See you on Wall St. Sept 17.
Bring Tent.

Occupy Wall Street, Framing, and Mobilisation

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Abstract

The phenomenon of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) has been widely discussed in the academic and popular discourse. Of its many contributions, the language of the Occupy Movement has had a profound influence on contemporary discussions about inequality – contrasting the '99%' with the '1%' is now a permanent part of the conversation. However, despite this discursive shift, the literature has yet to seriously consider how the ideational elements of OWS influenced its mobilisation. While changing the dominant discourse is an important achievement, mobilising collective action around a cause remains an essential task for social movements.

To explain social movement mobilisation, this thesis utilises the framing perspective, which seeks to understand why and how certain ideas are able to inspire or inhibit collective action. By using qualitative analysis of movement texts over time, this thesis has constructed the key frames articulated in selected OWS documents over the course of its serious efforts to mobilise. More specifically, it has examined whether changes in the movement's use of diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity frames can explain the trajectory of mobilisation. The central argument is that the framing perspective can offer a plausible explanation for the mobilisation of OWS; a correlation between changes in framing and expected changes in mobilisation can be observed. However, while the findings of this thesis fill one important part of the puzzle, in order to corroborate the arguments put forward here future research must consider the way the frames proffered by OWS were actually received and acted (or not acted) upon by potential participants. By doing so, we can not only gain a more perceptive insight into this topical phenomenon, but also improve our understanding of the nature and dynamics of contemporary social movements.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Enter Occupy Wall Street

Nearly five years ago, on July 13, 2011, Canadian magazine *Adbusters* issued the call to occupy Wall Street on September 17. The posters asked "Are you ready for a Tahrir moment?" drawing parallels with the Arab Spring protests in Egypt which had toppled Hosni Mubarak, and using the viral social media hashtag #OCCUPYWALLSTREET, Occupy Wall Street (OWS) prepared to descend on the financial district in New York City and set up camp. What was the movement protesting? Essentially, OWS sought to draw attention to the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), its social and economic consequences, and the political response to the crisis. What did the movement want? OWS's demands included, but were certainly not limited to, an end to politics dominated by financial interests, and a serious conversation about social and economic inequality, the consequences of the present economic system (which had been exposed by the financial crisis), and the strength of democracy in the US. OWS and the subsequent proliferation of the Occupy Movement worldwide remain fresh in the academic and popular imagination. The language of the 99% and the 1% has dominated conversations of inequality ever since. But did OWS achieve anything substantive other than altering the dominant discourse on inequality? While this achievement has undeniably had a profound influence, the movement has often been criticised for its lack of a prognostic agenda for change. Moreover, if OWS's ideas were indeed as powerful as is suggested, why was it unable to mobilise collective action on a scale that might have led to serious institutional or policy change? Appraisals of the movement often highlight that compared with other protest movements, the numbers participating in OWS were comparably low (See Rawlings, 2012). If OWS managed to draw attention to inequality in a way that recent social movements had failed to do so, why could it not translate this new found interest into mass mobilisation around the movement's cause? These questions, about the ideas and arguments of OWS – the way the movement *framed* itself – and how this might have affected the movement's mobilisation, are what motivate this thesis.

Scholars of social movements have begun to assess and analyse the emergence of the Occupy Movement (See for example, Benski, Langman, Perugorría, & Tejerina, 2013; Langman, 2013; Tejerina, Perugorría, Benski, & Langman, 2013; van Stekelenburg, 2012), and there is a growing body of literature looking specifically at OWS (See for example, Brucato, 2012; Calhoun, 2013; Catalano & Creswell, 2013; DeLuca, Lawson, & Sun, 2012; Jensen & Bang, 2013; Rowe & Carroll, 2014). The study of social movements can generally be broken down into three central dynamics: resource mobilisation, political opportunity, and the framing perspective. Resource mobilisation contends that when movement activists attempt to create collective action their successes are consistently related to the greater presence of available resources in their broader environments (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004); political opportunity explanations generally refer to the reconstructing of some power relations that creates an "opening" for protest to occur (Einwohner, 2003, p. 652; Kriesi, 2004); and finally, the framing perspective seeks to understand and illuminate the generation, diffusion, and functionality of mobilising and counter-mobilising ideas and meanings (Benford & Snow, 2000); it examines what encourages people to participate in protest, by studying framing processes, which are used to create, develop, and interpret these ideas and meanings.

In the case of the mobilisation of OWS, the literature has already paid attention to questions of resource mobilisation. For example, several studies have examined the way it used social media as a mobilising resource (Conover, Ferrara, Menczer, & Flammini, 2013; DeLuca et al., 2012; Gaby & Caren, 2012). Scholars have also begun to examine the way political opportunity helps explain the mobilisation of OWS (Langman, 2013; Taylor, 2013; Tejerina et al., 2013). However, no extant literature has utilised the framing perspective in a systematic way to appraise the movement. Furthermore, no studies have thus far conducted a detailed analysis of texts produced by the movement itself to address questions of framing.[1] Of course, the study of how ideas are 'framed' is important to many

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[1] Both Taylor (2013), which discusses OWS, and Pianta (2013) which examines the response to the GFC in Europe (including Occupy movements), consider questions of framing, however, neither are based in a systematic framing analysis. Jensen & Bang (2013) analyses

academic disciplines; however, as the motivating interest here is the mobilisation of OWS, the social movement framing perspective (hereafter, referred to simply as the framing perspective), offers itself as a salient body of literature for this inquiry. The next section of this introductory chapter will discuss the research question, and briefly outline my theory, methodology, and argument; the final section will outline the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Research Question and Approach

This thesis seeks to provide a deeper understanding of the factors affecting the mobilisation of OWS. More specifically, it asks if the framing perspective can be used to understand the trajectory of participation across the movement's most sustained efforts at mobilisation – a period of almost ten months, from July 13, 2011 to May 1, 2012. While recent literature has begun to consider other notable features of OWS's mobilisation, such as the use of social media, there is clearly a gap in the academic understanding. Because the ideas of OWS constitute such a significant part of how the movement is remembered - ideas such as the 99% versus the 1%, or opposition to Wall Street, banks, and corporations' corrupting influence on politics, or even the idea of occupying public spaces – it seems essential that we understand how framing contributed positively and negatively to mobilisation.

The term frame was first imported into the sociological discourse by Erving Goffman (1974, p. 21): "Frames are … Schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large." Therefore, frames are about meaning construction (Snow, 2004; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986). They are ways of explaining ideas, issues, or events to individuals, and furthermore, understanding how these different ways of explaining things will be received in different ways. The social movement literature uses the term 'collective action frames', as the purpose of social movement frames are to inspire

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the identity of OWS participants on twitter, and considers how the identity of a movement can influence mobilisation.

and encourage collective action in order to achieve social change. [2] Various framing processes create, develop and enhance these collective action frames, and social movement organisations (SMOs), such as OWS, use the various framing processes to construct collective action frames.[3]

There is extensive literature on the many framing processes used by SMOs to create collective action frames (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986). Based on arguments about what ideational factors contributed to mobilisation, suggested by the extant literature on OWS (discussed in Chapter 2), I have selected the core framing tasks of diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing (Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow & Benford, 1988), with an additional task of identity framing (Gamson, 1992a), as the most relevant framing tasks to assess in the case of the mobilisation of OWS.[4] These four types of frames constitute my independent variables, with the dependent variable clearly being mobilisation – meaning the number of people participating in collective action organised by OWS. While Benford and Snow's three core framing tasks have dominated contemporary framing scholarship, this thesis demonstrates the need to more specifically consider identity in a way not fully captured by the former three framing concepts. While there are no current studies that have systematically examined the effects of framing (at the movement-level) on OWS's mobilisation, there are several examples of framing studies of other social movements concerned with how framing affects mobilisation (See for example, Einwohner, 2003; Halfmann & Young, 2010; Hewitt & McCammon, 2005; McVeigh, Myers, & Sikkink, 2004; Mika, 2006).

My methodological approach utilises qualitative frame analysis (Johnston, 1995, 2002, 2005), based on the examination of movement texts. I analysed a sample of 70 texts created and disseminated by OWS. The texts were retrieved from three key movement sources: *Adbusters* magazine, occupywallst.org, OWS's main

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[2] The term collective action frame helpfully distinguishing the term from its many uses throughout academic and popular discourse. However, as this essay focuses solely on social movement framing, I use collective action frame and frame interchangeably.

[3] To clarify the distinction between these terms, OWS is a SMO, whereas the Occupy Movement could be considered more broadly as a social movement.

[4] The four framing processes are fully explained in Chapter 3.

website, and the website of the movement's main 'governing' body, the New York City General Assembly. There is a notable lack of research that has based its examination of OWS on analysis of actual movement texts, [5] which raises questions about the nature of previously articulated claims about the ideas and arguments of OWS. In addition to closely analysing movement texts, I have followed the recommendations of Johnston (2005) by visualising my construction of OWS's framing. This allows for more perceptive comparative analysis across the types of frames proffered, and across time. Nevertheless, challenging the dominant approach to visual frame construction (see for example, Gerhards & Rucht, 1992), I do not present the frames of OWS in a hierarchical, argumentative form, but have instead utilised *word-maps* which allow claims to be made about the emphasis on certain ideas and frames – within (and across) the framing tasks – instead of emphasising the logical coherence of OWS's argument.[6] In doing so, this thesis explores new ways to visually construct frames for analysis that previous framing research has not seriously considered.

With this concise description of the theoretical and methodological approach used for this inquiry in mind, this thesis specifically seeks to achieve three main objectives. Firstly, I intend to gain a deeper understanding of the main types of frames used by OWS to communicate its messages and ideals. What types of frames did OWS emphasise? Did it, as its critics claim, fail to offer any concrete solutions? More importantly, does the attention OWS paid to each relevant framing task explain why mobilisation did or did not occur? Secondly, in addition to examining the core framing tasks, I will further add to this deeper understanding by studying OWS's activity longitudinally, which allows my analysis to reasonably account for the dynamic and evolving process of framing. Do changes in framing across OWS's attempts at mobilisation explain why it was successful or unsuccessful? Or in the case that frames do not change significantly over time, what factors can possibly explain the change in mobilising capacity of OWS's frames? Finally, to reflect on the arguments regarding the former two objectives, I endeavour to assess the utility of the framing explanation as a whole.

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[5] Kern & Nam (2013) and Rohgalf (2013) are notable exceptions, although it should be noted that Kern & Nam's contribution considers the Occupy Movement, not OWS.
[6] The details of my methodology are fully discussed in Chapter 3.

How plausible is this explanation for understanding the mobilisation of OWS? Attending to these three tasks means that this thesis can not only provide more perceptive insight into the case of OWS, but also contribute to the theoretical and methodological refinement of the framing perspective itself.

In light of the systematic framing analysis of OWS I have conducted for this thesis, I argue that the framing perspective does provide a plausible way to understand the mobilisation of OWS. More specifically, in response to the first objective, the evidence suggests a clear correlation between the types of frames proffered by OWS and the changing trajectory of its mobilisation. Moreover, my analysis of movement texts over time found that changes in framing over the distinct phases of action also correlated to changes in mobilisation, further adding weight to the assertion that framing affected the mobilisation of OWS. Thus I also contend that systematic framing analysis based on movement texts, and conducted over time, is a useful theoretical and methodological approach for the study of social movements and mobilisation.

Nevertheless, there are evidently some important limitations to the arguments of this thesis. By basing my analysis purely on movement texts, this provides a construction of the frames intended by OWS itself. However, this is only part of the framing perspective, and, arguably, the most important part is how frames are received and acted (or not acted) upon by potential participants (Johnston, 1995). Thus, to corroborate these findings it would be necessary to conduct a reception-analysis of the way frames were received by the public. Some literature has examined OWS participants, such as Catalano & Cresswell's (2013) cognitive linguistic analysis, or Jensen & Bang's (2013) examination of OWS participant Twitter activity, however, none of this literature has been primarily interested in questions of framing. Moreover, in addition to OWS and its real or potential participants, other important actors must be considered which engage in framing activity that can enhance, or in many cases inhibit the efforts of social movements, such as the media (Cottle, 2011; DeLuca et al., 2012; Gamson, 1995; Gottlieb, 2015).[7]

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[7] These limitations are discussed further in Chapter 3, with regards to the methodological implications, and in Chapter 5, in the discussion of the findings.

Therefore, in summary, the research contained in this thesis undoubtedly provides further insight into the case of OWS, and provides plausible evidence in support of its argument, albeit with some obvious limitations. Future research should attend to these additional necessary steps so that a comprehensive understanding, in both the academic and popular discourse, of the role of framing in the case of this influential SMO can be achieved.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

The thesis will be structured as follows. Chapter 2 will provide a descriptive account of OWS, review the existing literature on the factors affecting its mobilisation, and introduce the framing perspective, explaining why (and how) framing is important for mobilisation. Chapter 3 will outline my theoretical framework, state my hypotheses, and explain my methodological approach. Chapter 4 will present the findings of my framing analysis of OWS movement texts. Chapter 5 will discuss these findings, and consider their limitations. Chapter 6 will conclude by summarising the thesis, evaluating its contribution, and suggesting potential areas for future research.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This thesis intends to explain how the framing of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) affected its mobilisation. Before closely analysing the relevant texts in order to construct the movement's frames, a summary of OWS's pertinent features is helpful. While the movement is still fresh in the imagination, definitive analyses have been hard to produce, certainly regarding the outcomes of the movement (Benski et al., 2013; Mitchell, 2013b). Nevertheless, the wider academic literature, both social movement and the social sciences more generally, has begun to discuss, critique and analyse the movement, and the literature has made arguments about the success and failure of OWS. More specifically, the literature argues that the ideational features of the movement – the way it *framed* itself and its messages – were determining factors in its mobilisation. By conducting a systematic framing analysis of OWS, I can begin to assess the plausibility of these claims.

This chapter is structured as follows: The first section will provide a concise overview of OWS; the second section will review the literature on OWS, focusing on the arguments about framing as a determining factor for successful collective action; and the final section will briefly review the framing perspective literature, explaining why framing is a significant factor for social movement mobilisation.

2.2 Occupy Wall Street: A Descriptive Account

I will discuss the specifics of my analysis of OWS in my methodology section (Chapter 3, §3.5), and Chapter 4 will consist of a close reading of the important documents and materials produced by the movement; however, it is important

to ground the subsequent literature review with some relevant descriptive details.[8]

The call to occupy Wall Street was made on 13 July 2011, in the 97th issue of Canadian magazine *Adbusters* – although the idea had been raised prior to this date.[9] The message of this call to action was simple: Occupy Wall Street on September 17. The editors of the magazine, Kalle Lasn and Micah White, were the masterminds of what would become OWS (Yardley, 2011), however, once the initial idea was floated, individual activists and groups, such as the New York City General Assembly (NYCGA) took over the task of coordinating and organising the protests. In other words, if *Adbusters* provided the inspiration, the NYCGA and other community groups provided the ground game that made OWS a reality (Kroll, 2011).

OWS intended to draw attention not only to the consequences of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and the subsequent political response, but also to the impotence of the post-crisis conversation. It wanted to expose the levels of inequality in contemporary society, and what it argued was the capture of politics, and the democratic system, by financial and corporate interests. As a protest movement, some features of OWS are important to mention. Based on what it saw as the need for "real" democracy (See Roos & Oikonomakis, 2014), the group aspired to develop non-hierarchical, horizontal governing structures (Harcourt, 2013), as these open and transparent procedures were more responsive to their democratic impulses (Brucato, 2012; Smith & Glidden, 2012). Decisions would be made by consensus, and no 'one' spoke for the movement. OWS had a stated unwillingness to produce concrete institutional or policy demands.[10] As Mitchell (2013a, pp. 102-103) argues, the Occupy Movement

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[8] This is, of course, an oversimplified account of OWS. For more detailed profiles, there are plenty of excellent sources. See especially, Calhoun (2013), and also, Schwartz (2011). OWS is also still active on its website: see occupywallst.org.

[9] For example, an *Adbusters* blog post by Kono Matsu from February 2011, was titled "A Million Man March on Wall Street." *Adbusters* renovated their website in late 2015, and many links to old posts no longer work (the former post being one such example). Appendix 1 provides further explanation on this issue.

[10] From those involved with OWS, the argument for not proposing policies was that this allowed the group to avoid "reconstructing oppressive relations of power"; by proposing concrete solutions, the movement would have become those demands, and if the demands were not met, the movement would have failed (Harcourt, 2013, p. 61; See also Lakoff, 2011).

shows the world it wants in its presence as a nascent community; it opens up a space in which "innumerable demands can be articulated".

Summarising the timeline of action, following the initial call on July 13, protests began on September 17. Expecting the demonstrators' arrival, New York police prevented access to Wall Street – the initial plan had been to take over the former site of JP Morgan Chase's headquarters, just north of Wall Street (See Kroll, 2011, p. 19). In response the group moved to nearby Zuccotti Park, promptly renaming it "Liberty Plaza". The group occupied this area over the next two months, staging protests at various locations around New York City. On October 15 – the aptly named "global day of action" – iterations of OWS popped up across the US and around the globe, taking on the names of their respective places of occupation. Nonetheless, despite increasing media and popular attention, coupled with improving levels of collective action, OWS was evicted from Zuccotti Park on November 15 (See Schwartz, 2011). The result of this, however, was most likely the opposite of that desired by the local authorities: on November 17 OWS staged their largest protest yet. This day proved to be the peak of the movement's mobilisation.

After November 17, some of the focus moved to other specific movements, such as Occupy Oakland or Occupy London.[11] Moreover, winter conditions and general fatigue set into OWS, resulting in low levels of mobilisation over the winter months. In the New Year, OWS attempted to revitalise. Yet, its efforts failed to mobilise collective action of any significance. The "Spring Offensive", the occupation of Union Square, and "May Day" (May 1, 2012), could not match the levels of participation seen in the first two months. As declared by *Adbusters* on May 24, 2011: "Occupy Wall Street is now dead".[12]

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[11] For a helpful overview of the 'Occupy Movement' (as opposed to OWS), see van Stekelenburg (2012). OWS was the first iteration of the Occupy brand, and was responsible for establishing much of its ethos. I have chosen to focus specifically on OWS for this reason. However, examining the transnational elements of the Occupy Movement is another important area of for scholarly attention (See Halvorsen, 2012; Roos & Oikonomakis, 2014), particularly with regards to the framing perspective. As Calhoun (2013) reminds, OWS was part of an international wave of mobilisation.

[12] See https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/occupys-spiritual-quest/.

2.3 Factors Affecting the Mobilisation of Occupy Wall Street

This chapter intends to review how the literature has explained this initial increase, and subsequent decline in mobilisation. Much of the literature has focused on the outcomes of the Occupy Movement, particularly regarding the discourse shift on inequality achieved by OWS (Amenta, 2012; Dixon, 2012; Gamson, 2012; Giugni, 2012; Harcourt, 2013). More critical observers have suggested that beyond changing the conversation, the movement failed to achieve its intentions or any significant change (Roberts, 2012; Sorkin, 2012).

When focusing on the factors affecting mobilisation, the extant literature has offered arguments along the three broad areas of interest for social movement research – resource mobilisation, political opportunity, and framing. Current scholarship has tended to emphasise resource mobilisation frameworks in explanations of mobilisation. The literature has extensively debated the effectiveness of the tactic of 'occupy' as a mobilising resource (See Calhoun, 2013; Gitlin, 2013; Pickerill & Krinsky, 2012; Roberts, 2012; Rohgalf, 2013; Taylor, 2013). Associated with this, scholars have also questioned the broader appeal of OWS's emphasis on "prefigurative politics"[13], critiquing the focus on horizontal and participatory organisational structures as highly problematic, both for achieving lasting change, and more importantly, as a reason for its declining levels of mobilisation (Benski et al., 2013; Dean, 2012; Langman, 2013; Roberts, 2012; Rohgalf, 2013; Smith & Glidden, 2012).[14] The role of the police in mobilising participation and support for OWS has also been suggested. The literature argues that police actions both served to demonstrate OWS's messages, and to attract attention and sympathy (Calhoun, 2013; Kristof, 2011; Mitchell, 2013a, 2013b; Pickerill & Krinsky, 2012; Rowe & Carroll, 2014). Further, as mentioned in Chapter 1, there has been much academic interest in the use of social media for movement mobilisation (Jensen & Bang, 2013; Theocharis,

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[13] In the words of Rohgalf (2013, p. 163), "the prefiguration of a democracy of the many is rather a dead end." The mainstream media at the time was generally critical of OWS's form and structure (see for example, Avlon, 2011; Kristof, 2011).

[14] Smith & Glidden (2012) point to the 'tranny of structurelessness' (an idea initially coined by Jo Freeman). In the initial stages, OWS held General Assemblies every day (sometimes multiple times).

Lowe, Deth, & García-Albacete, 2015; van Stekelenburg, 2012). Some studies have considered opportunity structures, pointing to the fact that prior to OWS there had been no major protest following the 2008 banking collapse and subsequent bailout in the US, suggesting that the conditions were ripe for protest (Calhoun, 2013; Gitlin, 2013; Langman, 2013; Roberts, 2012), although it is clear that resource approaches have been more prevalent in the literature thus far.

The literature does make arguments about the ideational elements of OWS and how these affected its mobilisation, albeit with the emphasis more regularly put on resource, or in some cases, opportunity explanations for understanding the initial rise and eventual fall in participation. Importantly, framing explanations interact with the other two dynamics of social movement mobilisation. As Dixon (2012) writes, "While people are fed up with politics as usual, it is still difficult for many to make sense of and engage alternative political forms like OWS, even while agreeing with many of the issues," indicating OWS's use of certain resources may have been unpopular; and as McCammon (2012) suggests, "One signal that the disgruntled American population has sent to Occupy protesters is that many are uncertain about what the movement stands for, what its goals are, and what it hopes to achieve," which shows that while the opportunity for protest may have been there, the wider public were unsure that participation in OWS was the optimal outlet for their discontent.

More specifically, there are five main arguments (areas of framing) that the literature proffers as influencing OWS's mobilisation: the issues highlighted and the attribution of blame; the lack of a clear prognostic agenda; the idea of 'occupy'; emotional and moral aspects to OWS's image; and finally, the movement's identity. Because this literature has not utilised the framing perspective in a systematic fashion, the accuracy of these claims are questionable; however, these arguments provide hypotheses about OWS that this thesis can confirm or correct. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the lack of studies systematically examining framing partly explains why the literature has tended to emphasise other explanations.

1. Inequality and the 99%, Wall Street and the 1%

In terms of encouraging participation, the literature argues that OWS's focus on inequality, helped by the movement's most popular slogan "We are the 99 Percent", and its targeting of Wall Street, banks, and the influence of these institutions on politics were effective mobilising ideas (Amenta, 2012; Benski et al., 2013; Calhoun, 2013; Gitlin, 2013; Langman, 2013; Tejerina et al., 2013). The discourse shift from deficit reduction and austerity to inequality and joblessness explains why OWS was able to tap into the latent anger about the GFC. Framing the conversation in such a way was more effective because OWS spoke to the readily observable disconnect between the affluence and exuberance of Wall Street traders and the struggles of the wider working population to retain their jobs and homes, and students leaving university with substantial debt and an uncertain future (Amenta, 2012; Beck, 2013; Calhoun, 2013; Gitlin, 2013). Drawing attention to inequality also resonated because it was associated with a collapse of social mobility (Gitlin, 2013), and the humiliations and loss of dignity associated with joblessness and inequality (Langman, 2013).

The literature extensively discusses what is generally considered the main driver of the mobilising potency of OWS's focus on inequality, the movement's most prolific slogan, "We are the 99 Percent" (Pickerill & Krinsky, 2012; Rowe & Carroll, 2014). It perspicuously communicated the issue of inequality, demonstrating the degree to which economic prosperity during the neoliberal era had been disproportionately accumulated by those at the top (the 1%). Moreover, it helped to facilitate collective action by creating a clear sense of identity and solidarity (Pickerill & Krinsky, 2012). It was a populist message which was more powerful in inviting those within the 99%[15] to be sympathetic toward and engage in mobilisation (Calhoun, 2013). The literature also noted the ability to easily translate and communicate the 99% slogan. This proved particularly useful in influencing media coverage (Byers, 2011; van Stekelenburg, 2012, p. 255).

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[15] Because of inconsistency in both OWS's and the literature's use of the percentage symbol when discussing the 99% frame, I have endeavoured to always write both terms using the symbol to avoid confusion (i.e. 99% and 1%).

In addition to its framing of the issues, the literature also contends that aspects of the movement's attribution of blame were successful mobilising ideas. As shown in their analysis of the Occupy Movement, van Stekelenburg (2012) argued that the desire to address an opponent that had violated a bystander's values was one reason to join the protests. In contrast to protests in Europe which had targeted governments for the financial crisis, OWS framed Wall Street, banks, and corporations, all under the label the '1%', as responsible for the crisis and the movement's wider criticisms of society (Calhoun, 2013; Taylor, 2013; van Stekelenburg, 2012).[16] This counterpoint between the 1% and the 99% emerged as the dominant frame for OWS (Taylor, 2013). Moreover, because it targeted the relationship *between* finance and government the movement was able to expose the collusion between the two which had allowed the financial crisis to occur (Amenta, 2012; Gamson, 2012; Gitlin, 2013, p. 13; Roberts, 2012, p. 757). Of course, the strategic occupation of Wall Street dramatised their critique. So, as can be seen in these instances, while the latent anger provided an opportunity for OWS, it was the way the movement changed the discussion to focus on inequality and the institutions it targeted that captured people's attention.

Furthermore, Rowe & Carroll (2014) discuss the role of the interactions with police in OWS's rise and fall, which can be interpreted as an ideational element of the movement. The police were also used to symbolise the 1%, violently suppressing those who wanted to challenge the status quo. The occupation of public space actually served to demonstrate the political and coercive control of these places by government and "forces of order" (Calhoun, 2013, p. 29; Mitchell, 2013a, 2013b). As Mitchell (2013a) elucidates, these public places are in fact "preoccupied" by the State and police.

Nevertheless, despite some ideational features of OWS regarding its framing of the issues and/or targets of protest being seen as positively contributing to mobilisation, the literature argues that others were counterproductive. In terms of identifying a culpable party for the GFC, while the concept of the 1%, and

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[16] As Calhoun (2013, p. 33) explains, "even though European protests were grounded in a sense of indignation the financial crisis greatly exacerbated, they generally did not target finance as such but government handling of financial issues. Occupy Wall Street shifted the focus … [and] this basic matter of framing was crucial."

OWS's presence at the key financial institutions did make the target of protest more cogent, the nemesis of the crisis – global capitalism – remains "conspicuous" to some extent (Gitlin, 2013, p. 7). Beyond capitalism, OWS seemed to target politics in general, or the 'system' as responsible (Castells 2015; Harcourt, 2013).[17] The literature purports that this attack on everything, was confusing for potential participants, as it was unclear who (or how many actors) OWS stood against.

2. OWS's lack of prognosis

The academic literature has debated the merits of OWS's unwillingness to adopt or issue a coherent agenda for change.[18] Those sympathetic to OWS emphasised that they wanted to challenge the system – not recreate it (Chomsky, 2012; Harcourt, 2013; Lakoff, 2011). The demand was simply to change the system, so it was for the 99% rather than the 1% (van Gelder, 2011). Nevertheless, from the point of view of mobilising the public, the academic literature generally agreed that failing to articulate a prognostic agenda negatively influenced mobilisation. Without the presence of an extended strategy, OWS was unable to convert its victories into action with long-term potential (Calhoun, 2013; Gitlin, 2013; Roberts, 2012; Sears, 2014). Without knowing the movement's alternative proposals for the state and economy, incessant debate about the demands of the movement will prevent any change to the status quo (Roberts, 2012, pp. 760–761), and draw attention away from the more successful elements of the movement.

3. Occupy as an end in itself

Mitchell (2013a) suggests that OWS demonstrated an alternative type of community, arguing that 'occupy' has a not only a temporal dimension, *but also*

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[17] As Harcourt (2013, p. 69) explains, there was not a singular 'enemy' for OWS to target; unlike the Arab Spring protests, there was not similar 'adversary', such as a powerful political figure, to overthrow in the US.

