

SOCIAL MEDIA USE AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY  
WITHIN THE OCCUPY MOVEMENT

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## Abstract

Spurred by the actions in Arab Spring and calls for action in reaction to the housing crisis, the Occupy Movement started in the United States and spread globally, addressing a widening range of perceived institutional injustices. Members of the movement used social media to organize and connect with each other and sparked discussion about social media's role in this potentially new era of social movements. This mixed-method study explores Occupiers' sense of collective identity with the movement and the effect of social media use on their identity as well as the state of the Occupy Movement years after its genesis.

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## I. Introduction

In 2011, numerous protests in the Middle East, known as Arab Spring, as well as calls to action from a Canadian anarchist group inspired the Occupy Wall Street movement in the United States and sparked discussion about the state of social media and its effects on modern communication and activities. Political wonks and social activists pondered the widespread and publicized use of different social media platforms, such as Twitter and Facebook, to spread ideas and organize protesters. Could the world be entering a new era of civic engagement where social media were the main tools of activists, free from traditional forms of oppression and open to the international forum? How were activists in modern social movements using social media? Were their protests different from previous social movements, such as those for labor unions? Could social media, disconnected from time and space on the Internet, bring people together so that they identify with each other and the values of the movement? The movement that started as Occupy Wall Street and became simply the Occupy Movement brought up many questions about the social, connective power of social media as it relates to the success or failure of a movement with a lofty goal: change how society functions.

One factor that many social movement theorists have attributed to a social movement's success is its participants' sense of collective identity, a concept that ties individuals to the larger group's values and beliefs. Each member of the movement participates in the movement's activities, because it resonates with a part of that

member's identity, who they are fundamentally. This study proposes to explore the connection between social media use in relation to activities in the Occupy Movement, from information gathering to protest organizing to connection forming, and how much these participants would identify as an "Occupier", someone who is truly a part of the Occupy Movement regardless of their physical presence at Occupy sites.



## II. Literature Review

The literature explored in this chapter crosses several disciplines, but in the end centers on modern communication processes. Social movements and collective identity are studied more extensively in sociology, but social media are embedded in the field of communication and connect these sociological concepts. This chapter will explore these concepts as well as discover what has been said about the Occupy Movement, which has been a topic of interest in the communication field and popular discourse because of its fervent use of social media to organize without leaders and to advertise their activities.

### **Social Media**

The terms "social media" and "social network sites", though ubiquitous in popular publications and everyday conversations, have rather ambiguous meanings. Many use them interchangeably, considering them conceptually equal. However, "social media" is a larger, more encompassing term under which "social network sites" can be placed.

According to Howard and Parks (2012), social media are differentiated from other forms of media by the predominantly social aspect of their usage and design. They are "defined in three parts, consisting of (a) the information infrastructure and tools used to produce and distribute content; (b) the content that takes the digital form of personal messages, news, ideas, and cultural products; and c) the people, organizations, and industries that produce and consume digital content" (p. 362). In

other words, social media encompasses the structure, the people who use it, and the content they create on digital platforms for explicitly social purposes (i.e., building and maintaining relationships and forming communities). This term is, therefore, very broad and many different types of websites could be defined as part of social media. It also implies that social media have been present on the Internet for much longer than the popular media would make it appear. Mainstream interest only increased with the proliferation of social network sites in 2003, even though the first major social network site, known as SixDegrees.com, was launched in 1997 (boyd & Ellison, 2008).

Usually, it is easier to think of social media in terms of individual social network sites (SNS). Instead of contemplating the entirety of social media, researchers seem to focus on one type of social network site, such as web logs (or blogs) or Facebook and Facebook-like sites (e.g., Orkut). This choice makes sense. Each site requires a different approach and highlights different aspects of people's social networks and their management. A blog allows for certain style of post-comment-reply interaction that differs from a more multi-faceted site that includes multiple ways to contact other users, such as LinkedIn. Unique cultures, with their own vocabulary and norms about what's acceptable (see for example, popular sites recommending how to write a "proper" Facebook status), emerge from the constraints of these different structures (Goodings, 2012).

Despite their obvious differences, key features unite social network sites. boyd and Ellison (2008) define social network sites as "web-based services that allow

individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system" (p. 211). This definition not only makes the "social" aspect of social media more explicit and clear, but it also allows us to narrow down what it means for a website to be a "social network site." Not only can users of SNS present themselves online, as they can on many other websites, but they can also search out others *and* display their network of friends and acquaintances. It is the two latter features that make SNS unique.

#### *How SNS are used*

SNS offer a certain amount of flexibility to its users in the way that they can engage each other through these platforms. They can maintain current relationships and build new ones, by searching profiles for common interests or friends' social networks. In fact, one objective of SNS use can be social networking, "a goal-oriented process in which one's social circle is constantly expanded in order to connect with as many people as possible, in order to gain . . . advantages" (Mital & Sarkar, 2011, p. 378). Those advantages relate to business, shared interests, knowledge, and activities. Users can create large, diffuse networks of weak ties, especially if they "multihome" several SNS to capitalize on the different affordances of different sites (Mital & Sarkar, 2011).

Much of the earlier research on SNS focused on the creation of new relationships online and the transition from online to offline interactions. But current research tends to see the interactions trending the other way. People who already know each other,

are geographically close, or are members of the same social groups or clubs connect online to share content or to gather information (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; boyd & Ellison, 2008). Ellison and associates (2007) studied the connection between Facebook use on a college campus and social capital. Their respondents indicated that they thought their "audience", who was looking at their profile and messages, was people with whom they shared an offline connection; and they used Facebook to maintain or intensify these offline relationships. The conceptual basis of this research was the "strength of weak ties," where online networks were scale-free networks made up of hubs, and people connected through many, casual relationships (Barabási, 2011, p. 7). However, the "strength" of these ties to provide instances of information exchange and maintain relationships is in question as well. Researchers are progressing toward theories of equilibrium: offline and online relationships affect the presence of each other reciprocally and "medium" ties reflect how connected people are within their networks.

In addition, SNS offer a way to represent oneself and construct one's identity, "painting oneself into existence" (Chen, Chuang, Zhong, & Ma, 2000). People "create and manage a social and even professional identity" (Mital & Sarkar, 2011, p. 377) through the construction of their profile and who they allow on their friends list. They craft who they would like to be seen as, who they believe they are, through their mandatorily visible associations "to validate identity information presented in profiles" (boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 219). SNS emphasize dialogic identity creation where wall posts or @-reply from other people reinforce or challenge a user's presented identity

(Papacharissi, 2011). Whom one interacts with is as great an indicator of one's personal or professional identity as the comments one leaves or the information in one's profile. This feature, public display of and interaction with the entirety of a social network, complicates identity construction. SNS have blurred the boundaries between public and private spheres (boyd & Ellison, 2008; boyd, 2011) and personal and professional spheres (Gilpin, 2011). The "networked publics" of SNS "force everyday people to contend with environments in which contexts are regularly colliding" (boyd, 2011, p. 50). As such, their digitally constructed identity must incorporate different facets of their life, with varying levels of authenticity as they communicate with offline and online friends, business associates, and acquaintances of shared interests.

Social media are tools for constructing and presenting oneself in a public forum that has an international reach. Although one usually presents one's face slightly differently at work, with one's family or friends, or meeting people in public spaces, social media offer the opportunity to present a unified presence that crosses contextual borders, defining one's identity for others and oneself simultaneously through the choices of what to post, who to include in a friends list, and who to converse with. Membership with groups is easily seen and activity in the group can be monitored by others, defining who one is by association. These groups can be part of a larger collective movement, which may tie into the identity constructed through social media.

### **Social Movements**

Sometimes, in order to address a larger injustice, many people come together in a

large group to combine their resources and act against the status quo. Not quite a political party and more sustained than a fad or trend (Christiansen, 2009), this group of activists is a social movement. It's a specific phenomenon that has its own field of study that incorporates sociological, psychological, and now, communication theories.

Because of its potential for far-reaching and often systemic change, many researchers in the field are also activists interested particularly in its sustainability and success.

*What is a social movement?*

In order to pursue any coherent study of social movements, one must define them to isolate them from simple groups or social trends. According to the Encyclopedia of Community (2003), a social movement is "an organized (more or less) opposition to some feature of society that the movement claims is oppressive (or unjust or cruel) . . . [made of] (loosely) connected networks of ideas that are (more or less) articulated by organizations and networks" (p. 1314). Social movements come and go, address a variety of issues, and can be national or international in scope. Some succeed in making their desired change, and others create a spectacle but do not achieve their goals.

Social movement scholars have been fascinated by the reasons that social movements emerge, what sustains them, and what causes them to fail or succeed. Is there a "magic formula" of circumstances, resources, internal and external motivators, and personalities that can foment a social movement and spur collective action? The variables are so numerous and multi-faceted that the answer to that question is "no".

