or negatively and then followed the thoughts disseminated by the two opposing groups mentioned earlier. Overall the themes discussed and analysed here were (1) 'Duality'; (2) 'Aggressive Justification'; (3) 'Denial' and (4) 'Straddling the Fence'.

5.2.1.1 Duality

The positions taken up by many was interesting as an internal view began to emerge, one lacking solidarity and one in which members showed support for the cause but not the processes and structures constituting it under the Occupy Johannesburg banner. A prominent trend in responses was one in which members used the medium of the survey as an anonymous outlet through which frustration regarding the in-group bureaucracies and perceived lack of focus came to the fore. This even manifested in some using the platform provided to aim their statements directly at Occupy e.g., "Generally they are all over the place. You need to find what you stand for and stick with it..." A conspicuous occurrence, as in this example, was that of making a statement and then accusatively directing part of it at Occupy in the first person. It was as if the person writing this statement (and others like her/him) was constructing a lecture, steadily expediting their views towards overtly charged requisites that also, contextually, came across as a series of pleas – pleas towards some form of clarity from people disenchanted from, and disillusioned with, societal systems; yet seeking the comfort of structure from within their own anti-establishment organisation. This is

a rather obvious contradiction in terms as some members sought structure from a movement formed to challenge overarching structure.

I claim here that this 'duality' not only showed direct subversions in terms of not agreeing with the Occupy policy of remaining without a clear set of objectives and allowing a natural (in-group) rhetoric based resistance to be defined as it grows, but also significant frustration that members seemed willing to reveal on this survey. These frustrations were directed at the movement and opened a wound of disappointment regarding the nature and direction of its actions thus far. Responses frequently grouped around discourses showing a certain deceit as meetings, other characters present at meetings, a lack of cohesion, and organizing skills became the subjects of criticism. In some instances it seemed as if desire to undermine the movement held as much weight as desire to undermine large social systems. These responses could easily be interpreted as arising from a group whose desire is to merely consciously reduce all constructs in their path to ineffective and dysfunctional portions of 'artificial nothingness'. This may in part be true but I believe that there was real disappointment present that served to ignite these undermining tendencies. The disappointment factor was one that emerged time and again amongst this group. The Duality statements produced two distinct and loaded responses in this regard: (1) personal disappointment in terms of the movement not providing the protest-based 'release' that they were seeking; (2) contextual disappointment surrounding the people present at meetings, the conduct that occurred, and the lack of decisiveness. These are well portrayed through introducing one example provided by a young man from Occupy Johannesburg:

"It's sadly true. My fear of being one of a handful of white, middle class guys in Metallica and anarchy t-shirts was true... a lack of focus and as cohesive as slop".

This individual began by affirming, in three words, that he believed that the movement lacked focus: "It's sadly true". Respondents were asked to state 'yes' or 'no' and then explain their answers but the Duality responses consistently moved away from the direct question and pushed towards emotive or structural critiques. In this instance the young man stated that the lack of focus was "sadly true", showing a disappointment with this lack of focus before he moved on to critiquing those present and largely avoiding answering the direct question. This individual was not alone in his approach of moving beyond, or ignoring the question, in order to present his opinion. He did in fact push forth by undermining the demographic representations at the meetings as well as a perceived lack of focus and cohesion.

This is a phenomenon I believe to be significant as his desire to ignore a direct question and replace its intended direction with a blunt attenuation of personal experience of the movement speaks to both its inability to strike interest in members such as him but also to a

potential utopian naivety on his part. Furthermore, I believe that this utopian naivety was present in all justifications from the Duality group as they approached the Occupy movement with great hope in mind and understood it as one that held the collective key to relinquishing and disentangling humanity from its own unsatisfactory social systems. Upon arrival many found what they perceived to be an overly bureaucratic and homogenous group of people who did not epitomize the anarchist ideals that they had expected to find. The individual quoted above further detests the demographic make-up of a largely white and middle-class group, implying that he had expected to discover a heterogeneous sample of society that was comprised of people from lower socio-economic standings, or a sample who he perhaps believed would be more in line with his perception of those who are 'victimised' by the systems that the movement stands against. Comments positioned to reduce the cohesion of the group were commonplace, although few as scathing as that quoted above, participants chose not to elaborate as to why they felt cohesion was low. Perhaps this was due to the fact that group cohesion was not a topic that formed part of the actual question. Nonetheless, comments regarding cohesion did arise regardless of whether or not respondents attempted to justify them and this moving away from the direct question while providing a chorus of cohesion-based statements and disappointment driven ones speaks to a higher discourse – that of a desire to be heard, even from the in-group.

I believe that this Duality group used the first open-ended question that they encountered as a tablet upon which to engrave their grievances with the movement, regardless of the intent inherent within the question. Item seven was the only one that received so many answers from respondents that did not directly tie into the nature of the question. It would appear that the group was figuratively 'bursting' to release these feelings on an anonymous survey, subversive feelings that were unlikely to be tolerated or accepted within the movement's more dogmatic circles (the 'aggressive justifiers' to be discussed further in this text). This tendency is indeed one that epitomizes a duality – these individuals held the values outwardly espoused by Occupy dear but were aggrieved and disappointed by the implementation of that value system as well as the nature of those present within the Occupy Johannesburg leg; contrarily these disappointments were ones that appeared to have been kept silent and were ones that were not easily voiced by those who were likely to be a minority within the movement and who ran the risk of being persecuted or removed. Perhaps a logical inquiry here would be towards understanding why those revealing these tendencies have remained within the movement. I would tentatively claim that this element within the movement was motivated to achieve the goals of the movement and were genuinely in agreement with the grievances put forward by it; in addition I believe that they harboured hopes that it would grow and evolve and, through their input, become more congruent with

the kind of movement they desire. It is also possible that members remained a part of the movement because they did believe that their presence could make a difference, despite any perceptions of ill-management, a lack of focus, or a disappointment with the manner in which activities took place and people appeared.

Overall, Item seven's question pertaining to a lack of focus yielded a clear sub-set of responses from those who did believe that the movement lacked focus but who went further and deeper towards breaking down the status quo within it in terms of those present, cohesion, and a desire for less flexibility and more tangible and rigid goals and actions. These responses also revealed an active disappointment with the movement to which they belonged and subscribed and it is this disappointment that was heard most clearly and prominently. Moreover, these disappointments and criticisms must be viewed as emanating from shrewd and artful groups within Occupy Johannesburg, groups that outwardly stand with a movement based on solidarity yet inwardly holds doubts and dislikes as to its processes.

5.2.1.2 Aggressive Justification

A common thread and prominent discourse was that of vehemently and often aggressively justifying the Occupy Movement's apparent lack of focus in a primed fashion. In sum this was a sub-set of discourses dealing with acknowledgement and justification of a lack of focus in a generally aggressive fashion. The aggressive justifications manifested in three distinct ways:

1. The *use of the term 'you' to direct dissatisfactions at* - possibly me as the researcher, a fictitious enemy, or a perceived real one. I believe that participants were frustrated by the fact that they had been posed such a question and in some instances were directly making a point to the person who constructed the question and who would dare open the floor for the possibility of a lack of focus - me. In other instances people responded by intermittently using 'you' while launching into a tirade in defence of the movement. I believe this use of 'you' was constructed in order to perpetuate and direct aggressive justifications at a fictitious form of despised entity in order to have an enemy in the absence of a targeted one, i.e., to manufacture a fictitious and 'intolerable other' for the purposes of advancing frustrations in a semi-directed way (O'Hanlon, 2003). Finally, still others made scathing statements directed at an unidentified 'you' but shortly preceding the you in several instances were terms such as 'the people', 'the population', 'those from outside', and 'the powers'. I think this use of 'you', in conjunction with the terms mentioned, pushed

towards covert accusations that people who are not a part of Occupy do not understand it as well as an implied accusation that only through ignorance would one even consider doubting Occupy's aims and existence based on a lack of focus. It was remarkable how discernible this use of 'you' was and how frequently it appeared. The use of the term punctuated what surfaced as a desire for a single 'real' enemy. This potentially speaks to an underlying frustration with the group's pre-occupations that span across so many forces such that deducing these into single and directed 'you' categories simplifies and focuses frustrations.

2. Then there was *anger at being misunderstood*. Members placed great emphasis on accusations appearing against them that were presumed to be unfounded. They appealed to the continually shifting nature of the movement and to lacking any desire to conform to rigid and 'clarity-driven' constructs, of a system they are challenging, as justifications. Members also alluded to the idea that having clear leadership allows for those leaders to be targeted and/or removed. Implicit in many of the arguments that reasoned that misunderstandings were behind accusations of a lack of focus was a position that drove towards a sense of true democracy. Many of these responses arose, and were justified, in relation to accusations that systemic power is indeed undemocratic and that leaders automatically shift power relations in their favour and not the group's. One participant directly made this assertion while many others juxtaposed their loose and leaderless structures with those in society and, while arguments generally centred upon 'justness', 'valuing the individual', or 'human dignity' the responses regarded power relations in many ways. Members were exuding discourses that can be framed as an internal understanding of their modes of functioning as highly democratic and those outside as being diametrically opposed to a 'true democracy'. This was a shift towards egalitarianism over efficiency, function, structure or productivity as positive in-group emphasis and mention of the former far exceeded the others. Member frustrations appeared as they subsumed a sense of being misunderstood in their justifications for a lack of focus.
3. From *confident assumption to vulnerability* – this refers to discourses that turned from strength to weakness in both argument and approach. Participants pushed towards deriving meaning from their actions and creating the textual conditions under which justifications could ring true although revealed certain vulnerability in so doing. Responses here held objectives that set the tone for a movement seeking to invoke significance through their current praxis while also seeking to bolster or maintain their own sense of significance. This set of discourses traversed paths wider and more complex than those followed by the previous two. It acted as both justification and

answer while gradually revealing vulnerability. These discourses and perceptions, while perturbed, lacked the same levels of irate tone.

One individual mentioned a fear that the movement may become a trend and not a real issue if leaders and manifestos appeared; another claimed that the movement is the message in the form of a collective gift of change from the people arising through 'raised consciousness' and the like. These approaches sought significance by not directly addressing whether or not the group held a focus but on a higher level through bypassing the question and initially setting the scene for implied justifications as to the inherent value of Occupy. Here it was assumed that the value of Occupy was not up for debate (or was not debated) as the topic was not defended or mentioned. Rather, two trends became clear: (1) members assumed the significance of Occupy followed by expressing concern for how the movement could be jeopardised; (2) members once again assumed that Occupy held inherent significance but this time followed by esoteric descriptions of why the movements themselves were taking place and why. There was an underlying ironic vulnerability to this as initial confidence in the obviousness of Occupy's focus or reasons for existence were transformed into conjecture, which was then transformed into either an expression of concern for possible corruptors or damaging variables; or a series of circular, vague, and esoteric arguments. It would appear that this set of findings came about as the participants were writing – they began with confidence that the movement's focus was not an area of concern and then moved towards somewhat irrelevant claims and suppositions that led rather irrationally towards doubt and concern, and creative esoteric attempts to justify and further the movement. This discursive sub-theme likely revealed the greatest weakness of resolve.

In terms of the data derived for this theme of Aggressive Justification, table 21 below provides several quoted (in original form) examples of responses that epitomise the three discursive sub-themes identified.

Table 21: Quoted Statement examples for the Aggressive Justifiers

Sub-Theme	Quoted Text from Participants
Use of the term 'you' to direct dissatisfactions at.	"Of course you have to have something to criticize. We give you focus and you take out our movers and shakers. Having no visible leader does not mean lack of focus. It means you don't have a head to chop off..."
	"It's easy to criticize ppl who r standing up n highlight what the 99% is suffering from if you r sitting in your comfy chair & aircon office."

	to you I say: since you clearly not part of the 1% ; what's stopping you from coming to voice ur wisdom on the ground?..."
Anger at being misunderstood.	"At first I kind of agreed with that idea...But it does have a kind of focus, and it's only those invested on the other side that can stand and say quite closed-mindedly that there is no focus. The focus is so clear its a bit ridiculous that people could say there isn't any..."
	"It is a contradiction in terms...to get so many people, globally, to step out of their comfort zones for some' vague naive something or other! So it is a rather silly point of view..."
Confident assumption to vulnerability.	"We know what we are doing...when a leader is elected and made public the movement gets a face and becomes symbolic and thus people will get an emotional reaction from it...but if it were too organized I believe it would lose the essence of self-directed revolutionary thought and become a trend as opposed to an issue...Some groups in Joburg are starting to want organized leadership, I fear this may happen, maybe we need it but I fear it occurring..."
	"...Corruption, corporate greed, how many times does it have to be said?...We will break these systems...It {Occupy Johannesburg} needs consistent breath to keep the flame burning...This is a collective gift from some unconscious force within ourselves...This might be an opportunity to grow and evolve towards higher dimensions..."

5.2.1.3 Denial

Two camps, both in support of the movement, were evident on item 7 – these consisted of justifying positions (discussed above) where the idea of Occupy holding a blurred focus was sanctioned, then there were positions of denial where, albeit less aggressively, disagreements with the notion that there is a lack of focus were evident. There existed a definite trend in the data in which outright denial of any lack of focus was overtly stated. Claims that the Occupy movement lacks focus were seen here as absurd and, although these statements were more passively provided, they were also clearly stated. Quotations such as those below would reveal this:

1. "The focus is about class. Its aim is to bring down the elite and share power and means of production";
2. "Wow, 'lack of focus'! Really? They've occupied the whole world, practically, in less than 2 months! I think they're crystal clear on what their focus is";
3. "I would say that the people reporting on the apparent lack of focus are talking nonsense. Occupy movements in Europe and America are very clear and focused."

Three factors of discursive interest arose here, the first being that there was a sense of protectiveness in these statements; it was an immediate desire to defend the Occupy entity or stance, despite it not in fact being congruent with the official stance. In the first quotation the focus was immediately provided, in the second instance exclamation was stated in the face of the initial question which was expressed as if it were rhetorical, and in the third instance statements claiming a lack of focus were seen as tantamount to absurdity. In all three the opening sentences spoke with immediacy to defensive attempts. Such statements revealed a misled dedication to the movement as they all inherently assumed a negative space for that which lacks focus as opposed to embracing this as an evolutionary non-rigid aspect of the movement (as this official Occupy view would hold).

The second point of discursive interest is that the positions of denial are in effect the positions that the Occupy Movement itself largely stands against as they conform to conventional wisdom through emphasis on clarity and initially set a frame upon what the movement is, not from outside but from within. It is interesting to note that some Occupy Johannesburg members were not fully aware of the official stances, activities, and protest ideologies employed by the movement to which they subscribe. Yet, the prominent discourse is one highly concerned with, and dedicated to, protecting the movement in the face of a perceived threat to its credibility, despite this action being a confirmation of conventional wisdom as well as a show of at least slight ignorance.

Finally, the positions and discourses found in the analysis of the theme pertaining to aggressive justification are antithetical to those of denial. While denial was a less prominent stance it was, for some, the immediate response and was in obvious contradiction to positions of justification for a lack of focus. In some responses contradiction between these two occurred in proximity of two or three sentences. This reveals in-group confusion as to the official Occupy stance; the stance that the individual personally desires; and possibly being torn between fanatical defence of the movement in the face of an outsider's claims that implied and connoted the importance of focus and the group's emphasis on a movement that did not require focus or structural integrity in any rigid social sense (at the time of data collection).

5.2.1.4 *Straddling the Fence*

The final discursive theme was 'straddling the fence'. This refers to the vague and contradictory positions that were taken up in which little desire to move towards claiming that the group was highly focused or otherwise existed; or one position was taken up only to be reduced by subsequent statements about its demerits and the merits of the opposing position. Indeed sentences, statements, and accounts in this way intentionally avoided strict and rigid attitudinal approaches and preferred coaxing themselves towards relative safety between two positions, i.e. straddling the fence.

This stream of sub-themes possessed particular attempts at maintaining neutrality and avoidance of commitment to answering the direct question. One short response read: "We do not promise anything other than trying something new that may or may not work. If it doesn't work, we're willing to try something else". This response circles the question of focus and provides a peripheral loophole that 'something else' could be attempted if focus becomes a problem. It also places the individual and his/her group in the privileged position of not 'promising anything', a position that allows for failures on the part of the group to be admonished in attempts at 'trying something new'. In this, and other statements, confidence in the in-group's activities, in the face of a question pertaining to focus, appeared to wane. Responses that straddled a fence looked to push for neutral positions in which protection of the self and in-group was easy through avoidance of the question and escaping the burden of commitment. These positions also revealed, upon closer inspection, certain discomfort and a lack of surety in the group's positions.

Another excerpt read: "I would agree that they do lack a bit of focus in that members hold a multitude of gripes and issues...On the other hand, the many issues we put forward are quite clear and, individually, are focused." In this case there is both agreement and disagreement that the group lacks focus with the contingency that singular issues are focused but when grouped the issues put forward are unfocused. Logically it would be difficult for an assortment of clear and focused issues to become entirely unfocused when viewed together. This statement is of course one that avoids taking up a direct stance by claiming that the group can be both focused and unfocused but as important is the tone and language. The use of the term 'gripes' may well be a colloquialism in the mind of the participant although it is a term that does not reveal great admiration for those who engage in it. This may indeed be the case as this person states that "*they*" lack focus and put forward gripes and issues but "*we*" have been clear on our individual focal points. There is a desire to distance the self from inconsistencies and a lack of focus from the group but an

eagerness to involve the self in individual substrates containing focus. This activity reveals once again that throughout analyses for this item focus has been viewed as desirable, despite official Occupy stances.

The theme of straddling the fence revealed its own discourses, regardless of attempts at neutrality and distance from the question or ambiguities relating to accepting or justifying both focus and a lack thereof.

5.2.2 *Discursive Themes for Item 8 – Do you believe that the Occupy Johannesburg Movement differs from other Occupy Movements Worldwide? Please state ‘yes’ or ‘no’ and substantiate your answer.*

This item was originally designed in order to understand perceived differences between Occupy Johannesburg and other related movements as well as for members to comment on Occupy’s systemic and culture-based homogeneity/heterogeneity. Responses were grouped according to ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers and then analysed discursively by these respective sub-sets.

5.2.2.1 *‘Yes’ Occupy Johannesburg does differ*

The ‘yes’ responses differed markedly by their claims and appeals and revealed a great width of perception across the sample. Those who answered yes believed that the Johannesburg Movement differed from Occupy Movements worldwide because of a myriad of social historical, economic, and circumstantial reasons. Chief among these were South Africa’s socio-economic disparities, the history of discrimination but also a history of protest, lack of access to technology and racial divides. Despite separate issues of difference being raised, the yes claims struck a very similar chord – a major theme here was the desire for uniqueness and advances towards unveiling the perceived difficulties that this movement faces over foreign ones.

The yes statements centred upon a desire for unique identity and pushing for a position of deeper necessity for the movement in South Africa. On the first note it became clear that certain voices felt it favourable to hold a unique Occupy Johannesburg position – that the local movement should be viewed as a linked entity but one that differs in context, response and operations.

Several reasons for stating that the Occupy Johannesburg Movement was unique became clearer. These Johannesburg-based Occupiers felt that they had more reason to feel aggrieved or perhaps a sense that their Occupation was more just, their protests more necessary, and their actions a valid response to global socio-political problems that were viewed as being magnified in the historically tumultuous and developing South African context. These were the voices of self-appointed crusaders who gave cognisance to the importance of their movement worldwide but made a 'special place' for the Johannesburg leg, *their* leg. This protuberance of responses moved away from the main body and was geared towards creating an unparalleled setting within which Occupy Johannesburg functions. The following three statements from separate participants potentially highlight this:

"Yes. I think S Africa has experience in such a task from bringing down Apartheid..."

"We all want the same-liberty. The difference lies in the fact that...1) SA is a young 'Democracy'...2) The people need educating...3) We have a police policy of shoot to kill....4)All the people in the country have never really tasted what it is to feel free..."

"We face issues of a different kind like corruption where a young democracy is being violently tampered with and destabilized, not as a result of a 'central bank' but because we have political instability that we have no control over...To Summarise, we need to Africanise the Occupy Movement here."

Appeals to local uniqueness played into sensational attempts at point-making all towards creating a 'space' for the local movement. Mentions of 'Apartheid', 'bringing down' systems, 'shoot to kill', 'violently tampered with', 'Africanise the Occupy Movement' and people who have never really experienced freedom serve to bolster the potential impact of the point that South Africa as a whole *needs* the Occupy Movement. Moreover, such claims aim to set the scene for a movement facing great challenges, ones greater than foreign counterparts – all direct comparisons either explicitly place the local movement's theoretical or structural hurdles as being higher, or alluded to this. Indeed these too were imbued with 'Occupy talk' – the term democracy is written in inverted commas above, denoting that South Africa experiences a false democracy or one not worthy of the term; while reference to 'bringing down' a social system in relation to current Occupy tasks and mentions of 'tasting' 'freedom' reveal Occupy-centric language, if not thinking too. It would appear that segments of responses desired Occupy Johannesburg to be viewed in its own unique but related light.