[18] In the mainstream media this criticism was far more potent. OWS's lack of agenda became a major talking point in the media across the political spectrum, and frequent way to brush off the movement (See for example, Avlon, 2011; Kristof, 2011).

a rhetorical one. In this sense, OWS saw 'occupy' *as an end in itself*; it was used by OWS as both a tactic and frame (Benski et al., 2013; Gitlin, 2013). 'Occupy' should have been interpreted as the movement's alternative vision; however, some of the literature contends that this also explains why it failed to mobilise lasting collective action. This emphasis on prefigurative politics clearly limited the broader appeal of the movement (Rohgalf, 2013). Despite normative arguments for consensus democracy, as an experiment in self-governance, designed to demonstrate the potential of such models, OWS produced mixed results (Dean, 2012; Roberts, 2012). The goal of the movement was inevitably to persuade a broader public that it should collaborate in expanding the anarchist experiment, however, as the months pressed on, fewer and fewer people joined the movement (Roberts, 2012). Also, as Dean (2012) argues, the coalescing on name and tactic repressed the debate over what change the movement wanted to see (See also Gitlin, 2013; Smith & Glidden, 2012). Thus, this attempt to frame OWS as an alternative for society was not seen as a successful mobilising idea.

4. Emotion and morality

Some of the literature has argued that emotive and moral language has played a decisive factor in movements such as OWS (Benski et al., 2013; Lakoff, 2011; Langman, 2013; van Stekelenburg, 2012). van Stekelenburg (2012) argues that experiential emotions such as anger, resentment and frustration that act as amplifiers are a reason people decide to join protests. As Langman (2013, p. 515) explains:

> "Framing is an essential aspect of claims making and mobilisation that in turn shapes the goals of social movements. In order to affirm the bonds of solidarity between members and attract new members, to engender the hope that animates such movements, it is necessary to frame reality in ways that appeal to the emotional needs of members and potential members – as well their moral outlooks."

Lakoff (2011) views OWS as a "moral movement": "It seems to me that the OWS movement is moral in nature, that occupiers want the country to change its moral

focus." Rowe & Carroll (2014, p. 165) contend that OWS was able to capitalise on the actions of police to attract sympathy to the movement. Widely publicised incidents of police brutality created a "dramatic narrative of will, sacrifice, and heroism that proved compelling for media and audience alike. By October 1, significant amounts of moral authority had been won by OWS."

5. OWS's identity

Alongside issue and culpability frames, the identity of OWS is the most commonly discussed ideational factor contributing to its mobilisation. As van Stekelenburg (2012) suggests, identifying with the group at stake is a reason to protest. However, while some aspects of OWS's communication of identity were seen as effective mobilising ideas, the general theme in the literature is that the movement's definition of identity was confusing. The success of the 99% idea for explaining OWS's identity is debated. One line of argument suggests that the 99% was a unifying identity frame (Bennett, 2012). By posing the situation as the 99% opposed to the 1% it created a distinct sense of unity (Brucato, 2012; Gamson, 2012; Pickerill & Krinsky, 2012) This gave people a collective *vocabulary* for articulating frustration (Gitlin, 2013, p. 7). Moreover, the use of an idea like the 99% versus the 1%, rather than primarily attacking the neoliberal system that many saw as responsible for the GFC, allowed OWS to avoid putting their arguments in traditional political ideology, which would have enabled the inclusion of those who did not favour that particular analysis but still recognised the growing and dangerous levels of inequality (Bennett, 2012; Calhoun, 2013).

However, problems were raised with the 99% as a mobilising idea. By virtue of its name, the 99% requires the 99% to act: it will only be successful in achieving lasting social change if it manages to mobilise collective action by the silent majority (Benski et al., 2013; Brucato, 2012; Gitlin, 2013). Gitlin (2013) maintains that part of the reason for OWS's initial success was the way the slogan of the 99% facilitated the "verve" between the inner movement (core activists) and the outer movement (wider public, the 99%); however, this relationship quickly began to decay. After November 17, a major decline in support over the winter months occurred. In August 2012, a US survey showed that 48 percent of

people did not identify "at all" with the Occupy or the 99% movement (Gitlin, 2013, p. 22).[19] As Gitlin (2013) purports, while those within the movement maintained their allegiance, those on the outside (the ultimate targets of mobilisation) had lost interest. Furthermore, concerns were raised about how the concept of the 99% struggles to address the diversity within that group (Smith & Glidden, 2012).

Looking at those who did participate in OWS (who purportedly represent the 99%), it was clear the movement was successful at mobilising those affected by the GFC: unemployed, young people, students, the vulnerable and disenfranchised (Benski et al., 2013; Giugni, 2012). As interpreted by Brucato (2012, p. 79), the types of interests represented by OWS included those of distressed homeowners, people of colour, women, noncisgendered persons, small farmers, low-wage workers, college students, manufacturing workers, the uninsured and underinsured, privacy advocates, journalists, victims of police brutality, alternative energy advocates, and prisoners.

The second central feature of OWS's identity considered in the literature is the movement's anarchist, horizontal ethos (Benski et al., 2013; Brucato, 2012; Langman, 2013). In addition to the constraints of horizontal, consensus decision-making, there was a confusion between this and the group's determination to remain unpartisan, and the literature suggests that the strategic attempt to frame the movement as populist was unsuccessful. As purported by Dean (2012, p. 53) the "aesthetics of the protests are left-wing: occupiers look like hippies, radicals, and hipsters … OWS is clearly on the side of the oppressed, on the side of a part of the people, on a partisan side." The movement was discussed as unambiguously left-wing in the academic literature (Rowe & Carroll, 2014), and comparisons to the Tea Party movement were often alluded to (See for example, Amenta, 2012).[20] However, OWS's vociferous rejection of traditional political engagement meant distancing the group from traditional political ideologies and distrust of politicians left and right (Benski et al., 2013; Harcourt, 2013; van

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[19] 18 per cent of the survey identified with Occupy, half of them strongly, with 27 percent identifying 'a little' – giving a pro-leaning of 45 percent (See Gitlin, 2013, p. 22).
[20] Mainstream commentators regularly categorised the movement as a left version of the Tea Party (See for example, Avlon, 2011; Indiviglio, 2011)

Stekelenburg, 2012).[21] Moreover, despite well-elucidated anarchist principles (see for example, Chomsky, 2012), this allowed it to be labelled a radical left-wing movement. Active participation of intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky and David Graeber inevitably fuelled this public perception. There are also debates over OWS's relationship with other movements and groups (Roberts, 2012; Rowe & Carroll, 2014). Again there are tactical elements to this point regarding the utility of forming alliances with other groups; however, there is also a framing dimension in that an ambiguity about with whom OWS stood makes it difficult for potential participants to make sense of the movement.

2.4 Framing and Mobilisation

The final section of this chapter explains the significance of framing for social movement mobilisation. As established in the introductory chapter, no major studies of framing in relation to OWS currently exist. So, while the above literature explains why the movement's arguments, its interpretations of situations, issues and events, and the ways it communicated these may or may not have resonated and/or contributed to mobilisation, these explanations are not grounded in a systematic framing analysis. In the light of comprehensive and exhaustive reviews of the framing perspective literature (Benford & Snow, 2000; Johnston & Noakes, 2005; Snow, Benford, McCammon, Hewitt, & Fitzgerald, 2014), there is no need for an extensive discussion of the entirety of this area of scholarship.[22] Nonetheless, I will summarise the main features of the approach.

As introduced in Chapter 1, the term 'frame' was incorporated into the discipline by Erving Goffman and the term 'collective action frame' is now used when discussing frames produced by social movements. Two scholars in particular,

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[21] Harcourt's (2013) distinction between "civil" and "political" disobedience is useful here. Civil disobedience involves resistance that engages with present institutional and policy structures; political disobedience involves resisting those very structures themselves. As Harcourt explains, OWS clearly belongs to this latter category.

[22] Benford & Snow (2000) remains exceptional for its coverage of the extant research, both theoretical and empirical, up to its time of publication. Johnston & Noakes's (2005) edited volume, adds more to the former, drawing on the work of multiple scholars. The latter, Snow et al. (2014), provides an insightful reflection on the history of this literature, with useful suggestions for future research. In all three, the reference lists provide direction to almost all of the salient research in this field.

David Snow and Robert Benford, have worked extensively on the theoretical refinement of collective action frames, and the related framing processes that produce them. Clarifying the concept of collective action frames, Snow & Benford (1988, p. 137) further define them as "interpretative schema that simplifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences and sequences of action," thus organising experience and guiding action by "rendering events or occurrences meaningful" (Snow et al., 1986, p. 464). Collective action frames are created by social movement organisations (SMOs) in order to present their interpretation of situations, events, and issues. This takes place in a discursive realm, where meaning can be contested; it "is negotiated, debated, modified, articulated and reformulated. In short, in the collective action arena as within the wider cultural milieu, meaning is socially constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed" (Benford, 2011, p. 71). [23] Social movements have the power to alter these discourses (Benford, 2011; Castells, 2008; Dryzek, 1999), however, as shown in Tilly & Wood (2009), the relative salience of claims varies significantly among social movements, among claimants within movements, and among phases of movements.

According to the framing perspective, some of this variance can be explained by examining the different collective action frames utilised. SMOs "frame or assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilise potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support and to demobilise antagonists." (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 198). As previously discussed, there is a wealth of scholarship that studied how framing affected mobilisation in other cases (Einwohner, 2003; Halfmann & Young, 2010; Hewitt & McCammon, 2005; McVeigh et al., 2004; Mika, 2006; Pedriana, 2006; Zwerman, Steinhoff, & della Porta, 2000).

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[23] This also signifies the dynamic nature of framing activity: it "denotes an active, processual phenomenon that implies agency and contention at the level of reality construction." (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). The use of the verb 'framing' emphasises the interactive, emergent qualities of the process of developing and disseminating collective action frames. The relevance of this point is discussed further in Chapter 3.

What this theoretical and empirical literature shows is that there are two general conditions that affect the mobilising capacity of collective action frames. Firstly (if slightly obvious), SMOs need to actually articulate the core framing tasks. These are conceptualised as diagnostic framing, which involves defining a problematic situation and the cause(s) of the situation; prognostic framing, which involves articulating the proposed solution to the problem; and motivational framing, which involves giving people a reason to join a particular movement (these framing tasks are fully explained in Chapter 3).[24] Secondly, the variation in mobilising capacity can be explained by the concept of frame resonance.[25] In order to recruit participants, movement organisers attempt to align movement frames with those of potential recruits. In general, Noakes & Johnston (2005) describe frame resonance as the relationship between a collective action frame, the aggrieved community (the target of efforts to mobilise), and the broader culture. The contention is that potential recruits are more likely to accept frames if they both 'fit' with their own experiences and beliefs (discussed in the literature as salience), and if they are empirically credible (Benford & Snow, 2000, pp. 619–622).[26]

Salience involves three factors: the centrality of frames, experiential commensurability, and narrative fidelity. Centrality considers how essential the beliefs, values and ideas associated with the movement frames are to the lives of the targets; experiential commensurability considers whether movement framings are congruent or resonant with the personal, everyday experiences of the targets or mobilisation, or if the framings are too abstract and distant from the experiences of the target participants; and finally, narrative fidelity considers to what extent the proffered framings are culturally relevant. Credibility also involves three factors: consistency, empirical credibility, and the (perceived)

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[24] For two informative studies empirically assessing these core framing tasks, see Cress & Snow (2000) and McVeigh et al. (2004).

[25] See Benford & Snow (2000 p. 618-622) for their full discussion of the "variable features of collective action frames". I have only considered frame resonance, primarily because these features have not been operationalised in a systematic way. It should be noted it is not the only variable feature, although it is arguably the most important. My inclusion of resonance is primarily to add to the subsequent discussion of my findings in Chapter 5.

[26] Hewitt & McCammon (2005, p. 38) convincingly argue that resonance must also consider the concept of 'balance'; mobilisation capacity can be decreased if a frame resonates well with existing values but fails to pose a cogent oppositional argument, or vice versa, by challenging dominant structures but failing to tap into widely held beliefs.

credibility of articulators. Consistency involves avoiding real and perceived contradictions; empirical credibility asks whether frames are 'realistic', which considers whether there is an apparent fit between the claims made by frames and events in the real world, and, perhaps most importantly, whether targeted adherents believe the empirical credibility of frames; and finally, the credibility of articulators contends that the higher the (perceived) credibility of the leaders, activists and participants of a social movement, the more plausible and resonant the movement's ideas will be.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief descriptive account of the case in question, has reviewed the extant literature on OWS's mobilisation, and has summarised how the framing perspective explains mobilisation. The current literature on OWS has argued that the way the movement changed the conversation about the GFC, and its framing of Wall Street and finance (or more generally, the 1%), were successful mobilising ideas, albeit with some concerns regarding the number of issues and targets of blame which might have explained why mobilisation faltered. The literature also contends that OWS's lack of prognosis, and its desire to convey 'occupy' as an end in itself had negative consequences for mobilisation, and discusses the role of emotions and morality in OWS's framing. Finally, it pointed to some confusion over who, and what, OWS stood against, and ambiguity in the movement's identity, and how this may have encouraged or discouraged participation.

While explanations of framing as a determining factor in mobilisation have been explored, there has been no systematic application of the framing perspective to OWS. Therefore, this raises questions as to how compelling the explanations of OWS's initial success, and eventual decline in collective action are; questions that this thesis begins to address.

3. Theory and Method

3.1 Introduction

The framing perspective offers an insightful lens through which to assess the mobilisation capacity of the ideas and arguments of Occupy Wall Street (OWS). Chapter 2 presented the literature's claims about those ideational features of OWS that were successful at encouraging collective action, and those that were unsuccessful. Drawing on these arguments this chapter will outline my theoretical framework, and detail my methodological approach. This thesis utilises a qualitative analysis of movement texts in order to construct the collective action frames of OWS, or more specifically, diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity frames.

The chapter is structured as follows: the next section will introduce the relevant theoretical concepts to analyse the questions raised by the literature review, and present my hypotheses; the third section will discuss some important theoretical and methodological concerns raised by the framing literature, and explicate how I intend to compensate for them; the penultimate section will introduce and explain my method; and the final section will detail the data sources and parameters of the inquiry.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

Chapter 2 suggests that the general picture of the mobilisation of OWS was one of initial success (increasing levels of collective action), followed by declining levels of participation, a failure to remobilise, and an eventual collapse. Consequently, I would expect to see either notable changes in the types of frames proffered by OWS or a change in the mobilising capacity of these frames that accounts for this course of mobilisation. More specifically, the most salient types of frames to examine can be discerned from the arguments made in the extant literature. The literature discussed OWS's ideas regarding the issues and targets

of blame, suggesting that these largely had positive effects on mobilisation. It also argued that OWS's desire not to present clear proposals and solutions to the problems they were protesting had demobilising effects. People were unsure what the movement stood for. Moreover, it was claimed that OWS's plan of attack was unpopular; potential participants did not gravitate toward the model of 'occupy'. Concerns with both the diagnosis and prognosis which emerged from the literature suggest that OWS had difficulty convincing potential participants (who may have agreed with its interpretation) of the movement's efficacy. Nonetheless, the literature does discuss the use of emotions and morality in OWS's message, suggesting that it did engage in efforts to convince people to participate. The final main contention from the literature is that OWS's framing of identity was unclear – who the movement stood for, and who its target participants were.

There has been extensive work refining and elaborating the theoretical concepts of the framing perspective. Early work in the perspective focused on the overlapping processes that were used to generate, and enhance a social movement organisation's (SMO) frames (Snow et al., 1986), and on developing the concept of master frames (Snow & Benford, 1992). The role of other actors in the framing process such as antagonistic movements (Benford & Hunt, 2003), or the media (Gamson, 1995) has also received growing attention. Significant attention has been devoted to the concept of frame resonance which is widely discussed in the literature, both theoretically (Benford & Snow, 2000; Noakes & Johnston, 2005; Snow & Benford, 1992), and empirically (See for example, Hewitt & McCammon, 2005), although as Hewitt & McCammon (2005) realise, there has perhaps been an excessive focus on frame resonance amongst studies of framing. There are undoubtedly potential and important research questions regarding these concepts, however, it is necessary to prioritise the most relevant and useful theoretical concepts. It is also beyond the scope of this thesis to address all aspects of the framing process,[27] and in a practical sense, there are

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[27] These other potential lines of inquiry are considered in Chapter 6.

constraints which limit my ability to analyse certain framing processes in a compelling fashion (discussed further below).[28]

The general framing arguments identified above correspond to four constitutive types of collective action frames. The 'core framing tasks' present themselves as the most salient theoretical concepts to utilise. As originally posited in Snow & Benford (1988), collective action frames are constructed in part as movement adherents negotiate a shared understanding of some problematic condition or situation they define as in need of change, make attributions regarding who or what is to blame, and articulate a set of arrangements, and urge others to act in concert to affect change (See also Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 615). The three corresponding core framing tasks of a collective action frame are conceptualised as diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing.[29] As argued by Snow & Benford (1988, p. 199), the "variation in the success of participant mobilisation, both within and across movements, depends upon the degree to which movements attend to the core framing tasks." (See also Cress & Snow, 2000, p. 1071). Beyond these core framing tasks found in Snow and Benford's work, I also include a concept of identity framing (Gamson, 1992a, 1992b).[30]

Diagnostic framing involves identifying the cause of an issue or an event and focuses blame and responsibility. This framing task is important because if social movements seek to alter some problematic situation or issue, it thus follows that directed action is contingent upon identification of the source(s) of causality, blame, and/or culpable agents (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 616). It helps shape how an issue is perceived, and in identifying culpable parties it also identifies the targets from which the outcomes are sought (Cress & Snow, 2000). Based on the suggestions of the literature I expect to find that OWS devoted extensive attention to diagnostic framing and that the diagnostic frames it communicated

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[28] For example, contested processes, such as *frame disputes within movements* (See Benford, 1993a), would have required analysing more than one SMO for a substantive contribution. Similarly for *counter-framing* (See Benford & Hunt, 2003), this would have also required studying multiple framing actors.

[29] See Benford & Snow (2000, pp. 615–618), and also Noakes & Johnston (2005, pp. 5–7) for helpful and thorough discussion of these concepts.

[30] See Gamson (1992a, pp. 7–8) for a discussion of identity framing. See also Noakes & Johnston (2005, p. 6).

were effective for mobilising collective action. However, I also predict that there will be issues regarding who (and how many actors and issues) OWS stood against.

Prognostic framing involves the articulation of the proposed solution to the problem, or at minimum a plan of attack, and the strategies for implementing the solution(s). Put simply, it presents a solution to the diagnosis. It is an essential part of the framing process because it proffers both specific solutions and goals for the SMO to work toward, and the means to achieve such objectives (Cress & Snow, 2000). Moreover, an important empirical finding is that the identification of specific problems generally constrains the range of possible "reasonable" solutions and strategies advocated (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). Further, prognostic framing by SMOs typically includes refuting the logic and efficacy of prevalent solutions or those advanced by opponents (Benford & Hunt, 2003; Benford & Snow, 2000; Zuo & Benford, 1995). The literature generally conveys that OWS lacked a prognostic agenda, so I expect to find that OWS did not devote much attention to prognostic framing, and also that OWS communicated an ineffective plan of attack based solely on the idea of 'occupy'.

The final core framing task, *motivational framing,* involves the construction of appropriate vocabularies of motive through discursive, communicative action – it involves giving people a reason to act. This framing process complements the substantive claims of the diagnostic and prognostic frames, providing a rational for participating in ameliorative collective action (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 617), or as Gamson (1992a) explains, it refers to developing a sense of 'agency'. Benford (1993b) breaks this broad concept down into four generic components: severity, urgency, efficacy and propriety. Benford demonstrated that, as with diagnostic and prognostic framing, the campaigns of SMOs are contingent in part upon the social construction of vocabularies of motive and the adoption of rationales for participation. Importantly, without careful construction of these vocabularies, unsuccessful motivational framing can produce *demobilising* effects (Benford, 1993b, p. 204). Based on the literature I expect to find the presence of motivational frames emphasising morality, but I also predict that OWS's motivational framing was unable to effectively communicate why the

movement was worth joining. While the literature raised the role of emotion in movements such as OWS, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to substantively assess this factor.[31]

In addition to these framing tasks, to account for arguments in the literature about OWS's identity, I have also included *identity framing* in my theoretical framework. McVeigh et al. (2004) found in their analysis of Ku Klux Klan mobilisation that despite resonant diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames, the movement's "exclusionary boundaries" frustrated its attempts to achieve political gains, demonstrating the significant impact the identity of a movement can have on its mobilisation. On a theoretical level however, Snow and Benford's core framing tasks appear to lack a clear 'identity' component; it is unclear as to how this would fit into diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational framing (based on the above interpretations). Another prolific scholar in the framing perspective, William Gamson, conceptualises the basic concepts of a collective action frame as *injustice, agency,* and *identity* (Gamson, 1992a). While the injustice and agency components largely align with the diagnostic and motivational concepts, I contend that a distinct identity component adds something not fully realised by prognostic framing. As defined by Gamson (1992a, p. 8), identity refers to the process of defining a 'we' typically in opposition to some 'they' who have different interests or values.[32] Collective action requires a 'we' who will help to bring desired change about, and without an adversarial component, the potential target of collective action is likely to remain an abstraction. Drawing on the claims made about OWS's identity, I expect to find that OWS framed its identity successfully around the idea of the 99%. However, this unifying and inclusive frame was also mired with contradictions, such as the movement's radical aims, and also by a wider ambiguity in who OWS's target participants were – in other words, who actually constituted the 99%.

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[31] Recent literature has highlighted the role of emotion in motivational framing (Halfmann & Young, 2010), and contributions such as Pearlman (2013) have astutely demonstrated the role of emotion in similar social movements, such as the Arab Spring. However, I have prioritised examining the four vocabularies of motive. Nonetheless, my preliminary findings regarding the latter did raise some questions for the current literature, which I reconsider in Chapter 5.

[32] Defining the 'they' is covered by the concept of diagnostic framing.

In sum, I will analyse OWS movement texts to construct the movement's diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity frames. My hypotheses regarding OWS's framing in general, and regarding the specific types of frames are realised as follows:

General Hypothesis:

H1. *Changes in either a) the types of frames, or b) the mobilising capacity of frames (resonance) can explain the trajectory of OWS's mobilisation*

Specific Hypotheses:

H2. *Diagnostic frames such as inequality, Wall Street, and corruption had positive effects for mobilisation*

H3. *The number of diagnostic frames OWS communicated had demobilising effects*

H4. *OWS's lack of prognostic frames had demobilising effects*

H5. *Framing 'occupy' as an end in itself had demobilising effects*

H6. *OWS framed itself as a moral movement (propriety), which had positive effects for mobilisation*

H7. *OWS's failure to communicate why it was worth joining (severity, urgency, efficacy) had demobilising effects*

H8. *Identity frames such as the 99% had positive effects for mobilisation*

H9. *Apparent contradictions between OWS's attempt to frame the movement as both populist and radical, for everyone but also more clearly for certain groups, had demobilising effects*

3.3 Theoretical and Methodological Reflections

The framing literature has faced many conceptual issues since its inception. Many of these were initially highlighted in Benford's (1997) 'insider critique' of the perspective. Benford (1997) noted a lack of *systematic* empirical studies amongst the framing literature. While there were many empirical studies of framing, there was a need for more comprehensive studies across cases, movements, and time. Moreover, Benford noted a failure of framing studies to

fully demonstrate that collective action frames (one of the central theoretical construct of the perspective) affect mobilisation; and this was partly because of a lack of 'negative cases', where framing(s) failed to stimulate collective action. This concern speaks to the case here, as many felt that OWS did fail, and as my thesis is a systematic empirical study of OWS over time, this also contributes in this area for improvement.

Also pertinent to this thesis is the implication that frames can be conceptualised both as an emergent cognitive process and as a fixed cognitive structure (Johnston, 2002, 2005). Identified by Benford (1997) as static tendencies, this area of debate has been on how to conduct frame analysis without sacrificing the essential nature of frames as contested systems of meaning that emerge and are developed through dynamic processes. As elucidated by Snow et al. (2014) the noun, frame, portrays these entities as fixed. However, they emphasise that framing is a verb. It is something that actors – social movements – do. Framing then, is not simply a task which involves creating the ways of explaining such ideas, issues or events: it is an "an ongoing, ever-changing and dynamic process" (Snow et al., 2014, p. 38). Stressing the 'emergent' qualities of a frame emphasises framing *processes* as the proper research focus rather than *collective action frames* themselves (Steinberg, 1998).[33]

However, as argued by Johnston (2002) frames also have content. This is because frames are understood as a cognitive schema and these structures and patterns can be constructed by the researcher. Also, most framing research uses survey or textual analysis to describe collective action frames, implicitly treating them as fixed structures captured in a moment of time. Of course, both approaches to frame analysis are important, and should not be seen as irreconcilable (See Johnston, 2002, p. 65). Focusing on the verb – *framing* – describes important activities in movement development, such as the way

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[33] As explained by Johnston (2005, p. 254), while Steinberg's (1998) critique denies the utility of an approach that constructs frames as fixed structures, it can be resolved by recognising that it is common that empirical observation in the social sciences involves a 'closest fit' trade-off between fine-grained measurement and costs of data gathering, constraints imposed by the research setting, and constraints driven from methodological strategies.

movements concentrate on marketing themselves through the various framing processes. Alternatively, and motivating the inquiry here, focusing the frame's content and structure reveals the interpretative repertoire of participants and leaders at a particular point in time during the movement's development. The latter approach requires the methodological artifice of "freezing the frame" (Johnston, 2005; Oliver & Johnston, 2005).[34]

To compensate further for static tendencies, framing can be studied longitudinally. Other empirical studies have shown the need to assess framing over time (See for example, Benford, 1993b; Hewitt & McCammon, 2005). As Johnston (2002, 2005) argues, framing studies benefit from (visually) comparing frame structures at different points in time, because this enables the researcher to trace relevant framing processes step by step. This permits more detailed examination, closely tied to the original data, about the components of the meaning system, which allows claims to be made about what changes over the course of mobilisation, such as positive and negative mobilisation outcomes (Hewitt & McCammon, 2005). As aforementioned, I am studying OWS over the course of its major mobilisation efforts in order to understand how the movement engaged in this dynamic and ongoing contest of meaning. Moreover, I have also presented my rendering of the respective framing processes visually to facilitate comparative analysis.

The last general theoretical and methodological consideration is the referent object of my framing analysis.[35] This thesis bases its analysis of OWS frames on texts produced by the movement; therefore, the referent object is the movement itself. This is more in line with the scholarship of Snow and Benford, who direct most of their attention to the "relationship between social movement entrepreneurs and their potential constituents" (Noakes & Johnston, 2005, p. 5), which focuses on the strategic activity of SMOs (See Benford, 1997; Benford & Snow, 2000; Snow, 2004; Snow & Benford, 1988, 1992; Snow et al., 1986).

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[34] Another justification for studying frame 'snapshots', as well as processes, is implicit in the nature of framing research; the background assumption is that they will help explain something, such as the success or failure of a movement (Johnston, 2005; Oliver & Johnston, 2005).

[35] For a helpful discussion of this consideration, see Noakes & Johnston (2005, p. 5).

This thesis utilises a relatively crude variable to measure the mobilising-capacity of OWS frames – namely, levels of mobilisation or the number of people participating in collective action. The findings of movement-level analysis, however, cannot be confirmed without reception-analysis, which would involve assessing whether the frames that movements created (and those that were identified by the researcher) were actually the reasons motivating people to participate or not. This type of framing analysis is in line with the work of Gamson who seeks to explain why individuals do or do not participate in social movements by examining meaning construction; it helps to understand the meaning systems available to people when interpreting political issues and the symbolic resources used by people to negotiate meaning in political contexts (See Gamson, 1992a; Gamson & Stuart, 1992; Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). As argued by Johnston (1995, p. 234), individual interpretive schema are the epistemological rock bottom of any framing activity. Framing by SMOs counts only insofar as it penetrates the 'black box' of mental life to serve as determinants of how a situation is defined, and thus acted upon. The need for reception analysis to corroborate the findings of textual-analysis has been noted in the recent literature (Halfmann & Young, 2010).