However, social movements do seem to follow certain patterns, and activists behave differently and hold different attitudes from those who merely sympathize. With a greater understanding of these patterns, social movement activists can take steps to encourage their movement's success and to more likely achieve the peaceful and equitable society they are working toward.

Models of social movements usually have them proceeding through several phases of existence. In each phase, activists hold specific attitudes about the movement's progress and take certain actions. The general public and the movement's opposition act and react in accordance with the activists' specific phase behavior. The phases are not necessarily linear. Movements often will transition between them, especially if they are like modern movements where the goals are broader than some specific political gains. However, the models are only useful in as much as they can identify where the movement is in its "lifecycle" for analysis and predictions by theorists and the activists themselves.

#### *Four stages of a social movement*

Jonathan Christiansen (2009) outlined a summary of such a model, based on Herbert Blumer's four stages model but refined by social movement theorists over time. Blumer's original terms of "social ferment," "popular excitement," "formalization," and "institutionalization" are now known as "emergence," "coalescence," "bureaucratization," and "decline." In the first stage, emergence, activists are only potential activists and they may act individually against the injustice, but there is only a widespread state of

discontent. Abeyance structures, organizations still in existence that worked during previous social movements, may start to reactivate. And there may be increasing media coverage of the situation.

In the second stage, coalescence, the movement becomes organized and activists act together and generally form their strategy of action. Actions become focalized, mass protests occur, and leaders emerge or are chosen. After this initial galvanization, the movement enters into the third stage of bureaucratization. The movement formalizes and local organizations form that share a coordinated strategy and have a dedicated staff to continue mobilization. Finally, the movement goes into decline, the fourth and final stage in Christiansen's (2009) encapsulation of the social movement model.

Decline does not necessarily mean failure. A movement can go into decline for several reasons: repression, co-optation, success, failure, and mainstream establishment. The institutions in power can make movement's activities illegal or act, sometimes violently, against the movement's participants. Co-optation occurs when the leaders of the movement realign themselves with the institutions upholding the status quo, for access to the power and under the impression they could "change the system from the inside." If a movement achieves its political goals, the movement also declines. This form of decline usually occurs with smaller, localized movements. Failure of a movement happens when a movement expands faster than it is able to organize itself. The movement divides into factions, and the smaller groups can become so dedicated to their group's version of the causes of the movement that they isolate themselves from



the rest. Finally, a movement's ideology, or parts of it, can be established in the mainstream line of thought.

This model applies to many social movements, but is limited in that it doesn't address some features of "new social movements" that are focused more on cultural and social change rather than specific economically based political goals. It also only addresses the state of social movements, both the successful and the failed. While the progress of the Occupy Movement can be mapped to these stages, it is helpful to consider another model of social movement. Renowned social movement theorist Bill Moyer (2006) proposed an eight-stage model of *successful* social movements that can be used to evaluate movements as to how they can succeed.

Moyer emphasizes the gradual progression that social movements can take. It starts with the "normal times". The injustice exists, but the power holders maintain the status quo; the general public is unaware; and people try to address the problem through the normal system channels. When small grassroots efforts begin to try to prove the injustice exists, but the general public is unaware of their efforts and the power holders maintain the status quo, the movement has entered into the second phase. These small groups will team up with existing organizations from older movements and try to educate some of the progressive or sympathetic sectors of the public. The general public, while discontent (up to 30% opposing the injustice), are unaware of the problem until they exit out of phase three and enter phase four.

In phase four, there is a triggering event that raises the awareness of the public,

threatens and shocks the existing power holders, and legitimizes and galvanizes the activists of the movement. All of the energy and support in this stage can lead activists to believe mistakenly that they will achieve quick victory and idealize a structure-less ideology.

These pitfalls lead invariably to phase five, where the activists perceive that they have failed and power holders emphasize that feeling and demonize the movement. Activists burn out, some turn to violence for "quick results," the public begins to mistrust the movement's actions, and a counter-culture may emerge from the movement that becomes its own institution.

But, if the movement's activists can overcome these obstacles, the movement will progress to phase six and become a social change agent. A majority of the public will oppose the current structure or policies, while powerholders try to enact pseudo-reforms masquerading as alternatives. This is the beginning of the long-term efforts of the movement to keep the issues on the agenda and involve the public in smaller, local programs related to their goals.

During the seventh phase, several smaller 'retrigger' events may happen. However, this phase is characterized by a longer process of policy and attitude change. Activists can engage in another dramatic face-off with power holders, achieve an official and immediate change of policy, or encourage a long attrition of their ideology into the mainstream.

The movement is not done until it enters the eighth and final phase,

continuation. In this phase, a new status quo is established that incorporates the victories and changes of the movement's efforts. The public assimilates the movement's ideas into their personal ideologies, and the old powerholders attempt to circumvent the new policies or adapt to them in some way. Activists still need to ensure that their victories are continued and to build upon the organizations that formed during the initial crisis time of the movement.

Moyer's (2006) model aligns with what sociologists call new social movements (NSM). Stages six through eight are characterized as long processes with hardly any clear victories and non-existent end dates. And NSM are distinguished by their focus not on specific political goals but on cultural and social change, which take a long time to establish and specify no "end point." They seek an integration of their values with the status quo and acceptance of the participants' identity.

#### *New social movements*

More specifically, NSM are "a diverse array of collective actions that have presumably displaced the old social movement of proletarian revolution associated with classical Marxism" (Buechler, 1995, p. 442). Instead of fighting about the distribution or production of material goods based on distinctions of class, NSM fight about the production of meaning and the intrusion of societal norms on personal identification. As Jürgen Habermas, a sociologist who first coined the term "new social movement," described them:

these new conflicts arise in domains of cultural reproduction, social

integration, and socialization; they are carried out in sub-institutional - or at least extraparliamentary - forms of protest; and the underlying deficits reflect a reification of communicatively structured domains of action that will not respond to the media of money and power. The issue is not primarily one of compensations that the welfare state can provide, but of defending and restoring endangered ways of life. In short, the new conflicts are not ignited by distribution problems but by questions having to do with the grammar of forms of life. (Habermas, 1987, p. 392)

Examples of NSM are the feminist movement and the queer movement.

Many social theorists bemoan a strict differentiation between "old" social movements and "new" social movements, asserting that identity motivations have always been a part of social movements. Those theorists who have analyzed "old" social movements simply relied on resource mobilization theories and Marxist economic and class-based paradigms. However, participants in the movements themselves used movement strategies and tactics exclusively to assert and affirm their identity. That unique focus distinguishes these contemporary movements from earlier struggles of the labor unions and "people's revolutions."

Four main figures have shaped the discourse on NSM: Alberto Melucci, Manuel Castells, Alain Touraine, and Jürgen Habermas (Buechler, 1995). Each one brought their own perspective to new social movements stemming from their own experiences and which theories they had ascribed to regarding the "old" social movements.

New social movements differentiated themselves from previous types of movements, because they needed to address new conflicts that emerged in a changed world, according to Alberto Melucci. Identity is an intrinsic issue in "the (post-) modern world [which] brings new forms of social control, conformity pressures, and information processing" and triggers conflicts that "involve symbolic codes, identity claims, and personal or expressive claims" (Buechler, 1995, p. 446). The world relies on symbols and information for its structure and definition, but "weakens traditional points of reference and sources of identity, thereby creating a homelessness of personal identity" (p. 446) that people are reclaiming through NSM efforts. That identity is a central concern of NSM, Melucci posits, is also a reaction to the imposed rationality of the modern world. It is a spiritual and cultural reclamation acted out by submerged groups in society that surface to enact change collectively, but are, according to Melucci, temporary (Buechler, 1995).

Manuel Castells introduced Marxist theories and the concept of power to NSM studies. For Castells, class relationships are fundamental considerations in all social movements, not to be forgotten simply because current efforts are thought to be "new." Power struggles, in fact, should be emphasized in the analysis of NSM as the city is a social product created by conflicting interests and values, and NSM are the argumentative dialogue between the state and political forces of society. That dialogue occurs in an urban space defined by the state in order to support "capitalist commodification and bureaucratic domination" while activists in NSM "defend popular

interests, establish political autonomy, and maintain cultural identity" (Buechler, 1995, p. 443). Three major themes can be found in his work on NSM: they 1) are spurred from the forms of collective consumption provided by the state, 2) emphasize cultural identity and its link to territoriality (in response to the state's control of space), and 3) seek more decentralized forms of government that emphasize self-management and autonomous decision making (Buechler, 1995, p. 443). Castells reintroduced these concepts in an attempt to clarify that NSM should not be considered so different from the older movements. It is not a matter of being class or non-class based, political or cultural, instrumental or expressive; all of these concepts are combined and expressed in new social movements within a network of power relations (Buechler, 1995; Castells, 1999).