These Johannesburg Occupiers did not want to break ties with the global banner, nor did they seek to undermine it, they sought a space for their movement, they wanted it to be known that they perceived their fight to be one of greater difficulty, and perhaps they even

sought recognition for this. Of interest was the lack of solidarity with the global movement amongst these 'yes' responses. The global movement was acknowledged and comparisons are drawn in a more than amicable series of voices but true accord and unity were not entirely present. The Occupy movement strived for solidarity among all persons across the globe, with the premise being that culture, nationality, race or religion cannot create divides as all persons face the same global strains. These responses revealed a search for identity in and as 'Occupy Johannesburg' as opposed to a generalized 'Occupy' identity.

5.2.2.2 'No' Occupy Johannesburg does not differ

The 'no' responses were of greater homogeneity than the 'yes' responses - which involved participants mentioning a wide range of variables constituting difference between Occupy Johannesburg and foreign co-movements. The 'no' responses rather showed loyalty to the greater movement in which devotion and belief in its aims were evident. Occasional references or acknowledgement to the Johannesburg movement's peculiarities were not absent but these were largely unintended to increase focus on difference, instead they were mentions that helped to frame the movement locally as a child entity under the parental Occupy banner.

The 'no' responses followed a very similar path - each one beginning with no and justifying this with short and sharp points. I believe that these people were perhaps neither drawn in nor concerned by the question in item 8. The short and to-the-point responses that were largely devoid of obvious emotion were indicative of individuals who (1) did not doubt that solidarity and acting as one entity under the Occupy name was occurring globally – including in South Africa -, and (2) who were unaffected by the line of questioning. Those who answered yes to item 8 appeared to be affected by the question and involved in their responses. What I saw for the 'no' discursive theme was a series of responses that did not uncover any significant affectivity towards the question and that did not attempt to be convincing. By this I mean that the 'no' responses were followed by matter-of-fact justifications or no justification at all, merely a short description of the 'facts'. The three quotes below were drawn directly from the data and each is a full response from a respective Occupy Johannesburg member:

"No. I think OJ {Occupy Johannesburg} is generally an offshoot of the occupy movement. We have different sensibilities across different countries and have to fine tune according to locality."

"No. Our power is in the global theme of Occupy - strength in numbers - we are One."

“No, our problems are aligned, our world economy stinks, and we are united. The only differences are basic and demographic.”

The statements above not only reflect a great similarity but also certain ‘obviousness’. The first would imply that those Occupiers in different locations should alter (or ‘fine tune’) their approaches and practices to match the global campaign and that this action would be a given point according to location. The second claimed that only through affiliation and adherence to Occupy can strength, and presumably results, be derived towards their global cause. The final quote found reason for solidarity by claiming that all movements’ problems are identical and then shifting towards emphasizing that the group is united. This quotation is perhaps the one that reveals the most weakness as the individual felt it necessary to state that the group is not only aligned in its goals but also united just prior to mentioning two minor differences. Conversely though, this person also uses the terms ‘we’ and ‘our’ seemingly without giving them much thought – as though the notion of solidarity is entrenched.

Those who made statements towards the ‘no’ persuasion were in little doubt as to the space held by Occupy affiliations from a Johannesburg perspective and were conclusive and self-evident in their stances. Indeed the terms ‘we’ and ‘our’ make this clear as even in the writing styles these people think in terms of the collective. As compared to the ‘yes’ group, this group showed little doubt and little or no shift away from the official Occupy stance of solidarity, shared global stressors, and collective action.

5.2.3 Discursive Themes for Item 9 – Which macro-level factors motivate you to personally involve yourself in Occupy?

Item 9 revealed four broad themes, each with their own embedded discursive positions, these were: the ‘unfair world’ argument; the ‘socialist’ argument, and the ‘personal plight’ argument. It must be initially stated that item 9 on the survey implicitly primed participants to justify their positions because of the way in which it is asked with the term ‘motivate’ being used. Additionally, the item was the first to truly give Occupy members a space for total subjectivity and individual justification. The data here consisted of deeper personal statements and more advanced justifications.

5.2.3.1 The 'Unfair world' Argument

The strongest of themes to emerge from all of the qualitative data was this one. The unfair world argument was both prominent and saturated with emotive standpoints. Fundamentally, this theme involved a great disdain for the way in which economic praxes occur and the resulting effects on humanity. Those claiming that the world is unfair and appealing to 'fairness' were self-appointed reformers and campaigners whose apparent agitation with perceived systemic unfairness was enough to justify personal involvement.

The theme was laced with idealism and moves from members that uncovered personal and collective conceptions of themselves as, or wanting to become, champions of justice or ordered 'fairness' in the world. Those claims that adhered to this theme were apparently unselfish and geared towards reparations of the world that would be suitable for 'others'. One woman wrote:

"THE POOR. I will not stop until they have free national health system, recognised free education, free transportation to and from schools and hospitals. All this will then enable them to find a job and put food on the table, giving them back their dignity."

These 'others' in this instance were the perceived poor, emphasised in capital letters, people for whom she would champion her cause and pursue her crusade through claiming that she would incessantly strive towards providing the ideals mentioned. She then moves towards stating that once several variables are in place the 'poor' would be able to find jobs, feed themselves, and attain dignity. Those taking up the unfair world argument were not only assuming the position of bringers of justice through involvement with the movement but were frequently absorbed in counter-intuitive arguments – or perhaps conventionally intuitive arguments that became the inverse. In standing for the Occupy Movement this person was necessarily opposed to major economic systems (and aimed to subvert these) but the approach taken up that assumes attaining a job will bring prosperity is diametrically opposed to protesting the economic capitalist status quo. In actuality the Occupy Movement claims that jobs, capitalist exploitation of labour, and commodifying the world can only lead to a loss of human freedoms and dignity. The quote above claims the opposite – that only through a job can one find dignity. This conformity to what could be dubbed 'systemic thinking' while attempting to stand against the major systems was highly discernible within the unfair world arguments as they sought changes within the system and not changes to it.

There was also evidence of fearsome caricature production and imagery creation that stemmed from strong emotional positions. The quotes below indicate this:

“The macro level at which capitalism is cannibalising the world: its cultures, its resources, its labour, in order to feed the fire of consumerism.”

“A large sense of entitlement of big business to abuse people's need for money. Modern slavery if you will.”

Patently evident is the use of terms such as ‘cannabilising’, ‘fire’, and ‘slavery’. In the first instance this person implied that capitalism, a human construct, is feeding on humanity itself as a perpetual and rampant beast that is consuming vital facets of the species. Thereafter consumerism was likened to a fire, as if it were a blazing inferno engulfing its fuel of humanity even though humanity itself is the consumer. In the second instance the unfairness was perceived as arising from corporations abusing regular people (employees) because they need money and the corporations have the power to sanction or limit the supply thereof. This was then viewed as commensurate with slavery, creating the image of the weak and dependent citizen as being the unwilling subject of corporate greed. Points of unfairness were driven and directed towards the reader’s (or researcher’s) sensibilities and apparently served to simultaneously spark further internal resolve.

The unfair world arguments employed to motivate personal involvement in Occupy were constructed as intense emotive appeals to the need for a just and fair set of social systems. Some of these appeals were counter-productive as they inherently adhered to the systems they were designed to expose, while others were laden with emotionally charged imagery and caricature that propelled the unfairness argument to new heights through appeals to personal sensibilities and self-induced participant aggravation.

Finally, this sub-set was further defined by a lack of personal mentions. The reasoning put forth here was based entirely on ‘worldly unfairness’ or the plight of others, not on personal experiences, positions, or claims. There was a stream of placing the experiences of unfairness on others. When I asked what personally motivates members to be involved in a protest movement I expected responses centred upon the individual and his/her personal experiences of the effects of the macro-level systems on their lives. Placing the emphasis elsewhere is potentially due to these members considering themselves to be privileged in some way and not in need of the same systemic relief that others are. Alternatively it is due to members framing themselves and their movement as a benevolent one that is concerned with the needs of the outside world and one that will repair the world charitably; this may have been constructed in order to appeal to potential readers and to frame the movement and the individuals in a positive light as well as to bolster support and membership.

5.2.3.2 *The Socialist Argument*

The socialist argument theme was one in which reasons for personal involvement were connected to classic socialist theories with disdain being shown for the creation of capital and exploitation of labour. This was a theme that pre-supposed the justness and righteousness of personal involvement towards socialist ideals - with claims and statements pointing directly to what could ultimately be 'achieved' through mass socialist involvement and mass economic equality. This theme's calls rang out to the effect of inherently accepting socialism as a positive and acceptable solution to capitalist economic and political structures while claiming, through Socialist rhetoric, that 'critical mass', or extensive involvement from the 'people' could lead to a breakdown of current economic and political praxis.

Of interest was a joint disdain for both government power and capitalism, through a socialist lens. Classic socialist economic theory would hold that common ownership over the means of production takes place through state ownership, cooperative enterprise, or citizen ownership (O'Hara, 2003). From the Occupy perspective state control is definitely not to be tolerated as the official stance decries central power and its involvement in social governance and individual voices have indeed reiterated the sentiment in this study. This particular theme potentially reveals a movement, or at least some individuals within it, formulating a basis from which to create a more advanced protest position. When asked which macro-level factors motivate him to be involved one person stated:

"Capitalism is inherently unequal and exploitative...Owners of capital...are able to legally usurp part of the product... In other words, labour produces all value in the economy but we get paid only a share of what we produce. This is where capital comes from...The state protects this status quo. Thus, the state and capital are the enemies of the workers."

This man did not mention his own personal motivations; he rather took it for granted that exploitative practices would/should be motivation enough to engage with a movement that seeks to undermine such practices. This short piece is constructed as an informative and almost educationally-oriented paragraph. There is an inherent assumption on the part of the participant that the reader, researcher, fellow Occupiers, or public at large require education on the topic of radical economics and the traditional arguments against capitalism. This theme revealed more than one instance of what came forth as attempts at positioning the self as knowledgeable or a 'provider of understanding'. Upon inspection, rather than arrogance I believe that this position was born out of a more genuine desire to lay bare the issues with capitalism as they are understood and to use them as (perceived) powerful reasons for personal motivation to protest. Regardless of reasoning, this theme exposed a socialist sub-group within the movement, consisting of people who understood the

fundamentals of socialism and attempted to apply them to the Occupy position. In essence there was an apparent hijacking of the Occupy Johannesburg Movement by a socialist undercurrent in that there were willing or unwilling attempts to define the Occupy space in socialist terms. The statement made above is certainly one that furthers the place of socialism in mending the perceived economic problems but it is the final sentence that is significant as it claims that “the state and capital are enemies of the workers”. The Occupy movement has made reference to workers in the past but only fleetingly, the larger movement itself is more concerned with the ‘global citizen’, the ‘99%’, or ‘humanity’. While the Occupy Movement is one that has a strong following amongst the so-called ‘working class’ it does not aim to define the economic world in terms of estrangement from the fruits of workers’ labour or exact adherence to socialist conceptions of resource distribution. Additionally, the positions of discontent taken up by the Occupy Movement are much broader and extend beyond economics towards politics, environmental concerns, legal issues and other social structures.

Another example of a slightly different socialist position can be found in the quote below:

“I want what is fair and right, not class in particular. Changing from capitalism and imperialism to socialism is a restructuring of the core of government. It's the paradigms shifts that worry me.”

This statement reflected slightly more adherence to the original question of what motivates one to be involved in the movement through its opening sentence. It then overlapped with the quotation from above with a directed claim that the change that is to take place is one from capitalism and imperialism to socialism.

5.2.3.3 The Personal Plight Argument

This sub-section was dedicated to standpoints that were exclusively personal in nature and, while loosely tying into the question of macro-level factors, were mostly micro in nature. Occupy Johannesburg members were, after all, asked to explain the macro-level factors that motivate them to be personally involved. Positions here emphasised the personal over the macro and related directly to lived experiences, hardships, and individual socio-economic woes. Discourses here did not necessarily reflect a strong resolve for the Occupy Movement as a whole, they were rather focused on personal plight and the view that Occupy may well provide a forum through which to voice frustration. Moreover, these voices provided a precise example of the global citizen for whom Occupy claims to stand as well as a good

representation of his/her daily issues that stem from current economic practice as reasons for involvement.

An irony here is that the sub-set of claims that formed this theme arose from a certain self-pity and frustration with systemic constraints placed upon the self and not a philosophical disdain for, and argument against, large-scale economic, political, and social systems. In many senses I was forced to ask whether any involvement with the movement would take place if the individual voices here were not experiencing personal financial strife? In essence the motivation for involvement was based heavily on perceived ill-conditions that the self endures due to socio-economic strife but lightly upon Occupy Movement ideals. The Occupy Movement certainly takes into account the plight of the individual and is undoubtedly empathetic to their causes and struggles under current political and economic conditions. There is in effect the requirement that those who protest under the banner of Occupy do so as one and do so for all. What was seen here was rather a convolution of that to the degree that all issues mentioned were personal in nature and broached few systemic shortfalls, employed little-to-no 'Occupy language', and were without any indication of a grasp of the movement itself. It would be difficult to state outright that the responses in this theme were those arising from an ignorant (of Occupy) group but the lack of any reference to Occupy-centric topics (e.g., capitalism, 99%, environmental concerns, unjust politics, corporate greed, and so on) was considered, by omission, to reveal a lack of concern for the actual movement and/or a lack of knowledge thereof. The concerns here rest quite robustly on subjective interpretations of the problems for oneself.

One such answer to item 9 was as short as:

"no job, cannot pay bond"

Interestingly this individual provided responses of at least 7 lines to the other open-ended survey items as well as a desire to expand upon claims. In this instance it is as if the question itself was so 'obvious' that the answer needn't receive any expansion. While this man may have good reason for being jaded with the financial status quo he provides no broad reasoning and is concerned exclusively with his own position. The quotation below shows one woman fleshing her statements out but with little overall difference:

"...I go to work each day and receive barely enough pay to make ends meet. This results in me having to take on debt, this is what keeps me in my job. The well known term of "rat-race". Leaving little time to find joy and love in my life."

The use of 'I' and 'me' once more reveals a pre-occupation with individualistic thinking, something that is distinctly 'un-Occupy' in approach. While the majority of Occupy stances rest on society not being able to live with dignity; or the '99%' taking on debt, or 'we' being kept in 'our' jobs through 'modern slavery', this woman refers only to herself throughout and on a very micro-level. The final sentence says that she finds it difficult in finding time for joy and love 'in my life'. The Occupy angle is one from which main mention of this perceived injustice would speak of the lack of time for joy and love in the lives of 'the people' as opposed to the person.

One man began a lengthy response with (shortened here):

"Well its the same story I am a middle class white person, reasonable educated, have 3 kids and am involved in 2 businesses, My problem is that I am working my Butt off with the dangling carrot...I feel miserable and depressed, stuck in the rat race, and all I seem to be doing is paying overpriced bills and feeding other guys interest on their economic highs, which affects my whole life. Socially try to help out where I can with people below me on the economic level..."

Beginning by claiming that 'it is the same story' would allude to an initial attempt to frame his problems as being congruent with those of many others, a starting point from which one may expect typical Occupy rhetoric to ensue. He then moves towards revealing his race and education, presumably in an attempt to clarify that he is not of a class higher than 'middle' and is not fortunate enough to hold a great level of education. There is then a shift to a description of personal plight regarding children (responsibility) and businesses that consume time in a seemingly futile attempt at financial success. He appeals to the reader through his mention of misery and presumably perpetuates his own resolve in his position by following that up with being 'stuck', the subject of 'overpriced bills', and a minion to those who profit from his efforts. An irrelevant (to the question) statement ensues in which this person attempts to reveal his benevolence. The subject moves from a pre-occupation, exclusively with personal issues, towards mention of how he still manages to reach out to others less economically powerful than him which, while noble if true, does little to bolster previous statements or answer the question posed. It would appear that this is an extension of the original pre-occupation with the self in the form of a further self-serving, instead of self-pitying (yet still self-centric), line of claim.

Another segment of the personal plight theme dealt with similar standpoints that also incorporated activities which were 'fringe' in the Occupy sense. It has been mentioned in this dissertation that a great many sub-claims and peripheral philosophies exist within Occupy Movements, with or without Occupy sanctioning. One particular camp that not only held

desires for alterations in the economic status quo, but absolute breakdown of it, were those in favour of a resource-based economy. A resource-based economy in this sense is a term coined by one Jacque Fresco, a leftist writer, technologist, industrial designer and philosopher. Fresco devised the term to indicate a system in which all items of economic value (including services) can be given without the use of money, barter or lending and where resources are shared and not accrued, the premise being that the earth is abundant and certain parties needn't have significantly more at the expense of others (Fresco, 2002). Pockets of followers of such work were noted in foreign movements while 2 such followers were present in this sample.

The quotation below is indicative once again of a personal plight argument centred upon the self but lacks the form of learned helplessness seen in other responses in this section.

“The economic status quo is particularly pertinent for me as I have been struggling to find anything approaching decent work, so I have started my own inquiry into resource exchange and the merits of a resource-based economy.”

This young woman alleged that economics in its current form is a construct that has caused her great consternation as she has been unable to secure her definition of 'decent work' despite her holding a postgraduate qualification in her twenties (upon review of her corresponding demographic indicators). For this reason an educated young woman has confessed to making inquiries into the merits of a resource-based economy. By inquiries we might assume that she has in fact attempted to alter her existence in order to adhere to these principles of a resource-based economy alongside others or that she has merely studied the concept (presumably in some depth). This holds obvious economic implications that in a developing nation an individual with postgraduate training has begun to explore alternative economic possibilities due to difficulties in securing suitable employment. In line with this study the statement above uncovers yet another deviation away from Occupy-centric claims, epistemologies and desires such that complete economic overhaul is called for as opposed to systemic reform by a small pocket of the Johannesburg Movement. This is an overhaul that is not incongruent with the Occupy claims at the highest level but does betray a certain interest in other, not necessarily competing, causes and philosophies.

On the whole the personal plight argument let slip a particular segment of protestors whose personal desires were, for all intents and purposes, their main reasons for involvement. Little 'Occupy speak' or mention of systemic problems for persons in general were seen. As opposed to the 'unfair world' argument in which a frustration with the workings of systems for all individuals was seen, this theme revealed a position somewhat antagonistic that one. In this theme self-pity combined with a self-centric series of statements and tone in which

Occupy-type disdain for systems was seen without the presence of Occupy concerns for the planet, social welfare, human dignity, animal rights and so on. Additionally what was seen here were a small number of references to resource-based economic philosophy, a fringe idea that was never postulated as a solution by the movement itself. While much less prominent than the socialist contingent noted in an earlier theme, there were solutionists of the 'resource-based' persuasion present in the sample who happened to combine this with personal plight as motivation for involvement in the Johannesburg leg.

5.2.4 Discursive Themes for Item 10 – *What would the new norms be in terms of society, economics, and politics if you were granted your own experimental community?*

Item 10 revealed interesting responses as the onus was placed directly upon the individual and his/her ability to not only solve problems but to introduce desired norms according to his/her own utopian sensibilities. While official Occupy stances do not directly provide specific solutions the desire here was to provide a platform for individual voices to indicate how a utopian society would appear in the minds of the protestors. This item does not necessarily speak to problem-solving as much as to idealism. Upon analysis 5 separate themes were distinct, these were: (1) orthodox anarchy; (2) anarchic socialism; (3) advancing through civil society; (4) thinking within the box; and (5) fundamental equality.

5.2.4.1 Orthodox Anarchy

The discursive theme named orthodox anarchy is exactly as the name would imply – a call from Occupy Johannesburg voices for anarchy in their respective hypothetical communities. As has been mentioned previously, anarchy has played a large role as a philosophical substrate of the movement worldwide. For this reason it is probably unsurprising that the concept was applied to hypothetical communities as utopian objects of protestor ideals. As the concept of anarchy has already been entered into in previous sections I will, in this section, provide excerpts of actual statements from Occupy Johannesburg protestors as well as analyses of respective excerpts and overall tone arising from and within this theme.

The anarchy purists held that the construction of society must happen along lines that are devoid of overt power structures and that are rather driven through openness of communication and human need than through rigid legal, economic, and political structures. This theme held statements which included desires to construct a society with no central government as well as calls for radical democratic shifts, the abolishment of money and the

end of political 'rule' as we know it today. What was brought across starkly here was a push for the eradication of any kind of formalized economics as participants stated that they would introduce 'gift economics' (the giving of resources through human generosity), the removal of the assemblies of credit/debt/interest and in large part the monetary system altogether. Populist economics also became a target of critique as an unwanted element of any hypothetical community that the Occupy Johannesburgers would develop. What was evident here was a desire for the dissipation of means and methods of social control and behavioural or intellectual inhibition as a result. The notions put forward in the theme were aligned in their indicating that control and impositions, in all forms and arising from power structures, are equally undesirable – from financial debt to a rigid rule of law. It was clear that freedom of vocation (not job), freedom of action, and freedom of thought were espoused together with an absolute belief in the ability of humanity to behave in a 'moral' fashion in the absence of forces of social control and class systems. Essentially an axiom in the order of 'freedom without violence, manipulation, social control, and law' coupled with belief in the innate ability of humanity to do that which is constructive to the whole formed the foundation for the hypothetical norms in a utopian community for this theme.