The available resources for me to utilise were the main reasons for not conducting a reception-analysis. Written in 2015-2016, the research for this thesis was conducted long after the period of mobilisation in question.[36] A potential option could have been to use quotes from interviews that were conducted with OWS participants. However, there were no relevant pieces of academic literature that had investigated or interviewed OWS participants utilising relevant research questions for this topic. More importantly, because part of the motivation for looking at this case is that the general perception of OWS's mobilisation is that it 'failed', drawing on quotes from participants would only give one part of the picture. Conducting interviews with those who did *not* participate would have been more insightful. The need to solicit the thoughts of the "uninitiated" is shown astutely by Mika (2006) who showed this can allow

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[36] Residing in New Zealand also adds to this complication.

the researcher to gauge the efficacy of recruitment efforts and resonance of movement frames. In addition to both movement-level and individual-level analysis, there are of course other framing actors that would be important for future inquiries to consider.[37]

Despite this methodological limitation, Johnston (1995, p. 220) maintains that frames can be accessed through the written texts of SMOs. Moreover, as Snow et al. (2014) show, analyses based on activist speech (text) are common in the framing literature, and there are several examples of framing studies concerned with mobilisation whose analyses are based on texts (See for example, Einwohner, 2003; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Halfmann & Young, 2010; Hewitt & McCammon, 2005; McVeigh et al., 2004; Mika, 2006). Nevertheless, accepting the implications of this limitation for the plausibility of my findings, I will return to discuss the issue further in Chapter 5.

3.4 Methodology: Qualitative Frame Analysis

The final two sections of this chapter explain my methodology. To reiterate, the independent variables are (changes in) diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity frames, and the dependent variable is mobilisation. This enables, somewhat crudely, an assessment of how the former types of frames affected the collective action of OWS and allows me to evaluate the plausibility of hypotheses presented in §3.2. I have operationalised my theoretical framework by employing a qualitative frame analysis approach, based primarily on the writing of Hank Johnston (1995, 2002, 2005).

Qualitative frame analysis uses discourse, or more specifically, 'text', as its primary unit of analysis.[38] The task is the specification of all sources of meaning: "all that is left implicit in a text, and all that is taken for granted in its interpretation." (Johnston, 1995, p. 220). Discourse refers to a "a shared set of

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[37] These possibilities are considered in Chapters 5 and 6.
[38] Because text is grounded in real-life situations and settings, it is more likely to generate the kinds of data that allow for the development of a richly detailed and holistic understanding of the phenomenon of interest (Snow & Trom, 2002, p. 151).

assumptions and capabilities embedded in language that enables its adherents to assemble bits of sensory information that come their way into coherent wholes." (Dryzek, 1999, p. 34). As pointed out by Johnston (2002, p. 67), the use of the plural form, discourses, is perhaps more appropriate. This emphasises that what is being discussed or acted on is never unanimous, but opposed, challenged, negated by various groups. There are multiple levels of discourse relevant for social movements (See Johnston, 2002; Klandermans, 1992), however, because this study focuses on OWS, a specific SMO, movement-level discourses (texts) are most pertinent.[39] This represents organisational discourse, where SMOs and their opponents practice persuasive communication (Klandermans, 1992). Production at this level comes from the activists, committees, and functionaries at various levels of the SMO, commonly intellectuals and movement leaders (Johnston, 2002, p. 68).

The relevant texts required to replicate the social nature of frames are social texts that are collectively produced and generally accepted as representing the group's position. These texts should be indigenously created (Snow & Trom, 2002), and include written documents; verbal behaviour such as conversations, speeches, slogans, songs; and sometimes visual representations, such as pictures and cartoons (Johnston, 2002, p. 65). As elaborated by Johnston (2005, p. 240), "These social texts would be, above all, movement documents, especially those offered by key movement organisations as position statements."[40]

After the relevant texts are selected, qualitative frame analysis utilises methods of data reduction and presentation to order a wide variety of written textual materials by categories that represent more general factors, and to identify patterns, linkages, and the structure of ideas, with this process based on the judgement of the researcher (Johnston, 2002). Verification and proof in frame analysis requires clear references to the texts on which frames or framing processes are based.[41] Of course, textual analysis must always balance its insights with the looming question of whether the text is representative enough to

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[39] This is often referred to as 'meso-level' discourse (See Klandermans, 1992).
[40] I explain my criteria for selecting texts in the next section.
[41] Although, distinguishing frame from discourse analysis, frame analysis offers less detailed reference to texts than discourse analysis (Johnston, 2002, p. 72).

generalise about its patterns (Johnston, 2002, p. 71), because the description of these frames is useful insofar as we accept the presumption that their content is widely shared by movement participants (Johnston, 1995, 2002, 2005).

Using the above method I identified the frames proffered by OWS and recorded the number of texts that mentioned or discussed each idea. These findings were recorded quantitatively, and tables detailing these results incorporated into Chapter 4 to complement the explanation of the findings. As well as providing the substantive evidence for my discussion, this quantitative data also allowed me to present my findings *visually*. Johnston (2005) makes a compelling case that systematic framing studies ought to present their interpretations of framing visually, citing prior research which has successfully done so (See Gerhards & Rucht, 1992). However, Johnston stresses that constructing frames should emphasise the logic of argumentation that constitutes these interpretations of meaning, based on the assumption that frames are received as a hierarchical cognitive structure (Johnston, 1995, 2005). For the inquiry here however, there are some concerns with this suggestion as it presumes certain intentions for frame analysis (such as questioning the coherence between a frame and ideology); this may not be helpful when the primary interest is simply the 'types' of frames proffered and, within these, the various ideas that constitute the broad types. More importantly, it is unlikely that individuals actually receive the content of the core framing tasks in such a structured manner. John Zaller (1992), in his analysis of the nature of mass opinion, argues that when people construct opinion statements they make the greatest use of ideas that are most immediately salient to them – at the "top of the head" – and this salience can be explained by which ideas have the widest dissemination in the media people are engaging with at the time. In the case of OWS, this suggests that the ideas used most widely in movement texts are of interest. If one was to read the texts produced by OWS, what ideas would be at the top of their head?

Therefore, instead of attempting to visualise OWS's framing in order to demonstrate the argumentative structure of its ideas, I have presented my

rendering of movement frames through *word maps*.[42] I have created two types of word maps: general and specific. The general word map represents the key frames across all the types of framing in a phase of mobilisation (diagnostic, prognostic, and identity).[43] If frames were discussed in 50 percent or more of the texts in a particular phase they were considered significant and were included on the general map. Following this, each frame type received a specific word map that included all frames and ideas that corresponded to a particular task. For example, the diagnostic frame map shows all of the issues in need of addressing and the targets of blame. Frames that were mentioned in 10 percent of texts in a particular phase were considered for the specific map, in order to give a more detailed picture than the general map. Furthermore, because I have studied framing across three phases, words (frames) are placed in similar positions (for both general and specific maps) across phases to allow for comparative analysis. Thus, the emphasis is not a hierarchical cognitive schema but a representation of all the different components of the core framing tasks, and more importantly, the varying significance of these components (which is shown through the relative size of the words). While Johnston's argument for visually presenting frames is compelling, I contend that it is also important for studies of framing to explore new and innovative ways of visualising constructions of framing.

A final consideration is that, when utilising qualitative methods, there are obvious concerns regarding researcher bias. Snow & Trom (2002, p. 156) also argue that 'researcher triangulation' is important, as it is often difficult for a single researcher to acquire a detailed, holistic understanding of the context in which the phenomenon of interest occurs. To address these concerns, I have taken three steps. A full list of the texts analysed is provided (Appendix 1), so that the reader can locate and assess the texts themselves for verification. Furthermore, in Chapter 4 I have included a tables detailing my main findings

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[42] Kern & Nam (2013) use a similar approach in their analysis of the collective identity of the Occupy Movement, although their method is more sophisticated in terms of its quantitative content analysis. See pp. 202-204.

[43] Because motivational framing largely complements the content of diagnostic and prognostic framing it was unnecessary to create an additional word map for this framing task.

numerically, which constitutes the primary evidence discussed.[44] Finally, in the presentation of my findings, I have endeavoured to include full quotes from the texts (where appropriate) so as not to alter the intended meaning.

3.5 Data Sources and Parameters

The final section of this chapter details the sources for my variables. I also discuss some general limitations and methodological concerns with the data I have utilised; in the subsequent chapter, where I present the findings of my analysis of OWS movement texts, I explain more specific limitations with the data for each phase of mobilisation.

As discussed above, the dependent variable employed here is OWS's mobilisation of participants at the New York site(s). This measurement is crude, but follows other literature that has studied the effect of framing on mobilisation using similar measurements, such as 'movement membership' (Hewitt & McCammon, 2005). Beyond the theoretical limitations, there were issues in finding reliable data for this variable. No comprehensive source detailing the numbers of individuals participating in OWS could be found.[45] Movement texts provided regular numbers but the accuracy of these claims is unclear. In the end, I relied on reports from reputable, mainstream news sources; where there was significant divergence in figures, I corroborated between multiple sources. A table detailing the mobilisation data can be found in Appendix 2.

The explanatory variables utilised are the four types of frames explained in §3.2: diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity frames. More specifically, because this study is conducted over time (discussed further below), examining how the frames produced by these framing tasks changed over the course of OWS's mobilisation is central. The frames created and developed by OWS are constructed from indigenous movement texts. Despite the limitations of studying

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[44] It was impossible to include all the findings in this thesis, however, a full breakdown of each frame by text can be accessed on request.

[45] Another issue was ensuring that numbers attributed to OWS did not include individuals participating in protests organised by other SMOs. There were several occasions were this was the case; relevant instances are discussed in the respective sections in Chapter 4.

frames derived solely from movement texts (explained in §3.3), as indicated above, my approach follows a large body of framing literature that is based primarily on movement texts. Texts were retrieved from several sources. The first source was the archive of *Adbusters* tactical briefings, which were mass emails to subscribers of the magazine; *Adbusters* was the central organisation involved in initially establishing and organising OWS.[46] The second body of texts were posts made to occupywallst.org, which was the movement's primary website for information after occupation began on September 17, 2011. The final source was the NYCGA website, which posted proposals and declarations adopted at the General Assembly.[47]

One concern worth considering is the confidence in deciding which texts were representative of OWS. As pointed out by Rohgalf (2013) it is hard to theorise the movement because it encompasses a range of disparate practices and ideas.[48] OWS defines itself as an anarchic, leaderless movement; thus, it is hard to be fully certain that materials come from 'movement organisers'. Moreover, both *Adbusters* and occupywallst.org began to extensively cover the entire Occupy Movement once the protests spread to other cities. To be as accurate as possible, it was imperative to separate texts that represented OWS from those that spoke to the whole of 'Occupy'. Furthermore, because SMOs produce numerous texts, and because textual analysis is so labour intensive (Johnston, 1995), it is necessary to reduce the size of the text sample.[49] Choosing which texts to analyse can be contentious, however, following Johnston (1995, p. 229), focusing on critical junctures in the movement, when the text is articulated particularly well, or when the text is highly representative, is generally the best approach. For this thesis, sampled texts were defined as clear **'position statements'**, which were either general statements about the movement, or about specific issues or proposals; the sample also included **'calls to action'**, which are significant because the ostensible target of these messages are those who are not currently

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[46] For a more detailed explanation of *Adbusters* role, see also Schwartz (2011).
[47] These selections also follow the extant literature (See Kern & Nam, 2013; Rohgalf, 2013).
[48] See Rohgalf (2013, pp. 152–153) for a helpful and relevant discussion of the constraints associated with studying OWS, based on indigenous movement texts.
[49] This was particularly pertinent for occupywallst.org and the NYCGA. Both of these sources contained several hundred posts during the time-period considered here.

participating, or in other words, target constituents. I read all texts[50] published to each of the three sources, and selected a sample of 70 texts, based on the above criteria (See Appendix 1 for the full list of texts).

The final methodological point regards the longitudinal aspect of this approach. As previously discussed, examining OWS over time reasonably compensates for the issue of static framing studies. Particularly for this case, it avoids seeing one text during OWS's mobilisation as representative of its interpretation of reality throughout the months of action, and further allows for comparative analysis across time – a central dimension of this study. Based on the observed trend in mobilisation levels over the (approximately) 10 months considered (and the data on mobilisation discussed above), I have split the period of analysis into three distinct phases. The first phase, "Pre-Protest", from 13 July 2011 to September 17, 2011; the second phase, "Initial-Mobilisation", from September 17, 2011 to November 17, 2011; and the final phase, "Declining-Mobilisation", from November 17, 2011 to May 1, 2012. The justifications for choosing these three phases are provided in their respective sections in Chapter 4.

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[50] There were issues regarding the availability of text data. Both *Adbusters* and the NYCGA website had links to texts that were no longer active. On the other hand, the occupywallst.org news archive had none of these concerns.

4. Findings

4.1 Introduction

The theory and methodology explicated in the previous chapter enables us to begin to assess whether or not the evidence confirms any of the hypotheses (H1-9) about how the framing of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) affected its mobilisation. In the following chapter, I will summarise the main findings from my analysis of the sample of texts published by OWS during three distinct phases of the movement's life. From these materials, I intend to construct a picture of the diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity frames created, developed, and propagated by OWS. In this chapter I will also note the differences and similarities between each of the phases, emphasising the extent of the variations in framing. The next chapter will analyse and discuss these findings.

This chapter will be structured around the three phases identified in Chapter 3. Each section will introduce the parameters of the phase, its relevant texts, discuss notable movement events and the levels of collective action (mobilisation), and present the general word map of key diagnostic, prognostic and identity frames (accompanied by a table). Following this, each section will specifically discuss diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity framing, also accompanied by tables detailing the results of my frame analysis, and the associated specific word map (where appropriate).[51] Through the discussion of each type of frame across the three phases of activity, we can get a sense of the dynamic and evolving process of framing.

4.2 "Pre-Protest" Phase: The Call to Action

I have labelled the first period of analysis "Pre-Protest". It begins July 13, 2011, the date when the "blog post that inspired Occupy Wall Street" was published (Adbusters 1). The period ends on September 17, 2011, the day the protests began.

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[51] As explained in Chapter 3, I have not created word maps for motivational framing, and the discussion of this framing task is based purely on the tables provided.

Texts for this period came from *Adbusters,* the central organisation involved in initially establishing OWS (Adbusters 1-7), and occupywallst.org, the main website for movement updates and developments (OccupyWallSt 1-3), giving a sample size of 10 texts.[52]

Because this period of analysis ends the day that the protests began, no significant mobilisation takes place during this time (not including the protest organisers or early gatherings, such as the early General Assemblies that were held).[53] However, this phase of movement building is still important to consider, as the assumption is that frames espoused during this time would have been the ones that encouraged the initial collective action. And, with the most successful period of mobilisation for OWS being the second phase (September 17 – November 17), constructing the initial framing of the movement should be insightful for understanding why the first two months achieved the levels of participation they did.
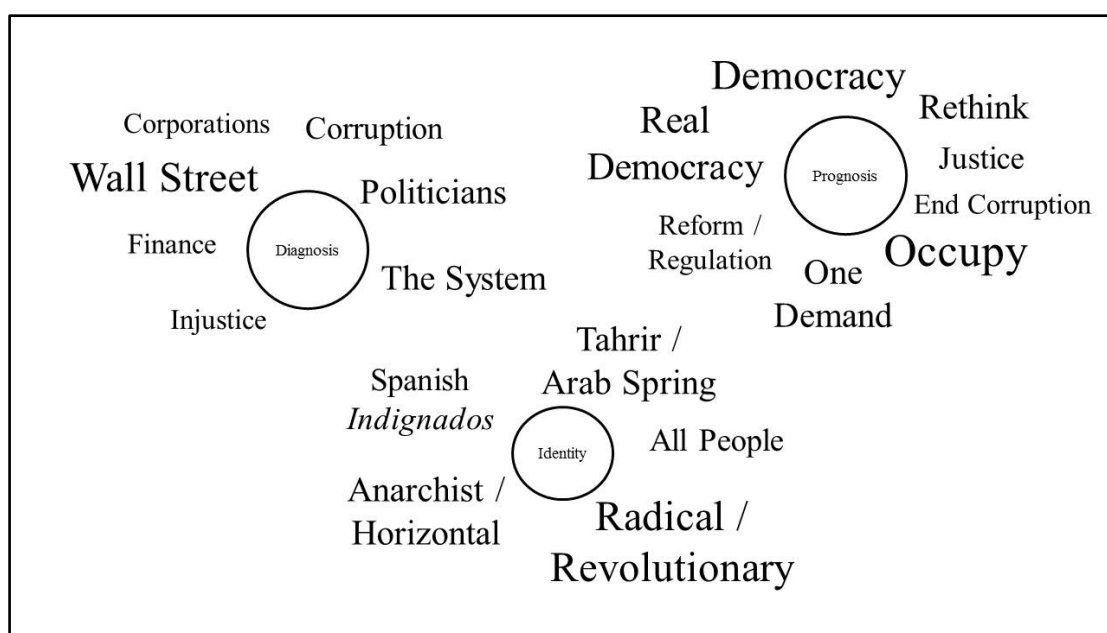
Figure 1 – Key Pre-Protest Frames (General Word Map)

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[52] See Appendix 1 for the full list of texts. Some ideas that became adopted at the movement-level were created by participants in separate online preparations, however, these were generally posted on the key sources. Nonetheless, when posts came from elsewhere, I have noted this.

[53] The first General Assembly was held August 2, 2011, with roughly 175-200 people attending. See https://occupywallst.org/article/august_2nd_wall_street_assembly/. This text was potentially helpful, but was produced by a movement that predated OWS.

Figure 1 presents the general word map of the Pre-Protest frames, and Table 1 details the key frames proffered by OWS that appear on the map, in order of significance. As explained in Chapter 3, the word map is not intended to show any argumentative or logical structure; it simply shows the most prominent frames and ideas espoused across the categories of framing in question: diagnostic, prognostic, and identity. Nevertheless, the relative sizes do indicate the significance of the respective components to OWS's framing during this period.

Table 1

Key Pre-Protest Frames		
Diagnostic	**Prognostic**	**Identity**
Wall Street	Occupy	Radical / Revolutionary
Politicians	Democracy	Anarchist / Horizontal
The System	Real Democracy	Tahrir / Arab Spring
Corruption	One Demand	Spanish *Indignados*
Corporations	Rethink	All People
Finance	Justice	
Injustice	End Corruption	
	Reform / Regulation	
Total No. = 7	*Total No. = 8*	*Total No. = 5*
Key = in at least 50% of texts		

4.2.1 Pre-Protest Diagnostic Framing

Diagnostic framing constituted a significant part of the framing activity of OWS in the Pre-Protest phase. Recalling the definition, this task involves identifying the cause(s) of the issue(s) that the movement seeks to address, and also includes identifying the target of protest – who or what is responsible for the former issue(s). Figure 2 presents the specific word map for the Pre-Protest diagnostic frames, and Table 2 details the results, broken down into targets and issues for convenience.
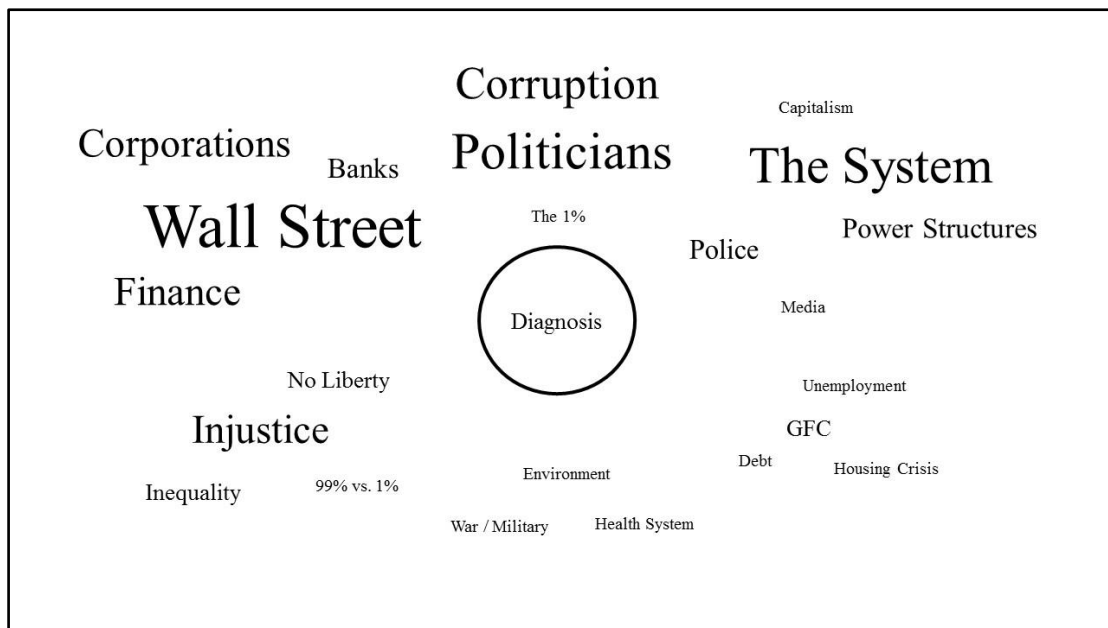
Figure 2 – Pre-Protest Diagnostic Frames (Specific Word Map)

Unsurprisingly, Wall Street represented the main target of protest, discussed in 90 percent of texts. Adbusters 1 labelled it the "financial Gomorrah of America".[54] Early galvanising slogans, such as the movement's popular social media hashtag, #OCCUPYWALLSTREET, cemented it as the key component of Pre-Protest diagnostic framing. In this formative phase, Wall Street was often used to represent the broader enemies of OWS, however, these other institutions did receive specific mention, with banks mentioned in 30 percent of texts, and both finance and corporations mentioned in 50 percent.

An idea of a corrupt political system also constituted a large part of Pre-Protest diagnostic framing (60 percent of texts). Adbusters 1 spoke about the idea of 'corporatocracy', which describes a democratic polis captured by corporate interests. This has been labelled a cause because not only do Wall Street, finance, and corporations represent the enemy of OWS, but their control of politics (and the unwillingness of political actors to reduce the power and influence of financial interests) represents another cause of the problematic situation. Elaborating on the corruption frame, OWS frequently blamed 'politicians' as responsible, often naming specific public figures. 70 percent of Pre-Protest texts

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[54] Gomorrah being the name of an ancient Palestinian town, burned with fire from Heaven for the wickedness of its inhabitants.

named either President Obama or New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg. In particular, these figures were criticised for being part of the problem. For example, Adbusters 4 and 7 both criticised Obama for staying in an expensive New York apartment, and holding a "$38,500 per-person fundraising event", when OWS was planning to begin protesting.

Table 2

Pre-Protest Diagnostic Frames			
Targets / Causes	**Percentage of Texts**	**Issue / Problem**	**Percentage of Texts**
Wall Street	90%	Injustice	50%
Politicians	70%	Inequality	20%
The System	70%	Loss of freedom	20%
Corruption	60%	The GFC	20%
Finance	50%	99% vs. 1%	10%
Corporations	50%	Housing Crisis	10%
Banks	30%	Debt	10%
Police	30%	Unemployment	10%
Power Structures	30%	Environment	10%
Media	10%	Health System	10%
The 1%	10%	War / Military	10%
Capitalism	10%		
No. of Targets = 12	*No. of Texts = 10*	*No. of Issues = 11*	*No. of Texts = 10*

The final significant frame that attributed culpability was an 'anti-system' frame, referred to in 70 percent of texts. In many instances, this was used in a broad and ambiguous manner – there was simply something 'wrong' with the system, and this was another cause for the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), and the wider economic and social issues facing society. OccupyWallSt 3 wrote that "inequality is inherent to the system", and that "money has always been part of the capitalist political system". Texts made reference to feeling caught by the current 'power structures' (Adbusters 1, 3; OccupyWallSt 3), showing that OWS clearly framed the system as a cause for the problematic situation it was protesting against. It is important to note that at this stage, there was no specific mention of neoliberalism in Pre-Protest texts, and despite the mention of the capitalism in OccupyWallSt 3, this was a notable exception.

OWS's Pre-Protest diagnostic framing also communicated a feeling of injustice,[55] noted in 50 percent of texts. Generally, the feeling of injustice was related to OWS's frustration with the system. OccupyWallSt 2 wrote that the movement wished to bring attention to the "human costs of our current economic set up". Notably, this injustice was not specifically connected to the GFC, which was only mentioned in 20 percent of texts. On this point, the injustice was based on the idea that those responsible for the crisis escaped punishment (See Adbusters 4).

Two other findings were notable. First was a general absence of inequality from OWS's Pre-Protest rhetoric, which was mentioned in only 20 percent of the texts. The 'We are the 99 Percent' slogan, OWS's most recognised idiom, originated during the Pre-Protest period, on a Tumblr blog post created on August 23, 2011, [56] and was reposted to occupywallst.org (OccupyWallSt 2). [57] Despite OccupyWallSt 2, however, there are no other mentions of the 99% or the 1%[58] concepts prior to the beginning of the protests, and these did not constitute a significant part of the movement's rhetoric in the Pre-Protest phase.[59]

Furthermore, as was the case with the injustice frame it should be noted that despite mentioning inequality, texts during the Pre-Protest phase did not go into substantive detail to explain the consequences of the GFC, or what OWS saw was wrong with society. Issues that were relevant to the GFC, such as the housing crisis, debt, or unemployment were all mentioned only once. A loss of freedom was mentioned in 20 percent of texts; OccupyWallSt 3 wrote that "Freedom has been stolen from the people." Moreover, while not widespread, opposition to the US military, the health system, and the progress on dealing with climate change were also mentioned (10 percent of texts).

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[55] Which should be distinguished from Gamson's "injustice frame", as that is used synonymously with diagnostic frame. My discussion of the injustice frame refers to an explicit expression of injustice, or a feeling of being 'wronged'.

[56] WE ARE THE 99 PERCENT http://wearethe99percent.tumblr.com/post/9289779051/we-are-the-99-percent. No author(s) is credited on the post, or website.

[57] While almost all texts from OWS were published by the author "OccupyWallSt", this post was published by a user named "chris".

[58] See p. 19, note 15 for comment on my use of the percentage symbol.