Alain Touraine also saw NSM as a struggle for power, but of what he called historicity, "a system of knowledge and the technical tools that allow [a class of people] to intervene in their own functioning" (Buechler, 1995, p. 444). Touraine also brought his unique perspective that there exists one central conflict in each society, and seemingly different activist efforts all stem from that one conflict. The site of this conflict, and thus where NSMs locate themselves, is at the boundary of two logics: "that of a system seeking to maximize production, money, power and information, and that of subjects seeking to defend and expand their individuality" (p. 444). Yet, the focus on the cultural aspect of the protest is a distraction from the true political underpinnings of the movements. Activists are seeking self-determination and a solidification of

uncertain political status in mainstream society.

Habermas also placed NSM at an intersection of two worlds. He "distinguishes between a politico-economic system governed by generalized media of power and money" that's disembodied and assigned no responsibility, and "a lifeworld still governed by normative consensus" (Buechler, 1995, p. 445). The lifeworld is the agreed upon patterns of meaning for actors within it that are based on their communication. The system is always rational and always seeks control. When the system attempts to "colonize" the lifeworld with its impersonal and "logical" formulations of life, NSM coalesce in defense to protect cultural and social constructions. Much like Lewis Mumford's (1970) "megamachine," the system is dehumanizing and removed from justice or personal accountability. People form new social movements to assert their identity and, in so doing, reintroduce justice to society, which incorporates both the system and the lifeworld (Buechler, 1995).

All of these prominent theorists agreed that the modern world has changed, and NSM, fundamentally or simply in tactics, differ from older movements as a result of it. The system against which social movements fight are bureaucratic and rational, and thus NSM focus on identity issues and cultural expression.

### **Occupy Wall Street and the Occupy Movement**

In the beginning of the 2010s, several social movements sprung into existence across the globe protesting the cultural oppression and domestic economic strangulation of different nation-states. In Europe, the Middle East, and the United

States, different groups of activists united against the powers of their nation-states and recruited support from the international arena through social media.

On September 17, 2011, the first of several large-scale physical protests occurred in New York, and United States citizens became aware of Occupy Wall Street. Several thousand people gathered at Zuccotti Park in New York City's financial district, better known as Wall Street, and then refused to leave in the first publicly acknowledged step of this social movement. They protested the abuse of a broken financial system that privileged the super-wealthy minority at the cost of the average majority. The housing crisis, the recession (or what some called a depression), and the high unemployment rate were all cited by those camped in Zuccotti Park as evidence of the corruption rampant in the United States.

They claimed to represent the 99% of the American population that were being taken advantage of by the wealthiest 1% who were represented by the large banks and corporations that have their headquarters on Wall Street. Tents were pitched in the privately owned public space, and this protest became the first Occupy Wall Street camp. They were going to occupy Zuccotti Park until there was some change, though they were not specific as to what change they meant. They did not cite any specific financial reform, but claimed a need for systemic change.

With extensive traditional media coverage and mobilization through the Internet and social media, the movement grew quickly. It spread from New York to many major cities in the United States. It even gained international standing as Occupy camps



formed in places such as Australia, Britain, and Germany. Though united under the Occupy banner, there is no single agenda of the Occupy Movement, and each site is fairly independent. How they choose to communicate, organize, and frame themselves makes the Occupy Movement unique from any other social movement that has come before.

From the beginning, everyone, from social scientists to political analysts to the activists themselves, was interested in the analysis of the Occupy Movement. Speculation abounded as events were unfolding about the motivations of the Occupiers, as the participants in this movement became known, the demographic composition of the movement, and the processes Occupiers had chosen to organize their movement. Proper studies have only begun to explore the many facets of this decentralized and seemingly unorganized movement. First, this paper will look into the history of the Occupy Movement, then the development of its organization, and, finally, what studies have already been done about the Occupy Movement.

### *History of Occupy*

September 17, 2011 was not the beginning for all concerned with Occupy Wall Street. For many this movement started when America went into a recession and bank after bank began declaring bankruptcy. The U.S. government made more and more money available to lend to these banks at interest rates shockingly below market (getting as low as 0-0.25% (BBC News, "Global Recession Timeline")). Trillions of dollars were spent to ensure the banks, which had been trading on subprime mortgages, did

not go out of business. In 2010, the national unemployment rate was 9.6 percent, with 31 states reporting a rise in rates (Bureau of Labor Statistics, n.d.). In addition, banks seized over a million properties and filed nearly 3 million foreclosures, a record amount of activity on both accounts (Daly, 2011). The American economic situation sent shockwaves through the international markets and many other economies began to weaken or fail. Coupled with perceptions of greed and privilege from the banks that the American government had bailed out, feelings of resentment and anger permeated public opinion.

On July 13, 2011, Kalle Lasn and Micah White of Adbusters, an anarchist Canadian magazine with an Internet presence known for its somewhat extremist rhetoric and provocative imagery, wrote a blog post calling people to “flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street” (Adbusters, 2011). Basing their idea on the protests in Tahrir Square of the infamous Arab Spring, the *acampadas* in Spain, and traditional anarchist ideas, Lasn and White advocated for the protesters to have one clear demand for the American government and a non-violent occupation. The first American group “responding” to the Adbusters call collaborated with New Yorkers Against Budget Cuts, who agreed to devote some time of their previously decided August 2 protest to a planning session for Occupy Wall Street. This initial meeting resulted in several decisions about the direction of Occupy Wall Street: leaderless horizontal organization, several potential locations for occupation, and the name New York City General Assembly (Schwartz, 2011).

The call went viral and soon New Yorkers Against Budget Cuts was not the only group associating with the nascent Occupy Wall Street. The US Day of Rage, an Internet-based group calling for free elections and revocation of corporate personhood, and Anonymous, a hacktivist group known for cyber-protest tactics (for example, shutting down government servers by flooding them with requests for a short period of time) and for their use of the symbolic Guy Fawkes mask in both the online and offline protests, were among the most well-known groups to support the movement (Schneider, 2011, Sept. 29). Due to their well-established history of successful events and notoriety, their involvement garnered a lot of attention online for the movement. And it attracted a more diverse population than those originally called through Adbusters' anarchist- friendly channels.

On September 17, approximately 1,000 - 2,000 people descended on Zuccotti Park during the workday. Only 300 stayed overnight, but the occupation grew in numbers at that site during the following weeks. #OWS, as it was commonly called in reference to its Twitter hashtag, created centers to provide amenities for the Occupiers, such as a library, health center, and kitchen (Schwartz, 2011). Occupiers at the camp remained in contact with the general public and their supporters through Twitter feeds, personal blogs, posts on the main website which was set up like a Wiki, and live video streams. From the first call to assemble, groups and individuals had bought domain names and as traditional media coverage increased and with it public attention, #OWS websites blossomed with activity.

Throughout the occupation and after the many evictions that followed, #OWS remained leaderless. Decisions were discussed and made during General Assembly, weekly meetings of the entire camp which functioned on consensus and an open floor. When Lasn and White attempted to draft a statement of the one demand of the movement, the NYC General Assembly rejected it and proffered their own list of grievances instead. Contrary to the suggestion of the people who could have been considered the leaders of the Movement, the group did not issue demands, but instead left their statement vague, conveying their overall outrage.

Other cities, towns, and nations had their own symbols of corruption and injustice. From the end of Capitalism to environmental sustainability, Occupiers invest themselves in a wide range of causes that may, at times, conflict. Occupy Wall Street became the Occupy Movement to better reflect the diversity of locations, institutions, and causes that were being "occupied" by the people.

*What type of movement is the Occupy Movement?*

The Occupy Movement appears to feature the qualities of a new social movement. Though seemingly based in financial demands and class-based arguments against the wealthy, the Occupy Movement extends these arguments further into identity issues. The 99% are oppressed by the system in so many sectors of their lives that Occupy coalesced to address all forms of societal injustice. It is diverse, nonviolent, and leaderless -- features established in direct reaction to the homogenous, violent (since their actions threaten the livelihoods of the populace), and bureaucratic corporate

institutions headed by the 1%. The struggle between the lifeworlds of the 99% and the system of power played out in urban centers where Occupiers chose to set up their camps, following Castells's (Buechler, 1995) conception of NSM. Each site negotiates what aspect of their lifeworld they will address in their power struggle against the system. The question remains if the Occupiers' lived experiences qualify the Occupy Movement as a new social movement they can identify with. References to the Occupy Movement still linger in the public consciousness (Langman, 2013), and much of the images and symbols associated with the movement are still in popular use. It has written itself into the national (and even international) narrative, and the leaderless, collaborative mentality was introduced to a system that may not have even considered it (Williams, 2013).