Statements and responses varied in length from some merely responding with "Anarchy", as if this one term was enough to encapsulate what their world would preferably look like. Others engaged in greater depth. One man, whose previous statements in the study had come across with great fervor, said:

"I crave real value in the world meaning a money-free society...No politics, no leaders, each member in society has a valuable say and governs the society together. This is only possible in a society sans ego which is unheard of today but possible tomorrow."

This man cleverly opened his commentary with a comparison between 'real value' and monetary value by stating that he seeks genuine value in the absence of money. In this sense many Occupy Johannesburg members were aligned as they viewed money as a tool for control and power production that encroaches on the ability of humanity to attain personal value in themselves and the world. This was followed by stark and blunt calls for no politics, no leadership, and equality in that each member of a society has the same amount of power to alter his/her environment as well as value towards community governance. This form of egalitarianism, whether realistic or not, was seen throughout the study but particularly within this theme; there was an ardent call for the removal of social control and an implicit trust in the ability of fellow human beings to share control and power towards mutual social growth. An occurrence that was seen prominently was the optimism for 'tomorrow', the 'future', or the 'next generation'. There was a future-oriented belief that the desires put forward by the

individual would in fact become reality in the mid to long term. Two trends worth noting were (1) the optimism associated with a belief that the world will align with that which I believe to be the most progressive solution for it and (2) the wide scope of solutions put forward all backed by the same optimism.

As was mentioned previously there was an implicit assumption here that humanity deserves faith in it and each individual is ultimately capable of making the most moral or constructive decision possible. In other cases this was explicit and still others it arose as an assumption. Whether it was overtly claimed or merely assumed this recurrent mention of putting the onus on people to do what is right outside of today's systemic norms leads one to believe that Occupy members (particularly the Anarchists) are fixated with this notion. Note the quotation below:

"In my world, assuming everyone acted from the same moral core, there would be little need for politics. if there was some sort of political system in place it would be one that genuinely puts the people first. (it would be actually putting into practice what the politicians promise but fail to deliver). Society would operate from a platform of "serving humanity" and we would make economic decisions from that premise as well."

Once again the opening sentence diminishes the need for governmental politics while assuming a 'moral core' for others before turning to the importance of the average citizen's rights and concerns being of pivotal importance. The concepts of equality discussed above were reiterated as a call for economics to re-define itself away from terms of humanitarian servitude was made. That is to say that an emerging leitmotif was one seeking an inversion of current norms such that the system becomes the slave of the people instead of the opposite.

While these statements are anarchist in nature they also alluded to slight deviations from purist anarchy. The two quotations below were arguably some of the strongest calls for purist anarchy that were seen:

"Only the society will remain, simply changing the political and economical structures will not make the problem go away. Anarchy is the only true solution."

"Anarchism: a society based on mutual aid, solidarity, gift economics, consensus, liberty and equality. A society without any kind of formalized system of trade (i.e., no economy in the strict sense) where everyone participates according to their abilities and interests and everybody is supported according to their needs and desires. A society without leaders,

without private property, without class divides and without any other relations of hierarchy and domination between races, genders and so forth."

A clear anarchist hail is made in the statements above but in both instances it is an academic one, one propelled by definitions and matter-of-fact descriptions. Those directly and unwaveringly calling for purist anarchy were, I believe, so utterly convinced of their positions and the merits of their proposed system that justifications, explanations or defence of the position were not even insinuated. In response to a question that allowed for great scope and creativity in describing what one's norms would be in a hypothetical community these statements are somewhat bland although apparently backed by great confidence in anarchy as a system or philosophy. Ironically some of the rote definitions and matter-of-fact responses to item 10 indicated that anarchy had begun to cement itself as the pre-eminent and unquestioned or unquestionable (difficult to say) collection of principles to be recited and followed – a highly 'unanarchic' notion in itself.

The prominence of anarchy within the Occupy movement was once again seen here as this theme highlighted the presence of purists of anarchy who referenced the idea and ran through its place for society while others pushed towards the idea without direct reference to it or statements to the effect of believing in it. Regardless of how these ideas were brought across there were definite desires for a breakdown of the macro-level forms of control currently experienced as the stand out perceptions. As the sample were provided the opportunity to theoretically devise their own norms they created this theme as one that grounded them as believers in human morality, human capacity, and the detrimental effects of widespread forms and measures of social power and/or control.

5.2.4.2 Anarchic Socialism

An interesting outcome and one that was seen previously in this dissertation was a leaning towards some form of fusion between the principles of anarchy and those of a pure socialism. Naming this theme 'anarchic socialism' may well be an oxymoron as socialism requires structure of some form but in this instance I saw more of an unstructured socialism being put forward. In this theme it was evident that influence from both camps had become significant and that various emerging (and converging) voices had taken heed of the prominent appearances of both stances within the local movement's ideologies. These were voices that did not necessarily articulate such positioning with clarity or name particular philosophies or systems. They rather forged their own path towards what I have construed as a marriage between two of the major standpoints present in the Occupy movement. Item 10 did, after all, ask that members describe their desired norms and practices if they were to

create their own experimental community. What was evident here was a desire for something more rigid than pure anarchy but more equal and less restrictive than today's capitalism, 'populist politics', and other social structures. In the qualitative analysis sections I have largely selected shorter pieces as examples or have reduced larger ones to shorter excerpts but in order to convey the complicated essence of this theme my first example is lengthier than usual with only minor omissions from the original:

"I believe the weak should be empowered not stolen from and disregarded, the working class is after-all were the productive capacity of any country lies...I believe making money from the mere fact of owning money is horrendous. I believe every person has the right to self-determination and equality without fear of oppression by governments, corporations or individuals. I do believe in welfare but not monetary welfare for the capable...Regarding economics, my views are as follows: ...First I believe the fractional reserve banking system will bankrupt this country completely...I believe money should depreciate rapidly, thus keeping it from becoming a store of wealth. To store wealth one would employ one of the general stores of wealth such as gold, silver, platinum etc,. Combining this with a purely capitalist ideology is however not sufficient. I do believe in state intervention in the business sphere (though not as it is currently employed.). The governments job is to provide where the market cannot or will not provide essential goods (these would include schools, policing, road maintenance etc, etc.). however I also believe in the deregulation of markets to ensure government owned establishments have competition in every sphere. These measures are the only way that I feel we are able to uplift the average person into the economic sphere and produce for them a sense of purpose and dignity."

This person reveals an immediate sympathy towards the 'weak' through demands for their empowerment but then refers directly to this stratus of society as the crux of a nation state. In one statement an anarchist point of departure gains socialist tendencies through reference to 'productive capacity' or the 'working class' and empowerment of the weak and mention of a disregard for them. This individual moves briskly to the equality argument seen previously and one that perhaps forms the highest thematic level for the movement but one that has been imbued with anarchist rhetoric at almost every juncture of incorporation as, in this instance, it is measured against government and corporate power. Subsequent to suggestions surrounding economic reform this protestor claims that in his hypothetical community the state would, ironically, still hold some form of power as an entity for social welfare but also as a competitive one in the marketplace through deregulation. Finally he returns to purpose and dignity as desirable for the average person, these are loaded with socialist connotations as dignity and purpose are often construed through work in which the workers or labourers can draw self-respect and shape to their existences (Cumbers &

McMaster, 2010). What was displayed in effect was a desire for societal equality (something seen throughout this dissertation); a desire for less control and power assigned to money, the state, and corporations; more intervention from the state in terms of social welfare; economic purpose and dignity; and finally a greater space for public enterprise in the marketplace. In effect this individual's hypothetical community would be very much like the actual world of today with injections of socialism in terms of the relationship between people and work and people and economy as well as the introduction of less stringent compliance with government, business, and the monetary regulations.

I have included one other well-thought-out quoted example (below) of the many seen for this theme:

“Workers would take over their workplaces and set up assemblies to make decisions democratically...There will be no bosses or state to take the wealth, produced by the workers, and to waste it or to use it for the purpose of exploiting people. All jobs will be rated according to how onerous they are. People will rotate so that everyone shares jobs that no one wants to do (if it cannot be automated). Work will be rewarded according to how long, hard and unpleasant the work is. A worker in a coal mine will earn more than a worker in an airconditioned office. However, jobs will rotate, so that the outcome is equal. Workers will form federations within industries and within their supply chains. This will facilitate production and distribution. Communities, outside the workplace, will organise and decide what they need to improve, what their needs are. This information will be recorded and disseminated so that workers' organizations can pay attention to the needs and distribute resources accordingly...All of the unemployed today will be free to enter any workplace and receive on the job training or apply their already existing skills to alleviate the amount of work others have to do. People will be free to pursue a job/jobs of their interest, while a certain amount of basic work will need to be performed. Politically, decisions will be made democratically at all levels of society. There will be no paid politicians or paid "leaders". All assemblies of people will select from their midst representatives that can carry their message/mandate to other groups. At no stage do these messengers have any decision making authority however and they are fully recallable at any time when the assembly decides.”

One again I found a fusion between socialism and anarchy as well as several ironies and calls for freedom and equality. The above excerpt's opening sentence is one calling for workers to take over their workplaces and reclaiming control over their own labour, a statement that not only holds socialist tendencies but is followed by a call for the removal of “bosses or state”, a sentence that cries anarchy as the state is also accused of inherent exploitation here. Oddly this response called for ratings of jobs according to onerous

qualities and rewards – the term ‘earn’ was used - commensurate with work effort. Requiring earnings would imply the presence of money and claiming that some would earn more than others in certain jobs implies the potential for accruing wealth whether or not jobs do indeed rotate. This is a submission of sorts to the presence of money, a pseudo-capitalism and reward based on skill or arduousness of work performed. Although a deeper social balance was also seen as work rotation and socialist-type federations were called for. Once again clear is a flagrant desire for equality, not only socially but economically too.

Perhaps moving towards challenging any anarchist intentions that belie this position was a call for workers to form federations and organizations that can regulate commercial and worker activity. While these were proposed in a democratic fashion they still represent power structures and forums through which the exertion of control could/would take place as such bodies would sanction and monitor the distribution of resources and so on. I would claim then that once again there is an element within the Occupy Johannesburg movement that does not want for extreme anarchy but a more loosely defined and less closed version of the world as we know it today. Calls for freedom then became notable and echoed much of what has already been seen through the statements made by others as personal, work-related and social freedoms were highly valued. This excerpt ends with a desire for leadership structures that are comprised of representatives (not politicians) who are unpaid and are (presumably) drawn from federations and segments of social groups who willingly and democratically put them forward. Such a notion is certainly a novel one and represents a breakdown of very large groups or identities of people such as nationality or language group. Rather mere mention of people or social groups who can come together to effect their own governance was espoused. Interestingly there appeared to be a subtle disregard for the nation state too as all responses appropriate for this theme made no mention of political borders and international politics even though the question that was posed opened the floor for statements of such a nature. They were rather focused on the outcomes for the individual while mentioning society, federations, workers, people, politicians, or government in a mix of terms that discreetly avoided mention of countries, nations, national government, international economics, or any other terminology that provided a space for the position of the nation state.

Overall there was a definite position taken up, and that emerged from the data, indicating a desire for an anarchic socialism or perhaps a socialist anarchy. This included a desire for the breakdown of exclusionary and/or marginalising structures in society such as the corporation, the government, and current monetary practices. This was propagated in an anarchic fashion but not in the overly zealous sense. Concessions were made here that provided a place for a broad anarchist theory that, in practice, would allow for the creation of

powerful entities or structures but only under certain conditions. These conditions included agreement and democratic decision-making from all affected parties on the formation of alliances, parties, and federations whose sole purposes would be towards support for society. These social bodies geared towards sharing created a pseudo-socialist tint when seen alongside certain forms of equality built around to the role of the workers, labour and productivity. The claims made and statements espoused in this section arose from an informed group of protestors whose bases were shared in a form of structural breakdown with principles of social equality which potentially openly discussed prior to this survey. In this theme it was evident that members were informed and had made certain deductions and rationalisations as to the desired appearances of their hypothetical communities when prompted. The potentially challenging question for item 10 was reacted to with lengthy anarchy-socialist statements and descriptions of the ways in which such systems could operate in the minds of some protestors. Due to the informed positions taken up here, as well as the relative diligence in fleshing out those positions, this theme potentially contained the most clear and robust calls (of all themes) for a shift in zeitgeist.

5.2.4.3 Advancing through a Decentralised Civil Society

This theme encapsulates some of the suggestions put forward that were out of the norm and were not strictly part of easily recognisable economics or politics. They were the standpoints assumed by Occupy Johannesburg members that held a rather special position for civil society and advancements that could potentially take place without the presence of government or corporate interest. Civil society would potentially and loosely refer to certain areas of the private sector but for the purposes of this section it will refer specifically to activities that take place without governmental or corporate involvement. The desired norms put forward here were almost entirely community or family based with a backing for decentralisation of power and economics. Finally, it must be noted that this theme came forth with a strength and rhetorical vigour much greater than the other themes in the section by virtue of the fact that all 'non-affiliated' responses, i.e. those not calling for a specific systemic overhaul such as socialism or anarchy, called for a powerful place for civil society.

The Occupy Movement is a radical one that holds streams of leftist mentality so it is not surprising that conservative structures of power are seen with some disdain from within. What this theme peeled away was a series of discourses centred upon epistemologies non-anarchist in nature and innovative too. To clarify, anarchy has been identified as having a prominent foothold in the minds of many who involved themselves in the movement; what was seen here was adrift from zealous calls for structural breakdowns and removal of

powerful entities altogether. The cognitive locale in which anarchy resides is one necessarily shrouded in functional questions that are difficult and complicated to broach both from within and from outside of the anarchist stance. This theme drew portions of a semi-structured humanism from the data in which no strict anarchy or power structure was claimed or desired, rather innovative roles for civil society were suggested towards the betterment of society at large. Moreover, the state and corporate entities were either ignored or received little mention in the utopian society that Occupy members would create.

The humanist value injected into this theme was one that provided a space for collective action to take place within the spheres of traditional meso- and micro-levels. There was essential trust in humans to do that which would ultimately lead to the most favourable outcomes for their communities/societies as well as an emphasis on power for civil society as opposed to this sphere being the subject of powerful discourses from corporate and governmental entities. There was less evidence, overt or clandestine, of anger or frustration in this theme. Instead what was seen was a more pragmatic perspective that claimed to have insight into a malfunctioning system but not one that was being steered by a powerful few towards the detriment of others. It was more of a firm belief that the next evolution for humankind and its societies should come from civil society and that a space for this is a necessary move for the progression of social systems. One individual remarked:

“...if there was some sort of political system in place it would be one that genuinely puts the people first. (it would be actually putting into practice what the politicians promise but fail to deliver). Society would operate from a platform of "serving humanity" and we would make economic decisions from that premise as well. ideally there would be something like the LETSystem in place.”

There is an attempt here to subvert the status quo and a small stab at prevailing zeitgeists but the message is one that does not hold regard for systems, rather for people and their innate ability for progression without recognisable leadership structures. This person proposes a ‘society for society’ approach from both economic and political perspectives with great emphasis on community decision making and support systems as evidenced through mention of the LETSystem. The LETSystem, or local exchange trading system, is a community based democratic system that allows for the exchange of goods and services in a not-for-profit fashion. The system is said to be self-regulating and allows community members to manage and exchange in their own legal currency system in which a member will begin with a zero balance and, with the provision of goods/services, to other members that balance will increase while the consumption of other members’ goods would lead to a decrease in personal currency balance. No legal tender ever changes hands as the system

is based on quasi-currency that circulates and re-circulates through a local system with some members being in credit and others in debit at any given time and a natural maintenance of balance. In such a system there is no obligation to trade, members are fully aware/transparent as to the balances held by other members, no interest is charged or paid, and members pay administration costs (to a locally appointed accounting officer) on a transaction-by-transaction basis (Linton, 1984). Desiring such a system in one's hypothetical community points to a special confidence in civil, as opposed to governmental or corporate, society. Another female respondent wrote:

"My ideal might be a community system, where service to the community was the currency and our political leaders were trained in the art of servant-leadership, where you lead by example, by right action and so on."

Once more there is reference to advancing or idealizing the role of civil society with reference to a "community system" and community as currency. This thread of community driven activities and a call for decentralization of power was commonplace in the hypothetical worlds that Occupy members wished to construct. Indeed such calls were laden with desires to remove money/finance completely and focus upon small sustainable communities. This sub-theme showed the greatest neutrality as regards discourse with members moving directly to the positive attributes inherent to civil society taking a more important role and not revealing, overtly, why they valued civil society so much. As opposed to the anarchists or those with socialist stances, this theme held responses that did not broach mention of formal systems or adherence to particular modes of being as appropriate in a utopian world, they moved rather towards a powerful civil society in which decision-making, resource allocation, and political advances would occur on a community-by-community basis. Other example of this arose as follows:

"Regarding politics, I would not really want to have party politics, I would opt for municipal councils, so the community could possibly be fully integrated in its own affairs and the lives of its members. For the economic system, I would not necessarily do away with money, but I would definitely abolish the banking system. I think a kind of credit system would still exist, but it would encourage people to help others in order to achieve what they wanted instead of accumulating debt frivolously."

"I would love to see more sustainable living, more sharing and caring amongst people and communities. I would love to see the power and decision making to be brought back to the people and not in the hands of a corrupt few minority as it currently the case. I would love to see a world based on human values, understanding, respect, compassion, love, devotion, service and commitment to our integrity and uphold all these values and beliefs."

A powerful thread running through all calls for community-based civil society to take precedence over larger systems was certain idealism and, it would appear, this sentiment was felt by those making such calls. While item 10 in itself requested Occupy Johannesburg members to be idealistic, imaginative and to outlay the kinds of norms they would desire in a hypothetical community, it was this sub-set of responses that was imbued with the greatest idealism and possibly vagueness. The vague idealism presented itself through calls for 'love', 'peace', 'leading by example', 'serving humanity' and similar notions that were imprecise in their directions and unexplained as concepts in how they might fit in the hypothetical community and how indeed they might be achieved. The idealism and vagueness was, I believe, acknowledged by respondents in their written desires as they employed 'if', 'my ideal might be', 'I would love to see' and other less than confident expressions in the initial and opening statements regarding the norms that they would desire in a hypothetical and ideal world. It was as if those placing potential advances for civil society on a pedestal were, simultaneously, skeptical of those very plans. Unlike responses residing in one of the other 3 sub-themes, these responses appeared uncertain, idealistic, and vague in that they did not flesh out their desires, did not seek to justify why these norms would be in place, many nondescript conceptual terms were used and, through the language employed, I inferred a lack of belief, resolve, or certainty in the members' beliefs about the efficacy of their propositions. It is important to note though that these responses, be they vague, were also the only sub-set (of the 4) for item 10 in which a less rigid and parameter-stricken world was created, a stance that is indeed highly 'Occupy' in nature.

5.2.4.4 Fundamental Equality & Freedom

This section plays on a common strand found throughout the study, namely that of Occupy members constructing positions and arguments intended to equalise and/or balance society through their challenges towards prevailing systems. Item 10 placed the impetus on members to implement any hypothetical or imaginative ideas and norms that they may desire in a fantasy community; key imbrications emerged between findings here and findings elsewhere in this study in terms of a desire for (and belief in) a social homeostasis and freedom to find it. Systems and cultures devised by members here were certainly egalitarian, however they sought a further creation of such ideals towards the inability for certain parties to advance well beyond others or, on the other hand, to become highly socially (or resourciously) inferior to others, often with the goal of systemic equilibrium in mind. Members did not ignore the potential presence of difference or social heterogeneity in calls for equality; they rather devised inventive freedom-based sets of values in which they believed that individual life advances should occur naturally and by choice. In essence what was

evident were: (a) emphasis on an initial social equality that might be sustained over the lifespan; (b) calls for the eradication of formalised and restrictive work or jobs; (c) statements that went beyond the ethical and shifted towards what was portrayed as functional, (d) a belief that a human community may, sans restrictive parameters, naturally balance itself towards finding equilibrium among all parts.

One man called for meritocracy in which I saw the initial desire for a base equality (followed by sustained equality based on merit thereafter) in the lives of citizens as well as freedom-based challenges towards the existing job-driven culture of today. These claims were somewhat conflicted though as merit-based economies or societies would likely result in unequal privileges amongst their citizens. Another Occupy member echoed these calls with claims that technology could ease the burden of holding a job and could allow people to commence with 'vocations' instead.

"Meritocracy based society would be my view, which means people will start off at the same level and not by how much money your family had, we would all get a first class education following well known understandings or personality types and making sure each individual gets to follow the most enjoyable pathway for them and what their talents hold..."

"Massive use of technology to fulfill our daily requirements...resulting in opportunities for people to pursue vocations - NOT JOBS. Access to basic resources in an equal fashion (education, food, healthcare, and social upliftment)..."

The statements above, and others similar to them for this section, revealed frustration at current inequality and current means of partaking in economic activity (holding a job) as a threat to freedom in life. The making of direct mention to "how much money your family had", the desire for everyone to enjoy a "first class education", and calls for "NO JOBS" revealed a probable string of negative personal experiences through receiving (perceived) sub-standard education, not being born into wealth or possibly having difficulty in penetrating the job market. Regardless, certain overlap was evident here in that calls for the breakdown of rigid structures and constraints were in line with previously seen statements from this group although the fundamental was one centred on equality. The notions of equality and equilibrium were furthered by a young woman's claim:

"We need to remove the shackles that hold us under...Based on spiral dynamics, all levels of a system needs to prosper in order for any level to prosper...."