[59] One other post to occupywallst.org included a poster which had referenced the 99%, but there was no mention of this in the text so it was not considered. See http://occupywallst.org/article/august_9th_general_assembly/.
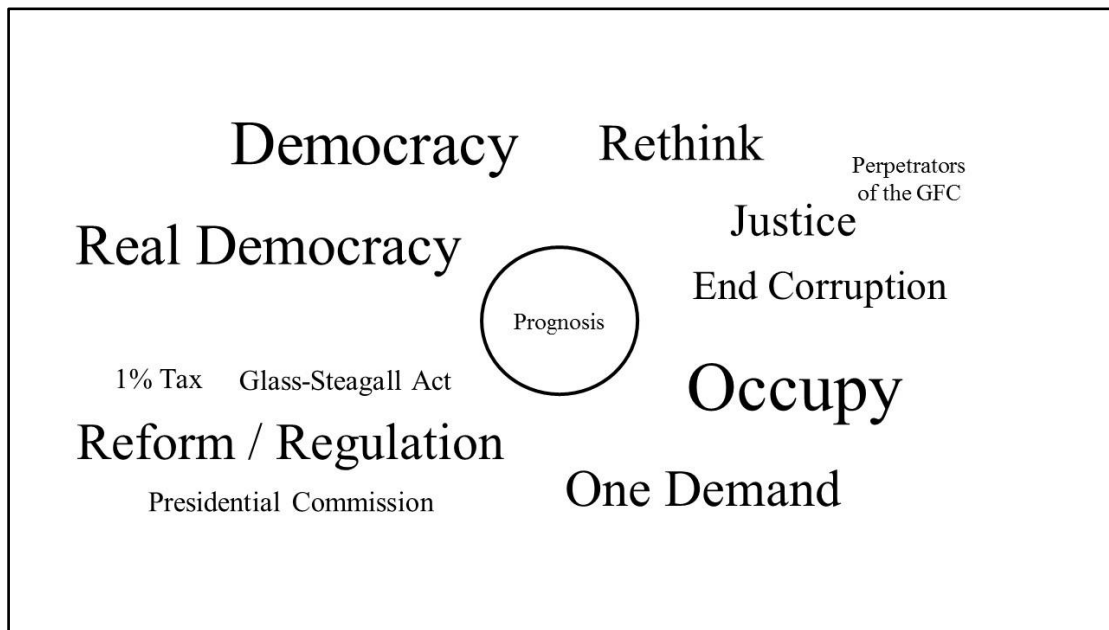
4.2.2 Pre-Protest Prognostic Framing

Figure 3 – Pre-Protest Prognostic Framing (Specific Word Map)

Contrary to expectations, Pre-Protest texts did articulate solutions to the problems described above; in fact, more prognostic frames are on the general map than diagnostic frames. However, it must be said that these solutions were in most cases grand, ambitious, and lacking in detail. Recalling the definition, prognostic framing involves articulating the proposed solution to the problem (in response to the diagnostic claims), or at minimum a plan of attack, and the strategies for carrying out the solution(s). It also involves refuting the logic or efficacy of extant or advocated solutions and systems promoted by opponents. Figure 3 and Table 3 present the findings regarding OWS's prognostic framing in this phase.

By far the most obvious aspect of OWS's prognostic framing was the idea of 'occupy' itself. This was framed as both the plan of attack and the solution, and it was discussed in 100 percent of the texts considered. Slogans such as #OCCUPYWALLSTREET both served to delineate the target of the protests, and also to demonstrate that 'occupy' (and its associated activities and actions) was central to the movement.

Table 3

Pre-Protest Prognostic Frames	
Solutions / Proposals	**Percentage of Texts**
Occupy	100%
Democracy	90%
Real Democracy	80%
Rethink	70%
One Demand	70%
Justice	60%
End Corruption	50%
Reform / Regulation	50%
1% Financial Tax	30%
Glass-Steagall Act	30%
Presidential Commission	30%
Perpetrators of GFC	20%
No. of Solutions = 11	*No. of Texts = 10*

Associated with the centrality of 'occupy', it was clear that OWS's main advocated solution was democracy. Ninety percent of texts described democracy as the way to ameliorate the problematic situation. The initial call to action loudly proclaimed: "It's time for DEMOCRACY NOT CORPORATOCRACY" (Adbusters 1). However, OWS was not simply calling for what would likely be the popular conception of democracy (in other words, representative democracy). Instead, OWS called for 'real democracy'[60], and this additional democratic demand was articulated in 80 percent of texts during the formative phase, describing it as the "radical democracy of the future" (Adbusters 1). OWS refers to "people's assemblies" (Adbusters 1 & 3-7; OccupyWallSt 1 & 3) as the proper site of democratic contestation (Adbusters 4).

The movement frequently spoke of the need for a 'rethink' of the current system, and a need for 'justice', with these frames mentioned in 70 percent and 60 percent of texts respectively. OWS spoke in grand and revolutionary language: OccupyWallSt 3 called for a "Revolution of the mind as well as the body politic."

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[60] This term is also used by Benski et al. (2013). See p. 556. See also Roos & Oikonomakis (2014).

Adbusters 3 added that space is opening for a "necessary transformation and a total rethink of global economic affairs." In its calls for justice (in response to the injustice frames described above), Pre-Protest texts spoke about bringing the perpetrators of the financial crisis to justice (Adbusters 4 & 5). There was also a clear call for an end to corruption, expressed in 50 percent of Pre-Protest texts. Adbusters 2 loudly declared "STOP THE MONIED CORRUPTION AT THE HEART OF OUR DEMOCRACY.", and Adbusters 1 demanded that "Barack Obama ordain a Presidential Commission tasked with ending the influence money has over our representatives in Washington" (See also, Adbusters 2 & 3).

Moreover, specific reform or regulatory options are discussed in 50 percent of Pre-Protest texts. Nonetheless, while a plethora of suggestions are made, few are discussed more than once. Exceptions to this were the ideas of a 1% tax on financial transactions (Adbusters 2, 3 & 6), or reinstating the Glass-Steagall Act[61] (Adbusters 1, 3 & 6). However, these suggestions were always premised on the fact that they could be changed and were not exhaustive lists of demands. What was consistent was the idea of creating "one demand". This rhetorical device became prevalent in movement texts (70 percent) and drew its inspiration from the Tahrir protesters whose one demand had been that Mubarak must go. OWS was hoping for a similar type of demand so that they could repeat the success of Tahrir (discussed further below). Moreover, it was clear that once occupation happened, this would allow for deliberation and debate over what the movement's demands would be – again demonstrating the centrality of the 'occupy' frame. As Adbusters 1 explained,

> "The beauty of this new formula ['occupy'] … is its pragmatic simplicity: we talk
> to each other in various physical gatherings and virtual people's assemblies …
> we zero in on what our one demand will be, a demand that awakens the
> imagination and, if achieved, would propel us toward the radical democracy of
> the future … and then we go out and seize a square of singular symbolic
> importance and put our asses on the line to make it happen."

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[61] Also known as the Banking Act of 1933 (48 Stat. 162), this act prohibited commercial banks from engaging in the investment business.

4.2.3 Pre-Protest Motivational Framing

OWS's use of motivational framing was vague in the Pre-Protest phase, and remarkably little attention was paid to communicating a sense of urgency. Nevertheless, despite its ambiguity, motivational frames were evident in many of the early texts. Motivational framing involves constructing appropriate vocabularies of motive: severity, urgency, efficacy, and propriety. These not only give people a reason to act, but convey a sense that the movement is worth joining. Further clarification of the four terms is helpful, and will be explained prior to discussing each concept. Table 4 details the relative use of each vocabulary.

Table 4

Pre-Protest Motivational Frames	
Vocabularies of Motive	**Percentage of Texts**
Propriety	70%
Severity	60%
Efficacy	60%
Urgency	20%
	No. of Texts = 10

Vocabularies of propriety were the most prominent in OWS's Pre-Protest phase (found in 70 percent of texts), however, this tended not to be framed in explicitly moral terms. Benford (1993b, p. 206) argues that "mobilisation can be contingent upon the existence of a sense of moral duty among adherents and sympathisers … the social construction and amplification of beliefs about the propriety of taking action to alleviate the identified problem." With OWS, propriety was strongly based in the right of citizens to protest. When asking why protesters should occupy, OccupyWallSt 1 answered: "Because it belongs to the people!" It also claimed that "The sovereign people of any nation have the power, the right, and the duty, of guiding the destiny of their nation" (OccupyWallSt 1). The courageousness of the protesters was emphasised, particularly regarding the movement's commitment to nonviolence:

"Our unshakable commitment to nonviolence will give us the spiritual strength we need to inspire the nation and to ultimately triumph in the weeks maybe months of struggle that will unfold after September 17." (Adbusters 4)

The severity of the situation was emphasised in 60 percent of Pre-Protest texts. Benford (1993b, p. 201) explains that "motivational framings emphasising the severity of a particular condition or situation … attempt to amplify the problem in such a way that their audiences are persuaded that any response other than collective action is unreasonable." In most cases, OWS's communication of severity was vague; generally in the Pre-Protest phase, the nature of corruption and financial capture of politics appeared to constitute the main explanations for the severity of the situation. Adbusters 1 argued "It's time for DEMOCRACY … we're doomed without it." Adbusters 3 was slightly more specific, claiming that "We are living through a rare crisis … Western industrialised nations are now being masticated by a financial monster they themselves created."

OWS also communicated a sense of efficacy in 60 percent of Pre-Protest texts. Successful mobilisation hinges on shared beliefs that collective action will produce the changes desired (Benford 1993b, pp. 204-205). For OWS, its efficacy was based on two main ideas. Firstly, the movement argued that 'occupy' was an effective strategy. Adbusters 1 wrote that there had been a "shift in revolutionary tactics (that bodes well for the future)." Protesters in Tahrir had used the tactic of 'occupy', and Adbusters 2 wrote that "[OWS] will feel like it did in Tahrir Square moments before Mubarak caved. You've never felt so alive!" The efficaciousness of non-violence was emphasised, with many texts emphasising the centrality of this tactic to 'occupy' (Adbusters 3, 4 & 5). The second aspect of efficacy was based in the idea of the "one demand", which was based on the observable success of Tahrir; they had had one demand – that Mubarak could go – so if OWS had one demand they too could succeed (See especially Adbusters 1, 2 & 3). As demonstrated by this quote from Adbusters 1, "Once there [Wall Street], we shall *incessantly repeat one simple demand in a plurality of voices*" (emphasis added).

The final vocabulary, urgency, was notably lacking – only 20 percent of texts communicated that action was needed *now*. Benford (1993b, p. 203) contends that "even if persons conclude that a problem ... is most troublesome, unless the expected undesirable consequences are believed to be immediately forthcoming, rationales for postponing action can easily be reconciled." With OWS, the main suggestion as to why action was necessary at the time was based on the fact that there was an opportunity for action. Adbusters 3 wrote that "We are living through a rare crisis and a *moment of opportunity* ... It looks like something is about to break ..." (emphasis added). Other than this, Adbusters 5 wrote that it was imperative that OWS get enough numbers: "Ultimately, the only thing that matters is how many of us turn up".

4.2.4 Pre-Protest Identity Framing
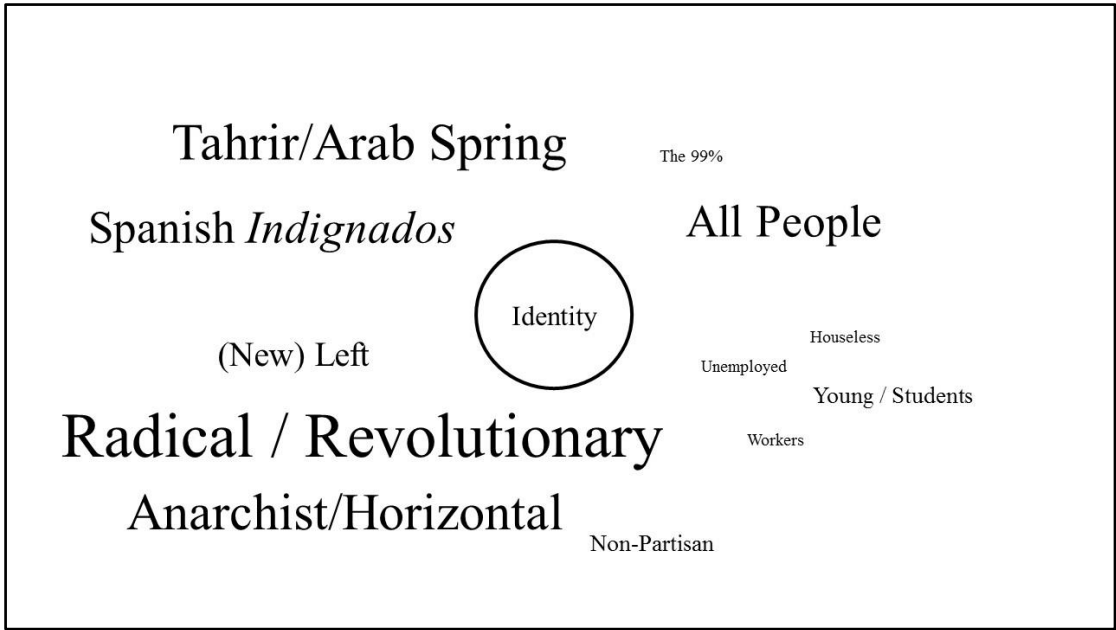
Figure 4 – Pre-Protest Identity Frames (Specific Word Map)

The final framing task considered is identity framing – the process of defining a 'we', with shared interests and values, in opposition to some 'they'. Something that would become central to the movement's identity – the 99% - was nearly absent from this phase. However, there are some notable features of OWS's definition of their shared values and interests. Figure 4 presents the specific word map for the phase, and Table 5 details the informing data.

Table 5

Pre-Protest Identity Frames			
Identity	**Percentage of Texts**	**Specific Groups**	**Percentage of Texts**
Radical / Revolutionary	90%	Young / Students	20%
Tahrir / Arab Spring	70%	Houseless	10%
Anarchist / Horizontal	70%	Unemployed	10%
Spanish *Indignados*	60%	Workers	10%
All People	60%		
(New) Left	40%		
Non-Partisan	20%		
The 99%	10%		
			No. of Texts = 10

The clearest aspect of OWS's identity was a radical or revolutionary aspect. 90 percent of Pre-Protest texts framed the movement in this way. Adbusters 1 opened with an address to its readers: "Alright you 90,000 redeemers, rebels and radicals out there."[62] Adbusters 5 told participants to bring a "revolutionary mood", and Adbusters 1 pondered whether OWS could be the beginning of a "whole new social dynamic in America".

As part of the wave of 'occupy social movements' (Tejerina et al., 2013), OWS also framed much of its Pre-Protest phase in reference to both Arab Spring and other social movements such as the *Indignados* in Spain. Tahrir was mentioned in 70 percent of texts in this period. Adbusters 1 explained that "[OWS] will be a fusion of Tahrir with the acampadas of Spain" (with 60 percent of texts making references to the Spanish *Indignados*).[63] As Adbusters 2 defined the movement, OWS was part of an "American Spring".

Moreover, OWS began to communicate its anarchist, horizontal ethos, expressed in 70 percent of Pre-Protest texts. Movement 'leaders' often stressed this aspect of OWS; as explained in a statement on the purpose of occupywallstreet.org, the aim was to make the website's tools available to the users - "the *true organisers*

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[62] Of course, this was because *Adbusters* addressed this initial call to the subscribers of the magazine's mailing list who most likely fit this description.
[63] See also https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/spanish-indignados-join-occupywallstreet/. This text was not included in the analysis, as it did not meet the criteria for the sample.

of this event" – so they can make the occupation successful … and build on our work without *any dependence on our leadership*" (OccupyWallSt 1 – emphasis added). The idea of "people's assemblies" communicated OWS's preference for horizontal, consensus-based governing structures.

However, the framing of the movement as radical and anarchist was contradicted with an effort to define the movement as for 'all people' (done in 60 percent of texts). There were efforts to frame OWS (and its desired change) as something that appeals to Americans across the spectrum – as a populist, non-partisan movement (20 percent of texts). While not a significant element of the movement's framing, Adbusters 1 claimed that "cleaning up the corruption in Washington is something all Americans, right and left, yearn for and can stand behind." Further, in Adbusters 3 it suggested that OWS "lay aside adherence to political parties and worn-out lefty dogmas". These contradictions were taken further by the fact that the movement clearly belonged on the left. Explicit references to this were made in 40 percent of the texts, and in traditional political terms, the identity of the movement was clearly left-wing. Adbusters 3 poses this quite explicitly asking "can we on the left learn some new tricks?" Furthermore, Adbusters 1 drew inspiration from the anti-globalisation movement. Specific groups were also mentioned (although not widespread in the texts), adding to the confused definition of the movement's 'we'. Students and young people, the unemployed, those who had lost homes in the crisis, and workers all received specific mentions.

4.3 "Initial-Mobilisation" Phase: Occupation Begins

The OWS demonstrations began on September 17, 2011. While the group was unable to actually occupy Wall Street (due to a police presence, checkpoints and threats of arrest) the group settled in nearby Zuccotti Park ('Liberty Plaza'). Choosing the parameters for the Initial-Mobilisation phase was difficult. Some movement sources suggested that October 15 was the peak of the movement.[64] However, because the mobilisation is the variable of interest, November 17

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[64] Adbusters 12 wrote that "the initial phase of the #OCCUPY movement was marked by several weeks of viral growth that peaked on October 15 with a global day of action".

stands out as it was the day where OWS recorded its highest levels of participation. Therefore, this phase begins on September 17, 2011, and ends on November 17, 2011. Choosing texts was also contentious. Both *Adbusters* and occupywallst.org started covering the entire Occupy Movement (particularly protests in Chicago and Oakland), so to ensure accuracy it was important to select texts that were made for, and about, OWS specifically. Fortunately, the other main source for this period, the NYCGA, released texts from the General Assemblies based at the Zuccotti Park occupation, making them clearly relevant for consideration. The sample size for this period was 30 texts, including texts from *Adbusters* (n=6), the NYCGA website (n=3), and occupywallst.org (n=21).

Serious mobilisation began on September 17, with the initial protest and eventual establishment of the occupation at Zuccotti Park. [65] Between 1000-5000 protested during the day, with approximately 200-300 making camp for the night. The week following September 17 was marked by daily marches in the low hundreds, but when the weather conditions were favourable this number could reach 2000. Notable events during these early weeks included a demonstration at the New York City Police Department (NYPD) HQ of 1000-2000, and the widely covered Brooklyn Bridge Protest (October 1) which involved more than 1500. The Union March (October 5) had between 10,000 and 20,000 according to movement sources, with news sources confirming that these were OWS's largest numbers so far. The October 15 Global Day of Action involved over 5000 participants. The final key event, the November 17 protest to mark the two-month anniversary of OWS, attracted over 15,000 according to observers, and perhaps more than 30,000 according to OWS itself. As aforementioned, this was the peak of OWS's mobilisation.

Of course, the level of participation was not consistent throughout this period. A march for injured marine Scott Olsen only attracted hundreds, and the attempt to reoccupy Zuccotti post-eviction attracted around 750. Nevertheless, these two months were OWS's most successful; the movement managed to maintain its occupation at Zuccotti for all but two days, and several mobilisation efforts

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[65] See Appendix 2 for a detailed table covering OWS's levels of mobilisation, and the relevant source material the figures are based on.

involved thousands of participants. With this in mind, Figure 5 presents the general word map of the key Initial-Mobilisation frames, and Table 6 lists the frames in order of prominence.[66] Bold-type indicates that the frames were not in the previous word maps.
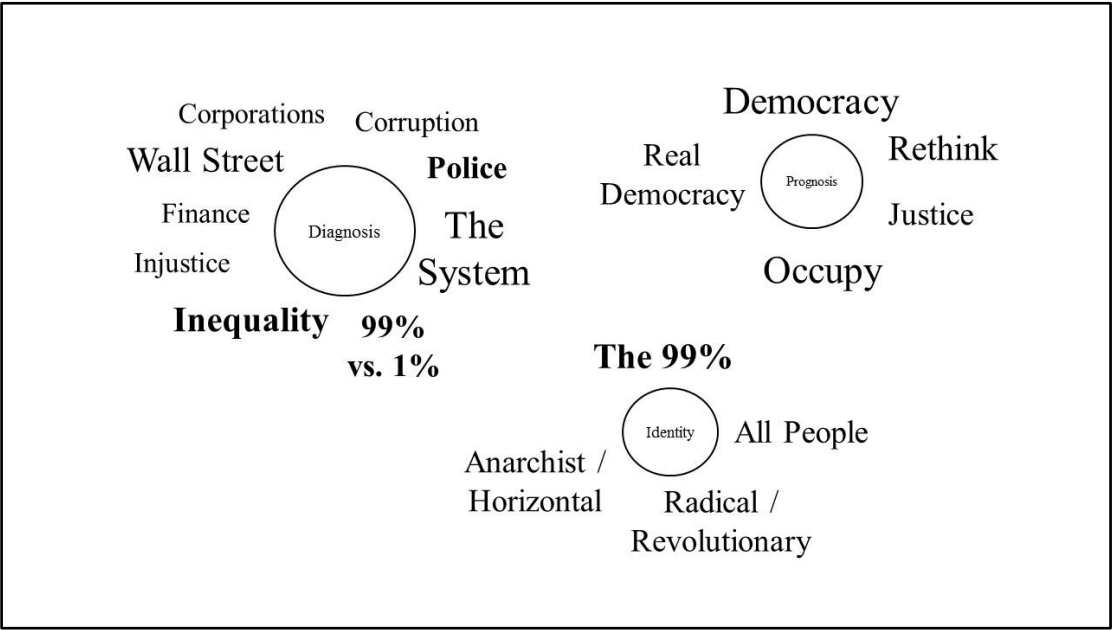

Figure 5 – Key Initial-Mobilisation Frames (General Word Map)

Table 6

Key Initial-Mobilisation Frames		
Diagnostic	**Prognostic**	**Identity**
The System	Occupy	The 99%
Wall Street	Democracy	Radical / Revolutionary
Inequality	Rethink	All People
99% vs. 1%	Real Democracy	Anarchist / Horizontal
Injustice	Justice	
Corruption		
Corporations		
Finance		
Total No. = 8	*Total No. = 5*	*Total No. = 4*
Key = in at least 50% of texts		

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[66] Due to the increased sample size, more detailed data on the percentage of texts (two significant figures) discussing certain frames was possible. However, for consistency, the results have been rounded in order to create the general word maps (which required frames to be in 50 percent of texts).

4.3.1 Initial-Mobilisation Diagnostic Framing

Both Figure 5 and Table 6 clearly demonstrate the increasing dominance of diagnostic framing for OWS. While the movement continued to use many of the frames articulated in the first phase of framing, the Initial-Mobilisation phase also marked the beginning of an expansion in the targets of blame and the issues in need of attention. Figure 6 presents the specific word map for OWS's Initial-Mobilisation diagnostic framing, and Table 7 details the numerical findings.

Following the Pre-Protest phase, Wall Street remained a dominant feature of Initial-Mobilisation texts, although the number of texts discussing it decreased to 73 percent. The institutions that OWS used Wall Street to represent remained secondary, however, there were slightly more mentions of banks (up to 40 percent of texts). Goldman Sachs, a frequent target of OWS's indignation, was described as "the single most egregious perpetrator of economic fraud and corruption in the United States" (OccupyWallSt 21). Corporations were again mentioned in 50 percent of texts, although the nature of the use of this frame was more emphatic in the Initial-Mobilisation. NYCGA 2 presented a list of actions that corporations were responsible for, including acts such as torturing animals or poisoning the food supply. The text explained that all "people who feel wronged by the corporate forces of the world can know that [OWS] are your allies."

In fact, the 'system' became the predominant target of OWS's Initial-Mobilisation diagnostic framing, appearing in 80 percent of texts. As with the Pre-Protest, much of this discontent was framed in general terms. For example, Adbusters 8 spoke out against "business as usual". Furthermore, this phase more clearly blamed Wall Street, corporations, and corrupt politicians as responsible for creating this economic system; they were "writing the rules of the global economy and ... imposing an agenda of neoliberalism and economic inequality" (OccupyWallSt 12). Explicit mentions of neoliberalism did increase (13 percent of texts). OccupyWallSt 13 claimed that "neoliberalism is the reason you no longer have a job ... the reason you cannot afford healthcare, education, food, your mortgage" (See also OccupyWallSt 12, 14 & 18). Opposition to capitalism

was also expressed in 10 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts (Adbusters 11, 12; OccupyWallSt 24). The movement also started expressing frustration with consumerist behaviour (Adbusters 12; OccupyWallSt 6 & 14), something that would become more important in the final phase of mobilisation. In general, however, it must be stated that OWS's anti-system message remained largely unspecific.
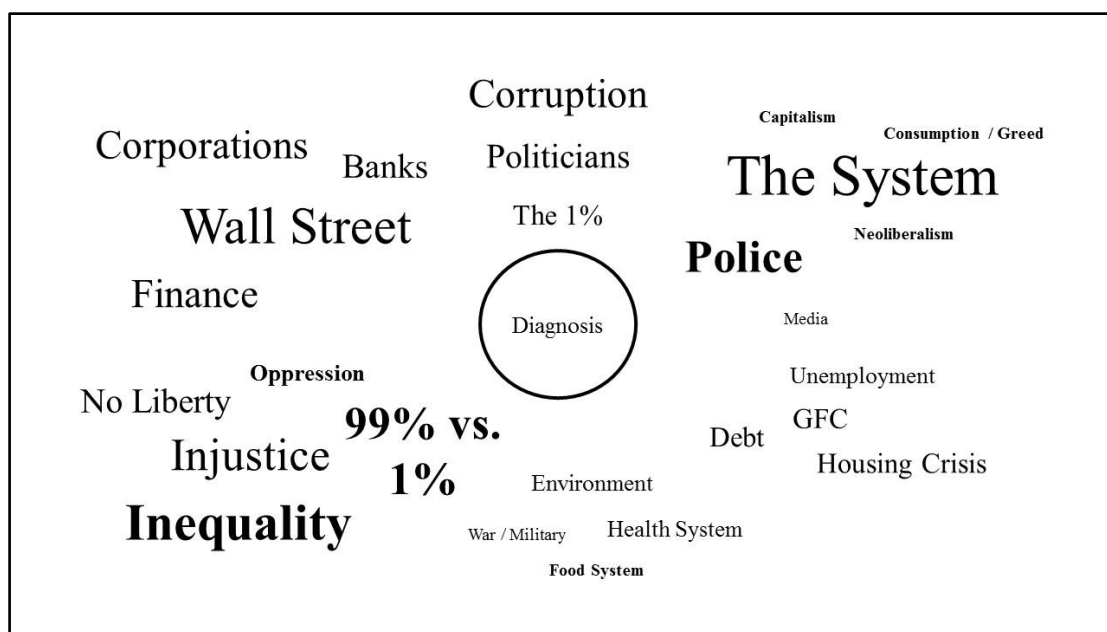

Figure 6 – Initial-Mobilisation Diagnostic Frames (Specific Word Map)

The most notable new target of blame was clearly the NYPD, with double the number of texts articulating the movement's opposition to the police (60 percent of texts).[67] Prior to the eviction from Zuccotti Park, OWS texts emphasised that the movement was met, and was constantly faced with heavy police presence (See OccupyWallSt 4, 5 & 6). OccupyWallSt 7 described police actions as "gross" and "unconscionable".[68] The movement framed police as defending the interests of Wall Street rather than the people. The eviction of the OWS encampment in Zuccotti Park was discussed widely and was used as an event to galvanise

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[67] Not that the movement did not anticipate a strong police response in the Pre-Protest phase; Adbusters 1 wrote that "If we can hang in there … week after week against every police and National Guard effort to expel us from Wall Street …" 30 percent of Pre-Protest texts imagined the idea of police evicting the movement.

[68] After this incident, OWS eventually published the name of an officer involved. See http://occupywallst.org/article/Officer-Bologna/.

sympathy and support for the movement. Opening the November 17 call to action, OccupyWallSt 24 stated: "Sixty days into the struggle #OccupyWallStreet was violently evicted by the NYPD, who levelled our homes at Liberty Square to the ground." It should be noted that anti-police texts were often qualified with a reminder that the group was not 'anti-police'.[69] For example, in OccupyWallSt 7 the group wrote: "we do not think the police are our enemy. They have jobs, how could we fault them for that … the police are part of the 99 percent."

Table 7

Initial-Mobilisation Diagnostic Frames			
Targets / Causes	**Percentage of Texts**	**Issue / Problem**	**Percentage of Texts**
The System	80%	Inequality	67%
Wall Street	73%	99% vs. 1%	60%
Police	60%	Injustice	50%
Corporations	50%	Loss of freedom	43%
Corruption	47%	The GFC	33%
Finance	47%	Housing Crisis	33%
Politicians	43%	Debt	30%
Banks	40%	Environment	23%
The 1%	30%	Health System	23%
Media	13%	Oppression	23%
Neoliberalism	13%	Unemployment	20%
Capitalism	10%	War / Military	10%
Consumption	10%	Food System	10%
No. of Targets = 13	*No. of Texts = 30*	*No. of Issues = 13*	*No. of Texts = 30*

While still a feature of Initial-Mobilisation diagnostic framing, OWS devoted less attention to corruption, mentioned in 47 percent of texts (as opposed to 60 percent in the Pre-Protest phase). Initial-Mobilisation texts emphasised that as well as Wall Street and banks, corporations also had a "disproportionate influence" (OccupyWallSt 11). The number of times (corrupt) politicians are blamed also declined, from 70 to 43 percent. Bloomberg continued to be a clear enemy of OWS - calling people to action on November 17, OccupyWallSt 24 wrote

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[69] Presumably foreseeing calls of bias and sensationalising, OWS also published frequent 'retractions' to occupywallst.org, explaining where claims about police brutality had been exaggerated. See, for example, http://occupywallst.org/article/Retractions/.

that "we will remind the 1% and their representative Michael Bloomberg that you cannot stop an idea whose time has come!" When discussing the eviction from Zuccotti Park, Adbusters 13 explicitly compared Bloomberg to Mubarak in Egypt.[70] However, it must be stressed that the number of texts targeting of politicians of did decline from the previous phase.