Beyond its unique structure, the Occupy Movement's popular defining feature is its use of social media. Protesters relied on online communication to organize themselves as a cohesive and active group. As the results of the movements unfolded, scholars looked closer at the effects of social media use on the participants' connections and their ability to act collectively.

### **Internet/Social Media and Sense of Community**

Scholars have debated whether true communities can be built in the online setting, since the beginning of the Internet and activity on MUDs, multi-user dungeons or multi-user domains (that is, where multiple users interact in a common online environment which was originally completely text-based). What defines a "community"

is questioned and whether online interaction is a viable substitute for face-to-face interaction also comes into play within this discourse.

Some scholars insist that purely online groups are not true "communities." The common sociological definition of community includes geographic proximity, social interaction, and some common relational ties (Ridings, 2006). An online community questions the validity of these criteria. The online context removes the necessity of geographic boundaries and introduces the possibility of anonymity and asynchronous interaction. These features require a re-imagining of community, if online communities are to be accepted as communities at all. In addition, users may be part of these online groups only as some form of escape from the 'real world' engaging in less than a full range of interactions possible in face-to-face communication (Wellman & Gulia, 1999). Some studies even show that interacting online can contribute to increased levels of loneliness and depression (see Kross et al., 2013 and Putnam, 2000). These outcomes are *prima facie* antithetical to a common sense idea of community, which provide social support to its members.

However, Internet users have been shown in multiple studies to have as much or more social connections as non-Internet users. In particular, social media users have even more connections in their social network. According to several surveys done by the Pew Research Center for their American Life Project, people who use the Internet are involved in more social groups and have a larger support network than those who don't. The average Internet user has more discussion confidants than non-users, and

the average SNS user has even more (2.45 confidants as compared to 2.17) (Hampton et al. 2011, pp. 24-25). They also have a larger overall social network and a larger 'core' of that network (p. 25). Blog writers report higher levels of support than the average Internet user, with Facebook users reporting support between the two (pp. 34-35). Internet users receive more types of social support than non-users. They use the Internet, and especially social media tools, to maintain and to connect with members of their social network, on- and off-line. Internet users are more active in their group communities, attending meetings, taking a leadership role, contributing money or time, and feel accomplished in their group activities (Rainie et al., 2011, p. 5). SNS users are more likely to be involved in recruitment to a group and maintenance of the ties within that community (p. 28). The Internet has a major impact on the average American's perceived ability to keep up with and stay involved with their groups and has contributed positively to their community dynamics (pp. 31-33). As opposed to escaping from their community, Internet users engage in their relationships to build their community online.

Sociologist van Dijk (2009) noted that the term "community" includes groups with varying levels of participation in the current literature. It can refer to groups that simply share common preferences, mostly, she observed, in entertainment or consumer choices. Or it can go deeper and implicate the online user's desire to share their knowledge and *culture* with each other (p. 45). As only a small percentage of community members actively produce content to be shared, community might not be

able to truly form. According to a survey done by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, only 13% are "active creators" while a majority are "passive spectators" and "inactives" (33% and 52% respectively) with the rest falling somewhere in between, labeled as "critics," "collectors," or "joiners" (OECD, 2007 as quoted in van Dijk, 2009). The lack of active participants highlights the possibility that online "communities" may not be as participatory as scholars assert.

When the community centers on political interests and civil actions, such as online activist groups, participation is a salient concern. Activist groups are mostly volunteer-based, except for those who have bureaucratized their actions and can hire people to work on their causes, such as the ACLU. They need to motivate their members to take actions. However, the online activists may be "slacktivists," or people who offer "token support" online but do not follow that with meaningful, usually higher risk, action (Kristofferson, White, and Pelozo, 2013), if they do not feel they are part of a community.

However, the majority of the scholars agree that online communities do exist and all of the camaraderie and emotional connection that occur in more traditional communities, such as neighborhoods or socializing groups, are present in online communities even if the physical contact is missing. In fact, many studies start from the assumption that people form and sustain communities online and simply ask why and how (see for example, van Varik & van Oostendorp, 2013; Stornaiuolo et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2011). Although this topic has been discussed thoroughly by many scholars,



Barry Wellman has been a vocal proponent in the debate. His article, written with Milena Gulia, "Net surfers don't ride alone" (1999), has influenced the direction of the discourse, highlighting the complex reality of online/offline community. Among the many facets of virtual communities that they explore, including the possibility of strong ties, the importance of multiple weak ties, the effects of virtual communities on offline community, and community diversity, Wellman and Gulia explore whether virtual communities are "real" rather than pale imitations of offline communities. First, they reject the dichotomy and tension between offline and online communities. The Internet offers an entirely different form of interaction, and though the two types of communities may be comparable in many ways, one is not an imitation of the other. "The Net is the Net" (p. 16) and face-to-face communication is face-to-face – separate and complementary.

According to them, virtual communities can provide a wide range of social support through an aggregate of specialized relationships and groups of shared interests. The meeting place of these communities may no longer be in the public spaces or centralized like the mythicized idea of geographically-tied neighborhood communities lamented in Putnam's (2000) *Bowling Alone*. However, the online context supports both a "personal community: an individual's social network of informal interpersonal ties . . . [and] group communities of densely-knit ties . . . wherever in social or geographical space these ties are located" (p. 17).

Current studies corroborated the avenues of exploration that Wellman and Gulia

highlighted with the empirical evidence they called for in their conclusion. Wang and his colleagues used the Technology Acceptance Model to explore why people engage in online communities. They discovered that perceived usefulness of the online community predicted higher levels of participation, mediated by Internet self-efficacy, perceived ease of use, perceived community environment, and intrinsic motivation. (Wang et al., 2012). So, if the average member of the online community thought that the community could help them in some way (for example, by furnishing them with information, allowing them to interact with people of similar interests, or providing a platform to voice their opinion), they would be more likely to participate in the activities of the community. And the more they participate, the more social interactions they engage in, and the more connected the members of the community are to each other, creating the environment that researchers usually think of when they speak of community. In fact, many of the studies assume that true communities exist online and simply looked at the community's attributes or the support- or trust-building interactions within it (see for example, Van Varik and van Oostendorp (2013) and Stornaiuolo, DiZio, and Hellmich (2012)).

The question of online community is important to this study, for if online communication cannot create communities, how could it develop a sense of collective identity among social movement members? However, since it is likely communities do exist online, that they can form and sustain themselves, then maybe the use of social network sites, having as its main function the creation and maintenance of social

connections, can increase the feeling of collective identity amongst the members of a group who use them to interact.

### **Collective Identity**

The question of why people join, stay, and act in a social movement has fascinated social theorists for decades. What motivates people to speak out and act to rectify injustices against them? What makes it possible for them to act together? Initially, social theorists put forth theories such as the grievances theory, where the unjust acts against them were at such a level that people could not help but act, or the resource mobilization theory, where the people could not join together to create a movement until they could garner enough resources in the form of time, energy, people, and material goods to act. However, these theories did not explain every instance of people's actions within social movements. Oftentimes participants would join social movements even without adequate resources and would participate for longer than extrinsic motivators would predict.

In addition, with the emergence of new social movements and their focus on defense of identity, another theory was needed to explain participants' involvement. Many theorists looked to the concept of collective identity to address the gaps in the application of theories such as resource mobilization. Alberto Melucci, a prominent thinker in the social movement field, asserted that identity definition is paramount to any form of collective action and thus "the social construction of collective identity is both a major prerequisite and a major accomplishment of the new social movements"

(Buechler, 1995, p. 446). Collective identity soon came to fill in wherever there was an explanatory gap in current theory: motivation for recruitment, strategy and tactic creation, rhetoric building, retainment of membership, factors of success, etc. (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Though undoubtedly a factor in social movement dynamics, collective identity can not simply be a concept to address all things.

Each person has a personal identity, which is created through his or her social interactions and includes a historical component as well as a present state. A person's identity is generally consistent and composed of the numerous roles that person plays in her or his everyday life. Collective identity is connected to, shaped by, and shapes personal identities. Unlike other forms of group identity (such as social roles or relational identity), collective identity is related more tightly to the individual than to the group, though it emphasizes commonalities rather than individual differences (Ashmore et al., 2004).

Deeper than group affiliation but not equivalent to culture, collective identity is difficult to define and even harder to quantify. At its base, it is a negotiated identity created by a group or movement that represents the members' shared interests and experiences and that includes its own jargon, symbols, and narratives. It is "an abstraction that incorporates a group's history, mythology, experience, principles and beliefs" (Smithey, 2002, p. 44). It enhances a sense of solidarity with the group, regardless of the amount of face-to-face interaction among the members (Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Ashmore et al., 2004). One can share a sense of collective identity with

members of a group without actually meeting them. Collective identity is created through the interactions, decisions, and disputes of the movement participants (Gaskell, 2004).