This form of straightforward response illuminates certain 'obviousness' in the mind of the young woman, an obviousness that those calling for equality showed across the spectrum.

This may not be surprising since equality is a widely desired and much spoken of topic in general. What differed here from conventional calls was an initial requirement of structural breakdowns, then the introduction of equality, and finally a belief in equilibrium.

A most interesting response arose from one man who stated that he would not introduce new and forced norms. An irony that was somewhat overlooked by his contemporaries was the problem of calling for the breakdown of rigidity and introducing fundamental equality in a hypothetical community, only to then further introduce one's own brand of structure, inevitable power, or constraint on the community. That man's statement reads as follows:

"That's the thing, I shouldn't be able to develop new norms. A group of people should gather, and people should suggest ideas and get the idea to evolve and mature until it is orchestrated in the community. I guess I'm saying we could never actually get it right unless we all actively participated and incorporated all views at one period..."

This man's discourse was one that embraced the ideals of equality and freedom with greater accuracy than others did with his different interpretation of the question. Item 10 was one that the sample appeared to relish as they sent a barrage of eager responses that described their perfect community. While some responses were confused, some ironic, some rigid, and others inventive, none claimed that they would not be the one to develop new norms. It is possible that respondents were entrapped by the hypothetical power allowed to them by item 10 – contrary to the desire to subvert existing powers under current conditions, they embraced the possibility that they may hold the power to re-organise the world. This man removed this possibility and made his hypothetical community a power brokerage between all present.

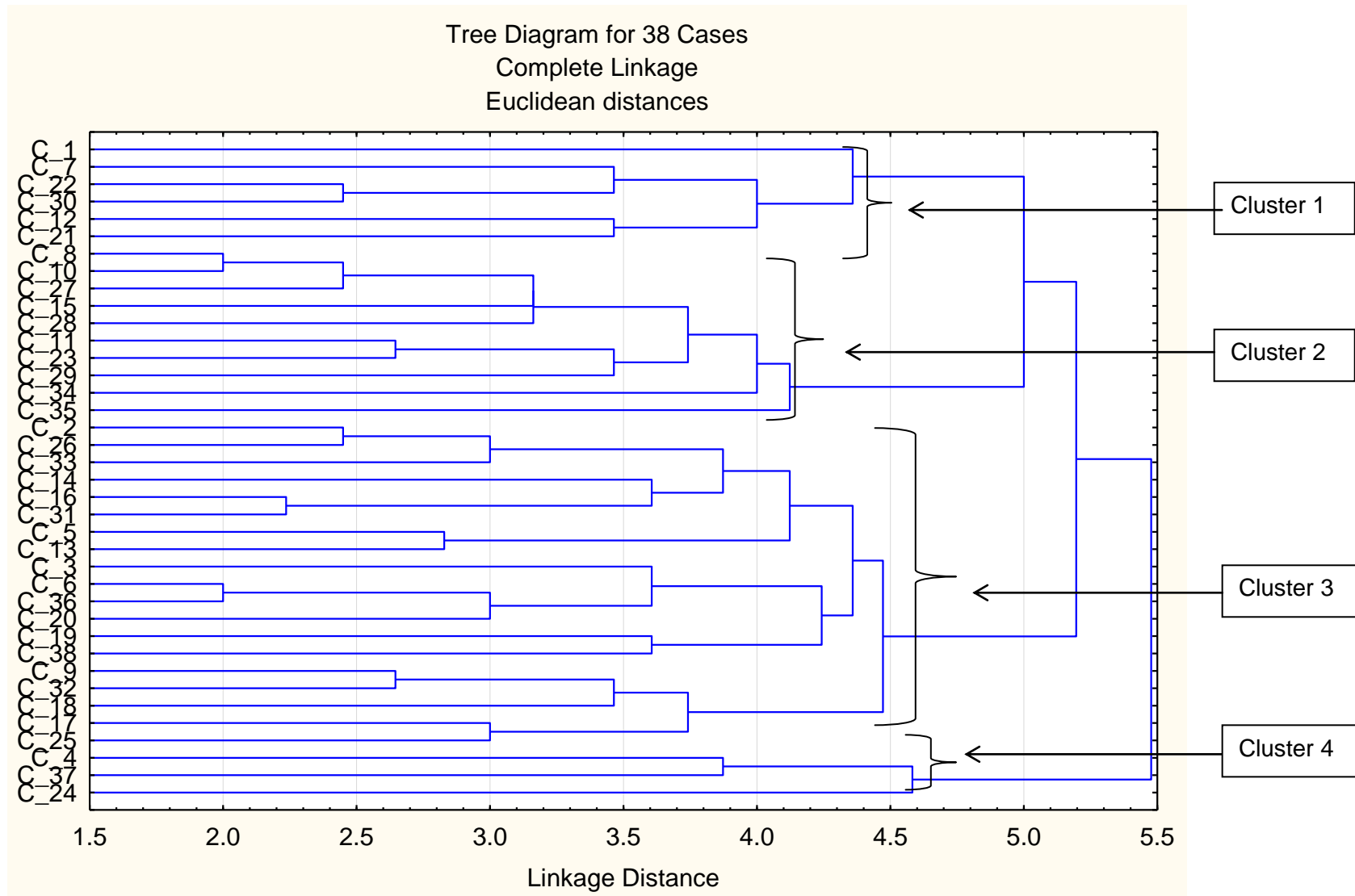
It must be said that none of those calling for fundamental equality and freedom put forward rigid suggestions or described in any detail the functioning community that they would desire. This lack of detailed description likely uncovers a common thread that subsumes that forward progression through equality as an idea does not require a description of the ultimate world; rather there was a belief that the ultimate world necessarily unfolds unpredictably and as it will through joint action and the consistency of a social equilibrium.

5.3 Cluster Analysis

As described previously, this section attempted to arrange the exploratory findings through cluster analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously. The process involved re-coding qualitative data quantitatively on a data sheet per case by either 0 (not

applicable) or 1 (applicable). For example, if on qualitative item 9 a respondent revealed a socialist stance but did not play on the 'unfair world' argument then he/she would receive a 1 on the data sheet column labeled socialism and a 0 under that named 'unfair world'. Additionally it must be clear that in some circumstances respondents made claims that were applicable to two discursive themes. It was acknowledged too that this technique resulted in a loss of scale. That is to say that a mere one or zero does not reveal exactly how powerfully an Occupy member felt or adhered to any particular grouping. In effect though, the purpose of profiling clusters of the movement, in order to socially delineate it, was at the heart of this clustering procedure. The procedure chosen was a step-wise, hierarchical, and agglomerative analysis that produced 4 distinct clusters as per figure 10 below:

Figure 10: Dendrogram from 38 Case Hierarchical Cluster Analysis



The linkage distances between the identified clusters ranged from 3.74 to 4.58 and the analysis itself was performed on a case by case basis as opposed to a per variable basis. In order to remain concise, some of the variables were reduced in collating data for the cluster analysis. For instance, in terms of confidence in social institutions, participants were offered five options – no confidence, some confidence, neutral, confident, and absolute confidence; for the purposes of the cluster analysis this was reduced to 3 categories – little or no confidence, neutral, and confident. Other small reductions were conducted as well (for education categories and age ranges) in order to concisely and effectively relay the characteristics of the 4 clusters. It must also be re-iterated that cases may have fallen into two categories in terms of qualitative data, i.e., one individual's responses may have qualified as being suitable to appear in two of the identified qualitative categories for a particular survey item. Although rare, in some instances these responses were indeed recorded in two separate categories on the data sheet.

The summarized characteristics of the 4 clusters appeared as follows:

5.3.1 Cluster 1 – 6 cases

Demographics	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 66.66% White; 33.33% Black • 100% male • 100% aged 20 – 39 • 83.3% with tertiary education; 16.7% with high school diplomas. 	
Confidence in social institutions	
National government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 66.66% • Neutral – 16.66% • Confident – 16.66%
Political parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 66.66% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 33.33%
Legal system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 83.33% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 16.66%
Big corporations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 83.33% • Neutral – 16.66% • Confident – 0%

Broadcast media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 100% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 0%
Print media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 66.66% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 33.33%
Religious institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 50% • Neutral – 33.33% • Confident – 16.66%
Identified sources of social division	
Race	16.66% of responses
Politics	83.33% of responses
Language	0% of responses
AIDS/Disease	0% of responses
Socio-economic class	83.33% of responses
Religion	16.66% of responses
Culture	16.66% of responses
Views on Occupy's focus	
Duality	50% of responses
Aggressive justification	16.66% of responses
Denial	16.66% of responses
Straddling the fence	16.66% of responses
Does Occupy Johannesburg differ from other movements?	
Yes	83.33%
No	16.66%
Personal motivation for involvement?	
Unfair world stance	100% of responses
Socialist stance	0% of responses
Personal plight argument	0% of responses
Preferred/utopian societal norms	
Orthodox anarchy	50% of responses
Anarchic socialism	16.67% of responses
Advances through decentralised civil society	0% of responses
Fundamental equality and freedom	50% of responses

5.3.2 Cluster 2 – 10 cases

Demographics	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 90% White; 10% Black • 80% male; 20% female • 90% aged 20 – 39; 10% aged 40+ • 90% with tertiary education; 10% with high school education or less 	
Confidence in social institutions	
National government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 90% • Neutral – 10% • Confident – 0%
Political parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 100% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 0%
Legal system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 80% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 20%
Big corporations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 90% • Neutral – 10% • Confident – 10%
Broadcast media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 90% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 10%
Print media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 90% • Neutral – 10% • Confident – 0%
Religious institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 90% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 10%
Identified sources of social division	
Race	70% of cases
Politics	10% of cases
Language	0% of cases
AIDS/Disease	0% of cases
Socio-economic class	90% of cases

Religion	30% of cases
Culture	0% of cases
Views on Occupy's focus	
Duality	60%
Aggressive justification	20%
Denial	0%
Straddling the fence	20%
Does Occupy Johannesburg differ from other movements?	
Yes	10%
No	90%
Personal motivation for involvement?	
Unfair world stance	60%
Socialist stance	40%
Personal plight argument	30%
Preferred/utopian societal norms	
Orthodox anarchy	10%
Anarchic socialism	70%
Advances through decentralised civil society	30%
Fundamental equality and freedom	40%

5.3.3 Cluster 3 – 19 cases

Demographics	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 94.74% White; 5.26% Black • 52.63% male; 47.37% female • 57.89% aged 20-39; 25.32% aged 40+; 15.79% aged 0-19 • 36.84% completed high school or less; 63.16% held tertiary educations 	
Confidence in social institutions	
National government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 100% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 0%
Political parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 100% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 0%
Legal system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 89.47%

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neutral – 5.26% • Confident – 5.26%
Big corporations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 100% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 0%
Broadcast media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 100% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 0%
Print media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 94.74% • Neutral – 5.26% • Confident – 0%
Religious institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 84.21% • Neutral – 10.53% • Confident – 5.26%
Identified sources of social division	
Race	63.16% of responses
Politics	52.63% of responses
Language	52.63% of responses
AIDS/Disease	21.05% of responses
Socio-economic class	89.47% of responses
Religion	26.32% of responses
Culture	68.42% of responses
Views on Occupy's focus	
Duality	21.05% of responses
Aggressive justification	21.05% of responses
Denial	42.11% of responses
Straddling the fence	15.79% of responses
Does Occupy Johannesburg differ from other movements?	
Yes	63.16%
No	36.84%
Personal motivation for involvement?	
Unfair world stance	73.68% of responses
Socialist stance	10.53% of responses
Personal plight argument	47.37% of responses
Preferred/utopian societal norms	

Orthodox anarchy	42.11% of responses
Anarchic socialism	26.32% of responses
Advances through decentralised civil society	52.63% of responses
Fundamental equality and freedom	47.37% of responses

5.3.4 Cluster 4 – 3 Cases

Demographics	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 33.33% White; 33.33% Black; 33.3% Indian • 100% aged 20 - 39 • 100% female • 33.33% held a high school qualification or less; 66.67% held a tertiary qualification 	
Confidence in social institutions	
National government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 100% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 0%
Political parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 33.33% • Neutral – 33.33% • Confident – 33.33%
Legal system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 66.67% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 33.33%
Big corporations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 33.33% • Neutral – 33.33% • Confident – 33.33%
Broadcast media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 0% • Neutral – 33.33% • Confident – 66.67%
Print media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 0% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 100%
Religious institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little or none – 66.67% • Neutral – 0% • Confident – 33.33%
Identified sources of social division	

Race	100% of responses
Politics	33.33% of responses
Language	33.33% of responses
AIDS/Disease	0% of responses
Socio-economic class	66.67% of responses
Religion	0% of responses
Culture	66.67% of responses
Views on Occupy's focus	
Duality	0% of responses
Aggressive justification	0% of responses
Denial	0% of responses
Straddling the fence	100% of responses
Does Occupy Johannesburg differ from other movements?	
Yes	33.33% of responses
No	66.67% of responses
Personal motivation for involvement?	
Unfair world stance	0% of responses
Socialist stance	100% of responses
Personal plight argument	0% of responses
Preferred/utopian societal norms	
Orthodox anarchy	0% of responses
Anarchic socialism	33.33% of responses
Advances through decentralised civil society	33.33% of responses
Fundamental equality and freedom	33.33% of responses

This data has been interpreted in the next section.

6 INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This final section has been separated into interpretations, consisting of five sections – one for the basic quantitative findings, another for the discursive themes and understanding of their results in critical realist terms, and one for results of the cluster analysis.

6.1 Interpretations

6.1.1 *Quantitative Data Interpretations*

6.1.1.1 *Demographics*

By race it was evident that white people dominated the sample at 87.2%, this heavily skewed racial breakdown was in line with findings from other Occupy Movements worldwide as well as certain accusations against the movement claiming that it was highly unrepresentative in demographic terms. The gender findings were also skewed towards the presence of white males with this population comprising almost 62% of the whole. Within the qualitative analysis certain members were quite obviously leery of a white, male, middle-class presence and one that claimed to disregard the system but simultaneously benefitted from it. I believe that the commonly held stereotype in many parts of the world – that the white male is a powerful and manipulative being (Becker, 2010) – was perpetuated here. Generally speaking the Occupy Movement aimed to be inclusive and to fight for a revision of current systems to favour the average global citizen; many, it appears, saw irony in the widespread presence of Caucasian males at movements across the world and poked a degree of sarcasm and created a deleterious space for this fact e.g., Maharawal (2013); Costanza-Chock (2012) or Kilibarda (2012). It was as if those analysing or involving themselves in the movements had expected to encounter the discriminated against, the very poor, the socially downtrodden, or the desperate campaigning for a better life. Instead they came upon Occupiers who were predominantly white and male – a finding that was reiterated in this study too. Moreover, the age range 21 to 30 made up for 38.5% of the entire sample, while that of 21 to 40 accounted for a full 74.4%. This reveals a sample skewed towards the presence of a strong youth element. Finally, for the demographic findings, the sample was highly educated, possibly, but not certainly, showing wealthier or more privileged dispositions through access to higher education. 51.4% of those sampled had received a university education and a further 23.1% were in possession of diplomas. These basic demographic findings are highly similar to findings from Occupy Movements the world over (as mentioned previously in this study and as indicated by the Maharawal, Costanza-

Chock, and Kilibarda above); furthermore they are highly unrepresentative of the South African population. Table 22 below arranges the basic demographic data from this study and compares it to data from the latest census (StatsSA, 2012) by merely providing simple statistics pertaining to the most prolific finding per category. While it is noted that the Occupy sample was never intended to be representative of the population of South Africa, this table reveals the extent to which the two populations differ:

Table 22: Demographic Comparison to Census 2011

Factor	Occupy Johannesburg Sample – Dominant characteristic per factor	Census 2011 – Dominant characteristic per factor
Race	White – (87.2%)	Black – (79.6%)
Gender	Male – (62%)	Female – (51.3%)
Age	21 – 30 (38.5%)	10 – 14 (5%)
Education Level	Honours Degree (30.8%)	Some High School (33.9%)

It is evident that across the 4 demographic categories employed in this study, marked differences were apparent between the Occupy Johannesburg sample and the nation of South Africa. South Africa's predominantly Black, female, adolescent population with some exposure to high school is worlds apart from Occupy Johannesburg's predominantly White, male, young adult population with honours degrees.

It is very difficult to claim that the Occupy Johannesburg sample is similar to Occupy samples around the world as worldwide movements have not all been studied, consist of varied cultures and peoples, and most importantly are so numerous that listing each would be exhaustive. Rather, I consulted literature published by Cordero-Guzman (2011) that profiled a wide range of individuals based on web traffic from the occupywallstreet.org website. This website was the first Occupy Movement site to be created, it holds the highest web traffic statistics of all such sites worldwide, and it is open to any interested parties worldwide to view and 'surf'. His study made use of an online survey tool connected to the website itself. I reasoned that this study may provide the most valid, generalisable 'Occupy-based' information to juxtapose against the Johannesburg sample. Table 23 provides this comparison:

Table 23: Demographic Comparison between Occupy Johannesburg Sample and occupywallstreet.org Online Survey

Variable	Occupy Johannesburg	Occupywallstreet.org
Gender	62% male	67% male
Age	*82.1% of sample aged below 40	*80.6% of the sample aged below 44
Race	87.2% White/Caucasian	67% White/Caucasian
Education	74.5% of sample had attained a tertiary qualification	70.6% of sample had attained a tertiary qualification

*Different age increments were implemented in each study

The above table reveals that the Occupy Johannesburg sample, while small, may well be representative of global Occupy populations. Moreover, the data shows that the foreign movements' male populations may well be even more highly represented than the Johannesburg sample's. Age ranges, while not directly comparable between studies, do show significant similarity as do the remarkably paralleled education statistics. While both samples included predominantly White/Caucasian people, it was the Johannesburg sample that held just over 20% more of this group than the international sample did. One feels that any protest seeking global change 'for all' would necessarily need to include all and be representative thereof, particularly in South Africa with a racially divided past and a very different racial representativeness to the sampled statistics.

While it is evident that significant demographic overlap occurred between the Johannesburg group and their international counterparts, the equally stark differences between the average South African citizen and the Occupy Johannesburg member were also noted. The next section deals with interpreting social perceptions.

6.1.1.2 Social Perceptions

Items 5 and 6 of the survey posed questions pertaining to confidence in social institutions as well as members' beliefs about the factors responsible for being significant as sources of social division in South Africa. First, the social institutions that were provided as options on a Likert type scale (5 options of: no confidence, some confidence, neutral, confidence, absolute confidence) were national government, political parties, the legal system, big corporations, broadcast media, print media, and religious institutions. In the analysis phase responses were weighted such that a vote of 'co confidence' for a given construct would be

simply weighted with a 1, and a vote of 'absolute confidence' a 5. In descending order (with average ratings) it was found that respondents held the most confidence in:

1. The legal system (1.95);
2. Print media (1.89);
3. Religious Institutions (1.76);
4. Broadcast media (1.66);
5. Political parties (1.58);
6. National Government (1.5);
7. Big corporations (1.47).

This item was originally devised and populated with the listed entities as they were already recognised as ones toward which the international Occupy Movements were leery. In the Johannesburg leg not a single entity received an overall aggregate rating of more than half the possible weighting of 2.5. The legal system came out with the rating of highest confidence (1.95), albeit still a low rating. The legal system has been attacked on numerous occasions by Occupy through accusations of being flexible and playing into the hands of the wealthy and of corporations e.g., Young (2012), however it would appear that the legal system emerged as the proverbial 'best of a bad lot' from the Occupy Johannesburg perspective where the majority of respondents claimed to hold 'some confidence' in this institution. It was followed by the print media, a media source that Occupy protestors have largely denounced as being controlled by only a small number of corporations and one that is censored in favour of governmental and corporate agendas (Mitchell, 2012). Surprising was the lower position of broadcast media as regards confidence; in 4th position broadcast media was separated from print by religious institutions. Overall, Occupy members of this sample had a higher regard for one media type (print) over the other (broadcast) as print media attained more votes of 'confidence' (10.5% versus 7.9%) and 'absolute confidence' (2.6% versus zero), as well as fewer 'no confidence' ratings (44.7% versus 52.6%). While it has been noted that members enjoyed the immediacy and transparency of online media, holding favour for print media over broadcast media is difficult to account for, although I speculate that this links to news media broadcasts holding the most scathing remarks against Occupy stances as well as being the media platform that most readily shifted attention away from Occupy. It seems that community print media services provided a somewhat sympathetic 'average citizen's' view of activities while large broadcast networks

(national and transnational) took the exact view that Occupy stood/stands against – namely one of a powerful corporation looking down and ‘examining the protesting masses’, as opposed to analysing the subject/topic of disdain. Consider headlines from CNN such as “FBI Considered Occupy Movement Potential Threat” (CNN, 2012) or “Cities Struggle to Deal with Occupy Movement” (CNN, 2011). From other major news sources headlines such as “What did Occupy Movement Achieve?” (BBC, 2012) and “Occupy Movement Marks Anniversary with Smaller Party” (Reuters, 2012). These rather sceptical headlines attempted to frame the movement in terms of social disruption, redundancy, or even terrorism. On the other hand, smaller community newspapers were often seen to hold the movement in a higher regard or, possibly because Occupy members frequently made use of sympathetic community newspapers to spread their messages locally, e.g., Rabble a non-profit community newspaper from the Irish Movement (Rabble, 2012). I would speculate, in sum, that print media was regarded slightly better as opposed to broadcast media because of the existence of sympathetic community newspapers and due to large news networks showing disdain for, or threatening the integrity of, worldwide movements.