Another frame that was notable was the increasing use of the 1% label, however, the specific use of this term was only found in 30 percent of texts. The term was used as a catch-all term: Using the 99% slogan to define the identity of OWS (discussed below), it paints the 1% as the 'they' the movement stands against. In addition, it was used to represent all of the culpable agents mentioned above: Wall Street, banks, corporations, politicians, and the police. Both major calls to action during the Initial-Mobilisation phase (OccupyWallSt 13 & 24) frame the 1% as responsible for the issues OWS was protesting: OccupyWallSt 24 wrote that "[OWS] will no longer tolerate the oppression of the 1% who do not want to see a creative movement, based on inclusiveness and tolerance, triumph over a system deeply rooted in social inequality."

As aforementioned, as well as an increase in the number of culpable parties, OWS significantly increased the number of issues it sought to ameliorate in the Initial-Mobilisation phase. Similar to the Pre-Protest phase, a general feeling of injustice was discussed in just over 60 percent of texts. NYCGA 2 stated that OWS wished to "express a feeling of mass injustice". Part of this remained focused on protesting the response to the GFC, particularly the failure to punish those responsible for the crisis. To some extent though, it was clear that the injustice OWS was protesting was not simply the GFC and the response to it. They were protesting against something bigger. NYCGA 1 claimed that "the people of America and the world came to protest the blatant injustices of our time perpetuated by the financial and political elites", and spoke generally of the current system's "social" and "economic" injustice.

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[70] For another example of the groups disdain for Bloomberg, see http://occupywallst.org/article/occupy-wall-street-mayor-bloomberg-get-your-facts-/. This text failed to meet the criteria for sampling.

The most profound shift in diagnostic framing was the significant increase in mentions of inequality, increasing from 20 percent of texts to 67 percent. This was helped by the widespread use of the 99% frame, lucidly communicating a disparity between that and the 1%.[71] This contrast was made in 60 percent of movement texts. Other issues relevant to the GFC also became more prominent (albeit secondary to the inequality frame). Mentions of the housing/foreclosure crisis increased to 33 percent, discussion of extreme debt increased to 30 percent, and reference to unemployment increased to 20 percent – all of which were mentioned in only 10 percent of Pre-Protest texts. OWS derided its enemies for causing these issues. For example, OccupyWallSt 10 explained that "callous banks" were to blame for people losing their homes, due to their actions regarding mortgage-backed securities.

Beyond these issues that are more likely to be seen as relevant to the GFC, there was a significant expansion in the repertoire of issues OWS defined as in need of attention. The 'loss of freedom' frame was mentioned in 43 percent of texts (up from 20 percent). This idea seemed more to relate to police actions, than the GFC, as the police were most likely to be described as infringing on occupiers freedom (See for example, Adbusters 13; OccupyWallSt 7). Environmental issues were discussed in 23 percent of texts (up from 10 percent), and taking action on climate change received its own dedicated text (OccupyWallSt 15). OccupyWallSt 24 argued that "As we stand by and watch our global environment disintegrate to the point of threatening the extinction of our species … we are compelled to act". Issues with the US health system were also articulated more often, discussed in 23 percent of texts and similarly receiving a dedicated text (OccupyWallSt 17).

While mentions of the media, the food system, and the military were all only mentioned in 10 percent of texts, OWS's opposition to these frames was far more detailed than the Pre-Protest phase. OWS suggested that corporations had prevented the freedom of the press by controlling the media, and also claimed that that corporations had poisoned the food supply and undermined the

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[71] Often texts discussing the 99% would not mention the 1% explicitly, however, it is clearly implicit in its usage. Moreover, because I looked specifically for the 1% frame, my data on this indicates the difference in usage between two frames.

farming system through monopolisation (NYCGA 2). Furthermore, NYCGA 2 argued that corporations had perpetuated colonialism at home and abroad, participated in the torture and murder of innocent civilians overseas, and continued to create weapons of mass destruction in order to receive government contracts. OccupyWallSt 8 posited that America was at "war with the world". This phase also saw the introduction of a general 'oppression' frame, which covered issues such as racism, prejudice or discrimination, with the movement suggesting that corporations perpetuate inequality and discrimination in the workplace based on age, skin colour, race, sex, gender identity and sexual orientation (NYCGA 2). So, while the numbers of texts articulating the expanded repertoire was not as significant as some of the more dominant ideas, it did foreshadow a trend in movement framing that would become more noticeable in the final phase of mobilisation.

4.3.2 Initial-Mobilisation Prognostic Framing

While most of the major prognostic frames proffered by OWS remained the same in the Initial-Mobilisation period, there was a noticeable decline in deliberate attempts to present proposals and solutions. While there was an expansion in the types of demands, following the increase in diagnostic frames, generally OWS appeared less willing to present a prognostic agenda. Figure 7 presents the specific word map, and Table 8 details the relative significance of each frame.

While mentions of the frame declined from 100 percent of texts to 80 percent of texts in the Initial-Mobilisation phase, 'occupy' was clearly still the dominant prognostic frame proffered by OWS. The movement still strongly called for democracy (77 percent of texts). OccupyWallSt 24 declared that "We will not stop … until democracy is recovered from behind the veil of political discourse." In most cases this was again a call for "real democracy" (Adbusters 13), emphasising both participation and consensus as its core values. NYCGA 3 wrote that OWS is about a peaceful assembly of individuals engaging in "participatory democracy", with main activity at the occupation being the General or People's Assembly.
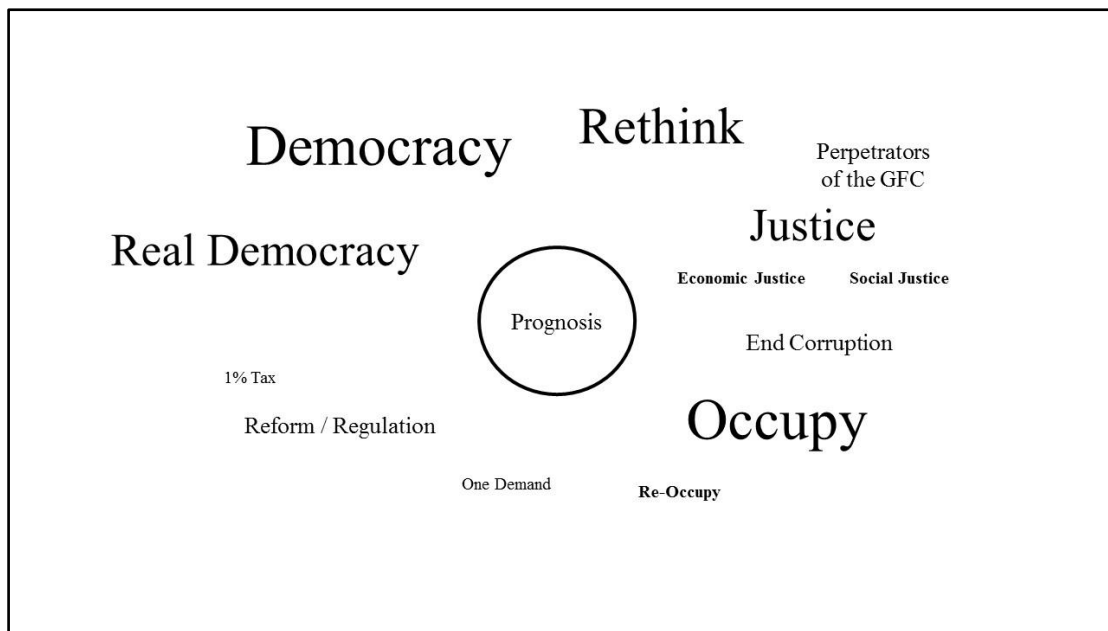
Figure 7 – Initial-Mobilisation Prognostic Frames (Specific Word Map)

Both the need for a rethink (or revolutionary change) and a need for justice also remained as clear elements of OWS's prognostic framing, staying as significant as they had in the Pre-Protest phase. The movement remained steadfast in calling for deeper, revolutionary changes. Adbusters 8 said that the movement wanted a long-term "mother of all solutions: a total rethink of Western consumerism that throws into question how we measure progress". This need for "real change" was associated with the movement's call for justice (although it was similarly unspecific about what this meant). It included creating a "vision of equality, liberty and social justice" (OccupyWallSt 23). Both social (See Adbusters 10; NYCGA 1; OccupyWallSt 23) and economic (See Adbusters 9; NYCGA 1; OccupyWallSt 12-14) justice were called for. In some cases, OWS did frame (ambitiously) such a situation. OccupyWallSt 8 called for an end to wealth inequality, an end to joblessness, and an end to poverty. OWS also continued to articulate a need to bring the "financial fraudsters responsible for the 2008 meltdown … to justice and [be] given lengthy prison terms" (Adbusters 8; See also OccupyWallSt 11, 21, 22 & 24).

Table 8 [72]

Initial-Mobilisation Prognostic Frames	
Solutions / Proposals	**Percentage of Texts**
Occupy	80%
Democracy	77%
Rethink	73%
Real Democracy	63%
Justice	60%
Reform / Regulation	20%
End Corruption	20%
Perpetrators of GFC	17%
One Demand	13%
1% Financial Tax	7%*
Re-Occupy	7%*
No. of Solutions = 11	*No. of Texts = 30*

However, two significant changes were also clear in this phase of mobilisation. Despite continuing to call for an end to corruption (See for example, Adbusters 9), this frame was only articulated in 20 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts. It was also noted that mentions of 'specific' reform or regulatory options declined from 50 percent down to 20 percent in Initial-Mobilisation texts. OWS did make two more calls for the 1% tax (Adbusters 10 & 11), claiming that it could fund every "social program … in the world". A raft of demands responding to the expansion of diagnostic frames were also expressed. OccupyWallSt 16 called for an end to the Stop and Frisk policy, capturing both OWS's anti-police views and its views regarding the discriminatory and prejudiced nature of the 1%. OccupyWallSt 18 called for an end to fracking, due to it being "incredibly destructive to the environment and human health". In response to its opposition to the US military, OccupyWallSt 8 demanded the end of "American imperialism" and the "end of war". The desire to make 'one demand' was almost entirely dropped; only 13 percent of texts mentioned it, down from 70 percent in the Pre-Protest phase. All this indicated that the movement was not seriously

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[72] Refer to p. 61, note 66 for comment on rounding of percentages. For specific word maps, frames were included if they were discussed in 10 percent of texts.

interested in making proposals for reform. This was astutely demonstrated by a quote from OccupyWallSt 18: "We are not here to make requests of a corrupt political system – we are here to take our lives back into our own hands".

The ongoing centrality of 'occupy' to OWS's prognostic framing also served to demonstrate this shift in attitude; 'occupy' was the central means through which the movement would achieve its goals. OWS clearly stated that as long as the global recession continued, their occupation would too:

> "People's encampments will become permanent fixtures in financial districts and outside stock markets around the world. Until our demands are met and the global economic regime is fundamentally reformed, our tent cities will keep popping up everywhere." (Adbusters 8).

This created an idea of the movement as an end in itself – the process was the prognosis. OccupyWallSt 6 explained that the movement was "building the world that we want to see, based on human need and sustainability, not corporate greed". OWS argued that the conversation it provided was what was needed. As OccupyWallSt 23 explained, "We need civic space. We are creating that civic space." Moreover, post-eviction from Zuccotti, this re-occupying became the movement's central aim: "This is why we're fighting back tomorrow during #N17. We will shut down Wall Street and we will #occupy all of New York City with our bodies, voices and ideas." (OccupyWallSt 24).[73]

4.3.3 Initial-Mobilisation Motivational Framing

Generally, motivational framing constituted a similar amount of OWS's framing activity in the Initial-Mobilisation phase, although vocabularies of severity and urgency increased. Table 9 details the relative use of the four vocabularies of motive.

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[73] This quote foreshadowed the development of a new frame in the Declining-Mobilisation phase – this need to re-occupy.

Table 9

Initial-Mobilisation Motivational Frames	
Vocabularies of Motive	**Percentage of Texts**
Propriety	77%
Severity	70%
Efficacy	60%
Urgency	37%
	No. of Texts = 30

OWS conveyed the propriety of its actions slightly more in the Initial-Mobilisation phase, discussed in 77 percent of texts. Many texts stressed how peaceful and nonviolent protesters had been "attacked" by police. For example, OccupyWallSt 7 pointed out that "many [police were] unsheathing their batons, in spite of the protest remaining peaceful". The movement also framed its propriety by strongly condemning the current system. "There are too many things wrong with this world for our voices to be silenced. You know this. We know this. This is why we are here, why we grow every day." (OccupyWallSt 10). An example of how wrong the system was included "evicting struggling families into the street while banks continue to profit" (OccupyWallSt 11). Finally, and notably, the Initial-Mobilisation texts explicitly framed OWS's movement in moral terms. OccupyWallSt 11 wrote that "it is the duty of all citizens to oppose injustice", and describing a potential immunity deal for bankers, OWS claimed that it was a "clear, moral issue that cuts to the core of why we occupy … Instead of throwing corrupt bankers in jail, the administration is pushing to give them a get-out-of-jail-free card." (OccupyWallSt 22).

OWS increased its communication of severity, describing the situation as severe in 70 percent of texts. Because of the widespread use of the idea of the 99% versus the 1%, the movement painted an extreme picture of inequality in society. The movement painted other aspects of society in similarly extreme ways (See especially OccupyWallSt 8 & NYCGA 2). OccupyWallSt 13 argued that neoliberalism "is your future stolen. It is everywhere." Many texts again emphasised how bad the influence of certain actors in the political sphere was

(OccupyWallSt 11 – in this case, corporations). In response to increasing altercations with police, OccupyWallSt 20 claimed that dissent was being "criminalised". The movement began to more regularly incorporate statistics into its texts: Adbusters 9 wrote that "45 percent of young Americans aged 16-29 don't have a job", and OccupyWallSt 7 said that one sixth of America lived in poverty.

Efforts to communicate the efficaciousness of OWS were mentioned in 60 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts (the same level as Pre-Protest). Following the trend of this phase, it was first and foremost based on the idea of the 99%. As OccupyWallSt 11 declared: "We are the 99%, and we are too big to fail". Furthermore, many texts, such as OccupyWallSt 10, claimed that the movement was "growing". Having a plurality of revolutionary demands was also communicated as a strength because the multitude of voices and possible alternatives would mean that "[OWS's] voice will no longer be ignored." (OccupyWallSt 10). The efficacy of nonviolence was also reiterated (See Adbusters 13). Efficacy was also based on convincing potential participants that the tactic of 'occupy' worked. OWS simply planned to stay until something happened: "We're still here. We intend to stay until we see movements toward real change in our country and the world." (OccupyWallSt 4). And, as long as the occupation continued it would "escalate the possibility of a full-fledged global uprising against business as usual" (Adbusters 8). Moreover, Occupy was used as a panacea for all situations. For example, when people were having their houses taken from them, OWS instructed, "Do not let them. Do not leave your house." (OccupyWallSt 10).

OWS framed the situation as in need of urgent collective action more often in the second phase of mobilisation, doing so in 37 percent of texts (up from 20 percent), but this is still quite low compared with the other motivational vocabularies. The urgency of the situation was communicated through three main ideas. First, OWS more explicitly explained that taking action *now* was a good idea. Adbusters 9 said that OWS was a "perfect moment". And, associated with its more extreme descriptions of the situation – such as suggesting that "neoliberalism is your future stolen" (OccupyWallSt 13) – it was more clear that collective action could not wait. The second aspect is related to the former, but

involved more specifically describing the issues as urgently requiring attention. Homes were being "stolen" as OWS was protesting (OccupyWallSt 10), and the need to "get Wall Street out of healthcare" was premised on the fact that people were unable to afford it (OccupyWallSt 17). The third element to the amplification of urgency were regular calls for reinforcements – OWS needed numbers. Adbusters 8 was aptly titled "A Call for Reinforcements", and closed by declaring "We need you at Liberty Plaza!"

4.3.4 Initial-Mobilisation Identity Framing

OWS's definition of identity was marked by some significant changes in the Initial-Mobilisation phase. The two main reasons for this were the introduction of the 99% frame, and the almost complete disappearance of allusions to Tahrir and other inspiring social movements. Mentions of Tahrir declined to 10 percent (from 70 percent), and mentions of protest movements such as the Spanish *Indignados* dropped to seven percent (from 60 percent). Figure 8 presents the specific word map for this phase, and Table 10 details the results.
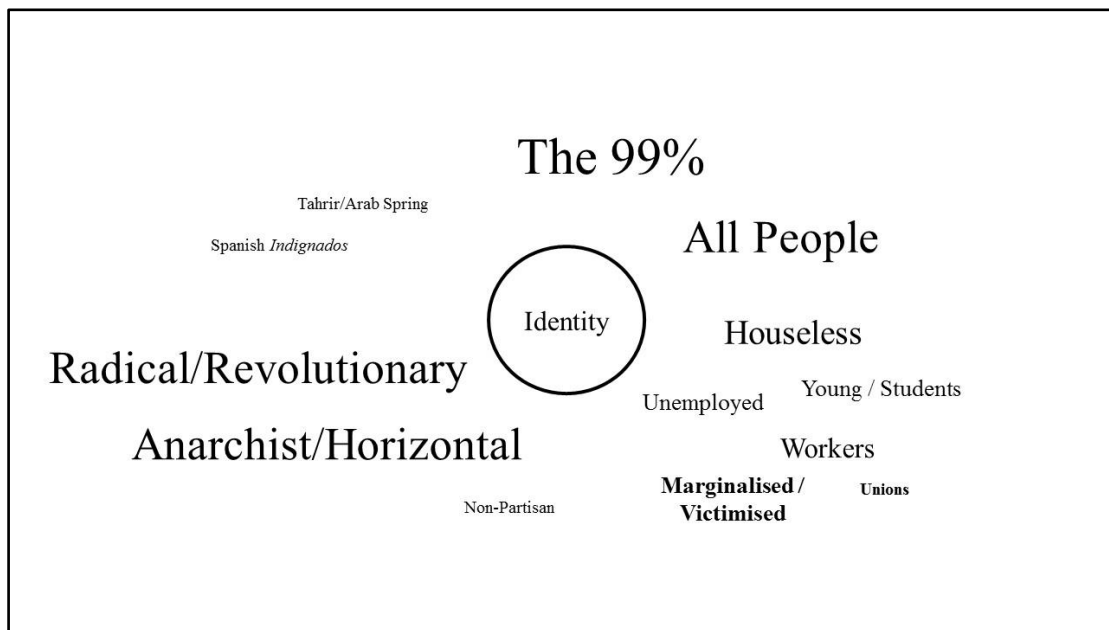

Figure 8 – Initial-Mobilisation Identity Frames (Specific Word Map)

The most obvious finding is the dominance of the 99% frame as defining OWS's 'we'. 70 percent of texts referenced the 99%. Calling to action on November 17,

OccupyWallSt 24 stated that "We will not stop … until the 99% are once again made rightful sovereign of their future." Associated with this frame, the idea of OWS being a movement for all people continued to be a significant element of its identity, which was referenced in 60 percent of the texts. This frame was deliberately broad and to some extent meant everyone (apart from the 1%), and is demonstrated by the following quote:

> "You have fought all the wars. You have worked for all the capitalists. You have wandered over all the countries. Have you harvested the fruits of your labours, the price of your victories? Does the past comfort you? Does the present smile on you? Does the future promise you anything? Have you found a piece of land where you can live like a human being and die like a human being? On these questions, on this argument, and on this theme, the struggle for existence, the people will speak. Join us." (OccupyWallSt 8).

However, as was the case in the Pre-Protest phase, both the 99% and the all-people frames were contradicted by some other defining features of identity that were articulated. While decreasing to 63 percent of texts, being a radical or a revolutionary still dominated Initial-Mobilisation texts. Adbusters 12 suggested that the "#OCCUPY movement is simultaneously maturing and growing more militant". OccupyWallSt 23 said a "revolutionary spirit" had been awakened. Articulations of the group's anarchist ethos also decreased slightly, to 60 percent of texts, but OWS still emphasised its horizontal, consensus-based decision-making approach. Despite recognising limits to the anarchist structure, OWS was unwilling to abandon its ethos: "The most challenging question is how to gel into a global movement without sacrificing the decentralised, leaderless model." (Adbusters 12). Moreover, when it was found that a "demands working group" was putting forward proposals without the consensus of the General Assembly, OWS distanced itself and condemned the group for doing so (OccupyWallSt 14).[74]

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[74] For another clear demonstration of OWS's condemnation see http://occupywallst.org/article/so-called-demands-working-group/.

Table 10

Initial-Mobilisation Identity Frames			
Identity	**Percentage of Texts**	**Specific Groups**	**Percentage of Texts**
The 99%	70%	Houseless	37%
Radical / Revolutionary	63%	Workers	30%
All People	60%	Young / Students	23%
Anarchist / Horizontal	60%	Unemployed	20%
Tahrir / Arab Spring	10%	Marginalised / Victimised	17%
Spanish *Indignados*	7%*	Unions	13%
Non-Partisan	7%*		

No. of Texts = 30

One notable shift in identity worth considering was the near abandonment of mentions of either the left, or explicit descriptions of the group as non-partisan. Only one text specifically identified the movement as on the left (Adbusters 11). Furthermore, while continuing to describe the movement as non-partisan, articulations of this aspect of OWS's identity also declined. Nevertheless, texts such as NYCGA 3 were emphatic that "OWS is not and never has been affiliated with any established political party, candidate or organisation."

Nonetheless, certain groups within the 99% continued to be clearly represented by OWS, adding to the contradiction with the 99%/all-people frames. Young people were mentioned in slightly more texts (23 percent). Following eviction from Zuccotti Adbusters 13 wrote that "The bottom line is this ... You cannot attack your young and get away with it!" Unions were introduced as an ally of the movement (13 percent of texts). Unemployed people were mentioned in 20 percent of texts, and reference to those affected by the housing crisis (or homeless people) increased from 10 percent of texts to 37 percent. Other notable changes were the specific discussion of workers or labour (up from 10 percent to 30 percent), and the introduction of a broad frame for marginalised or victimised people (17 percent of texts). In general then, it was clear that OWS was not simply for everyone – it was also for specific groups, and importantly, it still wanted radical and revolutionary change.

4.4 "Declining-Mobilisation" Phase: Occupation Ends

Following the climactic November 17 protests, the mobilisation of OWS went into decline. Without its occupation in Zuccotti Park, the movement struggled to maintain its numbers over the cold winter months. As with the Initial-Mobilisation period, choosing the parameters for this period was also difficult, and it is wrong to suggest that OWS ended in 2012 – it remains active in various forms to this day. However, because my interest is mobilisation of participants at the New York site(s), May 1, 2012 is the most appropriate end point for this final phase. After November 17, OWS was invigorated; it wrote that "The mobilisation today proved that the movement is on the ascent and is capable of navigating obstacles."[75] However, after the movement began to decline, helped by the cold winter conditions, OWS desperately sought to remobilise in the New Year. It planned a "Spring Offensive", starting on March 17 (the six-month anniversary), it attempted to re-occupy a different location (Union Square), but above all, it placed its faith in a significant mobilisation and re-occupation on May 1, the date of annual celebrations for International Workers' Day, known as May Day. [76] Despite all OWS's efforts however, the movement failed to successfully achieve the mobilisation it needed, and perhaps more importantly, it failed to re-occupy.

As with the previous period, it is important to separate texts that discussed the entire Occupy Movement, or other specific Occupy protests. Some texts would discuss other protest groups, but when this discussion was used to inform or motivate action in New York for OWS, these texts were generally considered representative. The Declining-Mobilisation phase was also reduced to a 30 text sample and relevant texts were again found in the three key movement sources: *Adbusters* (*n*=5), the NYCGA website (*n*=2), and occupywallst.org (*n*=23).

The decline in mobilisation after November 17 was immediate. Protests in the first weeks of December, at or around Zuccotti, attracted around 50 participants.

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[75] See OccupyWallSt 25.
[76] To get a sense of these preparations, see Adbusters 15, 16 & 18. It should be emphasised that the OWS had nothing to do with the naming of May Day.

OWS attempted to reoccupy a lot owned by Trinity Wall Street Church on December 17, with up to 1000 turning out to protest, but there was a failure to access and occupy the lot. New Year's Eve protests numbered around 500 (although it was hard to differentiate from people simply out to celebrate). The barricades that had been erected after the Zuccotti eviction came down in January, with roughly 300 OWS's protesters celebrating. During the depths of winter (January-February), actions involved between 10 and 50, although one Wells Fargo protest attracted over 200. The start of the Spring Offensive on March 17, the group's six-month anniversary, numbered in the hundreds. Following this, OWS managed to set up an occupation in Union Square, however, there were only around 40 staying permanently, with approximately 100 during the day. Three hundred participated in the failed defence when the police evicted the occupation. In response to this, an OWS anti-NYPD march attracted 500 protesters. Unfortunately the mediocre levels of mobilisation continued, with the six-month anniversary of the Brooklyn Bridge march on April 1 attracting around 200. Wall Street "sleepover" protests had between 75 and 100 people; the "Spring Trainings" in the build up to May Day mobilised roughly 100 individuals.
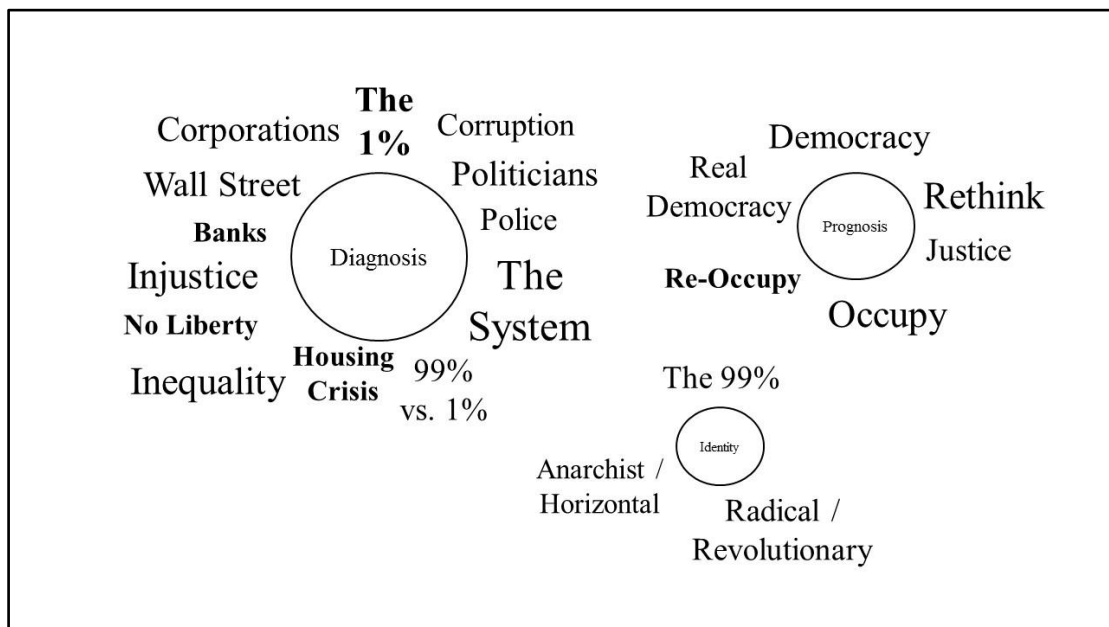

Figure 9 – Key Declining-Mobilisation Frames (General Word Map)

The May Day mobilisation did manage to attract "thousands" of participants. As noted above, rallies for International Workers Day were not solely organised by OWS, nor were all the participants there for OWS, which made confidently determining numbers attending as part of OWS difficult.[77] News sources put numbers of the whole rally at roughly 15,000, and a *New York Times* article specifically about OWS estimated attendance at 2000. One thousand OWS protesters discussed establishing an occupation, however, by evening this had declined to around 100-200 and the group were unable to set up camp. As quoted in Chapter 2, *Adbusters* explained after the event that "May 1 confirmed the end of the national Occupy Wall Street movement, because it was the best opportunity the movement had to re-establish occupations, and yet it couldn't." With this picture of mobilisation in mind, Figure 9 visualises the key frames proffered during this phase, and Table 11 details their relative significance.