Polletta and Jasper (2001) sought to confine collective identity "to avoid overextension of the concept" and defined it as:

. . . an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities. (p. 285)

Unlike other collective concepts, such as ideology or culture, collective identity always carries a positive association with its members. And, as a concept, the authors say it addresses four main questions about social movements: 1) how do the interests of social actors emerge?, 2) why do people act?, 3) why do they choose specific strategic actions?, and 4) what impact, other than institutional reform, do movements have? (Polletta & Jasper 2001, para. 1).

When exploring collective identity as an outcome of successful social movements utilizing a four-step model, Polletta and Jasper (2001) outlined several different ways in which establishment of a collective identity can have an impact on social movement members and the general public. As new social movements have an explicit focus on identity, one of the goals of the movements is to establish, reinforce, or redefine the personal identities of members of the movement. The collective identity of the

movement shapes the lives and personal narratives not only of the active members but of casual participants as well as they align, at least partly, with the collective identity created by the group.

Proclaiming and establishing the collective identity of a movement can also have long-standing political effects. Discussions about the group, even after the movement's activities may have subsided or been subsumed into the system, will often use their vocabulary and symbols. That recognition changes the public discourse. New social movements, according to Melucci's conception, can "construct submerged networks of political cultures that are added to everyday life and provide new expressions of collective identity that challenge the dominant order" (Murer, 2008, p. 10). Their collective identity can change the societal paradigm.

The effects can be positive and negative in relation to the movement's goals. Collective identity can be used to "place the opponent in a potentially awkward position of responding to a new definition of the conflict situation that has been tailored to favor the user of the persuasive tactic . . . [and] force the user into the equally awkward position of assuming the new strategic guise" (Smithey, 2002, p. 56). For example, one of the main symbols of the Occupy Movement's collective identity is the concept of the 99%. They are "everyone" except for the super-rich 1% who own a majority of the nation's wealth. In doing so, politicians now try to appeal to the 99% in their rhetoric, extolling the benefits for the every person that their platform holds. At the same time, the Occupy Movement must embrace the ambiguity of the 99% who

hold many differing views about the solution to their problems as well as the definition of what exactly the problems are.

In addition, the strategies and tactics associated with the movement may also carry forward to future actions, either replicating or reversing them depending upon how much they want to associate themselves with the first movement's collective identity. The movement's collective identity might also produce results in the form of a counter-movement and the formation of its own defensive identity. Within the public sphere, multiple collective identities may be created that shape the discourse and spur people into action.

Thus, a social movement can sustain itself and be successful if it can establish a strong sense of collective identity with its participants. During the stages of active and visible protest, they will be more motivated to act to change what they feel is an unjust society in which they live. And, once the amassed public brouhaha has somewhat subsided, they will continue to work for the acceptance of their identity in the larger political arena to enact institutional change alongside cultural acceptance. Even if they do not accomplish specific political goals within the time of fervent activity, the inception of their collective identity can pave the way for long-term successes and change (as delineated in the seventh and eighth stage of Moyer's model for successful social movements).

#### *Measuring collective identity*

Collective identity, like personal identity, remains relatively consistent. As a

person does not shift from identifying as Japanese to Russian without serious cognitive, affective, and behavioral changes, a movement does not shift from espousing values of the common worker to identifying with a betrayed middle class overnight. However, it is also fluid because it is negotiated, despite its members' hope that it will remain stable to present a strong front to its opponents. Through the members' exchanges, the movement's collective actions, and negotiations with those outside the movement, it can change over time. It can be difficult to adequately capture the entire essence of collective identity; yet attempts have been made to operationalize collective identity. No consensus has been reached on how to do this. Theorists in psychology, social movement studies, and sociology attempted to dissect the concept by breaking it into several dimensions. But, their treatments of the dimensions are problematic. They have often labeled similar dimensions differently or different dimensions the same, and they placed varying amounts of emphasis on different dimensions (Ashmore et al., 2004). They failed to explicitly describe the dimensions they are testing, or linked their definitions of the dimensions too loosely to their definition of collective identity (Ashmore et al., 2004). These difficulties are probably the result of the multidimensionality of collective identity.

Jason Stoner (2007) created an instrument called the Collective Identity Scale (CIS), to quantitatively measure collective identity. Not only does it provide a scale for collective identity, but the instrument also tests consistently across different facets of an individual's life: familial, social, and organizational. Stoner based his questions on



Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe's (2004) conceptualization of collective identity. They categorized collective identity into seven main individual-level elements: 1) self-categorization, 2) evaluation (private and public regard), 3) importance (explicit and implicit), 4) attachment and sense of interdependence, 5) social embeddedness, 6) behavioral involvement, 7) content and meaning (self-attributed characteristics, ideology, and narrative).

Each element is an integral part to a person's identity and can manifest itself without the others. However, they culminate into a coherent sense of belonging to a group, organization, or movement. This sense of belonging is deeper than simple affiliation, and cuts to the heart of the idea of collective identity. Self-categorization is the "heart of collective identity: identifying self as a member of, or categorizing self in terms of, a particular social grouping" (Ashmore et al., 2004, p. 84). Evaluation is "the positive or negative attitude that a person has toward the social category in question" (p. 86) as they perceive it defined by themselves and by others. Importance exists in two forms: implicit and explicit.

*Explicit importance* is the individual's subjective appraisal of the degree to which a collective identity is important to her or his overall sense of self; . . . *implicit importance* is the placement, from low to high, of a particular group membership in the person's hierarchically organized self-system, where the individual is not necessarily consciously aware of the hierarchical position of his or her collective identities. (p. 87)

Attachment is an emotional-affective aspect of collective identity that Ashmore and associates define as "the degree to which the fate of the group is perceived as overlapping with one's personal fate" (p. 90). Emotions play a large role in new social movements, and research is only now starting to focus on its salience as a predictor of outcomes.

Social embeddedness is "the degree to which a particular collective identity is implicated in the person's everyday ongoing social relationships" (p. 92). Since it would be painful to sever the social ties that reinforce this dimension of collective identity, it can be seen as precursor to commitment to the movement that spawned the identity. Behavioral involvement is the degree to which one engages in actions that directly express collective identity of that social category with no other intervening theoretical factors beyond the usual social and cultural constraints that dictate all expressions of identity, and is correlated with social embeddedness (pp. 92-93).

Lastly, content and meaning, as a dimension of collective identity, is comprised of three sub factors: self-attributed characteristics, ideology, and narrative. Self-attributed characteristics refer to the degree that a person will describe themselves using the traits usually associated with that social category (p. 94). Ideology is the beliefs held collectively by members about the group's experiences used to justify the group or to challenge the system that contains it (p. 94). Narrative is the personally-constructed story that the member of the group holds in relation to oneself and to the

group (p. 96). Again, these dimensions are related to each other and may manifest similarly, but they are conceptually unique.

## **Variables**

The definitions of the variables used in this study have differed slightly in the literature. To clarify these concepts, for the purpose of this study, the variables are defined as follows:

*Social media use* is defined as the amount of time a participant engages in social media as it pertains to information, organization, or activities of the Occupy Movement. Participants were divided into *high social media users* and *low social media users*. *Low social media users* were those that spent one hour or less during the day on social media sites related to the Occupy Movement. *High social media users* reported spending more than one hour.

Several questions addressed different dimensions of this independent variable, based upon similar questions in surveys administered in 2008 by the Princeton Survey Research Associates International for the Pew Internet & American Life Project about time spent on the Internet and social media (Pew Research, 2008). The questions in these surveys addressed civic and social engagement of the participants with general questions about their Internet usage and their participation in different "typical" activities of civically engaged groups, such as volunteer organizations or political parties. This study also separates current usage (i.e., "within the past 30 days" or "yesterday") from past usage (i.e., "one year ago"). The primary question of the

quantitative analysis for this variable was item number 2, which asked how much time they estimated currently using social media.

*Perception of social media impact* measures how much of an impact participants believe using social media has on 1) accomplishments of and 2) participation in different activities of the Occupy Movement. This dependent variable is interval with impact measured as major (with a value of 2), minor (with a value of 1), or no impact (with a value of 0) for common activities or accomplishments of social movements. The items designed to measure this variable emerge from surveys about American Life administered by the Pew Research Institute.

*Collective identity*, for this study, follows Polletta and Jasper's (2001) definition: "an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation, which may be imagined rather than experienced directly, and it is distinct from personal identities" (p. 285). This dependent variable is measured using a modified version of the Collective Identity Scale Jason Stoner (2007) developed for his dissertation. It is a series of 18 5-point Likert-type scale questions from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

## **Research Questions**

Several questions and subsequent hypotheses arose from the previous literature review about the causes of successful social movements. This study will look at a particular area of social movement theory and the potential effect of social media by examining:

RQ1: Are there differences between high social media users and low social media users and their perception of their collective identity within the Occupy Movement?