Interestingly, religious institutions featured third on the list with an aggregate weighting of 1.76, revealing that members showed slightly less confidence in religious institutions than in the legal system and the print media. It would seem that scepticism and dissent, at least from this sample, have reached into the spiritual and religious realms. These are, no doubt, also large scale social systems like politics or economics, yet religious institutions had been largely spared in public debate, founding documentation, and in-group rhetoric. It was not only surprising to find that the legal system and print media featured overall as institutions for which greater confidence than religion was held, but also that religion received the second highest incidence of ‘no confidence’ ratings from the sample (60.5%), second only to ‘big corporations’. Conversely it did also receive the highest incidence of ‘absolute confidence’ ratings revealing that while religious institutions were not held in great confidence overall, there was certainly some polarisation around this item.

Finally, and consistent with the views framed in this study of Occupy stances: political parties (1.58), national government (1.5), and big corporations (1.47) were the institutions for which the lowest confidence was revealed. The antipathy held by Occupy members towards party politics, national governments, and large corporations has been discussed in detail in this study and the present finding is perhaps a scaled/ordered representation of the sentiments covered – with politics and national governance being met with little confidence, behind the lowest ranked social institution, big corporations. This might be construed as a vindication that indeed, big corporations were largely seen as the greatest antagonist to members’ ideals.

For item 6 the sample was asked to indicate which of the provided factors were viewed as being the greatest sources of social division, they were allowed to select more than one option. The factors to choose from were race, politics, language, AIDS/disease, socio-economic class, religion, cultural differences. The Occupy protests have been primarily concerned with the impositions experienced by today's societies due to various high level systems and social norms. This South African sample responded heavily in the direction of socio-economic class as being the greatest source of social division locally. Following on from the immense lack of confidence in big corporations, it once again became evident here that economic matters were perceived negatively as socio-economic class was flagged in 86.8% of cases as a major source of social division. This factor was followed by race as a divisive factor. Revealing that Occupy members felt socio-economic class to be the primary source of division is a likely finding, for this to be followed specifically by race, as members indicated in 60.5% of cases that race was a divisive factor, is likely a South African finding. In a heterogeneous society that holds the kind of history that South Africa does, such a finding was not unexpected. Although official Occupy stances claim that all persons are welcome and that all persons deserve to be emancipated from discrimination based on race, creed, age, and sex; it is evident that members were not immune to recognising race as a highly divisive factor nonetheless. Race was more predictably followed by politics as a divisive factor (44.7% of cases) and one that traced a similar trail to economics in that both were listed as benefitting from very little confidence from the Occupy sample and both were noted as major sources of social division. Politics was followed by cultural differences (42.1%), language differences (28.9%), religion (23.7%), and AIDS/disease (10.5%). Cultural differences featuring highly as a standalone factor was likely another South African idiosyncrasy, albeit an ironic one emanating from a rather homogeneous population in this sample. Language differences followed with almost 30% of cases listing it as a divisive factor just ahead of religion. Notably, religious institutions were not viewed as being worthy of any significant level of confidence by the group but were also not pinned as being responsible for any significant level of social division. Finally AIDS/disease arose with a very low proportion of perceived responsibility for social division. I believe that what was extracted here was indicative of a mixture between Occupy affiliations (i.e., placing emphasis on politics and socio-economics as sources of social division) and local South African social dynamics (i.e., Rating race and cultural differences as responsible for divisive circumstances).

These two items (5 and 6) were borrowed from the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's (IJR) Annual Barometer Survey (2010) and it is at this point that comparisons can be made between a large purposive sample of South African citizens (IJR sample) and this Occupy Johannesburg sample's responses. While the two studies were conducted for very different

reasons and held very different sample sizes, the IJR study includes a representative sample of South African people and serves as a feasible South African societal baseline. Table 24 below arranges IJR findings versus this study's findings in terms of confidence in social institutions; the data is ranked from the institution that received the most overall confidence per study to that which received the least overall.

Table 24: Confidence in Social Institutions: IJR findings versus Present Study

Overall Confidence	IJR Findings	Present Study Findings
1	Broadcast media	Legal system
2	Religious institutions	Print media
3	Print media	Broadcast media
4	National government	Political parties
5	Big corporations	Religious institutions
6	Legal system	National government
7	Political parties	Big corporations

The two studies show rather different responses as regards confidence in social institutions. Firstly, the IJR sample indicated that broadcast media was worthy of the greatest confidence followed by religious institutions and print media. This compared to the Occupy Johannesburg sample where respondents showed the most confidence in the legal system, print media and broadcast media. The two samples both held the media in confidence but, while Occupy Johannesburg favoured print media, the IJR sample favoured broadcast media. Notably there was an almost linear inversion with the Occupy Johannesburg sample indicating that they held the most confidence, overall, in the legal system, an institution that the IJR sample held the 2nd least confidence in; a similar finding occurred with the IJR sample showing faith in religion and the Occupy sample holding religious institutions 3rd last on their ratings. The IJR sample also revealed more confidence in national government and big corporations than their Occupy Johannesburg counterparts; a finding that is rather consistent with Occupy stances. A possible inconsistency in the Occupy stance is that the average South African sampled in the IJR survey held the least confidence in political parties while the Occupy sample held political parties in 4th position on this list. If the IJR sample is an accurate reflection of South African perceptions and a reliable baseline then I would claim that there is indeed a difference in institutional faith shown by Occupy members as compared to the average citizen. In particular they may exude a certain faith in the legal system as a means of changing the other systems that they are protesting against and therefore show more confidence in it. The comparison between the two studies shows that,

overall, the Occupy sample was (unsurprisingly) more leery of religious institutions, big corporations, and national government but held more faith in the legal system. The surprising finding was that the sample representative of South African society held political parties in even less confidence than a largely anarchy-driven movement did.

Table 25 below arranges both the factors that were highlighted as being most socially divisive in descending order.

Table 25: IJR Findings versus Present Study: Social Perceptions

Order of Prominence	IJR Findings	Present Study Findings
1	Socio-economic status	Socio-economic status
2	Politics	Race
3	Race	Politics
4	Culture	Culture
5	AIDS/disease	Language
6	Religion	Religion
7	Language	AIDS/disease

The findings and comparisons from table 25 above indicate that the average South African citizen might be highly aligned with Occupy Johannesburg stances on opinions relating to factors of social division. Taking the data and ranking it by overall rating across the two studies shows that: (1) both samples felt that socio-economic class divides are the most alienating factor between people our society; (2) race then politics (Occupy Johannesburg) and politics then race (IJR) were listed as following socio-economic class as highly divisive; (3) both samples then ranked culture as the 4th most divisive factor; (4) both samples rated religion as the 6th most divisive factor; (5) the only notable difference between findings was the Occupy Johannesburg average rating showing a more significant position for language as a divisive factor (5th) and AIDS/disease being ranked last; the inverse being true of the IJR sample. These findings are significant because they may serve as a vindication for Occupy members to make the claim that they do indeed represent the '99%' - as a representative sample of South African citizens felt that the same social institutions were as relatively divisive in almost every case. Indeed the Occupy Johannesburg sample was highly urbanized and skewed in favour of White educated males while the IJR sample consisted of rural and urban people, mostly from the Western Cape, yet the findings were evidently very similar despite differences in race, age, geographic location, gender and so on. I would postulate here that the basic perceptions of social division through lived experiences in South Africa, regardless of demographic characteristics, do possibly overlap significantly

across all peoples, a difference here being that they are amplified and vilified by a largely anarchist protest group.

Although the sample was summarily cohesive in their suspicion of big corporations, national government, and politics, they revealed very little confidence in the media, religious institutions, and the legal system as well. This skeptical group then laid bare some highly 'Occupy type' perceptions through labeling current socio-economics and politics as the most socially divisive factors with race, culture and language featuring prominently too, likely because of the lived experiences of this South African sample. This claim found strength as a representative South African sample showed that overall opinions regarding factors of social division were incredibly similar to opinions found in Occupy Johannesburg, a finding that possibly bolsters the Occupy claim – “we are the 99%” while similarly showing that average South Africans do, relatively speaking, agree with the general factors driving social division locally. There were however differences between the IJR sample and the Occupy Johannesburg sample in terms of the amount of confidence shown in social institutions, principle differences shown were: Occupy Johannesburg holding less confidence in big corporations, national government, and religious institutions but holding a surprisingly higher average rating for political parties than the IJR sample did.

6.1.1.3 Cross Tabulations

This section will discuss the results of the cross tabulations that were conducted between the race and gender variables and each other quantitative variable.

Beginning with the demographics, it was found that there was an even split of 50% each for the Black group per gender, the dominant White group was 64.7% male, while the sole Indian respondent was a female. Furthermore, Black respondents, of which there were only 4, ranged in age from 20 to 59; the White group ranged from 11 to 49 with 75.5% of those people in the 20 to 39 range; the Indian female respondent was aged 20 to 29. Educationally speaking the Black sample was educated beyond high school level with representatives from that sample holding a high school certificate, diploma, bachelor's degree, and master's degree; the White group showed great variance in educational terms between 'some high school' and one individual holding a PhD, although almost half of the sample held postgraduate qualifications. The male and female populations also both enjoyed high educational levels, particularly the female group with 80% holding university qualifications compared to 36.6% of males. These findings reiterate what was seen previously in that the White group was most dominant, the entire sample was young (no respondents over 60

years of age), the mean educational level was high, and the sample was skewed in favour of males.

In terms of social outlooks more than 75% of both the White and Black samples held no confidence, or some confidence in national government, political parties, the legal system, big corporations, and broadcast media, revealing little racial variability and approximate consensus in this regard. Only the institutions of print media and religion saw discrepancies to the degree that 87.8% of the White sample found the print media to be worthy of 'no confidence' or 'some confidence' compared to only 50% of the Black sample; 81.8% of the White sample held 'no confidence' or 'some confidence' in religious institutions compared to 50% of the Black sample. Whereas the male population revealed that they were slightly more confident in national government than females; females identified exclusively with 'no confidence' or 'some confidence' categories in this regard while 12.5% of males were neutral or confident in national government. For political parties the two genders were largely in agreement that they held 'no confidence' or only 'some confidence' while the legal system, big corporations, broadcast media, print media, and religious institutions were not ones that, on average, were held in much confidence they also varied greatly across the genders. It became clear that, racially speaking, a great set of similarities were present pertaining to confidence intervals in social institutions. Conversely, gender breakdowns revealed similarly low levels of confidence in political parties but large variance across the other listed institutions.

If we turn attention to the perceived sources of social division, the Black group listed socio-economic class, politics, and race as being equally divisive forces in South Africa. This compared to the White group that fingered socio-economic class as being the most divisive, followed by race, and then by an equal share of politics and cultural difference. Once more certain similarity was evident as the White and Black groups selected the same variables as being of significance towards creating perceived social division. Regarding the two genders, females found socio-economic class to be the greatest contributor to social division, followed closely by race, then distantly by cultural differences; males predominantly selected socio-economic class, followed distantly, yet equally, by race and politics. As with the consistent similarities between races, the consistent dissimilarities between genders persisted in terms of the social outlooks studied. I do not believe the differences in outlook between the genders to be significant but rather a function of a smaller female than male sample causing seemingly one or two outlying responses from the female population to affect the entire response distribution. In sum the sample was largely cohesive in decrying big corporations and national government, politics, and religion particularly across races but not always across genders. The largely young, white, and male sample meant that statistical findings for

females and other races may not have leant themselves to trend-based or comparative analyses as averages between small samples might have reflected erratic or inaccurate outcomes.

6.1.2 *Qualitative Data Interpretations and a Critical Realist Understanding thereof*

This section delves into the findings from the discursive themes that were identified per open-ended survey item. While a certain amount of interpretation has already taken place in the analysis phase this section will attempt to provide a concise validative and more 'packaged' overview of that which was found. Additionally, and as would be expected, the qualitative analysis in this dissertation revealed many more intricacies, standpoints, and intra-group dynamics than did the quantitative phase. This section provides the key findings per theme listed in point form; these precede a concise interpretation and overall summary per item at the end of each section. Finally, a component dedicated to understanding these themes from a critical realist perspective is included at the end of this each section.

6.1.2.1 *Response to Criticisms Claiming that Occupy Lacks a Clear Focus*

The first item analysed qualitatively was item 7 which requested that Occupy Johannesburg members respond to the claim that the Occupy Movement lacks a clear focus. The discursive themes that were identified were: (1) 'Duality'; (2) 'Aggressive Justifiers'; (3) 'Denial'; (4) 'Straddling the Fence.'

It was found that no clear or linear response pattern emerged for this item and that within the movement there were those with little clear resolve who subverted its very nature, others who dogmatically defended its praxis, some who were without elaborate engagements with the subject matter but nonetheless denied a lack of focus on the part of the movement, and finally some who were non-committal.

Table 26: Tabulated Summary of Findings for Item 7

Duality	Aggressive Justification	Denial	Straddling the Fence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lack of solidarity within the movement and support for the Occupy cause but disdain for the processes; • Remaining within the ranks of Occupy and providing support but the presence of certain disappointment was stark; • Members prominently used the survey as an anonymous outlet through which frustrations could be vented through language that was directed at Occupy in the first person as both friend and foe; • Theme was also laden with pleas, the likes of which sought more structure from within; • Frustration existed within the movement as disappointment in the Occupy style of conducting meetings, the demographics of others present, a lack of cohesion, and bad organizing were picked as points of criticism; • Desire for a <i>personal</i> protest-based 'catharsis' or 'release' that 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vehement justification of 'apparent lack of focus'. Responses here were lengthy, confident, details overlapped and responses were imbued with a certain aggression; • They were directed at a certain 'you': at me as researcher, at a fictitious 'you' (an objectified entity at which frustrations could be vented); and 'you' in terms of people not involved in Occupy having difficulty in understanding it; • Responses were in strong defence of the movement; • Anger at being misunderstood was prevalent; members emphasised the continually shifting nature of the movement and a desire for non-conformity, not traditional conceptions of 'clarity'; • Power relations were significant in responses as members desired justness, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consisted of the 2nd group of justifiers, albeit less aggressively; • Claims that Occupy lacked focus were seen here as absurd; • There was a desire for protectionism of the construct of 'Occupy'; • Exclamation at the mere questioning of a lack of focus was provided with all responses holding a defensive position; • Responses here were misled as they immediately assumed a negative space for that which lacks focus as opposed to embracing the Occupy position of deconstructing conventional, so-called functional aspects of clarity, and clear organizational focus; • Many responses here were in contradiction to those found under aggressive justification. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consisted of vague and contradictory responses with little shift towards claiming that a lack of focus was or was not present; • In some instances a position was taken up but was later reduced or relinquished; • Respondents sought relative safety between positions; • There was a lack of commitment to the movement and also an apparent lack of confidence in it; • A lack of certainty in the group's position was evident; • Discourses towards a desire to distance themselves from the unfocused aspects of the movement were uncovered through respondent positions as well as ambiguity and double-barreled contradictory responses.

<p>was not being satisfied; as well as a <i>contextual</i> disappointment due to a perceived lack of direction;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elaborations did not follow a yes/no response, instead shifting opinions were presented that did not always satisfy the question - utopian naivety was present in expectation for Occupy versus what was actually encountered at gatherings; • Many expected to find a heterogeneous collection of protestors who were 'victims of unjust systems', instead they found a homogenous group that did not always fit the anarchist or non-bureaucratic approaches envisioned; • A lack of internal organisational cohesion was picked as a problem that affected the ability to take directed action as a group; • Despite acknowledging shortcoming, members remained committed to certain Occupy ideals. 	<p>human dignity, and individual freedom. They asserted that their modes of functioning were highly democratic and egalitarian compared to greater social systems; this was seen as a point of misunderstanding;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were those who did not doubt the value of Occupy but who began justifying through a position of strength but revealed significant vulnerability. Those who made confident assumptions but revealed vulnerability were not as irate as those employing the 'you' or those who believed they were misunderstood. The inherent value of Occupy was not discussed; members assumed the significance of Occupy and followed this with concern for how the movement could be jeopardized or provided esoteric and vague reasons for the movement's existence. 	<p>While both sub-themes contained responses geared towards defending the movement, aggressive justification held claims that were congruent with official Occupy positions. Denialists invented focal points for the movement or embraced focus as valuable and important.</p>	
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Beginning with the theme of **Duality**, it was clear that not all members believed that a lack of clear focus was a strong point for the movement or for their individual experiences of it. Additionally the Occupy Movement (at least locally) was/is not as cohesive as the outsider may have opined, nor were/are the members quite so satisfied to wait for direction and focus to emerge from internal interactions – as is the official Occupy approach. There were definite elements within the movement that sought greater direction and overt planning/strategy as well as those who, for all intents and purposes, were somewhat aligned with the major media critiques about Occupy's lack of focus. Further, certain members eagerly used the anonymous survey to vent about their disappointments, possibly revealing a less than open platform for opinion and discussion within the movement, contrary to Occupy claims. Strangely, these members also aligned themselves with a movement that openly challenged social systems but just as openly stated that it would be driven from within through forums and meetings and that no rigid manifesto or demands list would be drawn up. The convolutions were evident here as Occupy Johannesburg was/is home to people who joined an openly evolving (not rigid) and largely anarchist movement but who came to desire structure and a more discernible frame for the movement. They then privately (possibly in small groups) forged opinions that were congruent with some of the major criticisms of their movement – the lack of focus and rather unrepresentative demographics of protestors. Moreover, this band of responses led to the belief that Occupy's communication systems were not quite as tolerant or as open as the movement would claim with members needing to remain compliant with the movement's internal structure and rhetoric. In many ways this was/is a 'system' of apparent anarchy, with its own social constraints, existing within (yet against) the higher systems towards which it showed disdain for imposing social constraints. Conversely though, and congruent with the theme of duality, many revealed that they do indeed align themselves with the movement and they are committed to its ideals, in spite of the ironies, inconsistencies, and disappointments voiced.

The sub-theme of **Aggressive Justification** was an informed one in which outrage at the very question of the movement lacking focus was the initial response, backed by directed understandings of the Occupy stance and sympathy for it. It is probable that immense amounts of media coverage tapping into an apparent lack of focus, served to 'prime' dedicated members for a response to questions surrounding a potential lack of focus, additionally this was a topic discussed at Occupy Johannesburg meetings as the group strived for identity. In light of the possibility that members had already considered the answers to this question it is unsurprising that responses were lengthy, informed and frequently overlapped – another potential sign that some comments were regurgitations from previous consultations and group agreements. In sum this was a sub-set of discourses

dealing with acknowledgement and justification of a lack of focus in a generally aggressive fashion. The lack of focus was certainly recognized here but it was justified as members claimed that they did not want clear leadership because this would undermine other members' freedoms and would provide targets for the state and corporations to aim at. Additionally they embraced the idea of being a part of a leaderless '99%' that took a stand against great systems, yet did so through a process of constant engagement and evolution of desires and thoughts for the movement without rigidity or internal power constructs. The frustration that was revealed here was directed at several 'yous', I was one (as researcher), the other appeared to be a constructed and fictitious enemy or entity towards which frustrations could be voiced in the first person, and the last 'you' was those who did not involve themselves in the movement – perceived to be ignorant and judgmental. This term appeared throughout and unveiled a defensive stance from a group that sought to personalize their enemies as opposed to standing against faceless and detached corporations and governments. Members were exuding discourses that can be framed as arising from an internal understanding of their modes of functioning as highly democratic and those in the outside world as being diametrically opposed to a 'true democracy'. This was a shift towards egalitarianism over efficiency, function, structure or productivity as positive in-group emphasis and mention of the former ideals far exceeded the others. This sub-theme included those who were dedicated to the movement, who defended it, and who stood against threats to its integrity that would seek to tarnish credibility through attacks centred on accusations of being misdirected or unfocused. Finally, what was clear was a also a vulnerability that spilt through as some confident assumptions deteriorated towards irresolute positions where members did admit that the movement could become a passing trend if clear manifestos were not drawn up. This resulted in an ironic shift from initial confidence in the movement's modus operandi and great defense of 'the movement as the message' to the adoption of esoteric or vague justifications for its lack of focus and admittance of possible focal weaknesses that could result in loss of membership or further castigations from the media and other powerful external entities. Overall, this theme encapsulated a passive-aggressive, informed, and dedicated demeanour towards any accusations about a lack of Occupy focus.

The third theme of **Denial** showed a less aggressive element of Occupy as well as a less informed one. It is likely that responses forming part of this sub-theme were no less dedicated than those just discussed but they disclosed a passionate protectiveness and outright denial that stretched towards outlandish personal claims that were not sanctioned by the Occupy position. These responses automatically and inherently assumed a negative space for that which lacked clear focus and frequently invented foci for the movement.