Table 11

Key Declining-Mobilisation Frames		
Diagnostic	**Prognostic**	**Identity**
The System	Occupy	The 99%
Wall Street	Rethink	Radical / Revolutionary
Injustice	Justice	Anarchist / Horizontal
Inequality	Democracy	
Corporations	Real Democracy	
The 1%	Re-Occupy	
Politicians		
99% vs. 1%		
Corruption		
Police		
Banks		
Loss of freedom		
Housing Crisis		
Total No. = 13	*Total No. = 6*	*Total No. = 3*
	Key = in at least 50% of texts	

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[77] For a good idea of how many groups were involved in the May Day actions, see http://occupywallst.org/article/why-and-how-strike-may-day/.

4.4.1 Declining-Mobilisation Diagnostic Framing

OWS texts from this final phase demonstrated even more clearly that diagnostic framing occupied most of the movement's message. Texts continued the trend started in the previous phase, carrying on, and in some cases expanding, a larger repertoire of targets of blame and issues. Figure 10 and Table 12 detail the extensive list of targets and issues proffered by OWS during its final efforts to mobilise.

OWS continued to predominantly blame the system for causing the problems requiring ameliorative action, articulated in 90 percent of Declining-Mobilisation texts. Analogously to the previous two phases of mobilisation, this opposition to the system was generally voiced in an unspecific fashion. Some texts labelled capitalism (Adbusters 14, 15 & 18; OccupyWallSt 37 & 40), or austerity (OccupyWallSt 35, 37, 38 & 46), however specification was not widespread. Only one text specifically referred to neoliberalism (OccupyWallSt 34). OWS did articulate more detailed opposition to consumption (See Adbusters 14 & 16; OccupyWallSt 27, 40, 43). Adbusters 14 and OccupyWallSt 27 called on OWS to adopt a previous *Adbusters* campaign, "Buy Nothing Day", so that the movement could "occupy the very paradigm that is fuelling our eco, social and political decline" (Adbusters 14).

Wall Street, banks, finance, and corporations remained the main institutions that were both part of the system, *and* responsible for it. After interpreting a legal ruling in their favour, OWS was able to establish a minor protest on Wall Street *itself* (the first time they had been able to do so). As the group wrote: "For a full week, Wall Street - the original target of our indignation - has been #Occupied." (OccupyWallSt 46).

However, there was a new 'global' dimension to this blame, as OccupyWallSt 38 spoke of the 99% being under assault by "global banking interests". Corporations received more indignation from OWS in its final efforts at mobilisation, discussed in 70 percent of texts. Targeting corrupt politicians also became more prolific in the final phase of mobilisation (67 percent of texts). As well as targeting

Bloomberg (See OccupyWallSt 25), OWS also made statements of solidarity with other Occupy protests, calling for other mayors to resign, such as Mayor Quan in Oakland (OccupyWallSt 36). Nevertheless, the movement emphasised that these problems were not unique to the current public figures. OccupyWallSt 37 wrote what was happening under Obama was "sure to continue even if a Republican were elected", pointing out that every major presidential candidate for the 2012 election was a millionaire.
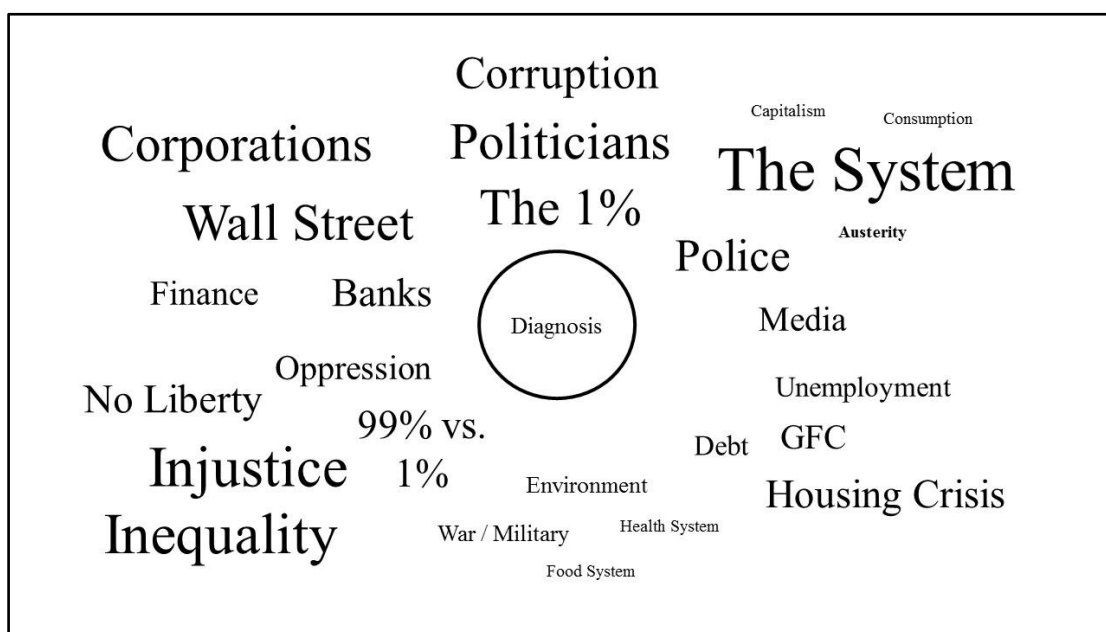

Figure 10 – Declining-Mobilisation Diagnostic Frames (Specific Word Maps)

The most profound shift in diagnostic framing in OWS texts was the dramatic increase in specific targeting of the 1%. References to the evils of the 1% increased from 30 percent to 70 percent.[78] As it had done in the Initial-Mobilisation phase, this frame was used to refer to any actor the movement stood against. For example, a long post detailing OWS's views on police explained that "the 1% and their puppets in government are waging a war on dissent" (OccupyWallSt 42). OWS also added more actors that were part of the 1%. 20 percent of texts labelled international institutions such as the G8, NATO, the IMF and even the EU as part of the 1%.

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[78] I only counted the use of the 1% frame if texts specifically wrote '1%'. See p. 66 note 71.

Table 12

Declining-Mobilisation Diagnostic Frames			
Targets / Causes	**Percentage of Texts**	**Issue / Problem**	**Percentage of Texts**
The System	90%	Injustice	77%
Wall Street	70%	Inequality	77%
Corporations	70%	99% vs. 1%	60%
The 1%	70%	Loss of freedom	50%
Politicians	67%	Housing Crisis	47%
Corruption	57%	The GFC	37%
Police	57%	Oppression	37%
Banks	53%	Debt	30%
Finance	40%	Unemployment	30%
Media	37%	Environment	23%
Int'l Institutions	20%	War / Military	20%
Consumption	17%	Food System	13%
Capitalism	17%	Health System	13%
Austerity	13%		
No. of Targets = 14	*No. of Texts = 30*	*No. of Issues = 13*	*No. of Texts = 30*

Framing the police as enemies of OWS remained at similar levels in the Declining-Mobilisation phase, with 57 percent of texts targeting their actions. A noticeable shift in OWS's attitude to police was observed. In the final phase, the movement was more emphatically anti-police. OWS claimed that police brutality and state violence were the only things keeping the current unjust system in place (OccupyWallSt 36). NYPD actions were conveyed as particularly heinous: according to OccupyWallSt 45, "the NYPD is perhaps most notorious for censoring media and brutalising journalists". Indicative of the shift from the Initial-Mobilisation phase, this text also wrote that while individual police officers may be sympathetic to OWS the police "as an institution nonetheless upholds inequality by defending the abuses and wealth of the 1%".

OWS also began to frame the media, or as it often described it, the 'corporate media', as an enemy of the movement. This was partly based on what OWS perceived as the media ignoring the movement (See OccupyWallSt 40); but more pertinently, claims were made about how the media works to support the system of the 1% (hence the 'corporate media' label). OccupyWallSt 37 described the "corporate-funded political status quo", suggesting that:

"[...] corporate-funded news coverage, benefits the 1% at the expense of the 99%. This is exactly why the corporate media would rather run speeches by Presidential candidates (all millionaires) than stories of members of the 99% taking direct action to create economic justice."

Further, OccupyWallSt 45 argued that:

"At the highest levels of decision-making, the mainstream media is beholden to corporate funders whose financial interests are aligned with the 1% ... [they] care about the same thing as Wall Street bankers: profit"

In terms of issues, OWS continued to speak of a general feeling of injustice, with this mentioned in 77 percent of Declining-Mobilisation texts. Wall Street and the big banks were making record profits, breaking the law with impunity, and receiving bailouts (OccupyWallSt 29). This injustice was most often tied to the issue of inequality (or contrasting the 99% with 1%), which also increased the number of references to 77 percent of texts. Moreover, the movement's discussion of inequality became more closely tied to the housing crisis. OccupyWallSt 26 argued that the disparity of wealth and power was most apparent in the struggle to secure the human right to housing, and that OWS continued would continue to fight this "moral injustice". Reference to levels of unemployment increased from the previous phase, with 30 percent of texts discussing the issue, alongside the problem of debt and mortgages.

Both the loss of freedom and oppression frames became more prominent in the final phase of mobilisation. 50 percent of texts spoke of freedom being attacked or stolen. OWS continued to deride the way police interacted with its protesters and occupations. As OccupyWallSt 41 explained, "[OWS's] ability to occupy the commons in order to voice dissent is a vital political right. We do not need a permit to exist in public space." Of course, in the case of police repression, both the loss of freedom and oppression frames relate. However, oppression, which was discussed in 37 percent of texts also encompassed issues such as systemic racism or prejudice. OWS pointed to "massive spying on the Muslim community" (OccupyWallSt 33). When calling to action on May Day, as well as referencing

"vast income inequality", OWS called those who see "something wrong with racism" to join them (OccupyWallSt 47). Articulation of OWS's expanded repertoire of issues continued, although it must be stressed that these additional problems were not widespread in Declining-Mobilisation texts. Issues with the health system were mentioned in only 13 percent of texts, but there was a dedicated text which shows it had some significance (OccupyWallSt 34).

Furthermore, the 1% were again responsible for issues beyond that of inequality. Climate change was mentioned in 23 percent of texts in this phase. OccupyWallSt 43 wrote that that the movement would initiate a "global month of action leading up to Earth Day … to connect the dots between the 1% and the destruction of the planet." Corporate control of the food supply was again discussed, this time in slightly more texts than the previous phase (13 percent). OccupyWallSt 30 sought to expose an industry "responsible for using chemical toxins tied to soaring obesity rates, heart disease and diabetes and limiting access to affordable, wholesome food to the country's poorest citizens". OWS also furthered its anti-war position, increasing articulation of this frame to 20 percent of texts. OccupyWallSt 28 called for action to protest the 17th annual "Aerospace & Defence Finance Conference in NYC", arguing that "#OWS will not stand silent as these dangerous parasites take our tax dollars and turn them into arms and profit."

4.4.2 Declining-Mobilisation Prognostic Framing

Prognostic framing also follows the trends started in the Initial-Mobilisation phase. While becoming more focused on the housing crisis, OWS continued to focus less and less on articulating possible options for reform. Moreover, this final phase saw the notable introduction of a re-occupy frame as OWS sought to re-establish an occupation. Figure 11 and Table 13 present the movement's final prognostic frames.
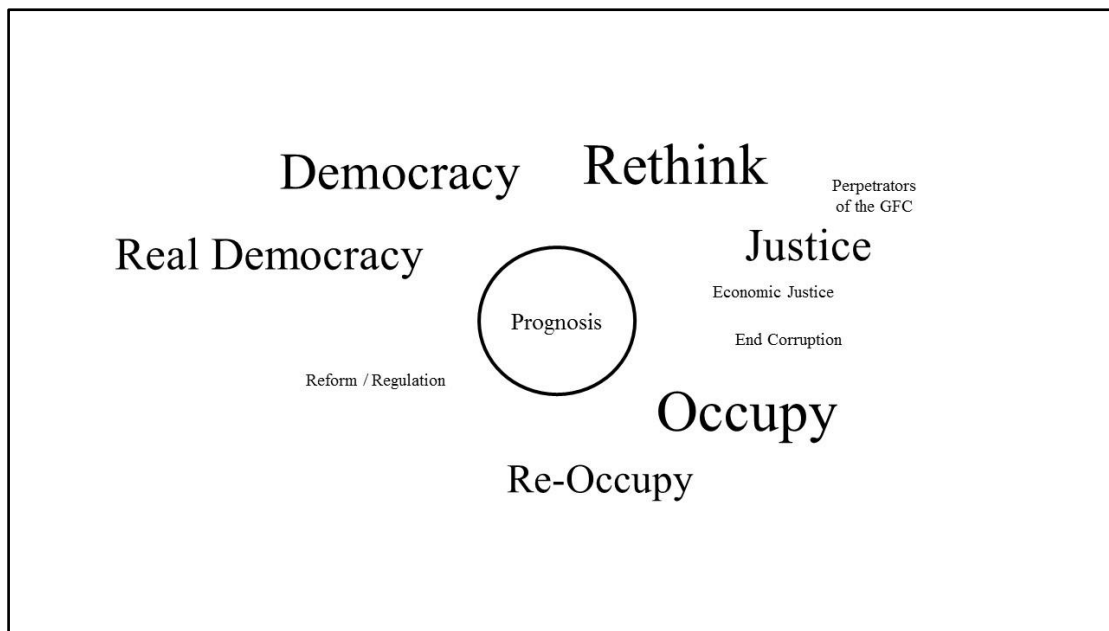
Figure 11 – Declining-Mobilisation Prognostic Frames (Specific Word Map)

The need for democracy remained the most consistent proposal proffered by OWS throughout its mobilisation. Although this did decline going into the final phase, with mentions of democracy down to 70 percent, and mentions of real democracy down to 57 percent. Calls for both a rethink and for justice increased to 83 percent and 73 percent of texts respectively. These frames became more focused on the foreclosure crisis, with a sense of justice closely associated with requirement of shelter. When OWS spoke about taking action against the foreclosure crisis, it spoke of those on the "frontlines of a struggle for economic justice" (OccupyWallSt 29).

Again, however, OWS's framing of justice and its vision for society was unspecific. Stated in OccupyWallSt 37, this text explained that the focus of OWS had never changed; it was always based on "ending economic inequality, injustice, and oppression in all forms against all marginalised communities." Put simply, OWS sought to end the "tyranny of the 1%" (OccupyWallSt 34). Specific strategies other than 'occupy' were referenced in even fewer texts in the Declining-Mobilisation phase – only 10 percent of texts articulated a specific proposal. These options included NYCGA 4's proposals for electoral reform, NYCGA 5's resolution to end corporate personhood, and another call for the 1% tax on financial transactions (Adbusters 15). Bringing the perpetrators of the

GFC to justice was discussed in only 13 percent of texts (as was ending corruption), clearly indicating that OWS was uninterested in engaging in a traditional sense. Moreover, the movement rejected all candidates contesting the 2012 presidential election (OccupyWallSt 31). This sentiment was accurately summarised in OccupyWallSt 37: "no matter who wins the U.S. Presidential election circus, only direct action … can rebuild democracy and justice … We are fighting for deeper changes than any politician can bring."

Table 13

Declining-Mobilisation Prognostic Frames	
Solutions / Proposals	**Percentage of Texts**
Rethink	83%
Occupy	80%
Justice	73%
Democracy	70%
Real Democracy	57%
Re-Occupy	53%
Perpetrators of GFC	13%
End Corruption	10%
Reform / Regulation	10%
No. of Solutions = 9	*No. of Texts = 30*

Thus, it was profoundly clear at each stage of OWS's mobilisation that the movement's fundamental prognostic frame was 'occupy' itself. 80 percent of texts articulated the importance of occupying space, and the horizontal and discursive infrastructure that came with it. As summed up in Adbusters 16:

"We'll hold our assemblies, hash out our demands and start building a parallel society that can sustain autonomous, horizontal, revolutionary communities outside of corpo-consumerism … we stop begging and start creating … we begin the change we want to see."

Problematically, however, this phase of mobilisation was marked by a general inability to set up any occupations. Therefore, OWS introduced the idea of re-occupy, which was discussed in 53 percent of texts. Texts such as OccupyWallSt

32 were aptly titled: "Re-Occupy D17". Re-establishing an occupation was communicated as essential for the movement to achieve its vision.

4.4.3 Declining-Mobilisation Motivational Framing

Vocabularies of motive continued to become more prominent in OWS's final sustained effort of mobilisation. All four elements were mentioned in more texts than the previous two phases. Table 14 details these findings.

Table 14

Declining Motivational Frames	
Vocabularies of Motive	**Percentage of Texts**
Propriety	90%
Severity	90%
Efficacy	73%
Urgency	43%
	No. of Texts = 30

OWS almost constantly stressed its propriety in the final phase of mobilisation, doing so in 90 percent of texts. Some of this was communicated with what the movement saw as simple situations where the movement was clearly in the right. For example, OccupyWallSt 43 wrote: "While it would cost nothing to allow homeless protesters to sleep in a 24-hour public park, it costs a lot to kick them out". The movement again emphasised its adherence to nonviolence, and never failed to describe police evictions as raids or attacks on peaceful protesters. Moreover, it continued to communicate that its dreams for society were those of a "better" world (See Adbusters 18). And finally, as the movement started to do so in the Initial-Mobilisation phase it more concertedly framed its actions in moral terms. According to OccupyWallSt 32, OWS had sparked a national movement that had "exposed the moral bankruptcy of an economy of homeless families and vacant homes, crowded classrooms and empty schools, Wall Street bonuses and endless unemployment lines".

OWS also communicated the severity of the situation in 90 percent of Declining-Mobilisation texts. This continued to be demonstrated by the frequent use of the 99% and 1% frames, but the extent of social and economic inequality was also emphasised in detail. OccupyWallSt 29 claimed that "while Wall Street and the big banks were making record profits, most Americans are struggling to stay in their homes … They make trillions and get bailouts, while we face record unemployment and record debt." In addition to the nature of inequality, OWS referenced far more 'extreme' statistics during its final efforts to mobilise. For example, according to OccupyWallSt 34, 6 million homes had been foreclosed since 2007, 1.6 million teenagers were being forced to live on the streets, and 50 million Americans were without access to healthcare. OccupyWallSt 29 took its claims about the housing crisis further, stating that "most Americans are struggling to stay in their homes", with "one in four homeowners are currently underwater on their mortgages". As well as utilising statistics, OWS's descriptions of the situation were also generally more extreme. For example, OccupyWallSt 37 claimed that "oppression exists in nearly every facet of society, under a seemingly endless number of disguises."

OWS articulated its efficacy in 73 percent of Declining-Mobilisation texts, conveying both a sense of gathering momentum, and the effectiveness of its methods. Trying to dispel the myth that its numbers were dwindling, OccupyWallSt 37 wrote: "But we aren't dormant; we're escalating". Regarding its methods, OWS claimed that "its tactics and rhetoric have proven so useful and effective that they continue to inspire protest movements across the world, who then share their experiences and tactics with us" (OccupyWallSt 37). This efficacy was grounded in the strength of 'occupy', the idea of a united people, and again, the tactic of nonviolence.

OWS slightly increased descriptions of urgency (43 percent of texts), but it remained the least significant vocabulary of motive. Generally, urgency frames communicated a sense that the severity of the situation was getting worse as OWS was protesting. Adbusters 15 argued that "people around the world are waking up to the fact … that if we don't rise up and start fighting for a different kind of future, we won't have a future." Regarding the housing crisis,

OccupyWallSt 26 warned that "millions of people have lost their homes *or fear they soon will* because of the foreclosure crisis" (emphasis added). Nonetheless it highlighted that an opportunity for action was open: "The 1%ers who fund government are getting ready because they know the #GlobalSpring[79] is almost at hand." (OccupyWallSt 42). Moreover, following the Initial-Mobilisation, Declining-Mobilisation texts stressed a need for reinforcements – especially in order to capitalise on the aforementioned opportunity. OccupyWallSt 41 implored people who cared to participate: "We want everyone with an interest in this movement against Wall Street greed to take part in the evolving conversation. Spring is coming. The time to get involved is now!"

4.4.4 Declining-Mobilisation Identity Framing

OWS's framing of identity did not change significantly in the Declining-Mobilisation phase. It continued to be primarily based on the 99% frame, but as with the Initial-Mobilisation phase, this was contradicted by an increasing number of references to specific identities. Figure 12 demonstrates the final picture of OWS's identity, and Table 15 details the quantitative results.
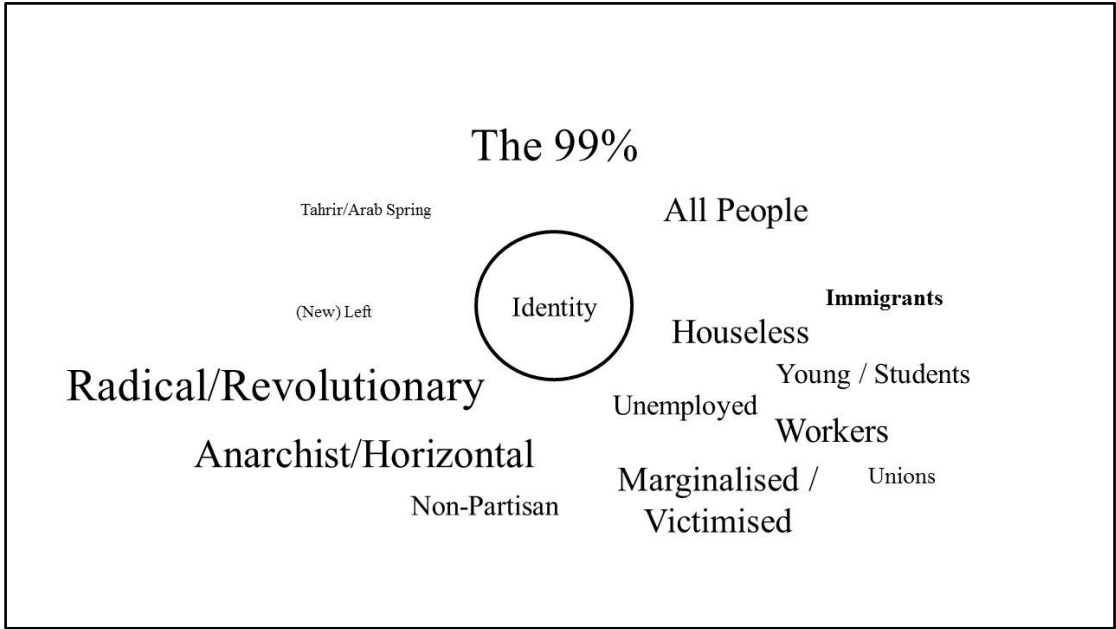

Figure 12 – Declining-Mobilisation Identity Frames (Specific Word Map)

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[79] Referring to the Spring Offensive.

60 percent of texts explicitly referred to the movement as the 99%. As previously discussed, framing the situation as the "99% organizing to end the tyranny of the 1%" (OccupyWallSt 34) unambiguously communicates the "we" and the "they" of this movement. While declining in references to 43 percent of texts, the all-people frame continued to be used; OWS described itself as a "people powered movement" (See OccupyWallSt 34).

Table 15

Declining-Mobilisation Identity Frames			
Identity	**Percentage of Texts**	**Specific Groups**	**Percentage of Texts**
The 99%	60%	Houseless	43%
Radical / Revolutionary	60%	Marginalised / Victimised	43%
Anarchist / Horizontal	50%	Workers	40%
All People	43%	Young / Students	30%
Non-Partisan	27%	Unemployed	30%
Tahrir / Arab Spring	7%*	Immigrants	23%
(New) Left	7%*	Unions	17%
			No. of Texts = 30

Both of these frames were again contradicted with other clear elements of OWS's identity. The radical and revolutionary desires of its participants were mentioned in in 60 percent of texts. Articulations of the anarchist ethos of OWS were again made in 50 percent of texts. OccupyWallSt 46 called OWS "our horizontal, leaderless movement". Texts also made more explicit descriptions of the movement as non-partisan, doing so in 27 percent of texts (See OccupyWallSt 31), but this period also showed OWS had become more vehemently 'anti-partisan'. As OccupyWallSt 37 explained, the movement did not endorse "any politician(s) because no candidate will bring change. ... We are anti-partisan -- we oppose all of them. We've mic checked every major Presidential candidate and picketed outside campaign rallies and disrupted caucuses on both sides." While only mentioned in seven percent of texts, there was some detailed discussion of OWS was a left-wing movement. Adbusters 17 explained that OWS

was "in a battle ... a fight to the finish between the impotent old left and the new vibrant, horizontal left who launched OWS from the bottom-up".

Finally, each of the specific groups – that represented the 'we' of OWS – which had been previously articulated also became more prominent. Students and young people were mentioned in 30 percent of texts. As can be noted from the severity framing, the statistics quoted by OWS were regularly about youth unemployment (Adbusters 18) or teenage homelessness (OccupyWallSt 34). References to those affected by the housing crisis increased to 43 percent of texts, and the unemployed were called to act in 30 percent of texts. Affinity with workers and labour was mentioned in 40 percent of texts; OccupyWallSt 40, calling to action for May Day, emphasised that the significance of this day for workers. Unions were discussed in 17 percent of texts, and were described as some of OWS's "strongest allies" (OccupyWallSt 40). In addition to these ideas, two other groups became more prominent parts of OWS's identity. Immigrants were discussed in 23 percent of texts (the first phase this group were discussed). OccupyWallSt 40 spoke of how May Day was about showing the value, and economic power of immigrants. Moreover, while discussed in the Initial-Mobilisation phase, victimised or marginalised groups were discussed in 43 percent of texts. This feature of OWS's identity framing was clearly stated in OccupyWallSt 42:

> "As dissidents of all nations, races, classes, and genders increasingly take to the streets, protesters are learning first-hand what communities of colour, immigrants, indigenous people, Trans and queer people, and other criminalized classes have long experienced: the police serve only the powerful."

4.5 Summary

This chapter has summarised the main findings of my analysis OWS movement texts over the three defined phases of mobilisation. It has presented the overall framing activity from each phase, and has also discussed features of the four relevant types of framing: diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity frames. The periodisation has allowed us to understand the changing nature of

OWS's life over the course of its serious attempts at mobilisation, demonstrating when OWS was most successful at inspiring collective action, and when it was less so. In addition, the overall and specific framing activity from each period allows us to understand what frames were proffered during, and in some cases, throughout the phases of study, which allows for a greater understanding of both the relative emphasis on each framing process, but also the constituent parts of these broad categories of frames. And as discussed in the next chapter provides evidence to support the assertion of this thesis that changes in frames were related to changes in mobilisation.

Importantly, these findings provide a significant addition to the literature studying OWS: the frame constructions rendered here have been created through a detailed analysis of movement texts, something the literature had hitherto failed to systematically do so. Moreover, while the next chapter discusses the implications of these findings in more substantive detail, the visual presentation of the frames – the word maps – combined with the descriptions of mobilisation ought to have already conveyed a lucid and nuanced depiction of the changing nature central variables of interest – framing and mobilisation.