H1: Current high social media users in relation to the Occupy Movement will report a higher sense of collective identity with the movement.

H2: A current high social media user in relation to the Occupy Movement will report a higher sense of collective identity with the movement than those who were formerly high social media users and now are low social media users in relation to the Occupy Movement.

RQ2: What is the relationship between members' perception of their collective identity and perception of the role of social media to the success of the Occupy Movement?

H3: The higher a person's sense of collective identity with Occupy, the more impact he or she believes social media has on the accomplishments of the movement.

H4: The higher a person's sense of collective identity with Occupy, the more impact she or he perceives social media has on participation in the movement.

### III. Methodology

One of the suggested factors that contribute to the success of a social movement is the sense of collective identity that participants have with the movement and its activities. This study proposed to discover whether there is a relationship between social media use in relation with a social movement and the participants' sense of collective identity with that movement, using the Occupy Movement as the particular movement under study. This relationship was explored through an online survey that measured quantitatively participants social media use for Occupy Movement activities as well as their perceptions of collective identity. The online survey was then supplemented with interviews of self-selected survey participants. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were combined for a rounded, though not exhaustive, look into the Occupy Movement and its members' sense of identity with that movement in the present time, when mainstream media coverage and public attention has dimmed.

This chapter will address the population, sampling, instrument construction, and method of data analysis of this study.

#### **Population**

The population of this study is people who use the Internet and who are involved with the Occupy Movement at some level. For example, they may seek out information about mobilizations or causes supported by the movement, engage in online discussions, participate in physical protests once, or continuously occupy the local campsite. To gauge the relationship between social media usage and collective

identity, which includes a behavioral component, the respondents should encompass a range of involvement in the Occupy Movement from minimal to heavily involved. However, the population must have some connection to the movement, and not simply be aware of its presence.

When OccupyResearch surveyed some of the Occupy camps in 2012, the demographic data showed that Occupiers encompassed a large range of people (OWS – Public Opinion Project, 2011). Though most were Caucasian 20-30 year-old males with at least a college degree, there were not a negligible amount of minors, elderly, women, other ethnicities, and other education levels. The Occupy Movement is a global movement; Occupiers are located all around the world. Not only are Occupy camps on every continent, but the groups are connected through the Internet so Occupiers without a local camp can still be involved in the whole movement.

### **Sampling and Data Collection**

To reach a sample of this population, a self-administered online survey created on Qualtrics was distributed through the moderators and public postings on 112 Facebook groups and pages and associated online forum boards, if they existed. The groups were randomly selected from the Occupy Directory (<http://directory.occupy.net>) and the Facebook search results for the keyword "Occupy" after eliminating pages that used the word "occupy" but did not relate to the Occupy Movement. Known Occupiers and their associates were also contacted through other online platforms, such as their websites (and corresponding forums) as well as

Twitter feeds (see Appendix A). Finally, participation requests were issued on the OccupyResearch mailing list. After this initial contact, the author used the snowball technique to distribute the survey to others who are interested or involved in the Occupy Movement.

At the end of each questionnaire, the participant was asked to submit contact information if they would like to participate further in the study. That list was used to court interview subjects. Seven people responded with interest and semi-structured interviews were conducted. Two of the interviews were conducted face-to-face as the interviewees were geographically close, four of the interviews were conducted over Skype, and one interview was conducted through e-mail at the insistence of the interviewee. The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to 2-1/2 hours. Interviews were recorded, transcribed, and then coded multiple times (see Appendices B - G). Predefined codes were Jasper and Polletta's (2008) dimensions of collective identity, social media usage and type, and perceived importance of social media to the Occupy Movement. Some themes related to the Occupiers' belief in the movement's success emerged through the coding process and will be noted in the Discussion section.

### **Survey Instrument**

This mixed-method study employed two instruments to collect data: a cross-sectional, self-administered online questionnaire and semi-structured interviews.

In order to test the hypotheses, the questionnaire was crafted incorporating



questions from several sources to address the interdisciplinary concepts of the study. First, there needed to be a measure of collective identity. However, nearly no quantitative instruments exist to measure collective identity. All previous studies have used qualitative interviews or focus groups with small sample sizes from a geographically limited pool. While these previous studies have a solid conceptualization of collective identity, a quantitative measure would benefit comparison studies such as this one.

Collective identity is a complex idea, and a single person may claim multiple identities simultaneously. A scale that isolates a person's collective identity from their layered identities would be useful when considering people's motivations for collective action, since collective identity has been cited as one of these motivating factors. As mentioned in the literature review, Jason Stoner (2007) created the Collective Identity Scale (CIS), a quantitative instrument designed to measure collective identity in various contexts of people's lives.

The CIS is admittedly limited. After creation, testing, and reevaluation, it only validly measures three of the dimensions of collective identity outlined by Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe (2004). Stoner suggested that there was too much conceptual overlap between individual dimensions for the respondents, and they did not distinguish, for example, between items expressing ideas of "importance" and "content and meaning." The items were not mutually exclusive for them, and so they

needed to be eliminated in the final version. The supplemental interviews were included to address this limitation.

Another limitation of this instrument is that it has not yet been widely tested for reliability. Because it is newly constructed, there has simply not been enough time to ensure that this test is cross-culturally sound or generalizable. Yet, initial testing appears to be thorough enough, and the individual items appear to logically address *prima facie* the concept of collective identity.

Despite these limitations, Stoner's instrument is still a strong tool to measure collective identity and one of the only quantitative ones available. The remaining items, measuring self-categorization, attachment, and behavioral involvement, tested to be mutually exclusive and valid internally and externally. These dimensions are fairly sufficient, since they address three main elements of team identification found in previous research: cognitive, behavioral, and emotional (Stoner 2007, p. 66). In addition, the dimension of self-categorization makes a distinction between "not only the 'placing' of one's self into a group, but also the 'goodness-of-fit' to that group" (p. 66), where other studies focused only on the "placing." This instrument also tested valid across different formulations of a person's identity. Stoner tested it against familial, organizational (i.e., workplace), and social/personal identity (i.e., social clubs or circles of friends) within the same group of respondents as well as comparing between two different groups. His approach understood the respondents to be multidimensional while focusing the measurement on one part of their identity at a time. Thus, this

instrument can be applied to any area of a person's life where they might cultivate their sense of collective identity. For this study, Stoner's instrument is sufficient and appropriate.

In addition to the questions measuring collective identity, the survey incorporates items from two other sources: two surveys from the Pew Research Institute on media usage, titled "The Social Side of the Internet" (Rainie, Purcell, & Smith, 2011) and "The Internet and Civic Engagement" (Smith, Schlozman, Verba, & Brady, 2009) as well as a survey from OccupyResearch about #OWS participation (OWS - Public Opinion Project, 2011). The questions culled from these three sources were combined into a 32-item survey (see Appendix I).

While the sources of the questions are reputable, there are limitations to this survey. The responses to the survey are self-reported. The questions ask for the participants' perceptions of their social media use and their identification with the Occupy Movement. In fact, their sense of collective identity is a construction of their self-perceptions as well as their perceptions of others' evaluation of their movement (such as the media portrayal of the Occupy Movement). The accuracy of the results can not be verified.

At the very end of the survey, the last item invited the participants to share any additional comments about or an anecdote from their time with the Occupy Movement as well as to engage in an interview. The subsequent interviews consisted of five

questions asked of all participants and follow-up questions that were generated in response to the interviewees' answers (see Appendix I).

### **Data Analysis**

The quantitative analysis consisted of two different types of tests, one for each research question. To test research question 1, t-tests were performed. They compared the present scalar collective identity score between two groups: high social media users, defined as those who used social media for Occupy for more than 1 hour, and low social media users, defined as those who used social media for Occupy for 1 hour or less. Due to insufficient data and the complexity of the hypothesis, hypothesis 2 was not tested. The descriptives, discovered through the following procedure, are presented. The sample was split by hand into groups who were consistently low social media users, high social media users, and those who changed from high to low users. The means of the collective identity scores of these groups were then compared.

To test research question 2, tests using one-tailed Pearson correlation measured the relationship between the person's sense of collective identity and their perception of social media's impact on the accomplishments (hypothesis 3) and participation (hypothesis 4). A composite collective identity score was created with a simple two-step process. First, a number value was assigned to the Likert-scale responses wherein "strongly disagree" received a value of 1 and "strongly agree" received a value of 5 with the other values falling in between. Second, the scores for each item were summed.

The qualitative data of this mixed-method study consisted of interviews. After the interviews were conducted, the recordings were transcribed (see Appendices B - G) and coded multiple times. Pre-defined codes were first utilized to guide the reader's coding process. These codes were Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe's (2004) dimensions of collective identity, type of social media use, and perception of social media impact. After several iterations, other themes emerged which were then added to the pre-defined code list. Transcriptions were then reviewed again to include the new themes.