Moreover the inventions here conformed to a certain conventional wisdom and emphasized clarity and structured drives which were in opposition to the Occupy modus operandi. If these members were more informed regarding the Occupy predilection towards passive occupation and evolving internal dynamics towards external systemic alteration they may have avoided such approaches; although the responses did uncover an immediate push towards protection of the movement. I believe that the loose internal approaches espoused by Occupy allowed for each member to create their own movement, a notion that would likely be met gracefully by Occupy movements but one that possibly led to an entanglement of ideas and understandings within the movement (at least in Johannesburg). Members passionately denied any kind of focal shortcomings with immediate defensive answers (sometimes even treating the question as near rhetorical) and followed this up with elaborate and/or misguided focal points or angles that intended to clarify a 'true' and 'obvious' focus for the movement.

Finally, item 7 dubbed **Straddling the Fence**, considered the vague and contradictory positions held by members. These were responses that did not move towards claiming that the group was focused or otherwise and did little to create a space for the importance of any focus or lack thereof. Statements in this regard intentionally avoided the questioned and progressed towards the relative safety that existed between the positions discussed above. The responses here did not commit to any clear position and did not promise anything. This sub-set pushed for spaces in which protecting the self and the in-group were easy but they once again laid bare a simplistic understanding of the movement and possibly little confidence in it as some members stepped away from claim making and escaped the burden of commitment. It was found equally that certain segments attempted to distance themselves personally from the lack of focus but included themselves in certain aspects that they did in fact perceive to be focused. This once more adds to the string of placing an implicit importance on the value of focus but also a Machiavellianism where adopting a privileged position for the self on the side of focus occurred. This section unraveled to expose some members' Machiavellianism, counter-intuitive placement of importance on focus for the movement, as well as ambiguous responses that did not agree with the purported lack of focus, did not deny it, and importantly did not delve into any factors surrounding the merits or demerits of focus for the protest movement.

6.1.2.2 Does Occupy Johannesburg Differ from Other Occupy Movements?

For this item, responses were logically grouped according to a yes/no dichotomy and undercurrents of interest were extracted for each. See table 27 below:

Table 27: Summarised Findings for Item 8

Yes, the Movement Differs	No, The Movement Does not Differ
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Yes' responses differed markedly and held a great number of opinions as to the cause of difference; • Responses stating that there was indeed a difference appealed to a range of social, historical, economic, and contemporary issues; • The chief reasons for stating that there was a difference between Occupy Johannesburg and other movements were due to perceived socio-economic disparities, historical discrimination, a history of protest, lack of technology and racial divides that were seen as being more prevalent locally than in other world centres; • Members sought identity for their movement; • A South-African specific set of needs were brought to the surface and Occupy Johannesburg members made a special place for their movement; • This theme contained attitudes that were pro-Occupy, yet carved out a special place for Occupy Johannesburg as being somewhat more justified, necessary, and a movement that faced greater struggles. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Showed greater homogeneity than 'yes' responses; • Revealed very similar reasons for stating 'no, the movement does not differ from foreign ones'; • Great loyalty to the global movement was shown as well as beliefs in its aims; • The local movement was seen as a child entity of the greater Occupy movement; • These responses were grouped around a belief in the solidarity of Occupy and the notion of a 'one world citizen'; • The responses appeared confident and members were unaffected by the line of questioning; • Members held a certain 'obviousness' – they were convinced of the unity inherent in the movement; • The writing styles even spoke of 'we' and 'our' with little individuality of opinion. • The feedback here was of a conclusive and undivided nature as they felt that the stressors of the world were shared and collective Occupy action was the norm the world over.

For item 8 there was a clear dichotomy of responses due mostly to the nature of the yes/no question but this was also found in the justifications for responding yes or no. In the first instance, those responding yes (Occupy Johannesburg does indeed differ from other movements worldwide) were divided in their justifications. These justifications for difference were largely based on perceptions of South Africa as being particularly plagued by socio-economic divides, racial prejudice, and historical discrimination. These points possibly hold true merit but the language and tone that members displayed here showed a push towards clearing new and unique ground for Occupy Johannesburg. While various justifications were provided for a 'yes' response, one similar thread lay behind all of them. There were attempts at making it clear that the local movement faced greater challenges, that it was more justified in its existence, and that its own crusade was special in various ways. Once again there is a peeling away from official Occupy stances inherent here as, from the global movement's perspective, no single entity is more justified than another and the movements are collectively viewed as one global cause. The movement desired one worldwide identity that could exact real change and from which directed statements could be released. Occupy London even attempted to contact groups worldwide in order to begin drafting global statements from thousands of unique voices all with similar qualms about world systems (Guardian, 2011). The tone and claims arising from this section differed in that Occupy Johannesburg was in part seeking to create its own space, there was a desire for a unique group, and even calls for an Africanisation of Occupy – these were moves that speak to a lack of confidence in the potential effectiveness of the global Occupy model in South Africa as well as a focus on that which differs in South Africa as opposed to a focus on points of overlap and possible mergers with the global ideals. The latter would certainly be of greater congruence with official Occupy positions. While the points put forward by the members for difference were not necessarily incorrect or nonfactual, they were infused with further claims that created a special place for the Johannesburg movement, for *their movement*.

The 'No' responses obviously preceded justifications for a belief in the similarity between Occupy Johannesburg and other such movements worldwide. What was remarkable was the similarity of those justifications as well as the confidence with which they were brought forward in a matter-of-fact sense – as if the solidarity and unity of the Johannesburg movement was never in question, as if it was always aligned with every other global movement under the same banner. There was a loyalty to the greater movement and the doctrines espoused by it (as opposed to creating a unique space for the Johannesburg leg or South African legs); respondents here viewed themselves as 'Occupy members' instead of 'Occupy Johannesburg' members. Moreover, members showed little emotion in the face of the question and employed much 'we' and 'us' language as they inherently related and

affiliated with all of Occupy and did not view themselves as being of a distinct sect or outer group.

In sum it was evident that two camps existed: (1) those who personalized and individualized *their* movement by creating a more 'deserved' and 'necessary' description of it and (2) those who collectively viewed their affiliation as being part of a global cause, they spoke and perceived in terms of *our* movement and described it as a worldwide awakening through protest.

6.1.2.3 Macro-Level Factors Motivating Individual Involvement in Occupy

Item 9 asked Occupy Johannesburg members to reveal their motivations for involvement in such a movement, particularly in terms of macro-level factors (but not limited to these exclusively). Three clear arguments/stances emerged from the data; these were the 'unfair world' argument; the 'socialist' argument, and the 'personal plight' argument. Table 28 below summarises the key findings from each:

Table 28: Summary of Findings for Item 9

Unfair World Argument	Socialist Argument	Personal Plight Argument
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strongest theme to emerge from all of the qualitative data; • Highly emotive responses were found here and revolved around a disdain for economic praxis; • Standpoints here were based on appeals to 'fairness'; • Perceived systemic unfairness proved motivation enough for involvement in Occupy; • Members were highly idealistic in their approaches and members took up positions of apparent unselfishness, seeking reparations for the benefit of others and humanity as a whole; • A prominent feature was that of members appointing themselves and those in their movement as crusaders of justice, bringers of fairness, and providers of enlightenment in the face of massive, unfair, corrupt and exploitative systems; • This theme was also laden with counter-intuitive arguments – ones that held a certain conventional wisdom but were 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A string of socialist-based arguments appeared and were connected to classic socialist disdain for the creation of capital and exploitation of labour; • A key driving force was the desire for mass economic equality; • Calls for a 'critical mass' of people who could 'break' the current system were common; • Joint disregard for capitalism and government power through a socialist lens were present; • A common thread for this theme was to position the self (respondent) as knowledgeable and in a position to educate the reader on matters of radical economics; • Those with a fundamental understanding of socialism appeared to hold a desire to apply its philosophies to the Occupy Movement; • Few provided simple reasons as to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All standpoints were exclusively personal in nature; • Most responses were entirely micro in nature and ignored the question pertaining to macro-level factors inducing motivation for involvement in Occupy; • In particular, individual socio-economic woes were presented as major motivating factors; • The focus was firmly on personal plight; • A certain self-pity remained evident as did frustration with micro-systemic constraints that did not feed into any advanced philosophical disdain for macro-level systems; • Motivation for involvement here appeared to be based on lived experiences of personal strife (jobs, debt, children etc.); • Very little 'Occupy language' was employed in these statements and these individuals appeared to hold little understanding or concern for the movement itself. Concern was rather centred upon the self, not others and responses were exclusively 'I' based, instead of 'we/the people/the 99%/global citizens' and so on.

<p>diametrically opposed to official Occupy stances;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly emotive language was employed here and this was accompanied by fearsome caricature production – this served to illustrate how capitalism is ‘cannabalsing’ humanity and creating ‘blazing infernos’ of consumerism and immorality while supporting modern ‘slavery’ etc.; • Responses almost exclusively mentioned the plight of others and neglected to mention personal reasons for involvement. 	<p>their personal involvement but did cite dissatisfactions with capitalism and overlaid this with exceptional amounts of socialist rhetoric;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some, but not all, respondents openly stated that the change that is required is towards socialism and away from capitalism and so-called imperialism. 	
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Item 9 was clearly more complicated than item 8, although there were surprisingly few themes extracted in the face of questioning personal involvement in Occupy based on macro-level factors. It was expected that responses would be very lengthy and detailed but only the socialist argument contained long and detailed responses while the other two themes.

Firstly, the **unfair world** argument was indeed the most emotive of all qualitative themes and perhaps succinctly encapsulated that which all members felt to some or other degree – a sense of systemic unfairness. This theme is not to be confused with that of personal plight as those speaking of an unfair world made mention of macro-level systemic injustices as opposed to personal ills and lived experiences on a micro-scale. Those employing the unfair world argument were concerned with the perceived ‘fairness’ and equality of global economic praxis and were not afraid to take up the role of agitated campaigner or self-appointed reformer. Members here were highly idealistic in their claims that they would be champions of justice alongside others of their movement until such time as absolute fairness in global policy could be reached. Prolific mentions of the struggles of ‘others’ were brought to the surface as a seemingly unselfish stance took hold. This theme brought with it certain counter-productive arguments though as members ignorantly or inadvertently placed emphasis on jobs and financial prosperity for the world, factors that they claimed Occupy would bring. The official Occupy stance holds no special place for jobs or financial prosperity at all. The use of anecdotal and emotionally expressive language, coupled with rather fierce caricature production revealed further detailed expressions. An interpretation of some responses would hold that capitalism, a human construct, is feeding on humanity itself as a perpetual and rampant beast that is consuming vital facets of the species with the term “cannabalsing” having been employed. Thereafter consumerism was likened to a fire, as if it were a blazing inferno engulfing its fuel of humanity even though humanity itself is the consumer. Further statements involved terms such as “modern slavery” with points of perceived unfairness being driven forward with great earnestness. Moreover, discussions here were entirely centred upon worldly unfairness and the plight of others – possibly because these members felt that they were not in need of systemic relief or, as likely, they sought to frame themselves and their movement as benevolent entities. This theme disclosed elements of the Occupy Johannesburg movement who were: emotive in their approaches; motivated by perceptions of rampant injustice and unfairness in global politics and economics; held simplistic understandings of true Occupy philosophy as they sought to rectify injustices through current systemic approaches; positioned themselves as modern crusaders of fairness, particularly towards relieving and alleviating others (with little mention of themselves); fixated on the plight of ‘the other’; and these people were dedicated to

Occupy and expressed disdain for the status quo through fierce personification of some of its component parts, such as consumerism, labour practices, abusing the global citizens' needs for money and the like.

The **socialist argument** was a surprising finding, particularly to an item that was constructed to gauge motivation for involvement in Occupy. Classic socialist rhetoric was employed by respondents and the righteousness and justness of personal involvement towards socialist ideals were pre-supposed; socialism was inherently accepted as an acceptable solution to the problems against which Occupy stood. Members castigated both capitalism and government as a power structure while weaving socialism in as a viable solution, while classic socialist theory would hold that ownership of production (and other resources) takes place through the state, cooperative enterprise, or citizen ownership. Presumably the second or third options were preferred from this perspective although little detail was provided as to how indeed the envisaged socialism would be implemented. Furthermore, it was difficult to infer whether or not this socialist element held much power or authority as, in my dealings with the Occupy group, no mention of socialism was ever made. Socialism was also never espoused by the movement itself in its global wings as any kind of preferred solution. It is possible that two explanations could account for this group: (1) a small contingent of socialists were engaging in attempts to use the less than clear Occupy platform's theoretical gaps as inroads for producing a space for socialist ideals: solutions to the Occupy problems; (2) more plausibly I believe that these people, while believers in socialism, were seeking out a basis from which to create a more advanced protest position through a form of anarchic socialism. The nature of such a socialism was difficult to gauge accurately here as it was not discussed by members but the mere involvement with Occupy and the disdain for power structures, coupled with a rationale that socialism would provide viable solutions to global problems, suggests a form of cooperative or citizen-based ownership and a new age of trade and politics in a re-vamped socialist mould. Indeed a subset of responses to item 10 built upon this position. Nonetheless, there was a certain hijacking of the Occupy Johannesburg movement as these persons did not, at any point, employ Occupy styles of language and preferred to define the Occupy space in terms of overt socialist principles. The very broad range of dissatisfactions that the Occupy movement broached were ignored large degree.

Persons of the socialist persuasion tended to frequently refer to socialist theory with great confidence and assertiveness, I believe this was done in order to compare the negative facets of capitalism to the exclusively positive facets of socialism that culminated in a justifiable motivation for involvement in a largely anti-capitalist movement. The people whose responses were recorded in this theme were: highly motivated by advancing through

socialism and pre-supposed its worth and viability in solving Occupy's problems; disinterested in taking up the Occupy language, style of protest, and ideological concerns; possibly sought to hijack the Occupy movement's member base through furthering socialist dogma as they perceived an easily penetrable anti-capitalist movement without a manifesto; likely to seeking out a basis from which to create a more advanced protest position through a form of anarchic socialism; overtly socialist and defined their socio-political milieu through this frame.

Lastly, the **personal plight** argument for motivation to involve oneself in Occupy revolved entirely around personal experiences and individualistic, lived experience type arguments. This sub-set of responses ignored the macro and focused entirely on the micro-level as disgruntlements, recollection of hardships, and personal socio-economic woes were brought forward by members. Once again Occupy members from the Johannesburg leg veered away from actual Occupy stances, this time through not speaking in the collective and failing to focus on national and global systemic concerns for the '99%'. In essence the motivation for involvement was based solely on the plight of the respondent and, while the Occupy structures would certainly be sympathetic to such individuals but may be leery of the absolute lack of togetherness through occupation in favour of motivations that were purely personal. The majority of the strife mentioned was financial in nature and it begs the question of whether or not these individuals would have, ideologically, philosophically, or through some moral force, have involved themselves in Occupy at all if they were not experiencing personal financial upheaval? Furthermore, this group, much like the socialist segment, employed little to no Occupy-type language. The personal plight argument frequently showed a lack of understanding of Occupy norms and values as well as favouring the stance of self-centricity over the Occupy stance of a more 'global pity' for all of the 99%. It seemed that many people had joined the ranks of Occupy based on personal experiences of financial pressure with little understanding of what the movement was or its modus operandi, internal structure etc. It should be reiterated here that the sample came from a group of more dedicated members and not from persons who were new to Occupy.

6.1.2.4 What would Members' Norms be in and ideal, Utopian, and Hypothetical Society?

Item 10 placed the onus on Occupy Johannesburg members to reveal that which they deemed to be ideal in their own utopian communities, should they be granted to ability to develop new norms in a hypothetical sense. The item was devised in order to push members from the position of 'passive Occupy member' towards that of 'deviser of social standards', i.e. a push from positioning oneself as a mere member of a group seeking global reform

towards that of social architect whose utopian norms could be considered as subjectively 'ideal'. The responses were grouped into 4 sub-sets: (1) orthodox anarchy; (2) anarchic socialism; (3) advancing through decentralised civil society; (4) fundamental equality and freedom. Table 29 below provides an overview of the salient findings from each:

Table 29: Themes Uncovered from Item 10

Orthodox Anarchy	Anarchic Socialism	Advancing through a Decentralised Civil Society	Fundamental Equality & Freedom
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stark calls for absolute anarchy; • Society must be constructed in the absence of any overt power structures; • No central government, radical shifts in current conceptions of 'democracy', abolishment of money, end of political rule, introduction of 'gift economics'; • Freedom of vocation and belief in the innate ability of human beings to govern themselves with morality were seen; • Equal portions of power for each and every member of a hypothetical society; • Large attempts were made to diminish the value of any form of power structure, especially those at the macro-level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fusing socialism and anarchy; • Influence from both schools of thought had become evident towards an ideological marriage; • People sought something more rigid than anarchy but more equal and less power-driven than capitalism and current political structures; • Calls for freedom of public enterprise, social welfare, lowered regulations and rigidity of law, with socialist tendencies backing the few power structures that remained; • The essential driver was towards equality, or equalizing society holistically. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These propagations did not arise from part of any clearly recognizable economic or political ideologies; • Special position was held for civil society's capacity to advance without the presence of government or corporate interest; • Norms that revolved around community and family-based action, with a decentralization of large powerful bodies desired; • No strict anarchy or power entities were desired or constructed, rather the emphasis was on civil society to advance innovatively; • A humanist value was injected as well as a trust in humans to do that which would lead to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possibly the most common strand across the whole study – that of calls for freedom and equality in the world; • Belief in a social homeostatic ability and the freedom to find it; • Egalitarianism was sought but with the inability of some to surpass others or to fall behind others to any significant extent in terms of social and/or monetary resources; • Individual life advances should happen naturally and by choice, with the flexibility of a society to right itself without regulation or impositions of power; • Call were for social equality that may be sustained over the lifespan, eradication of formalized work or jobs,

		<p>favourable outcomes for their communities/societies at the micro- and meso-levels was evident;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The progression of societies will take place through decentralizing power and allowing civil society's organisations and people to drive economics rather than large scale systems; • Many vague and highly idealistic responses. 	<p>portrayals of such ideals as being functional – not ethical or moral, belief that a human community may naturally find balance and equilibrium among all parts under conditions of greater freedom to self-regulate systemically;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respondents revealed a certain 'obviousness', as if their claims were not at all radical but rather pragmatic and sensible; • One respondent even interpreted the question as being against his values as he alone should not be allowed the power to introduce or impose his norms on any community.
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Item 10, the final item of the survey, placed the proverbial ball squarely in the court of the Occupy member by emphasizing the provision of some ideas towards the kind of world that they would desire as regards society, politics, economics and other social norms/systems. The prominence of anarchy within the Occupy movement was once again seen here as the theme of '**orthodox anarchy**' highlighted the presence of purists of anarchy who referenced the idea and ran through its place for society while others pushed towards the idea, not always with directed or pervasive intent, but with certain anarchic tone. Regardless of how these ideas were brought across there were definite desires for a breakdown of the macro-level forms of control perceived as the status quo. As the sample were provided the opportunity to theoretically devise their own norms they created this theme as one that grounded them as believers in human morality, human capacity, and the detrimental effects of widespread forms and measures of social power and/or control. Moreover, this anarchy was cemented as a guaranteed solution to the problems that the '99%' experience and was promoted as if the purpose of Occupy itself was to drive forward as an anarchy-based protest group.

Blurring the lines between the veins of anarchy and socialism, seen on several occasions in this text, were calls for a loose blend of the two. Overall there was a definite position taken up, and that emerged from the data, indicating a desire for an **anarchic socialism** or perhaps a socialist anarchy. This included a desire for the breakdown of exclusionary and/or marginalising structures in society such as the corporation, the government, and current monetary practices. This was propagated in an anarchic fashion but not in the overly zealous sense. Concessions were made here that provided a place for a broad anarchist theory that, in practice, would allow for the creation of powerful entities or structures but only under certain conditions. These conditions included agreement and democratic decision-making from all affected parties on the formation of alliances, parties, and federations whose sole purposes would be towards micro-support for, and upliftment of, society. These social bodies geared towards sharing and joint resource distribution created a pseudo-socialist tint when seen alongside certain forms of suggested equality built around the role of the workers, labour and productivity. The claims made and statements espoused in this section arose from an informed group of protestors whose bases were shared in a form of structural breakdown with principles of social equality which possibly were openly discussed prior to this survey. In this theme it was evident that members were informed and had made certain deductions and rationalisations as to the desired appearances of their hypothetical communities when prompted. In essence this was more than a mere call for the breakdown of structure and more than the mere application of standard socialist norms, it was a broad fusion in which macro scale bodies of perceived imposition (the state, the legal system,

modern economics, modern politics) were required to morph into vastly less rigid centres of social improvement through resource distribution, respect for the workers, less estrangement from the fruits of one's labour, and more freedom than a typical socialist or capitalist system would allow. The potentially challenging question for item 10 was reacted to with lengthy anarchy-socialist statements and descriptions of the ways in which such systems could operate in the minds of some protestors. Due to the informed positions taken up here, as well as the relative diligence in fleshing out those positions, this theme potentially contained the most clear and robust calls (of all themes) for a shift in zeitgeist. Respondents here were diligent, confident, knowledgeable, predominantly clear, and, while the interpretation of 'anarchic socialism' is my own, I believe that these people had advanced ideas as to their involvement with the movement that had evolved from the general rhetoric that they had been exposed to.