5. Discussion

5.1 Introduction

In this penultimate chapter I will discuss the implications of my analysis of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) texts for the hypotheses suggested in Chapter 3 (H1-9). The close reading of movement texts has already produced a much more detailed picture of the intended ideas and arguments of OWS than understanding in the extant literature; from this deeper understanding, the extent to which the framing of OWS contributed to its mobilisation efforts can begin to be assessed. The evidence confirmed the expectation that changes in framing would correlate with changes in mobilisation, and generally, the hypotheses regarding the influence of the four core framing tasks on OWS's mobilisation appear to be accurate. Nevertheless, the framing analysis also showed that there is a need to examine the extent to which the literature's claims about OWS reflects the picture of its ideational elements based on actual movement texts presented here. In particular, some interesting results, such as the minimal attention to developing vocabularies of urgency and the dominance of the anti-system diagnostic frame, had not been addressed by scholars. In other words, some of the prevailing wisdom on OWS is in need of some revision.

This chapter will primarily consist of these two broad points of discussion. Firstly, I will analyse what the evidence presented in Chapter 4 means for the hypotheses about OWS's mobilisation; secondly, I will consider the limitations with the framing explanations utilised here in terms of the theoretical and methodological limitations of my approach. Finally, I also offer some reflections on the complications of OWS as a case study in framing.

5.2 How Framing Affected Occupy Wall Street's Mobilisation

The general hypothesis about OWS's mobilisation drawn from arguments made in the existing OWS scholarship and the theoretical literature on framing anticipated that *changes* in framing could explain the numbers of participants

that the movement mobilised (H1). These changes could be explained by the types of frames proffered by OWS (and the content of these frames); alternatively, if there were no notable changes in type, this would indicate that the mobilising capacity of frames changed over time – in other words, ideas may have been initially appealing but, for exogenous reasons (potentially outside of OWS's control), the appeal of these interpretations deteriorated.

Because a major point of emphasis for this thesis is the longitudinal aspect of its analysis, this section will be divided into two parts. The first section examines the changes in Pre-Protest to Initial-Mobilisation frames, which was associated with increasing levels of collective action; the second section examines the changes in Initial-Mobilisation to Declining-Mobilisation frames, which was associated with a sharp decline in mobilisation and consistently low levels of participation. The assumption is that these changes in mobilisation can to some extent be explained by changes in framing – either in the types of framing or the mobilising capacity of the frames. I draw heavily on the word maps and tables presented in Chapter 4 to inform my discussion about changes in the types of frames, but also include some additional tables, which emphasise changes across the different phases. While I am unable to substantively discuss mobilisation capacity, as my thesis has not seriously investigated factors such as frame resonance or the structural opportunities and/or constraints faced by OWS, I can offer some speculation as to why changes in mobilisation occurred.

5.2.1 Pre-Protest to Initial-Mobilisation – Successful Mobilisation

The frames articulated in the Pre-Protest phase (the two months leading up to the beginning of the protests) were the ideas and interpretations available to potential participants before the protests began, and therefore, the ideas and interpretations that motivated the initial mobilisation. The early protests attracted numbers in the low thousands. Because the Pre-Protest frames were the first interpretations utilised by OWS I am unable to confidently explain how they affected mobilisation, because changes in the types of frames proffered cannot be observed. Nonetheless, as the following discussion will show, the

findings regarding the prominence of certain frames do give an indication of the accuracy of the literature's claims.

H2 predicted that institutions such as Wall Street and the collusion with finance and government were salient mobilising ideas, and a majority of Pre-Protest texts discussed Wall Street, finance, politicians, and corruption. It is reasonable to suggest that institutions such as these were empirically credible targets; following the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), financial and political institutions had plenty to answer for. However, while the targets of Pre-Protest texts aligned with the successful ideational elements of OWS (identified by the literature), one key part of this success was missing – namely, the inequality frame. Pre-Protest texts were far clearer about targets than they were about issues. Only one issue – injustice – was proffered in 50 percent of texts, and only 20 percent of texts discussed inequality; alternatively, six targets were discussed in 50 percent (or more) of texts. Thus, this seems to indicate that the resonance of OWS's targets of protest derived their substance from the inequality (and 99% vs. 1%) frame, which was almost entirely absent from the Pre-Protest phase. For example, the inequality frame combined with the Wall Street frame was so powerful because of the observable disconnect between Wall Street traders and those affected by the financial crisis (Amenta, 2012; Beck, 2013).

Considering the hypothesis that the number of diagnostic frames communicated by OWS contributed negatively to mobilisation (H3), it seems worth noting that another central diagnostic frame expressed by OWS in the Pre-Protest phase was its opposition to the 'system' (70 percent of texts). It is likely that the resonance of this frame was based on the feeling of injustice following the financial crisis. Many people saw great injustice in the massive bailouts given to the banks, and that financial leaders and institutions themselves remained unpunished, despite causing the crisis (Amenta, 2012; Benski et al., 2013). In this sense, it did seem empirically credible to be frustrated with the current system. While the number and type of diagnostic frames proffered by OWS in the Pre-Protest phase seemed reasonably balanced with other framing tasks, as the evidence presented in Chapter 4 demonstrates, issues with the number of diagnostic frames expressed by OWS becomes more apparent over the next two phases of mobilisation.

The evidence for the OWS's prognostic framing appears to contradict the hypothesis that OWS's lack of prognostic framing had demobilising effects (H4). In the Pre-Protest phase OWS articulated more "key" prognostic frames than diagnostic frames (eight and seven, respectively).[80] The criticism of OWS's lack of demands also seems misplaced because 70 percent of texts expressed the movement's desire to make "one demand" – the sole purpose of this idea to make sure the group could actually achieve its goals. Early participants joining OWS in the initial protests would likely have had the idea of coming up with a "one demand". Moreover, this formative phase actually discussed the most coherent expressions of proposed solutions. Fifty percent of texts articulated specific reform or regulatory options, some of which were not particularly radical. Thirty percent of texts called for a Presidential inquiry into corruption, and 30 percent of texts called for a 1% tax on financial transactions. It is difficult to hypothesise about the mobilising potency of the 'occupy' frame in the Pre-Protest phase, but the numbers turning out in the initial weeks seem to suggest that many saw the idea in a positive light, contradicting the claim that OWS's focus on 'occupy' contributed negatively to mobilisation (H5).

The proffered vocabularies of motive were vague, but a majority of texts communicated severity, efficacy, and propriety, although, only 20 percent of texts explained the urgency of the situation. H6 hypothesised that OWS framed itself as a moral movement; the evidence suggests that OWS did communicate that what the movement was doing was important or good, but did not stress the moral elements of its critique in the Pre-Protest phase so it is unclear how this aspect of framing contributed to the early mobilisation. The findings for H7, which predicted that OWS failed to communicate why it was worth joining, are also unclear. Allusions to the Tahrir Square protests could have added to a belief that occupy was an efficacious strategy, contradicting H7. However, the analysis of OWS texts also found what Benford (1993b, pp. 208-209) describes as "framing hazards". Some Pre-Protest texts included interpretations of the situation that seemed counter-intuitive for motivating participation. A quote

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[80] See Figure 1 and Table 1.

regarding the control of corporations over politics describes a situation so severe that it seemed unlikely that OWS would have been able to change it (diminishing a sense of efficacy): "We need to address the core facts: these corporations, even if they were unable to compete in the electoral arena, would still remain in control of society. They would retain economic control, which would allow them to retain political control." (OccupyWallSt 3).

The hypotheses regarding identity framing (H8 & H9) predicted that the inclusive 99% frame had positive effects for mobilisation however, this was also contradicted by more exclusive elements of OWS identity, such as its radical and anarchist ethos. The findings demonstrated contradictions in the Pre-Protest phase, but the evident lack of the 99% frame (10 percent of texts) meant that these may not have been as apparent as it would be in the later phases of mobilisation. Nonetheless with 60 percent of texts explaining that OWS was for "all-people", and with 90 percent of texts explaining that OWS wanted radical, revolutionary change, and with early turnout in the low thousands (which would increase significantly) this seems to suggest that H9 may be an accurate claim. Moreover, the relatively mediocre initial turnout may serve to bolster the claim that the 99% frame was highly effective for mobilisation (H8), because the use of this idea was not widespread in the Pre-Protest phase.

After the Brooklyn Bridge protest (two weeks after September 17), the numbers of participants in OWS demonstrations steadily increased, reaching their peak on November 17 (somewhere between 15,000 and 30,000 participants). What explains this increase in mobilisation? The findings show that changes in framing did occur in the Initial-Mobilisation texts, and there are reasons to believe these changes contributed to the increase in participation. Importantly for the argument put forward by this thesis, changes in the types of framing correlated with an increase in mobilisation. Table 16 presents some of the notable changes in framing that occurred between the two phases.

Table 16

Notable Changes in Framing - Pre-Protest-Initial-Mobilisation			
Diagnostic Frames	**% of PP Texts**	**% of IM Texts**	**% Change**
99% vs. 1%	10%	60%	50%
Inequality	20%	67%	47%
Police	30%	60%	30%
Prognostic Frames	**% of PP Texts**	**% of IM Texts**	**% Change**
One Demand	70%	13%	-57%
End Corruption	50%	20%	-30%
Reform / Regulation	50%	20%	-30%
Identity Frames	**% of PP Texts**	**% of IM Texts**	**% Change**
The 99%	10%	70%	60%
Tahrir / Arab Spring	70%	10%	-60%
Spanish *Indignados*	60%	7%	-53%
(New) Left	40%	7%	-33%
Radical / Revolutionary	90%	63%	-27%

The targets of protest, OWS framed as responsible, remained largely the same, focusing on Wall Street, banks, finance, corporations, and the system. What changed was the immediately observable increase in the inequality frame, increasing from 20 percent of Pre-Protest texts to nearly 70 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts. This was, of course, enabled by the prolific use of the 99% idea; communicating the extremity of inequality using the 99% vs. 1% frame also increased significantly, from 10 percent of Pre-Protest texts to 60 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts. The correlation between this and a steady rise in participation during this phase of action suggests that OWS's focus on inequality (and the 99% and 1% frames), combined with the targeting of Wall Street and other financial institutions had positive effects for mobilisation (H2). The literature discussed in Chapter 2 offered several explanations as to why this was a successful idea for mobilisation, such as how it institutions demonstrate unequal distributions of power in basic social institutions (Calhoun, 2013) or simply how it taps into public disdain for actors such as Wall Street who

represented both the centre of greed and power, and the concentration of wealth in a minuscule portion of society (Langman, 2013).

The significant increase in use of the 99% frame (in its various forms) also has potential implications for motivational framing. While H7 predicted that OWS failed to communicate why the movement was worth joining, the 99% frame was clearly used to convey a severe picture of inequality in society (regardless of whether it was entirely accurate). More importantly, the idea was more easy to communicate than Pre-Protest motivational frames (van Stekelenburg, 2012). Byers (2011) found a fourfold increase in news articles discussing inequality after OWS started protesting. Furthermore, in terms of efficacy, the 99% also conveys the size and strength of the movement (Pickerill & Krinsky, 2012). In this sense, while there was no significant change in the overall number of texts articulating vocabularies of motive, a notable change in content (driven by the 99% frame) in the Initial-Mobilisation phase likely served to make OWS's vocabularies of motive more *motivating*. The evidence for H6 (the moral framing of OWS) is again unclear, as similar numbers of texts communicated the propriety of the movement. Nonetheless, more texts framed OWS in deliberately moral terms (see for example, OccupyWallSt 11 & 22). Because this also correlated with an increase in mobilisation, perhaps those such as Lakoff (2011) were correct in suggesting OWS was right to frame itself as a moral movement (H6). Moreover, the literature suggested that OWS's subjection to police brutality was effective for galvanising sympathy and winning moral support (Rowe & Carroll, 2014).

The analysis also produced more promising results for the hypotheses about OWS's identity. On one hand, the 99% identity frame was used in 70 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts, a significant increase from the Pre-Protest phase where only one text had utilised the term. Because of the increasing levels of mobilisation in Initial-Mobilisation phase, this suggests that the evidence supports H8. The number of texts describing the group's radical identity declined from 90 percent of Pre-Protest texts to 63 percent of Initial-Mobilisation, which again adds weight to H8: a decrease in expressions of OWS's radical nature, accompanied by an increase in its inclusive 99% frame, was associated with an increase in mobilisation. Moreover, explicit descriptions of the group as left wing

declined significantly, from 40 percent of Pre-Protest texts to only seven percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts. This too, would have reduced the perceivable contradictions with OWS's claim to represent the 99%.

However, while mobilisation increased significantly, potentially reaching as many as 30,000 participants by November 17, by comparison to other well-known social movements these numbers are relatively low (Rawlings, 2012). OWS itself made comparisons to the protests against the Iraq war where millions demonstrated (See Adbusters 10). The difference between Pre-Protest and Initial-Mobilisation texts produced mixed results for H3 (the number of diagnostic frames). Initial-Mobilisation texts do appear to corroborate the claim that OWS was clearer about what it was against; the number of key diagnostic frames increased to eight, but the number of key prognostic and identity frames decreased to five and four respectively.[81] The police became a key diagnostic frame for OWS during this phase, increasing from 30 percent of Pre-Protest texts to 60 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts. In this phase, framing the police as enemies of the movement may have been successful because of the excessive police response to OWS protesters (Pickerill & Krinsky, 2012; Rowe & Carroll, 2014). Other issues also started to become more prominent. Problems which appear more relevant to the GFC, such as the housing crisis, high levels of debt, and unemployed were all discussed more in Initial-Mobilisation texts, but other issues, such as a loss of freedom, the environment, the health system, oppression, and the food system were also discussed more widely.[82]

While associated with an increase in mobilisation, concerns with OWS's prognostic framing became more evident during this phase. Hewitt & McCammon (2005) argue the need for balance between radical and reformist elements. The Initial-Mobilisation phase clearly demonstrated that OWS was unequivocally heading down the radical path.[83] Expressions of specific proposals or reform declined from 50 percent of Pre-Protest texts to 20 percent in the Initial-Mobilisation phase. Even calls to end corruption declined, similarly from

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[81] See Figure 5 and Table 6.
[82] The loss of freedom frame in particular, increased from 20 percent of Pre-Protest texts to 43 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts.
[83] The changes between Figure 3, 7 and 11 demonstrate these changes clearly.

50 percent of Pre-Protest texts to 20 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts. However, the most notable change in prognostic framing was the almost complete disappearance of the "one demand" frame – decreasing from 70 percent of Pre-Protest texts to only 13 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts. The 1% financial tax, which was suggested as a possible "one demand", was only mentioned in seven percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts (decreasing from 30 percent in the previous phase). As discussed in Chapter 4, Initial-Mobilisation texts made it clear that OWS was openly uninterested in changing this approach: its purpose was not to make requests of a corrupt political system. However, it must be stated that the evidence for H4 from this phase of mobilisation contradicts the hypothesis; a decrease in coherent prognostic frames was associated with an increase in mobilisation in the Initial-Mobilisation phase.

It also seems reasonable to assume that 'occupy' was a useful mobilising idea in the Initial-Mobilisation phase. As the literature argues, it served to dramatise the movement's critique, by establishing an occupation that was for the 99% next to the financial sector, which was for the 1% (Mitchell, 2013a). Because occupation of prominent public places, with clear political and economic value, was a central dimension of activism (Calhoun, 2013), the very presence of the protests drew attention to the villains of the GFC (Amenta, 2012). Generally then, the findings for H4 and H5 are unclear when considering the change in mobilisation observed during the Initial-Mobilisation phase.

Moreover, in 63 percent of texts, the radical aspect of OWS's identity was clearly still significant.[84] Further speculation on the consistency of the 99% frame also raises concerns for the credibility of the idea. Did OWS participants actually represent the 99%? While OWS endeavoured to counter this line of thought[85] both consistently describing the ambitions of the group as radical and

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[84] Expressions of the group's anarchist ethos also declined, from 70 percent to 60 percent of texts, but again, this was still one of the four key identity frames.

[85] For example, OccupyWallSt 19 was dedicated to a discussion of veterans that were protesting with OWS, advertising that they were part of the 99%. OWS also published a profile of traffic to occupywallst.org, conducted by Hector R. Cordero-Guzman from the City University of New York. The profile concluded that "our data suggest that the 99% movement comes from and looks like the 99%". See http://occupywallst.org/media/pdf/OWS-profile1-10-18-11-sent-v2-HRCG.pdf.

revolutionary, and the increasing identification with groups such as students, homeless, the working-class and the unemployed amplified perceivable contradictions in identity.[86] More importantly, the potential concerns with these frames would become more pertinent as the group's mobilisation went into decline. Nevertheless, while the framing analysis presented here finds evidence (in terms of the types of frames) in OWS texts for H9, because mobilisation increased during this phase it does not suggest that contradictions in OWS's identity contributed negatively to mobilisation.

5.2.2 Declining-Mobilisation – Framing Fails to Mobilise

Table 17

Notable Changes in Framing - Initial-Mobilisation-Declining-Mobilisation			
Diagnostic Frames	**% of IM Texts**	**% of DM Texts**	**% Change**
The 1%	30%	70%	40%
Injustice	50%	77%	27%
Media	13%	37%	24%
Prognostic Frames	**% of IM Texts**	**% of DM Texts**	**% Change**
Re-Occupy	7%	53%	46%
Identity Frames	**% of DM Texts**	**% of DM Texts**	**% Change**
Marginalised / Victimised	17%	43%	26%
Immigrants	0%	23%	23%

Why did participation in OWS suddenly decline after November 17? Perhaps more importantly, why was the movement unable to re-mobilise to levels anywhere near those it achieved in its first two months? The evidence found in Declining-Mobilisation texts also shows that changes in framing occurred, although in this phase they correspond with a decline in mobilisation. However, in this final phase, most evidence seems to point to issues with mobilising

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[86] This was a frequent target for unsympathetic media. See especially Indiviglio (2011), which is aptly titled "Most Americans Aren't Occupy Wall Street's '99 Percent'".

potency of frames (resonance), though reception-analysis would be needed to confirm this. Nonetheless, Table 17 highlights the notable changes in types of frames between Initial-Mobilisation and Declining-Mobilisation texts that were observed. Finally, it is worth noting that there was no radical change in framing immediately following November 17, so it is unclear as to why mobilisation declined so sharply. Presumably, the main reason is that OWS had lost its physical base in Zuccotti Park and now mobilisation could only occur in marches and demonstrations throughout New York. Nevertheless, OWS's largest mobilisations had occurred during major demonstrations – so why was OWS unable to remobilise protests of similar size again?

Overall, the framing picture of OWS in its final efforts to mobilise demonstrated clearly that diagnostic frames were the mainstay of the movement's ideas.[87] In Declining-Mobilisation texts, 13 diagnostic frames were discussed in at least 50 percent of texts, whereas only six prognostic frames and three identity frames met this criterion The analysis of Declining-Mobilisation texts provided the strongest evidence for H3 (the number of diagnostic frames). Many aspects of framing remained the same: Wall Street, banks, corporations, corruption, the system, and the police remained the predominant targets of blame; inequality also remained the primary issue in need of redress. In addition to these, targets such as the corporate media and International Institutions were also attributed blame for the issues OWS was protesting. It became increasingly clear that as the movement aged it wished to expand its focus, not narrow it. The major increase in the use of the 1% frame – increasing from 30 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts to 70 percent of Declining-Mobilisation texts – could potentially demonstrate a recognition by OWS that it desired to categorise all its opponents in one group. Finally, it must be stressed that the 'system' was the most consistent target of OWS's derision, reaching its zenith in the final phase of mobilisation (articulated in 90 percent of texts). The literature did not emphasise the significance of this idea for OWS, and because this frame was the most consistently articulated diagnostic frame across all three phases of mobilisation it seems especially important that future research consider the resonance of this

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[87] See Figure 9 and Table 11.

idea.[88] For this thesis, however, the dominance of the system frame provides further evidence for H3.

Furthermore, the relative significance of the various issues that OWS argued were in need of attention also seems to suggest that the number of diagnostic frames OWS proffered contributed negatively to mobilisation. While it is argued that the 1% was highly useful for communicating the adversarial component of diagnostic framing (as OWS represented the 99%), the issues that the 1% were responsible for may have been stretched too far. This raises possible questions for both the salience and credibility of Declining-Mobilisation frames. Texts extended the definition of the problematic situation beyond that of the observable consequences of the GFC; environmental issues, for example, were discussed in 20 percent of texts in phases two and three. Wider social issues such as racism, and prejudice toward immigrants also increased to 37 percent by the final phase of framing (from 23 percent in the second phase), and a general feeling of freedom being taken away again discussed widely. Moreover, in the case of the police, the Declining-Mobilisation phase had issues with consistency – was OWS an anti-police movement? Almost 60 percent of texts spoke negatively of the police, and its anti-police rhetoric was notably more charged than in the Initial-Mobilisation phase. This latter point, suggests that the logical connections that OWS drew between actors such as Wall Street, or corporations, and environmental destruction or military action may not have been as salient as the argument that these actors were responsible for the financial crisis.

The evidence is mixed when considering H2. While inequality remained the most prominent issue OWS was protesting, mobilisation declined in the final phase. However, considered alongside the expansion of targets and issues discussed above suggests that the while inequality may have remained a resonant idea, others may not have been. A general feeling of injustice, which predominantly expressed through OWS's frustration with the 'system', increased from 50 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts to 77 percent of Declining-Mobilisation texts – on par with inequality. Because the increase of the general injustice frame was

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[88] Castells (2015) is a notable exception to this.

associated with a decrease in mobilisation this indicates that OWS's wider critique of society may not have resonated with those not participating in the movement. In other words, while Wall Street was arguably a resonant target for the inequality frame, targeting the 'system' (in general) may not have been so successful.

As aforementioned, the evidence appears to verify the assertion that OWS's lack of prognostic agenda had demobilising effects (H4). This final phase clearly confirmed that OWS had no interest in making proposals for reform. Discussion of possible reforms further decreased, from 20 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts to 10 percent of Declining-Mobilisation. Calls to end corruption followed the same trend. Even its calls for real democracy declined: these were only mentioned in 53 percent of texts. The decrease in expressions of these frames was accompanied by a steady increase of generic calls for "justice" (up to 73 percent of texts), and a need for a complete rethink of the system (up to 83 percent of texts). The language of Declining-Mobilisation texts extended the movement's unwillingness to engage. OWS was about taking control of the issues it deemed the system (and all the institutions within it) incapable of fixing. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that potential participants reading the texts in the second and last phase of mobilisation would have received a clear message that OWS was unwilling to develop a prognostic agenda; because of this, the evidence appears to confirm H4.

Moreover, the strongest evidence for H5 (the resonance of 'occupy' as an end in itself), can be found in the changes between Initial-Mobilisation and Declining-Mobilisation texts. Despite losing its occupation at Zuccotti Park, 'occupy' remained the most regularly expressed method through which change could be achieved, with 80 percent of texts doing so. More importantly, the introduction of the need to 're-occupy' was notable. Seven percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts discussed this idea, and unsurprisingly, these were the two texts written post-eviction from Zuccotti (OccupyWallSt 23 & 24). In the Declining-Mobilisation phase, 53 percent of texts spoke of the need to re-occupy, clearly communicating to potential participants that this was how OWS achieved its intentions. All things considered, with a sharp decline in mobilisation in late November, and a

failure to remobilise numbers of any significance in 2012 (or successfully re-occupy), the evidence suggests that framing 'occupy' as an end itself did produce demobilising effects. As argued by Dean (2012), this vigorous attention to the consensus models lead to more discussion over *process than action*. Because of these perceived issues with the approach of OWS, some of the literature contends that we are unlikely to see a continuation of the movement (or see new movements emerge) in the same form (Brucato, 2012; Calhoun, 2013; Gitlin, 2013).

The findings from the final phase of mobilisation again produced unclear results for both H6 and H7. While the Declining-Mobilisation texts had the most explicit attempts to frame OWS in a moral way, this was associated with a decline in mobilisation. H6, however, suggested that moral framing positively influenced OWS's mobilisation. The evidence seems to be clearer for H7 – OWS failed to communicate severity, urgency, and efficacy. While OWS expressed the four vocabularies of motive in Declining-Mobilisation texts the most it had done across the three phases, [89] because this was associated with a decline in participation this would suggest that the movement's motivational framing was not compelling. Unfortunately, however, as no major changes in framing occurred, the accuracy of this claim is still unclear. Looking again at the content of the motivational frames, it seems likely that OWS's communication of efficacy became increasingly ineffective in the Declining-Mobilisation phase as it became clear that the movement was unable to occupy spaces anymore (shown by the failed attempts to establish occupations on December 17, 2011, the six-month anniversary, and on May Day). Continuing to defend this tactic as an efficacious way to achieve change intuitively suggests concerns for both salience and credibility. Would bystanders believe OWS's claims that occupy would achieve the change the movement wanted, especially if it was unable to even establish a physical occupation? If the movement could not occupy, how could all the activities so integral to OWS's message take place?

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[89] Equal with those who had been affected by the housing crisis (See Table 15).

Finally, it is also unclear how the identity of OWS influenced its final efforts to mobilise. The 99% frame remained the most widespread idea in Declining-Mobilisation texts, but contrary to H8, it was associated with decreasing levels of participation and a failure to remobilise. The findings do show that contradictions with the 99% frame became most clear in the final phase. Increasing numbers of texts explicitly describe the movement as for young people, students, workers, and organised labour. Moreover, it was noted that identification with marginalised groups increased from 17 percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts to 43 percent of Declining-Mobilisation texts making it the most prominent 'specific group' that OWS identified with.[90] Framing immigrants as part of the 99% was also noted during the final phase, in 23 percent of texts (the first time this frame was used). Finally, Declining-Mobilisation texts increased OWS's non/anti-partisan position from seven percent of Initial-Mobilisation texts to 27 percent. However, as purported by Dean (2012, p. 53), the "language of non-partisanship was disingenuous", given the unambiguous aesthetic and message of OWS. The evidence for H9 thus seems to suggest that the success of the 99% frame was affected by how inclusive the movement was actually perceived to be – in other words, did OWS actually represent the 99%?

5.2.3 Summary

The implications of my framing analysis for the hypotheses are mixed. The findings do suggest the general hypothesis (H1) that changes in framing can explain the trajectory of mobilisation is accurate. Many of these changes would require reception-analysis (discussed below), however, changes in the types of frames proffered were also found, which is an important finding for the argument of this thesis. My analysis of movement texts has also confirmed Rohgalf's assertion that it is hard to theorise about the experience of OWS. By studying the movement over time, it clearly shows that the OWS 'experience' changed across its mobilisation, and this had different effects on mobilisation. This is demonstrated by the varying results for the specific hypotheses, and raises questions for the general framing arguments made by the literature, because

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[90] Expressions of the group's anarchist ethos also declined, from 70 percent to 60 percent of texts, but again, this was still one of the four key identity frames.

hypotheses were both verified and contradicted at different points of mobilisation.

The significant increase in texts discussing inequality in the second phase, in particular, adds weight to H2. However, H2's accuracy was unclear in the final phase of (attempted) mobilisation as inequality, Wall Street, and corruption remained significant ideas but were associated with low levels of collective action. There was reasonably compelling evidence found for H3, as an increase in diagnostic frames (particularly in the Declining-Mobilisation) phase was associated with a decrease in participation. These findings also raised questions for the literature's understanding of this aspect of OWS's framing. Challenging Gitlin's assertion that capitalism was an inconspicuous nemesis for OWS, the findings of this thesis suggest that inconspicuousness was not the issue; instead, the sheer number of targets and issues that OWS protested drove the ambiguity in understanding what the movement sought to change.