#### IV. Results

Only 87 people began to take the survey with a dropout rate of 46%, leaving only 46 usable survey results. No demographic variables were collected in the survey in consideration of the population's culture (most pointedly, the "security culture" of online activists) and sensitivity to the invasive nature of these types of questions. Seven respondents were interviewed. Six of them are male, one is female. Their ages range from early 30s to late 60s. No demographic data was officially collected of the sample since there is precedent for questions about that type of information to be met with resistance and derision (OWS - Public Opinion Project, 2011). Occupiers have demonstrated reluctance to provide information about their activities lest they identify themselves to the authorities. Demographic data would have been even more intrusive and identifying. Thus, it is not known if these results are representative or can be generalized to the Occupy Movement as a whole.

Survey participants were split into two groups: high social media users and low social media users. High social media users spent more than 1 hour on social media in relation to the Occupy Movement. Low social media users spent 1 hour or less. Independent-samples t-tests were conducted to compare the mean of the collective identity scores of high social media users and low social media users. Comparison of current low ( $M = 58.76$ ,  $SD = 14.88$ ) and high ( $M = 64.33$ ,  $SD = 15.56$ ) social media users showed low social media users reported a lower amount of collective identity than high social media users. The results were not significant,  $t(34) = -1.09$ ,  $p = 0.29$ . Past low

social media users also reported lower collective identity ( $M = 52.93$ ,  $SD = 12.45$ ) than past high social media users ( $M = 66.9$ ,  $SD = 14.51$ ). The results were significant,  $t(34) = -3.02$ ,  $p = 0.005$ .

Respondents who reported being low social media users for Occupy both in the past and currently had a lower sense of collective identity ( $M = 52.93$ ) than those who reported being high social media users in the past and currently ( $M = 64.14$ ). However, respondents who reported being low social media users now but high social media users in the past for Occupy had a higher sense of collective identity ( $M = 72.43$ ) with the movement than either consistently low or high social media users. However, the number in each group was so low, the t-test was not appropriate.

Perception of social media influence on accomplishment of Occupy and perception of social media influence on participation were each recoded. The categories of "no impact," "low impact," and "high impact" were recoded to reflect the scores 0, 1, and 2 respectively. The scores for each item measuring the perception of impact from a specific type of social media (e.g., video blogging, microblogging, etc.) were summed to create new variables: "perception of social media influence on accomplishment" and "perception of social media influence on participation."

A one-tailed Pearson correlation was conducted to assess the relationship between perception of accomplishment and collective identity score. There was a significant positive relationship between the two variables,  $r = 0.38$ ,  $n = 31$ ,  $p = 0.02$ . These results support hypothesis 3. Another one-tailed Pearson correlation was

conducted to assess the relationship between perception of participation and collective identity score. There was also a positive relationship between these two variables, but the results were not significant,  $r = 0.29$ ,  $n = 26$ ,  $p = 0.08$ .

Briefly, the results of the qualitative data showed consensus about the continued successes of the Occupy Movement and its place in the present, globally-connected society for activist activities. Several of the participants spoke to their dedication to the Movement's activities, often directing me to Facebook pages or YouTube channels. Many simply espoused their ideas about the focus of the Occupy Movement, especially those that left comments but were not interviewed. The findings from the interviews and comments are explored more in depth in the subsequent "Discussion" section.

### **Additional Analysis**

The data provided some insights into the Occupiers' self-reported collective identity, activities, and beliefs about social media use. These results are explored below.

The absolute range of collective identity scores is from 18 - 90. The low score represents the case where a respondent only marked "strongly disagree." The high score represents the case where a respondent only marked "strongly agree." The range can be divided along similar lines at 36, 54, and 72 to distinguish between respondents who have "very low identification," "low identification," "high identification," and "very high identification." The range of this sample was 28 - 83.

Within this sample, more than a quarter (27.8%) of the respondents very highly identified with the Occupy Movement. And 44.4% of respondents highly identified



with the Occupy Movement. Only 27.8% of respondents reported low or very low identification with the Occupy Movement. Interestingly, even those that explicitly reported being "a member of the Occupy Movement" did not necessarily "identify" with the movement, according to their other responses.

The items that indicated attachment to the movement by prioritizing the Occupier identity (e.g., "Being an Occupier is the most significant dimension of me") as well as those that indicated actively associating with other Occupiers (e.g., "On the weekends, I would prefer to associate with other Occupiers") had the lowest mean scores. While the mean scores of the other dimensions were scattered between high and low, those scores that measured self-categorization: goodness of fit all fell between 2.8 and 3.4, indicating overall low identification in this dimension among respondents.

Occupiers report they believe in the impact of social media on people's increased participation in the Occupy Movement. For every type of social media listed, the majority of Occupiers reported that it allows for more time to participate, both for themselves and for "people in general." Nearly all of the respondents (94.7% for their own participation, 97.4% for people in general) reported that social networking sites allow for more time to participate in the Occupy Movement. Interestingly, only 38.9% of respondents report they thought microblogging sites allow them more time to participate, but 83.8% report that the same technology allows people in general more time to participate. Microblogging sites were the only type of social media where a distinct difference between the percentages of respondents reporting its influence on

themselves in comparison to on "people in general" exists. In interviews, social media as a whole was seen to allow more participation in the Occupy Movement. Only three of the seven interviewees expressed concern that social media was a distracting influence, taking time away from Occupy activities.

As expected, offline action with the Occupy Movement is infrequent. Only 16.3% of respondents attended a general assembly meeting in the past month, though 24.5% reported taking a leadership role in the movement. Only 6.1% of respondents reported staying overnight at a camp. Yet, two-thirds of the respondents were recruited offline. Also, 36.7% of respondents reported attending an event that was sponsored by another group but affiliated with Occupy as compared to the 12.2% who attended an Occupy-exclusive event. This data is supported by interview responses. Interviewees often mentioned that the Occupy Movement now supports other groups that share values and beliefs but are focused on specific causes.

## V. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the connection between Occupiers' social media use and their sense of collective identity with the movement. Using Stoner's (2007) Collective Identity Scale and survey questions modified from reputable sources as well as interviews, hypotheses connecting social media use and its impact on collective identity were tested. The results of the survey and interview supported some, but not all, of the hypotheses. The following section will discuss these results as well as other themes that emerged from the data that were not addressed in the hypotheses but are worthy of note.

### **Sample Response**

The population of this study is unique and their responses revealed some of their characteristics. The response rate to the survey was lower than expected. Several reasons could explain the discrepancy between results and expectations. There were some semantic concerns of the use of "Occupy Wall Street" rather than "Occupy Movement." Though one of the largest camps, Occupy Wall Street is only one camp among many for Occupiers. Participants may have felt little connection to Occupy Wall Street and thought the questions did not apply to them, even if they participated in their own local Occupy group activities.

Several potential respondents refused to take the survey entirely based on the potentially revelatory nature of the questions citing security culture. They feared the information collected about social media activities would be used against them or

others in the Occupy Movement either by the researcher or by federal agents harvesting the information. Several of the potential respondents were openly resistant to taking the survey and encouraged others to disregard the survey for fear of infiltration.

Similar attitudes of institutional distrust echoed throughout comments and interviews. Future research of this population must be approached with a careful eye to chosen vocabulary and delicate approach when contacting the sample. Online communication may allow for initial engagement but ironically not be the best method to continue studies.

### **Effect of Collective Identity and Social Media Impact**

The first research question explored the relationship between social media use and Occupiers' perception of their collective identity with the Occupy Movement. The results from respondents about their social media use both in the past and currently supports hypothesis 1. High social media users report a higher sense of collective identity with the movement (current:  $M = 64.33$ ,  $SD = 15.56$ ; past:  $M = 66.9$ ,  $SD = 14.51$ ). The interview data reinforces these findings. Interviewees stated that their social media use maintains their established ties with other Occupiers. Their online communication reinforces the dimensions of collective identity used in this study. In particular, the information sharing and awareness generating aspects of their social media use reinforce the collective identity dimensions of shared content and meaning, behavioral involvement, and evaluation.

Hypothesis 2 was not supported by the data. Those who transitioned from being

high social media users to low social media users over time reported a higher sense of collective identity than those who were consistently high social media users. One of the factors that may contribute to this result is the number of hours offline spent on Occupy activities. Social media users whose use changed from high to low levels reported spending an average of 3.86 hours offline weekly for the Occupy Movement as compared to an average of 1.86 hours reported by high social media users. This may lend credence to the thought that offline interactions bolster a sense of collective identity with a group more efficiently than online interactions. Interviews with participants 1, 3, 5, and 6 revealed the importance they placed on actions taken "on the streets." Social media are a useful and connecting tool, but they stated a need for face-to-face actions and demonstrations to fully support the movement. The data is not conclusive whether face-to-face or social media communication is more effective. The debate continues and provides more avenues for future research.