Calls for advancement through a **decentralized civil society** involved peeling away and separating from the global economics and politics of today as well as a regression to community or settlement based politics and social interventions. It was believed here that such a shift would allow for more control and power for each citizen, more equitable distribution of resources, and problem solving from a bottom up perspective that would create efficient solutions to social problems. This theme produced some vague idealism presenting itself through calls for 'love', 'peace', 'leading by example', 'serving humanity' and similar notions that were imprecise in their directions and unexplained as concepts in how they might fit in the hypothetical community and how indeed they might be achieved. The idealism and vagueness was, I believe, acknowledged by respondents in their written desires as they employed 'if', 'my ideal might be', 'I would love to see' and other less than confident expressions in the initial and opening statements regarding the norms that they would desire in a hypothetical and ideal world. It was as if those placing potential advances for civil society on a pedestal were, simultaneously, skeptical of the viability of those very plans. More so than responses residing in one of the other 3 sub-themes, these responses appeared uncertain, idealistic, and vague in that they did not flesh out their desires, did not seek to justify why these norms would be in place, many nondescript conceptual terms were used and, through the language employed, I inferred a lack of belief, resolve, or certainty in the members' stances about the efficacy of their propositions. It is of course important to note that the question that was posed did indeed call for an idealism and/or utopianism but, incidentally, this faith in a decentralized world of citizen-based organisations was commonplace – indicating that the freedom to be creative and utopian frequently culminated in similar overlapping response patterns. It is likely that a sect of anarchists with a sense of derision for the perceived macro-level systems of control and a sense of danger from global

powers formed the make-up of this theme as a band of somewhat different thinkers from the anarchists who espoused a form of socialism above. The similarity between such groups would of course be the desire to remove power from a few capitalist organisations and political bodies and convert it into mechanisms of social upliftment; the stark difference being that one group wanted the mechanisms to be on a small scale and controlled by civil society while the other wished to retain large mechanisms and convert them into socially-subservient and socialist ones.

Those calling for **fundamental equality and freedom** loosely echoed that which the common member, the anarchist, the socialist, and probably all other members were calling out for in one way or another – a space of freedom and a recognition of equality on a global scale. It must be said that none of those calling for fundamental equality and freedom put forward rigid suggestions or described in any detail the functioning community that they would desire. There was a preoccupation with the notions of equality and freedom and all that such ideals could produce; additionally, there was a faith in the ability of human systems to self-correct, be homeostatic, and thrive without the presence of manufactured impositions. The lack of detailed description uncovered a common thematic thread subsuming forward progression through equality as an idea not requiring a description of the ultimate world; rather there was a belief that the ultimate world necessarily unfolds unpredictably and as it will through joint action and the consistency of a social equilibrium.

6.1.2.5 Summary of Discourses and Ontologies

Having broken down an interpretation of responses to each of the respective items, this section will concisely wrap the trends that were prominent across all of the responses as regards ontological discursive outlooks. These trends included: (1) anarchy; (2) socialism; (3) beyond anarchy; (4) ignorance and misinformation; (5) idealism and naivety; (6) desiring clarity; (7) motivated by freedom.

1. Firstly it was clear that anarchy and anarchist theory had placed roots rather firmly within the Occupy circle, an understanding that existed prior to this study but was soon confirmed and strengthened. Anarchy in its orthodox form was viewed highly by Occupy members and calls for a breakdown of rules, governance, economic constructs and restrictions, and corporate power were frequently seen. Additionally there were calls for all out anarchy alongside the perception of human beings being willing, able, and correct in leading lives exempt from any form of political, psychological, or structural systemic power.

2. Socialism was highly evident in the movement and, unlike anarchy, socialism was not identified as a system of any overt standing within Occupy circles prior to this study. It appeared that some desired more than capitalist reform and pushed towards socialist revolution instead. It is also highly unlikely that this socialist presence is exclusive to South African movements as Hayduk (2012) wrote about the intersections between socialism and democratic economic desires put forward by foreign Occupiers, while a 2011 US poll found a huge majority of respondents in favour of the Occupy Movement and 49% of the sample sympathetic to socialist ideas (Brownhill, Turner, & Kaara, 2012). Some Occupiers brought forth strict socialist ideas while others implied and alluded to an allegiance with such ideas.
3. A Third trend that was seen was a form of acknowledgement of anarchy as being too extreme or too reductionist. This resulted in members seeking to go beyond rote anarchy and attempting to construct a workable ideal that incorporated anarchist notions of individual freedoms and removal of strict governance but coupled with some form of community norms, exchange and trade controls, and central bodies that worked for such communities and were governed by them.
4. Surprisingly, many of the written responses from the sample were highly misinformed regarding the nature of the movement to which they subscribed, or were ignorant to the stances that it officially took up (or both). All of the themes mentioned above included statements that: (a) rested on hearsay alone; (b) were damaging to the (official) Occupy position; (c) did not show an understanding of the passive-aggressive, open, loose, and evolving movement; (d) when laid bare, were based solely on individual conceptions of 'how the movement should be run' or 'how the world should appear'; (e) did not reference the movement at seemingly appropriate times and did not incorporate any 'Occupy type' language; (f) subverted the very movement itself; (g) frequently used the movement as a vessel through which other agendas could be communicated (e.g., the merits of socialism or anarchy).
5. Another highly evident stream through the data was that the sample was idealistic in nature. This assertion may seem obvious as respondents were encouraged, for item 10, to describe their 'utopian world' and a leftist protest organization is almost necessarily idealistic but this idealism was punctuated by significant naivety. The members' ideological positions were diverse and they desired an array of changes to social systems but very few displayed any significant understanding of such systems. Informed discussions into economic, political, legal, or social matters were rare; rather, members maintained depth discussions into their preferred solutions (anarchy, socialism, equality, decentralizing social systems etc.) while ignoring precise and definitive pinpointing of sources of dissatisfaction. For instance, instead

of delving into capitalist interest rate policy, the origins of the legal system, or the fundamental flaws in 21st century party politics, members preferred a focus on symptoms and solutions. In this case a symptom might be “I am bound by my financial status” or “my personal freedoms have been encroached upon” with solutions being presented soon afterwards. It was infrequently that I was able to note any informed discussion into causes of the perceived systemic ills that brought the group together.

6. A desire for clarity and action was highly apparent as responses centred upon solving problems, putting forward suggestions, attempting to cement an Occupy mode of interpreting the world's systems, and motivating these towards directed collective action. This was in contrast to the official Occupy position of not providing linear understandings, not presenting absolute solutions, while only encouraging collective occupation of public spaces in defiance of world systems and towards allowing the movement to evolve towards more directed action. It would appear that members were either unaware of official Occupy positions or were not satisfied by the perceived lack of direction and action (as was indicated by several).
7. The strongest trend that arose was a desire for greater freedom. Beyond criticisms of capitalism or problems with the legal system or corporate misgivings, further than perceptions of how the world should change or where those changes should come from, and regardless of my critiques of the cognitive spaces from which the statements arose or what the Occupy banner stood for, every statement was injected with a desire for freedom or frustration due to a lack thereof. All persons appeared to feel that money itself was a factor that caused personal restriction, whether overtly anarchist or not these people also mentioned all of the systemic powers as hindrances or burdens to the personal well-being of human beings, and they stated over and over again that large scale human social systems had, by their very nature, imposed difficulties and removed a set of freedoms that they wish to hold in their lives and the lives of the ‘global citizen’ or ‘99%’. If one was to remove the Occupy principles and labels, and ignore the convoluted aspects surrounding members’ opinions and solutions, while controlling for aspects of race, age, nationality, and gender, one would still be left with hundreds of thousands (if not millions) of protestors who globally gathered (and still do) in the world’s centres to vent their dissatisfactions. I believe that the single most important facet of understanding the cause of these gatherings and uprisings is to acknowledge, whether factual and ‘real’ or not, the mass perception that fundamental human freedom has been threatened and encroached upon. Beneath the ideological and other factors present in understanding the Occupy population is a sense, from within its support base, that

freedom to exist *sans* the restrictions of the current monetary system, the nation state, political powers, institutionalised punitive activities, mass inequality, institutionalized labour, and various forms of external and established power structures is highly desirable and even sought after by these people. Freedom from structures of political power (in all of its forms) was the single factor common to absolutely every respondent in one way or another. Among the suggestions put forward, the motivations for involvement, and statements pertaining to how the world should be there was a great exhibition of difference but all suggestions sought to increase the global citizens' loci of personal control, the motivations for involvement with the movement established that freedom from systemic-based pressures were desired, and the way in which the world's ideal make up was constructed included various methods of placing power back in the hands of average citizens and away from large entities with any form of self-interest.

6.1.3 Interpretation of Findings from Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis was conducted in a hierarchical fashion after qualitative data was transformed into quantitative data, merged with the quantitative findings on the data sheet and all variables were recorded in a binary fashion (1= present; 0=not present). The resulting four clusters that emerged were presented at the end of the section on data analysis and will be interpreted here with particular interest shown in the social views and responses to qualitative categories than to demographics.

6.1.3.1 Cluster 1

Cluster 1 consisted of 6 members of the sample (15.8%) and was two thirds White and one third Black by race. It was also entirely male as regards gender and was heavily skewed in favour of the educated, with 83.3% of the sample holding tertiary qualifications. In terms of age the entire cluster's cases resided within the 20 – 39 year old category. This cluster then was, demographically, highly aligned with the stereotype of Occupy being predominantly young, White, male, and educated. Conversely though, it did not make up a large proportion of the sample.

This cluster revealed a distinct set of members that was more trusting of social institutions with those of cluster 1 only showing unanimity in their distrust of broadcast media. National government, political parties, and print media were entities that two thirds of cluster 1 held no trust for; the legal system and big corporations came out as garnering the least confidence

with 83.3% holding no confidence in each respectively. Religious institutions fared best with half of the sample holding neutral or confident views in them.

Cluster 1 then showed a stereotypical homogeneity of demographics but the greatest variance amongst all clusters in terms of confidence in social institutions. Cluster 1 was more trusting and lenient than the other clusters overall. In spite of the variance regarding confidence in social entities, cluster 1 revealed a definite cohesion relating to members' views on sources of social division with politics and socio-economic class being heavily fingered as responsible for division.

In terms of responses to the criticism that Occupy lacked focus, 50% of cluster 1 showed duality and 16.6% showed aggressive justification, denial, and fence straddling respectively. With a small number in the cluster of 6 persons it is difficult to generalize further but duality was certainly prominent, revealing a Machiavellianism within this cluster while the other findings are not indicative of any particular trend with a small number of cases. What was more compelling was an 83.3% response rate stating that Occupy Johannesburg did indeed differ from other such movements worldwide, showing a group attempting to create the 'special place' for their own movement.

Another striking finding was that this group was 100% motivated to join Occupy due to relating to the unfair world argument. They did not subscribe to the socialist or personal plight stances at all but felt that the outside world was inherently unfair and frequently cited the struggles of others. Finally, the ideal world for this group would be one in which a more orthodox anarchy (50%) and fundamental equality and freedom reigned.

In sum, cluster 1 consisted of a predominantly White, entirely male, young, and highly educated sub-sample. This cluster held more trust in social institutions than the other clusters with religious institutions faring best and broadcast media worst. Members' views on the sources of social division were highly aligned as politics and socio-economics were identified heavily. The cluster was then characterized by a duality in the face of criticism, a significant belief that Occupy Johannesburg was unique and different from the global movement, and the entire cluster claimed that the unfairness of the world (lived experiences of others, taking up the position of benevolent champion of justice, pointing to external ills) motivated them to be involved with the movement, while orthodox anarchy and fundamental equality were sought in a utopian fashion.

6.1.3.2 *Cluster 2*

Cluster 2 consisted of 10 cases or 26.3% of the sample. The cluster was once again mostly White by race (90%) and male by gender (80%). Additionally it was youthful and highly educated with 90% of the members aged 20 – 39 and 90% holding tertiary qualifications. Cluster 2 was even more aligned with the 'Occupy stereotype' than cluster 1 as it revealed higher proportions of males, White people, educated people, and youthful people.

This cluster found unanimous agreement that political parties were deserved of little or no confidence while 90% of the cluster held little or no confidence in national government, big corporations, broadcast media, print media, and religious institutions. The legal system fared best (although not well) as 80% of the cluster felt that it was deserved of little or no confidence while 20% claimed to explicitly hold some confidence in it. This cluster was highly suspicious of all social systems, in particular political parties, with the legal system generating slightly more confidence than the other systems.

As regards the perceived sources of social division cluster 2 grouped a sub-set of individuals who did not list language, AIDS/disease or culture as causes of social division. From a South African sample this finding was interesting. Additionally, only 10% of all recorded responses here fingered politics and only 30% labeled religion as sources of social division respectively. The two factors that received that were viewed as being most responsible for division were race (70%) and socio-economic class (90%). As respondents were able to select more than one source of social division these statistics reveal that only one individual within the sample did not select socio-economic class as a source of social division. This is a factor that reinforces the stance against socio-economic policy and unveils certain cohesion of thought here. Conversely, 60% of this group subscribed to the duality theme showing that they were in high agreement that socio-economics was a factor of division, yet they were not entirely convinced by the methods employed by the Occupy movement. None if the members of cluster 2 showed any denial as to the while 20% fell into the aggressive justification and straddling the fence themes. This finding shows overall then that only 20% of the cluster held resolve for the Occupy approach, the remainder were confused, non-committal, or were passively subverting the movement.

A further point of interest was the finding that 90% of this cluster did not believe that Occupy Johannesburg differed from foreign movements in any way with the majority showing that their motivation for involvement was down to the unfair world argument, followed by the socialist stance, and then by the personal plight argument. The preferred utopian norms in an ideal world were heavily skewed towards the anarchic socialism theme, followed distantly by fundamental equality and freedom.

Overall, cluster 2 was one that conformed heavily to the demographic stereotypes of Occupy worldwide and one that was highly suspicious of all social systems but moved toward blaming race and, in particular, socio-economics for the divisions seen in modern society. The group was, essentially, one that had joined Occupy to protest these divisions and systemic problems yet only 20% showed fervent belief in the approach taken up by the movement. Moreover, only 10% felt that Occupy Johannesburg differed from worldwide movements, showing that (a) they did not form part of the group of people who tried to create a special place for Occupy and (b) if their lack of belief in Occupy Johannesburg and their belief that all Occupy Movement's don't differ to any significant degree, one might infer that their resolve/belief/dedication in/to the entire movement was minor. This group subscribed mostly to the unfair world and socialist stances while heavily espousing the socialism-anarchy fusion. As a group it would appear as if this cluster was disillusioned and disgruntled with the Occupy approach, they were skeptical of social systems and they were directed in their perspectives on the unfairness of the world with few mentioning personal plight. I believe that they joined a global movement and that they believed it was a coherent one that was the same all over the world. Further, they did so to alter those systems with a firm belief in the injustices of modern society and a belief in the positive aspects of anarchy and pseudo-socialism but became leery of a seemingly non-directed, or even directionless, movement with little formal structure that was perceived as impotent and even somewhat ironic.

6.1.3.2 Cluster 3

Cluster 3 was the most prominent of the four clusters and consisted of 50% of the entire sample. This showed an overall cohesion amidst what was seemingly a homogenous demographic sample with very heterogeneous views. Cluster 3 was 94.7% White but differed from the other clusters as it was almost equally distributed across the genders and held the lowest proportion of youthful people of all clusters at 57.89%. 63.16% of the cluster was educated to tertiary level. This cluster differed demographically then in that it was still significantly White by race but was the most equal by gender and held the lowest educational profile (albeit still high by conventional standards) and lowest proportion of highly educated persons. It was then, a similar demographic cluster but the most heterogeneous compared to the other clusters.

This cluster agreed unanimously that they held little or no confidence in national government, political parties, broadcast media and big corporations with more than 90% claiming to hold the same sentiment towards print media. Only the legal system and religious

institutions had more than 10% of this cluster claiming that they were neutral or confident in them. This shows that the largest of the clusters, as with other clusters, was a highly skeptical one and that it also held slightly more confidence in the legal system. What differed was a more heterogeneous display of belief in the sources of social division. Socio-economic class was listed by nearly 90% of the cluster as being a source of social division, congruent with what one might expect from an Occupy sample but this was followed (in order) by culture, race, politics, and language – all within the 50% to 70% range of prevalence, while AIDS/disease and religion followed distantly. This showed that the largest cluster was in general agreement that socio-economics were highly responsible for social division but that opinions splintered regarding other sources of division. This group also displayed a high proportion of people within the denial group (more than double that of the other 3 themes in response to the question of Occupy's focus). When added to the 'straddling the fence' theme, it must be said that almost 60% of cluster 3, consisting of 50% of all members of the sample, showed that they were either (a) confused, misinformed and ambiguous in their thoughts about the movement, or (b) were dedicated but often contradicted the stance of the movement itself and/or struggled to formulate coherent statements against the criticisms that Occupy received.

Almost two thirds of this cluster consisted of those who felt that Occupy Johannesburg did indeed differ from foreign movements with only 36.84% believing that it did not. This reinforces the last statement as the official Occupy stance was one that propagated the supposed plight of all persons globally, not one creating special places for local movements in the minds of local people. It also reveals a possible disconnect between what Occupy's positions were as a movement and protestors' understandings thereof, or a disregard for official stances and a bias towards the movement one personally found oneself in and the struggles faced by that movement.

Like cluster 2, cluster 3's members were also heavily in favour of assuming the unfair world stance, followed by some margin, yet significantly, by the personal plight argument - very few assumed the socialist stance. This showed a mixed group consisting mostly of those who assumed the position of benevolence and felt as though they were acting as bringers of justice for the world at large and those whose motivations were bundled around the self and the negative personal experiences of the world. There was also little consensus on what the ideal world would look like. The most popular choice here was advancing through a decentralized civil society (just over half of the cluster), followed by fundamental equality and freedom (47.37%), then orthodox anarchy (32.11%) and finally by anarchic socialism (26.32%). The theme of fundamental equality and freedom was one that was prevalent throughout this study and arguably underpinned many of the desires and positions assumed

by members across all clusters. I believe that what significant here was the belief in an unfair world and one in which personal plight, due to systemic causes, forms a major part of the perception of an 'ill world', the solutions to which included a breakdown of global overarching systems and embracing small decentralized growth through a generally anarchic lens (through conventionally recognised anarchy or through the hybrid socialist version).

Overall cluster 3 was the largest, constituting half of the sample. The cluster was very White by race, as with the previous two clusters, but revealed very equitable gender and age groups as well as, relatively speaking, a more even educational profile. This cluster was highly skeptical of social institutions with 4 of the 7 institutions presented to them being relegated to the realm of 'little or no confidence' and only the legal system and religious institutions fairing slightly better. While a number of factors were brought forward as being responsible for social division, socio-economics was by far and away the most prevalent (90% choosing it). The cluster was also one that appeared to lack resolve in, and information regarding, their own movement through falling heavily into the duality and fence straddling themes as well as attempts to isolate the Johannesburg Movement from other global movements by creating a special place for it and emphasizing its unique problems. These people believed in the inherent unfairness of the world and subscribed to decentralizing solutions and ones that infused anarchy or a socialist version thereof.

6.1.3.3 Cluster 4

Cluster 4 consisted, for all intents and purposes, of outliers. Only 3 cases were positioned in this cluster during analysis and remarkably, all were female, the sub-set was one third White, one third Black and one third Indian (the only Indian person in the sample). All were aged 20 to 39 and one person held high school education or less while the other two held tertiary educations.

This cluster revealed very little consensus and very few significant trends in the data, probably due to the very low number of cases. All agreed that national government was not worthy of any confidence (followed by religion and the legal system), that race was the largest source of social division in South Africa (followed by socio-economic class), all of the respondents straddled the proverbial fence in response to criticism of Occupy, and every single one took up a socialist stance. The remaining findings were insignificant or difficult to draw any conclusions from as the cluster's members were not aligned in their statements and selections.

Females and persons of colour formed the minority within the entire sample and it is interesting to note that the 'outlying' cluster (4) was entirely female and predominantly representative of non-White persons. It must be noted that including demographic variables in the cluster analysis may have served to confound the results and place scarcely represented groups into this cluster. While people of colour and females were represented in other clusters it is possible that those non-white females with slightly different views from the rest of the sample were found in this outlier group because their demographic, combined with their disparate views, placed them in the 'data wilderness' as regards the clustering procedure employed.

6.1.4 A Qualitative Critical Realist Understanding

This section broaches each qualitative theme that was extracted from the data and attempts to simply and concisely ground them in a critical realist understanding prior to the concluding section.

6.1.4.1 Duality

In terms of a critical realist stance the theme of duality is interesting. This theme included member stances that were outwardly aligned with Occupy but inwardly disappointed with its manifestation and lack of focus. The *actual* in this instance referred to the presence of these protestors and their alignments with Occupy but the *real* (referring to underlying structures and tendencies that may cause changes in the actual) was in fact a waning dedication and disdain for the homogeneity of the protest group and the unclear protest paths. This may indeed be an explanation for the lowered support for Occupy worldwide as the actual realm was affected by a real domain that started to lack resolve with Occupy protest processes. The *empirical* (referring to human perspectives on the actual and real) was laid out in this case as a sub-set of protestors conceiving of the movement as holding utility, being important and brimming with potential yet fundamentally flawed in its approach to challenging prevailing systems.