The findings were mixed for the hypotheses regarding OWS's prognostic framing. The general criticism that OWS's lacked a prognostic agenda seems misplaced in the first phase, as texts not only articulated specific options for reform, but communicated that the movement wanted to come up with a demand that could be achieved. In terms of how prognostic framing influenced mobilisation, the decrease in more specific prognostic frames accompanied by an increase in grand and unspecific calls for revolution did correlate to a decline in collective action, suggesting that H4 is also accurate, however, this trend in OWS's prognostic framing began during the phase of increasing mobilisation. In terms of the influence of 'occupy' (as a mobilising idea), it is unclear what effect it had on early protests, as participation increased in the Initial-Mobilisation phase despite 'occupy' being the most prominent prognostic frame. However, because H5 concerns 'occupy' *as an end in itself*, this aspect of the frame's usage began in the Initial-Mobilisation phase and became fundamentally clear in the final phase, so it does appear to suggest that focusing so vociferously on 'occupy' in the final phase of mobilisation had demobilising effects.

The results for the motivational framing hypotheses (H6 & H7) are unclear. The movement consistently communicated its propriety, so it is difficult to confidently argue whether this affected mobilisation. However, the findings did challenge the literature's emphasis on morality in the case of OWS, as movement texts did not frame the movement in moral terms to the extent the literature suggests. Vocabularies of motive were notably lacking (especially compared with the other vocabularies) which lends itself to argument of H6. However, because severity and efficacy was communicated relatively consistently, with no major changes in the types of motivational frames proffered, the effect on mobilisation (either positive or negative) for this framing task cannot be verified by these findings. Finally, it is worth noting that my analysis found weak results for the presence of emotive language in OWS texts (contradicting the literature's claim). As Pearlman (2013) has demonstrated the determining role of emotion on mobilisation in the case of the Arab Spring, and because the framing literature has recognised the role of emotion in motivational framing (Halfmann & Young, 2010), it is important for future studies of OWS to consider this factor more seriously. However, to reiterate, my analysis found that the textual evidence for emotion in this case was unconvincing.

The evidence for H8 and H9 is more promising. A major increase in the use of the 99% identity frame correlated with an increase in mobilisation in the Initial-Mobilisation phase, which aligns with the prediction of H8. Furthermore, contradictions between the inclusive and exclusive identity frames expressed in movement texts, which were apparent in the first and second phase of activity, became even more obvious in the final phase – and this was associated with a decline in participation, which aligns with the prediction of H9.

5.3 Limitations and Critique

There are obvious limitations to the framing explanation I have offered in this thesis. Therefore, the final section of this chapter will consider in full the implications of these limitations and suggest ways they can potentially be ameliorated.

Some concerns with the data drawn from the texts were evident. Primarily with *Adbusters*, there was a notable difference in the type of language used compared with the other two sources; more specifically, the rhetoric tended to be more fun and exciting.[91] Moreover, because it is a radical magazine, and the tactical briefings were sent out to those on their mailing list, the texts all contained radical rhetoric that may have influenced the results of my text analysis.[92] One option would have been to exclude texts from *Adbusters* but this would have made the sample size for the Pre-Protest phase only three texts. Moreover, the initial call to occupy came from *Adbusters,* therefore, it seemed essential to include texts from this source.

The need for individual level framing analysis is clear. The conclusions drawn from the evidence presented in Chapter 4 requires some sort of reception-analysis to understand whether the frames constructed from OWS texts were actually those that motivated participation in OWS – or perhaps even more importantly, those that discouraged participation. As argued in Goffman's (1974) seminal work, the 'true location' of a frame is in the memory of the social actor. While conducting individual-level analysis is difficult, the results of previous studies that have embraced the approach (See for example, Gamson, 1992) have more than demonstrated its utility. Moreover, it is worth reiterating Mika's (2006) observation that investigating the 'uninitiated' is of upmost interest. In the case of OWS, it would be most insightful to understand why participants who perhaps agreed with some of the movement's interpretations chose not to take part in collective action.

Nevertheless, some literature, which investigated participants of OWS, indicates that the rendering of framing here is accurate.[93] For example, Catalano & Creswell (2013) conducted interviews with participants at OWS during October and November 2011, asking two questions: "Why are you here (at the Occupy

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[91] See Adbusters 16 for an example of this.

[92] Because I did not count the number of mentions of frames *within* texts, this should partly alleviate this concern as those texts that use more radical language were counted equally with those that only discussed radical ideas once.

[93] Although, as discussed in Chapter 2 these studies were not motivated by questions of framing.

Protest site)?" and "What do you hope to achieve?". Their results exposed important metaphors that revealed much about the perception of the movement by its participants. More specifically, their cognitive linguistic analysis found that participants viewed the movement as "a war and a force against government corporations, oppression, and inequality, [and] it was also seen as a strong structure and a family/community that needed to be awakened, fed, heard, seen, and felt" (Catalano & Creswell, 2013, p. 664).

Other relevant framing actors likely contributed to the movement's mobilisation – both positively and negatively. The media, in particular, discussed OWS in great depth. For example, it regularly criticised the nature of OWS's protests and the types of people who were participating (See for example, Avlon, 2011; Sorkin, 2012). Regardless of the accuracy of these claims, they served to raise questions about the legitimacy of the movement and its arguments, and it seems likely that this would add to the difficulty of communicating ideas such as the credibility of the frame articulators. Some scholarship has already begun to analyse OWS's coverage in the media (DeLuca et al., 2012; Gottlieb, 2015), and has largely confirmed that OWS's concerns about media misrepresentation were accurate.

While it has been shown that mobilisation can occur in the absence of opportunity (Einwohner, 2003), considering the contextual and structural constraints in the case of OWS is clearly important. McVeigh et al.'s (2004) study of Ku Klux Klan mobilisation astutely showed that mobilisation occurred in areas where there was congruence between the Klan's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames and favourable structural conditions where they were attempting to mobilise. Moreover, understanding context is particularly essential for the study of transnational social movements, such as the Occupy Movement (Olesen, 2011). Therefore, in the case of OWS, in order to fully understand whether frames resonated with potential participants a detailed study of the context in which frames were proffered should also accompany an individual-level analysis. Nonetheless, because this thesis drew much of its hypothetical arguments about the mobilising capacity of the movement's frames from the extant literature, which *had* more substantively considered the context

and structure in which OWS emerged, this adds some further confidence to the speculations about frame resonance offered in the previous section.

Finally, it is worth reflecting on OWS as a case study of framing. It is certainly not the intention of this thesis to criticise the motives and messages of OWS, nor to belittle the influence the movement did have on popular discussions about the financial crisis, and the economy and society more generally. Its achievement is an important one, and it is likely to be the case that OWS's achievements can positively influence the outcomes of future social movements seeking a fairer and more just economy. Suh (2004) investigates how collective action outcomes modify agent's interests and movement dynamics; much of the literature praising the achievements of OWS discussed how OWS had done the necessary task of changing the conversation about inequality – a cultural change which was a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for eventual institutional and policy change (Gamson, 2012). However, the movement also wanted to have a serious rethink about our current system, and undeniably hoped to create a more just and equal society. Without substantial mobilisation around such a cause it is hard to see how such changes will eventuate; from this point of view, this thesis has forced us to question whether OWS's ability to mobilise the levels of collective action necessary for such political, economic, and social change could have been improved.

Moreover, OWS also forces us to think more seriously about the different forms of movement participation available today. A growing body of literature has looked at how successful OWS was at mobilising online (Conover et al., 2013; DeLuca et al., 2012; Gaby & Caren, 2012; Theocharis et al., 2015). One particular study, Conover et al. (2013) looked at mobilisation on Twitter for OWS, and it was particularly interesting to note that the trend of online activity related to OWS was almost identical to the trend in physical mobilisation considered in this thesis.[94] Social movement scholars have yet to fully grasp the effect of new communications technologies on mobilising collective action, and in the case of OWS it seems important to understand the different barriers to movement

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[94] See Conover et al. (2013) p. 3.

participation online or in physical gatherings (Bennett, 2012). Perhaps even more pertinent is the question of how online mobilisation compared with physical mobilisation affects the attainability of successful movement outcomes.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the implications of my frame analysis for the hypotheses on how the types of frames proffered by OWS affected its mobilisation. The results are mixed, however, the evidence for the general hypothesis that changes in either the types of frames used, or the mobilising capacity of these frames can explain the trajectory of mobilisation is promising. The findings provided the strongest evidence for the hypotheses regarding diagnostic (H2-3), prognostic (H4-5), and identity framing (H8-9). The evidence for the arguments about motivational framing (H6-7) was weak. Generally, however, the analysis of OWS over time raised concerns with summarising the ideational experience of the movement, and how its ideas influenced mobilisation, as the hypotheses accuracy in predicting mobilisation varied over the course of OWS's life. The implication of this is clear: it is essential to study both framing and opportunity and/or structural constraints across time in order to fully understand how the mobilising capacity of ideas can change, and ultimately, inspire or inhibit collective action. Using the framing perspective in this way will ensure that future social movement research achieves its optimal analytical and explanatory utility.

6. Conclusion

6.1 Summary of Thesis

In this thesis I have endeavoured to explain the mobilisation of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) by using a qualitative frame analysis of movement texts, studied over time. After two months of preparation, the movement made serious efforts to mobilise for almost eight months, from September 17, 2011, to May 1, 2012, with the first two months drawing high levels of participation, and the latter six failing to maintain the initial momentum. Because no systematic framing analysis of OWS had been undertaken, this thesis saw an opportunity to fill this gap in the understanding about mobilisation of a widely debated and discussed phenomenon.

In Chapter 2 I reviewed the claims made in the existing literature about what factors had contributed to OWS's mobilisation. While academic scholarship has tended to emphasise resource mobilisation explanations, it made five broad arguments about the framing of OWS, and further, suggested that ideational features of the movement were determining factors for mobilisation. These five arguments broadly suggested that OWS's interpretation of the problematic situation and its causes, its prognostic agenda, its belief in 'occupy' as an end in itself, its use of emotive and moral language, and its definition of identity all contributed (both positively and negatively) to mobilisation. Finally, I reviewed why the framing perspective, alongside political opportunity and resource mobilisation theories, is able to convincingly explain social movement mobilisation.

In Chapter 3 I outlined my theoretical framework and methodology, selecting four key framing tasks – diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity framing – as the most salient theoretical concepts to examine in the case of OWS. I considered the most pertinent conceptual and methodological limitations, which demonstrated the value of studying social movement framing longitudinally, and also the ability to study framing based on movement texts,

despite its limitations. Finally, I explained the method of qualitative frame analysis, discussed the data sources, and detailed the parameters of the inquiry.

Chapter 4 presented the key findings of my research, providing a comprehensive picture of OWS's diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity framing across its most sustained efforts at mobilisation. As well as explicating the main frames proffered by OWS, I also presented the results visually through the use of word maps, which allowed for more perceptive comparative analysis within the different types of frames for each distinct phase of mobilisation, and across time

Chapter 5 discussed the implications of these findings and also considered their limitations. This thesis argued that changes in framing can provide a plausible explanation for the mobilisation of OWS. The evidence showed that there was a correlation between changes in framing and increasing or decreasing levels of mobilisation. More specifically, the results generally confirmed the predictions of the extant literature regarding the influence of diagnostic, prognostic, and identity frames on mobilisation, however, the evidence for claims about how motivational framing affected mobilisation was unclear. Moreover, some additional findings challenged the understanding of OWS's framing, in particular the dominance of the anti-system frame in movement texts. Speculation about why these changes in framing explained the initial rise in participation, and eventual decline and failure to remobilise was offered, however, without studying which (and how) frames actually affected both participants in OWS and those who chose not to participate these results cannot be confirmed – limitations which I fully acknowledge. Nevertheless, this thesis has filled in one significant piece of the puzzle; future research can address the space that remains.

6.2 Contributions and Directions for Future Research

As well as the argument and conclusions summarised above, this thesis has made four additional contributions. In terms of theory, the case of OWS shows the importance of how movements frame their identity. Whether diagnostic framing incorporates both the identification of opponents and the definition of identity is not entirely clear; what is clear is that the adversarial function of frames is one of

their essential tasks. This thesis has also showed the utility of the framing perspective for conducting a detailed empirical study, and has also demonstrated the value in studying framing over time. In the case of OWS, changes in framing constituted the central component of my argument; such claims could not have been made if the movement was studied at a specific moment in its mobilisation.

Finally by using word maps to present visually my construction of OWS frames I have, on the one hand supported Hank Johnston's argument about the value of comparing frames visually, but on the other hand I have challenged the assertion that hierarchical schemas emphasising the argumentative and logical structure of frames is the proper way of doing such a task. Johnston's assumption is based on assumption of cognitive processing that assumes experience is organised hierarchically (Johnston, 1995, 2002). However, while presenting frames in this way is helpful for answering certain research questions (questions about master frames, for example), for other questions it seems counter-productive. In the case of OWS, the task was first to understand all the different components that constituted its message, and regarding the four relevant framing tasks it was not always the case that connections between them were logical or thematic. This may be interesting in its own right, but it could also have emphasised results that were not of primary concern. Here, the goal was to understand which features comprised the movement's diagnostic, prognostic, motivational, and identity framing; it was not the goal to demonstrate whether it was logical to argue democracy as a solution to the financial crisis, for example. Future framing research should also explore new and insightful ways to visually construct frames.

As well as the necessary work that would corroborate the findings of this thesis, the research points to several additional areas for future research. While this thesis has focused on the core framing tasks, studies examining OWS's use of other strategic and contested framing processes and their influence on mobilisation would be highly insightful. For example, the extent to which OWS used frame transformation to update and invigorate left-wing ideas, in ways to avoid tired left versus right debates (See Harcourt, 2013; Roos & Oikonomakis, 2014). I have already discussed the role of counter-framing by media, but the

extent to which OWS engaged in counter-framing would be interesting to study in greater depth. In my sample of texts there were very few clear refutations of the solutions that were being advocated at the time. Moreover, Benford & Snow (2000) conceptualise the contested framing process of the 'dialectic between frames and events', referring to the relationship between collective action frames and how collective action itself unfolds. More detailed examination of this process would also contribute to the need for greater understanding of the structural constraints that influenced OWS's mobilisation.

Finally, and as alluded to in the previous chapter, the social movement literature has yet to fully understand what OWS, the Occupy Movement, and the wave of occupy social movements mean. How do we understand both their emphasis on local and national context combined with their transnational features? What influence are technological advancements having on the ways social movements organise and the ways people participate in them? In the case of the Occupy Movement, are we, as Benski et al. (2013, p. 556) purports, seeing the rise of "real democracy" as a new master frame? How to make sense of these questions both for understanding mobilisation, and for our understanding of social movements more generally going into the twenty-first century is of profound importance. As well as seeking a serious conversation about the issues facing society, OWS wanted to see real and substantial change. By further understanding the processes through which social movements mobilise to achieve such change, and the ways in which these processes can vary, we can move closer to achieving those goals.

Appendix 1 – List of Texts

1.1 List of Adbusters Tactical Briefings referenced[*]

Adbusters 1 – #OCCUPYWALLSTREET: A shift in revolutionary tactics. July 13, 2011.

Adbusters 2 – Is America Ripe for a Tahrir Movement? #OCCUPYWALLSTREET goes viral. July 26, 2011.

Adbusters 3 – #OCCUPYWALLSTREET Update: Can we on the left learn some new tricks? August 11, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/occupy wallstreet-update/.

Adbusters 4 – #OCCUPYWALLSTREET Less Than Two Weeks Away: A New Global Economic Order. September 7, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywall street/occupywallstreet-less-than-two-weeks-away/.

Adbusters 5 – #OCCUPYWALLSTREET This Weekend! What will happen this Saturday when thousands of us descend on Lower Manhatten and start walking toward Wall Street? September 13, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywall street/occupywallstreet-tactical-briefing/.

Adbusters 6 – Hey President Obama: Get ready for our one demand! September 15, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/hey-president-obama-2/.

Adbusters 7 – #OCCUPYWALLSTREET Orientation Guide: One final strategic push. September 16, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/occupywall street-orientation-guide/.

Adbusters 8 – A Call for Reinforcements: Come to Liberty Plaza now! September 19, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/a-call-forreinforcements/.

Adbusters 9 – Come Out and Support the Occupation at Noon in Liberty Plaza: #OCCUPYWALLSTREET This Saturday. September 23, 2011. https://www.adbust ers.org/action/occupywallstreet/come-support-the-occupation-at-noon-in-liberty-plaza/.

Adbusters 10 – #ROBINHOOD Global March: We take from the rich and give to the poor. October 17, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/robin hood-global-march/.

Adbusters 11 – Hey G20, Here Comes #ROBINHOOD: Adbusters Tactical Briefing #16. October 26, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/hey-g20-here-comes-robinhood/.

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[*] Adbusters undertook a renovation of their website in early 2016, and during this process some tactical briefings were removed from the archive (See Adbusters 1, 2, 15). Fortunately I had physical copies of the texts prior to their removal.

Adbusters 12 – The Future of #OCCUPY: What's next for the movement? October 31, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/the-future-of-occupy/.

Adbusters 13 – Our Existential Moment: Tactical Briefing #19. November 16, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/our-existential-moment/.

Adbusters 14 – #OCCUPYXAMS kicks off Nov 25/26: Let's take back the season! November 22, 2011. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/occupy xmas-kicks-off-nov526/.

Adbusters 15 – Tactical Briefing #26: Anarchic Swarms - The Emerging Model. February 28, 2012.

Adbusters 16 – #PLAYJAZZ: Tactical Briefing #28. April 3, 2012. https://www. adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/playjazz/.

Adbusters 17 – Battle for the Soul of Occupy: Jump, jump, jump over the dead body of the old left! April 12, 2012. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/ battle-for-the-soul-of-occupy/.

Adbusters 18 – The May 2012 Insurrection: Tactical Briefing #30. April 26, 2012. https://www.adbusters.org/action/occupywallstreet/the-may-2012-insurrection/.

For the full Adbusters archive, see https://www.adbusters.org/occupywallstreet/.

1.2 List of occupywallst.org posts referenced

OccupyWallSt 1 – Who We Are. July 16, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/who_we _are/.

OccupyWallSt 2 – The 99 Percent Project. August 29, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/ article/99Percent/.

OccupyWallSt 3 – A Modest Call to Action on this September 17th. September 17, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/archive/Sep-18-2011/.

OccupyWallSt 4 – First Communique: We Occupy Wall Street. September 19, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/first-communique-we-occupy-wall-street/.

OccupyWallSt 5 – Second Communique: A Message From Occupied Wall Street. September 19, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/second-communique-a-message-from-occupied-wall-t/.

OccupyWallSt 6 – Third Communique: A Message From Occupied Wall Street. September 20, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/third-communique/.

OccupyWallSt 7 – A Message From Occupied Wall Street (Day Four). September 21, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/a-message-from-occupied-wall-street-dayfour/.

OccupyWallSt 8 – A Message From Occupied Wall Street (Day Five). September 22, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/a-message-from-occupied-wall-street-dayfive/.

OccupyWallSt 9 – A Message From Occupied Wall Street (Day Six). September 23, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/a-message-from-occupied-wall-street-day-six/.

OccupyWallSt 10 – A Message From Occupied Wall Street (Day Seven). September 24, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/day-seven/.

OccupyWallSt 11 – Greetings from Occupied Wall Street. September 30, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/greetings-occupied-wall-street/.

OccupyWallSt 12 – #OWS VICTORY: The people have prevailed, gear up for global day of action. October 14, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/ows-victory-people-have-prevailed-gear-global-day-/.

OccupyWallSt 13 – October 15th Call to Action. October 14, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/10-15-call-to-action/.

OccupyWallSt 14 – OWS Snapshot. October 19, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/ows-snapshot/.

OccupyWallSt 15 – Stop The Spectra Pipeline | Meet-Up at Liberty Square at 5 P.M. For Die-In at P.S. 41. October 20, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/stop-spectra-pipeline-meet-liberty-square-5-pm-die/.

OccupyWallSt 16 – STOP & FRISK HAS GOT TO GO! Solidarity with #occupyharlem. October 22, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/stop-frisk-has-got-go-solidarity-occupyharlem/.

OccupyWallSt 17 – Occupy Wall Street Takes on Health Insurance Industry. October 26, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/occupy-wall-street-takes-health-insurance-industry/.

OccupyWallSt 18 – Call To Action - Join The Month Of Global Uprising. November 1, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/call-action-join-month-global-uprising/.

OccupyWallSt 19 – Military Veterans Join the 99% on Wall Street. November 1, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/military-veterans-join-99-wall-street/.

OccupyWallSt 20 – Rule of Law vs. the Forces of Order. November 2, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/rule-law-vs-forces-order/.

OccupyWallSt 21 – The People vs. Goldman Sachs - Trial and March! November 3, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/people-v-goldman-sachs-trail-and-march/.

OccupyWallSt 22 – Don't Be Big Banks' Puppet; No Immunity Deal for Crooks. November 4, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/occupy-wall-street-obama-dont-be-big-banks-puppet-/.

OccupyWallSt 23 – A Call to Occupy. November 15, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/call-occupy/.

OccupyWallSt 24 – #N17 Global Day Of Action! November 16, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/n17-global-day-of-action/.

OccupyWallSt 25 – November 17: Historic Day of Action for the 99%. November 18, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/november-17-historic-day-action-99/.

OccupyWallSt 26 – December 6: Occupy Wall Street "Goes Home." November 23, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/december-6-occupy-wall-street-goes-home/.

OccupyWallSt 27 – Boycott "Black Friday!" Solidarity with Striking Chinese Workers. November 25, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/solidarity-striking-chinese-workers/.

OccupyWallSt 28 – War Profiteers Meet Tomorrow in NYC. They Won't Be Alone. November 29, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/war-profiteers-meet-tomorrow-nyc-they-wont-be-alon/.

OccupyWallSt 29 – Occupy Wall Street Goes Home. December 1, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/occupy-wall-street-goes-home/.

OccupyWallSt 30 – Farmers Join Occupy Wall Street, Calling for Food Justice. December 2, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/farmers-join-occupy-wall-street-calling-food-justi/.

OccupyWallSt 31 – Occupy will never die; Evict us, we multiply! December 10, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/occupy-will-never-die-evict-us-we-multiply/.

OccupyWallSt 32 – Re-Occupy #D17. December 14, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/re-occupy-d17/.

OccupyWallSt 33 – Defend the Bill of Rights for All of Us. December 15, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/defend-bill-rights-all-us/.

OccupyWallSt 34 – OWS Health Action Assembly Tomorrow. December 16, 2011. http://occupywallst.org/article/ows-health-action-assembly-tomorrow/.

OccupyWallSt 35 – 2011: A Year in Revolt. January 3, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/2011-year-revolt/.

OccupyWallSt 36 – Regime Change in Oakland. January 31, 2012. http://occupywall st.org/article/regime-change-oakland/.

OccupyWallSt 37 – In Spite of elections and "Camping Bans," Revolutionary Wave Grows. February 4, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/election-or-not-revol utionary-wave-grows/.

OccupyWallSt 38 – #OWS Joins International Day of Action: We Are All Greeks Now. February 17, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/f18-international-day-action-we-are-all-greeks-now/.

OccupyWallSt 39 – Facing Global Protest, G8 Retreats. March 6, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/facing-mass-protest-obama-hides-g8-camp-david/.

OccupyWallSt 40 – 6 Ways to Get Ready for the May 1st GENERAL STRIKE. March 11, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/6-ways-to-get-ready-may-1st-general-strike/.

OccupyWallSt 41 – Occupy Union Sqaure: NYC, Join Us In Protest! March 19, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/occupy-union-square-join-us-protest/.

OccupyWallSt 42 – The Unwinnable War on Dissent. March 20, 2012. http://occupy wallst.org/article/war-on-dissent/.

OccupyWallSt 43 – Support Occupy Union Square, and Other Upcoming #OWS Events! March 22, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/support-occupy-union-square/.

OccupyWallSt 44 – Fight the Cuts! Occupy for Public Transit TODAY. April 4, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/fight-cuts-occupy-public-transit-today/.

OccupyWallSt 45 – Why We Need Free Media. April 11, 2012. http://occupy wallst.org/article/why-we-need-free-media/.

OccupyWallSt 46 – Four Ways to Support Re-Occupation. April 16, 2012. http://occupywallst.org/article/four-ways-support-re-occupation/.

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1.3 List of New York City General Assembly (NYCGA) posts referenced

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NYCGA 2 – DECLARATION OF THE OCCUPATION OF NEW YORK CITY. September 29, 2011. http://www.nycga.net/resources/documents/declaration/.

NYCGA 3 – STATEMENT OF AUTONOMY. November 10, 2011. http://www.nycga.net/resources/documents/statement-of-autonomy/.

NYCGA 4 – PEOPLE BEFORE PARTIES. December 12, 2011. http://www.nycga.net/resources/documents/people-before-parties/.

NYCGA 5 – RESOLUTION TO END CORPORATE PERSONHOOD. January 3, 2012. http://www.nycga.net/resources/documents/resolution-to-end-corporate-personhood/.

For the full NYCGA archive, see http://www.nycga.net/.

Appendix 2 – Mobilisation Data

Event / Date(s)	Mobilisation	Source(s)
First Major Protest September 17, 2011	1000-5000 during the protest, and 500 by evening.	[1] [2] [3]
Numbers Permanently Occupying Zuccotti Park (September 17-29)	Initially around 200, up to around 300 by September 29.	[2] [4]
Daily marches after Occupation	Generally around 100, but up to 2000 depending on weather.	[3] [4] [5]
Union March, September 24.	100s, with extensive arrests.	[6] [7]
NYPD HQ March & Demonstration, September 30.	Around 2000.	[8]
Brooklyn Bridge Protest, October 1.	Around 1500. "Several thousand" [10].	[9] [10]
Numbers permanently Occupying by October 5.	Hundreds.	[3]
October 5 Union March	Thousands. "Their largest numbers yet" [12].	[11] [12]
Global Day of Action, October 15.	More than 5000.	[13]
March for injured marine Scott Olsen, October 26.	Hundreds.	[14]
Attempted Reoccupation of Zuccotti, November 16.	About 750.	[15]
Two-Month Anniversary Protest, November 17.	Up to 15,000. The movement claimed up to 30,000 participated [16].	[14] [16]
Daily Protests in December.	Up to 50.	[17]
#D17 Anniversary, and Re-Occupation Attempt at Trinity Church Wall Street, December 17.	Up to 1000.	[18] [19]
New Year's Eve Protest.	Up to 500.	[20]

Celebration of barrier removal in Zuccotti Park, January 11, 2012.	Around 300, with a "handful" attempting to re-occupy.	[21]
Protests over the winter months, such as the 5-month anniversary protest, January 17.	"A few" [22]. "A dozen" [23].	[22] [23]
Bank of America protest, February 14.	Between 30 and 50.	[24]
Wells Fargo protest in Harlem, February 20.	More than 200.	[25]
6-month Anniversary Re-Occupation, March 17.	Hundreds.	[4]
Occupy Union Square, March 17-24.	Around 40 staying overnight, swelling to 100 during the day. 300 when evicted.	[26] [27]
Police Brutality Protest, March 24.	Around 500.	[28]
Brooklyn Bridge 6-month Anniversary March, April 1.	Around 200.	[29]
Sleepover protests on Wall Street, mid-April.	Between 75 and 100.	[30] [31]
"Spring Trainings", prior to May Day.	About 100	[32]
May Day Protest, May 1, 2012.	Thousands during the day. Up to 15,000 for an "all-purpose solidarity rally" [35]. 1000 discussed re-occupying, but were dispersed. Only 100-200 continued trying into the night.	[33] [34] [35]

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[3] http://money.cnn.com/2011/10/06/technology/occupy_wall_street/

[4] http://newsfeed.time.com/2012/03/19/occupy-wall-street-six-months-in-strength-in-small-numbers/

[5] http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/25/nyregion/protesters-are-gunning-for-wall-street-with-faulty-aim.html

[6] https://www.rt.com/news/wall-street-protest-arrests-331/

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[19] http://newyork.cbslocal.com/2011/12/17/episcopal-bishop-doesnt-want-ows-protesters-taking-over-duarte-square/

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[26] http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/occupy-wall-st-occupying-union-square-article-1.1047545

[27] http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/dozens-nypd-cops-oust-300-occupy-wall-street-protesters-union-square-park-article-1.1047996

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