6.1.4.2 Aggressive Justification

In this instance the *real* and the *actual* merged as protestors availed themselves to join the movement, aggressively and vehemently denied any issues of process within the movement and justified all of its grievances as well as its manifestation on the proverbial ground. In this

instance the *actual* protest and presence of such protestors was reinforced by the *real* near dogmatic stances held. The *empirical* in this instance was a dedicated perspective toward the physical movement (people, statements, discussions, Occupation of space) and a firm perceptual alignment with the underlying processes (passive Occupation, an evolving and non-restrictive movement).

6.1.4.3 *Denial*

This theme revealed *actual* and *real* realms that were similar to those of aggressive justification in that protestors appeared together in physical space and were active participants who reacted against criticisms of the movement's norms. Although the *real* realm differed in that denialists were less informed, defensive of the movement, and often incongruent with the movement's official stances. This form of *reality* may well have been a catalyst for further waning of support for the movement; the complexity of it had obviously confused even its own proponents which could have, over time, affected the *actual* manifestations of cohesion and collective drive from within. Furthermore, the denial group revealed attempts to defend and conceal certain issues relating to the movement, I interpreted this as set of people who did, on some level, believe that Occupy lacked focus and held weaknesses despite the denial. The *empirical* realm here was constituted by Occupiers who likely felt a threat to their movement through the many arguments against it, they held onto the movement they believed in and continuously denied fault with it.

6.1.4.4 *Straddling the Fence*

The *real* here was characterized by numerous non-committal, vague, ambiguous, and contradictory claims. These persons potentially threatened the Occupy Movement's integrity in the *actual* realm through their lack of knowledge relating to the movement they had joined or muddy commitment to its constitutions. The *empirical* in this instance provided an insight into inconsistent perspectives on what the movement was/is and how it operate/d.

6.1.4.5 *"No, the Occupy Johannesburg Movement Does Not Differ from Others Worldwide"* *Versus "Yes, it does differ"*

In both instances the *actual* overlapped as protestors worldwide gathered under a single banner. The *real* too was aligned since rallies against macro-issues were echoed the world over. It was the *empirical* that differed here as views of the *real*, from those who felt Occupy

Johannesburg was no different from foreign movements, stated the case that all global citizens faced the same pressures in the early 21st century. On the other hand, the group that created a special place for Occupy Johannesburg, *empirically* viewed the real as stemming from indigenous issues (or at least being compounded by them).

6.1.4.6 *Unfair World Argument*

The *actual* in this case was the motivation to protest, the physical shifting of the individual to take action. From the perspectives held under this theme, the real was responsible for the actual as an unjust and inequitable world was constructed in the minds of the protestors. *Empirically*, these injustices were associated with greed and exploitation by powerful entities, activities deemed worthy of protest.

6.1.4.7 *Socialist Argument*

This theme consisted of *real* processes that included exposure to, or subscription to, socialist theory and dogma. From there, many protestors *actualized* this allegiance to socialism through the Occupy platforms. An *empirical* take might hold that the socialist presence occurred through a perception that challenges to global norms from a protest group without a clear manifesto would be vulnerable to being 'replaced' or 'converted' to a new set of ontologies.

6.1.4.8 *Personal Plight Argument*

The *real* here was internal and personal, it was a form of self-sorrow and no mention of deleterious environmental, social, or political outcomes were brought forward, only negative personal experience. The *actual* presence of protestors subscribing to the sub-theme was due primarily to their *empirical* stances – i.e. viewing the real as a world that had caused them personal anguishes and struggles in daily life.

6.1.4.9 *Orthodox Anarchy*

For this theme the *real* was an underlying desire for the breakdown of power structures, systemic punitive institutions, and large-scale impositions. Perhaps this was more than a desire for a breakdown of these things but rather a detestation of them. What *actualized* was a band of protestors believing firmly in the principles of anarchy who viewed the Occupy

Movement as one that held the ability to challenge the status quo in a pro-anarchy fashion. The *empirical* dimension was fraught with images of 'modern slavery', being 'victims of the system', a world lacking in a space for personal agency, and beliefs that social systems were deleteriously colliding with human freedoms.

6.1.4.10 Anarchic Socialism

The *actual* presence at protests and was furthered by a mix of the socialism and anarchy stances. What was *real* here was a set of individuals who had wittingly or unwittingly fused their desires for socialist principles within a semi-anarchist and meso-world structure. The *empirical* facets of this included possibly using the Occupy Movement as a tool through which their own agendas could be forwarded as well as a push for escape from the perceived confines current macro-systems.

6.1.4.11 Advancing through a Decentralised Civil Society

The *real* here included an aggravation with the 'artificial', meaning those laws and impositions that were considered unnatural to humanity. A special emphasis was placed on the ability of people to advance through micro communities and family-based action without the presence of institutionalized power structures/entities. *Actual* protest action was taken towards achieving this and through an *empirical* view that human values, culture, community, and the self-regulating nature of societies were under threat in the face of globalized social structures.

6.1.4.12 Fundamental Freedom and Equality

This was seen in various forms and came about as a thread that was woven into most statements regarding the ideal nature of societal structures. The *real* factors here I believe related to a sensation that all protestors shared – the underlying, intrinsic, and basic feeling that they were subjects to systems that they did not relate to, nor desire. This *actualized* in protest through the *empirical* ideas that human equality and ability to act on the world were heavily diminished and that this detraction was a point of dismay. Further, regulation of human life and a lack of social equality were seen as fundamentally unnatural and without any progressive element.

6.2 Conclusions

This study set out, exploratorily, to examine the views and perceptions of 39 core members of the Occupy Johannesburg group. The study took place in three distinct sections, a basic quantitative section, a qualitative section characterized by the extraction of themes in which content and discourse were discussed, and a cluster analysis used to profile the sample. Critical realism was the theoretical framework upon which the study rested.

The main purpose of the study was to give protestors a voice as well as to discover their reasoning for involving themselves with a global movement, who they were, what they felt their movement meant in South Africa, what their ideal world would be and to access their views regarding society, economics, and institutionalized entities. The following section summarises the conclusions made and interpretations asserted within this study.

The sample was dominated by White people (87.2%), a finding that was characteristic of Occupy Movements worldwide; it was additionally highly representative of males (62%). The Occupy Movement claimed to be driven towards equality and to be inclusive but many within and from outside used this as a point of derision and saw it as ironic in accordance with the generally held belief that the White male is a privileged demographic. Those encountering the movement appeared to expect to discover the poorest, neediest and/or most harmed by major social systems, instead they predominantly encountered so-called 'middle-class' people who were White and male. Moreover, 74.4% of this sample included persons aged 20 – 40. The finding of youth within the movement reflects findings from many foreign studies; as did the education profiles with 74.5% of the sample in possession of higher education certificates (51.4% held degrees – postgraduate or otherwise – and 23.1% held certificates or diplomas). This high educational profile was a hallmark of many Occupy groups the world over. The sample therefore was predominantly male, White, youthful, and educated – a finding that is incredibly incongruent with the profile of the South African population and one that I believe served to distance or alienate the group from the very message that it strived to propagate – emancipation from global systems for the common person. When I consulted with data from the Occupy Wall Street's website that revealed the demographics of the people accessing the site (from all over the world), the data almost perfectly mirrored the demographics of the Occupy Johannesburg sample. It would appear that the Occupy model and likelihood of being involved with a passive-aggressive movement that challenges overarching political, economic, and social norms is based rather heavily on one's racial group (White), age (approximately between 20 and 40), education level (highly educated) and, to a lesser extent, gender (male).

Those taking part in the study were asked to rate their confidence in social institutions in order to ascertain whether or not there were any significant trends and/or whether or not certain social entities were targets for more disdain than others. The items were borrowed from, and then compared to findings from, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's Annual Barometer Survey. Those institutions were the legal system, print media, broadcast media, religious institutions, political parties, national government, and big corporations. Out of a 5 point scale not a single entity obtained an aggregate score higher than 1.95 - the legal system - while the institution receiving the lowest average score was 'big corporations' - 1.47. While the legal system generated slightly more confidence than the other entities, it was evident that the group was characterized by high levels of skepticism towards all social institutions. Interesting findings were (1) the lower confidence in broadcast media than print media (likely due to the Occupy frustrations at receiving diminished media coverage on television and radio as well as inflammatory stories through broadcast media coupled with claims that the broadcast media houses were corrupt and censored); (2) religious institutions received a very low aggregate rating (1.76) out of a possible 5, showing that even confidence in religious entities waned amongst this anti-establishment group (this institution also received the highest incidence of no confidence ratings; (3) true to what one may expect to find from the sample, big corporations were indeed the entities that received the lowest average ratings and possibly the ones most loathed. Further, this sample differed from the South African baseline in that the average South African's indications of confidence formed an almost linear inversion when compared to the Occupy sample. This may be an indication that Occupy affiliation relates to distinct social views but, more importantly, that the priorities and perceptions of the Occupy movement are in fact not aligned with those of the average citizen as Occupy would espouse.

Respondents were further asked to rate their perceptions on the sources of social division in South Africa. This item was included as much of the Occupy Movement's claimed motivation related to challenging the systems and norms that affected human societies and indeed caused social division through their symptoms (e.g., racism, socio-economic status, politics...). The social factors employed were standardized and extracted from the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's Annual Barometer Survey and provided a South African baseline. These factors were race, politics, language, AIDS/disease, socio-economic class, religion, and cultural differences. The sample responded heavily in the direction of socio-economic class as being responsible for division (another finding one might expect from the sample) as it was flagged in 86.8% of all responses. This was followed by race (likely to be a South Africa-specific finding), then politics (again a likely Occupy finding) and then (in order of divisive rating) cultural difference, language, religion, and AIDS/disease. Overall then this

sample felt that socio-economics, race, politics, and culture were the most socially divisive issues faced in South Africa. I believe that fingering socio-economics and politics as divisive is a highly Occupy thing to do while pointing to race and culture were likely expressions from South Africans with a very unique social history and one full of cultural conflict. When comparing these findings to the views of the average South African citizen it is obvious that they are incredibly similar, unlike the comparison of the levels of confidence in social institutions. The two groups were in almost full agreement as to the major divisive factors. Therefore, while Occupy members held vastly different views on social institutions, they were indeed mirroring the beliefs of the average citizen in terms of their thoughts on the symptomatic sources of division in today's society.

In summary, the Occupy Johannesburg sample was mostly White, male, youthful, and highly educated – a finding that mirrored the demographic findings of studies elsewhere among other Occupy populations. This group was skeptical of all social institutions and held little to no confidence in any of them; further, this finding, as well as the arrangement of confidence ratings, was incongruent with the views of a representative South African sample. This group felt that the major sources of social division in South Africa were socio-economic class, race, politics, and cultural difference. In this instance, their views on the sources of division were almost identical to those of a representative South African population.

For the qualitative component of this study, significant threads were found in the data per open-ended survey item and discursive sub-themes were then extracted.

The sample was asked to respond to a common criticism of their movement, namely the question of whether or not the movement lacked a clear focus. This item was introduced in order to gauge the level of commitment to the movement from its members as well as to gain insight into how the affiliates understood the movement itself. This item generated four discursive sub-themes:

1. **Duality** – The responses recorded and analysed that conformed to this theme encapsulated attitudes that primarily agreed with that which Occupy stood against but found fault with the methods and approaches employed. These people agreed that the movement lacked a clear focus, they were not ready to wait for the movement to 'find itself' and its methods, and they openly vented their disappointments on the anonymous survey. There was less cohesion from within the movement than was evident initially. This cross-section sought to find irony in the movement and claimed that the communication systems and demographics

encountered culminated in several points of criticism; despite this, they still aligned themselves with Occupy Johannesburg.

2. **Aggressive justification** – This theme showed a lashing out from certain sections of the group: those appealing to the obviousness of the lack of focus through confident, assertive, and aggressive justifications. These people invented a ‘you’ (real or fictional) and used this you as the enemy, the threat to their movement. Member positions were driven by perceptions of being misunderstood, perceptions that their social arrangement and interactions were superior to the norm, and members did not discuss the value of Occupy, it was inherently assumed.
3. **Denial** – These persons denied any lack of focus and sought to ‘protect’ the Occupy position. Statements were highly defensive here but misled as assumptions about the value of focus (and other phenomena) were made but were in contrast to the official stances held by the Occupy Movement.
4. **Straddling the fence** – Statements under this theme were vague, contradictory, and without any clear stance. There was a move towards the relative safety between positions as well as an unveiling of confusion and lack of understanding of the movement to which these people subscribed.

In sum, when respondents were asked to defend their movement in the face of the common criticism that it lacked focus they: (1) covertly agreed, claiming that its processes were flawed and it required focus, although they remained dedicated to its causes; (2) aggressively pushed back at such criticism, invented enemies to attack, and felt misunderstood; (3) attempted to protect their movement through a general denial of any flaws but employed contradictory arguments and ironic statements that were not aligned with the Occupy position; (4) were vague, confused, and unclear – sought the safety of not taking up a position.

When Occupy Johannesburg members were required to respond to the question of whether or not their movement differed from other such movement worldwide, two groups emerged:

1. **Yes** – These responses differed but most appealed to economic, social, and historical issues that identified their movement uniquely while creating a special place for it due to the struggles it faced. Attitudes were pro-Occupy but fashioned a space in which Occupy Johannesburg was even more necessary and justified than other movements, positions that were in contradiction to the Occupy stance as one global movement was espoused, not unique identities for regional ones.
2. **No** – Those claiming that their movement did not differ stated very similar reasons for their responses. They showed great solidarity and faith in Occupy as well as its

notions such as the existence of 'one world citizen'. Members spoke collectively ('we', 'us', 'together') and were confident and unaffected by the line of questioning, they were conclusive and undivided.

Overall there were two camps: one that placed emphasis on the Occupy Johannesburg movement through creating a special, more necessary and justified place for 'their movement'; and another that was dedicated to the global collective, one in which members confidently viewed themselves as forming part of a greater social shift.

When members were asked to personally motivate why they involved themselves with the Occupy movement, 3 distinct themes emerged in response:

1. **Unfair World Argument** – This was a very strong theme and one that produced highly emotive appeals to 'fairness'. Perceptions unfair world systems brought forth great idealism and statements about reparations for the good of humanity. Members commonly appointed themselves as the bringers of such justice and remained behind a cover of benevolence. Many statements were laden with emotive imagery that incorporated counter-intuitive arguments and ones that were incongruent with the Occupy position.
2. **Socialist Argument** – A sub-set of socialist-based arguments that flowed with socialist rhetoric and were positioned to 'educate' regarding the benefits of a more radical economics, particularly one laden with socialist premises. Few actually broached their reasons for motivation in joining Occupy, they were rather determined to advance the socialist philosophy. It appeared as if the Occupy platform had been used to some extent as a pedestal from which to preach another philosophy, that of socialism.
3. **Personal plight argument** – In this instance all motivations were exclusively personal in nature and were pre-occupied with the micro and the lived experiences of the self. A self-pity was obviously mixed with micro-systemic woes (job issues, problematic financial positions, familial upheaval etc.) while the macro-scale was almost entirely ignored. People did not speak collectively or in 'Occupy-type' language, this was more of a personal protest.

When asked to motivate why they would involve themselves with the Occupy Movement, three distinct groups arose: (1) those who believed that the world's systems were inherently unjust and unfair and who were emotionally and firmly motivated by the possibility of assuming the position of 'bringer of justice', although these people showed certain incongruences with the Occupy positions; (2) those who scarcely mentioned a motivation but rather delved into the benefits of various socialist

philosophies, it appeared as if they were attempting to find a socialist voice through the Occupy platform; (3) those who were motivated by the micro-scale lived experiences, they were involved due to their own thoughts of personal suffering and/or plight at what they perceived to be the hands of major social systems.

Finally, the onus was placed on Occupy Johannesburg members to reveal what their utopian societies might look like should they be allowed to build new norms in an experimental community. Four threads of responses were analysed and interpreted:

1. **Orthodox anarchy** – This included stark and explicit calls for anarchy in which societies exist without the presence of any overt power structures. There was a belief in the innate ability of human beings to govern themselves with equality of power. Anarchy was assumed as socially valuable.
2. **Anarchic socialism** – This represented a fusion between the anarchy that was expected as a finding and the socialism that was a surprising finding. The socialist arguments were fused into a marriage that was more structured than anarchy, yet less power-laden and political than practical socialism. There were calls for freedom of public enterprise, social welfare, lowered regulations and less rigidity of law, with socialist tendencies backing the few power structures that remained.
3. **Advancing through a decentralized civil society** – These claims did not adhere to a clear philosophy or recognisable school of thought. A special position was held for society's capacity to advance without large scale governments or corporate interest. Emphasis was placed on family and community systems; relatively decentralized systems were espoused without making mention of anarchy or other social systems. This group was vague in how such actions might take place but they projected a directed series of claims towards allowing civil society's organisms and entities to drive small scale economics without big business or the nation state.
4. **Fundamental equality and freedom** – This was a theme that held roots across the study but flourished when respondents were given the opportunity to express it through the hypothetical question. Many members believed in a form of social homeostasis in which freedom and equality would result in the best and most adaptable outcomes for societies without the presence of regulation and institutionalization. It was believed that individual life advances should occur naturally and by choice through social flexibility. There were calls for the eradication of formal jobs and taxes with the idea that human communities will find their own moral and political balances without modern governance.

Summarily, when asked what their ideal communities might appear in an ideal world, the sample claimed that preferred norms would be characterized by: (1) orthodox anarchy in which the well-established principles of anarchy-based philosophy would reign, in particular this referred to great breakdowns in punitive, legislative, and governing structures; (2) a marriage between principles of anarchy and those of socialism, a form of anarchic socialism in which flexible, less powerful, and less restrictive forms of socialist philosophy might form the norm; (3) the creation of an emphatic space for civil society and small communities and families to form the natural backbone of societies sans the presence of any particular authorities or established social philosophies; (4) fundamental equality and freedom in which all people progressed at their own pace, were not subject to the powers and norms of other people or bodies, were free to shift and evolve as they naturally saw fit, and social balance could be established continually without interference.

When quantitative and qualitative data were combined in the cluster analysis it was interesting to note that I was able to select only 4 clusters, 3 of which were considered significant. In particular I believe that cluster 3, which consisted of half of the main sample, was an emergence that spoke to the homogenous nature of Occupy Johannesburg, not merely demographically but in perspective and outlook. They were highly skeptical of social institutions and loathed current socio-economics while subscribing to views that revealed a lack of resolve for the movement and many misunderstandings of it; placing their own movement on a proverbial pedestal as being somewhat more justified, special and relevant; espousing beliefs about the unfairness of the world and promoting themselves as solvers of the problem of worldly unfairness; and subscribing to a socialist-anarchist fusion with a desire to decentralize society into smaller communities characterized by reduced institutionalized impositions. This group was followed in prevalence by cluster 2 which was defined by a communal belief that Occupy Johannesburg was a small part of a global movement; once again anarchy and socialism were fused towards becoming a fix for a perceived unfair world. Cluster 1 then followed in terms of numbers of members and was distinct in that politics and socio-economic systems of today were abhorred; members had not resign themselves to accepting Occupy approaches; and orthodox anarchy was the main order of the day without mixing in any socialism.

Overall, this group of predominantly White, male, youthful, educated people had joined the Occupy Movement in the aftermath of great financial strife the world over. While their demographic reflected those of other movements, a point that had been leveled against them and they themselves also recognized, a further factor that they had in common with foreign counterparts was a general dismay with, and untrusting attitude towards, all social institutions (with none being spared). While this youthful

band of protestors joined together with a mutual distrust of anything institutionalized and any system or idea that made them subjects of it, they held divergent opinions on what exactly they despised and why. Fueled by anarchy and, surprisingly, principles of socialism, the group often grappled with what their movement was and exactly how to encounter it with its lack of direction and clear manifesto. I believe that this was the cause for diminished support and attention for the movements over time as the media, the average person, and the individual protestor were all confused by the movement. Even those who attempted to defend it found themselves crossing the movement as they looked towards inventing meaning and creating foci while others had attempted to derive their own 'movement-within-the-movement'. The movement was based on anarchist desires for a certain revolution and operated loosely in line with that goal but it appears as if this ironically also contributed to its downfall. Interestingly, this sample also believed that proper anarchy was too extreme and not entirely workable.

The sample here, as well as the samples from other studies, revealed a desperate dissatisfaction with modern living and related impositions. They appeared to feel it within their own lives and the lives of others through personal strife and sensations relating to the injustices of the macro-level systems of the world. While opinions diverged on details, all craved greater freedom and a shift away from modern political and capitalist structures. It would appear that the youth, particularly the educated youth in many countries, no longer finds solace, comfort, sensations of progress, or desires for involvement with great political, national, corporative, or legal systems, as has been revealed by the major allegiances that Occupy created – particularly as access to information increases and global systems and institutions become viewed not as truths but as artificial object of knowledge, fashioned by the zeitgeists and socio-political milieu of the day. It would appear that the Occupy Movement did just that, it mass questioning of today's world.

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