### **Potential Impact of Social Media on Occupy Success**

The second research question addressed the relationship between Occupiers' perception of their sense of collective identity and their perception of social media's role in the success of the Occupy Movement. In hypothesis 3, the concept of success was measured through the reported belief in accomplishments of the movement. In hypothesis 4, the concept of success was measured by the reported amount of participation in the movement.

The positive relationship between the collective identity and perception of

accomplishment of the movement ( $r = 0.38$ ,  $n = 31$ ,  $p = 0.02$ ) suggests that as Occupiers identified more with the movement, they believe that social media had a larger impact on the accomplishments of the movement. Since the Occupy Movement was popularly associated with social media (see news reports from the time, for example Kanalley, 2011; Preston, 2011; Saba, 2011; Schneider, 2011; Tarrow, 2011), it makes sense that those who identify with the movement would also believe in the strength of social media as a form of identity affirmation (Simon, Trötschel, and Dähne, 2007). Interview data includes some examples from the Occupiers of the integral role they believed social media played in the Occupy Movement's accomplishments. These are also discussed further down in the subsection "Occupy Movement alive and successful" of the "emergent themes" section.

Many respondents (both interviewees and survey participants) reflected Participant 5's dichotomized statements. According to them, social media are both incredibly important to movement activities and only one tool among many.

Social media have power, according to them, as an organizational tool. Participant 3 lauded the phone campaign against the police actions in Oakland, California when Scott Olsen, a Marine in an Occupy protest, was nearly beaten to death (for more information about this incident during Occupy Oakland protests and the resulting settlement, see Cherkis, 2011; Gabbat, 2011; and Artz, 2013). He looked back on the "hundreds and hundreds of people that [they] strategized and organized right through our Occupy Facebook page . . . calling the Mayor's Office and . . . within a

couple of days the Mayor had changed her tune." Participant 5 reflected that all of the planning and advertising for Occupy Chicago was through social media until police started to infiltrate their online groups and used it to harass and arrest her fellow Occupiers. However, she tempered her enthusiasm of its organizational capacity as she lamented the idea that the current generation, Americans in particular, may not know how to organize without social media.

Respondents cautioned against championing social media's influence too much. Those with political activist histories said that much of what can be accomplished through social media was already accomplished through print and face-to-face methods in the past. International allies had been informed of local actions. Demonstrations were advertised through word-of-mouth and home-printed materials. Participant 5 pointed to the "taxi cab connection" during the April 6th Youth Movement in Egypt (see also reference to this in Lim, 2012). The organizers of the protests used Facebook, viral videos, and blogs to mobilize groups. But, to reach more local participants, activists would casually talk about an upcoming event in or around taxi cabs and the drivers would spread the information through gossip. Instead of an online network, the activists capitalized on an existing offline social network. According to Lim (2012), the "cabs and coffee shops of Cairo" served as network nodes to disseminate information to a wider, more urban audience (p. 243).

Respondents noted that limited instances of information dissemination, such as for one-time protest events, reach a wider audience, but will rarely lead to a

permanently expanded network of close relationships. Their experiences support the conceptualization of social media as networks based in the strength of weak ties (Barabási, 2011). In addition, interviewees agreed social media renders the *maintenance* of connections and communities easier. However, new relationships are not forged without some sort of offline connection, especially in this movement where security culture is the norm and infiltration is a real concern.

The fourth hypothesis was supported by the positive relationship between the sense of collective identity and the perception of the impact social media has on participation in the movement, though it was not significant ( $r = 0.29$ ,  $n = 26$ ,  $p = 0.08$ ). In general, Occupiers reported that social media allowed themselves and people in general more time to dedicate to Occupy-related activities. The interview data reinforced this finding, as multiple interviewees spoke of sharing information, organizing actions, and engaging in dialogue through social media, in particular Facebook, *for* Occupy rather than distracting them *from* Occupy's activities. Participant 7 mentioned age and health issues which prevented him from engaging in offline activities, so social media was his primary connection to the Occupy Movement.

Consistently, a higher percentage of Occupiers reported that "people in general" could spend more time on Occupy due to social media than "themselves." Occupiers seem to have greater belief in the positive effect of social media on indistinct others compared to their own experiences (even if by a slim margin). This sentiment repeated in some of the interviews. Participant 3 said he appreciated how social media put



people in contact with a large number of others they may not usually be able to communicate with. On the other hand, from his experience as a local elected official, he also "tell[s] people you can sit here and bitch on Facebook all day long and that will do *nothing*, but get involved. Go to a local meeting."

Occupiers also defined "participation" in broad terms. Online and offline activities were important, according to interviewees. Though the majority emphasized the offline actions with their stories, they never completely discounted the substance of online interactions. Whatever contribution was made to the Occupy Movement was appreciated, but more involvement was hoped for.

### *Slacktivism*

About three-quarters of the interviewees were familiar with the term "slacktivism." Associated predominantly with young Internet users, slacktivism is defined as "feel-good online activism that has zero political or social impact" (Skoric, 2012, p. 78). This popular term refers to the easy nature of clicking a button on a website to show support for a cause while resting at home. Once a person has shown token support in this fashion, they may be disinclined to take other actions that may be riskier or demand more resources, such as physically attending a protest, talking to a local political representative, or donating money. Slacktivism occurs offline too, as low risk supportive behaviors such as displaying a bumper sticker or wearing a pin. However, whether the behaviors of slacktivism have a damaging influence on further civic engagement is not definite. There are mitigating factors that influence participation

(Skoric, 2012) and sometimes the initial token support encourages larger-scale actions as part of identity affirmation processes (Kristofferson, White, and Pelozo, 2013).

Interestingly, those interviewees who displayed less dimensions of collective identity with the Occupy Movement during their interviews (though still politically engaged) reacted favorably to the term. They gleefully wanted to add it to their vocabulary or remembered times when they encountered people they would call "slacktivists." Those interviewees who displayed a higher sense of collective identity with the Occupy Movement defended typical "slacktivist" actions with the inclusive idea that "any action is a good action." They pointed out different circumstances that might limit people to only being able to participate through online forums and social media: other responsibilities in life, such as childcare, medical ailments and disabilities, or fear. One of the survey participants echoed these thoughts, wishing she could do "more" than what little time she spent online but had children and a full-time job that filled her time. Participant 7's comments reflected the thoughts of this group

Each person is a unique individual, and therefore each person contributes to the vast diversity of activism in their own way. This allows for a strong, diverse base when unified as one. Every army or organization must have logistical and support staff as well as those who physically "take it to the streets."

The Occupy Movement is as inclusive of "participation" definitions as it is of the political and social issues it addresses. Online activity, mostly social media-based, is

deemed equal to offline activity. This idea does not seem to be shared with those who identify less with the Occupy Movement. The difference may be important for future research as interviewees may equate being part of a Google Hangout and engaging in a sit-in at a public place as behaviors exhibiting dedication to a movement.

### **Emergent Interview Themes**

Throughout the course of the interviews, several themes emerged that, though not part of the original scope of the study, would be fruitful to explore for future research and present knowledge. Facebook was the main type of social media these Occupiers used, and the one they referred to first in reference to "social media" as a whole. None of the interviewees used Twitter, or a similar microblogging site, though several had tried and then abandoned it. YouTube, or any similar video-sharing site, was hardly spoken of. When it did come up, interviewees used it to keep a record of events rather than to engage in dialogue. Image sharing sites were not mentioned at all.

The interviews also brought to light some of the current thinking about the Occupy Movement from people entwined in its activities, three years after its genesis.

#### *Occupy Movement alive and successful*

Everyone agreed that the Occupy Movement was not dead despite what they have heard on multiple occasions from multiple sources. The question was met with exasperation and sighs. Though the mainstream media coverage has gone quiet, "the dynamic has changed, [and] it's not as exciting" (P5), the Occupy Movement is still alive in the smaller political and social activities of its local and scattered groups. As a

postmodern new social movement (Brucato, 2012), there is no end for a movement such as Occupy. The interviewees repeated what other Occupiers have said from the beginning: the Occupy Movement is a process; one that, in Brucato's words, "seeks to generate a living, non hegemonic model of politics . . . in contrast to that which would see the seizure and control of state power" (p. 80).

One interviewee cited the definition of the word "dead," then argued that none of those terms could apply to Occupy. He asked, "Would a union be considered 'dead' merely because their members were not actively picketing at any given time? - Hardly. There are obviously many other ways to contribute and to be active" (P7). As participant 5 reinforced, "it doesn't mean they're not connected online; it doesn't mean they don't throw support in on occasion when it's an issue they're passionate about. People have lives to live." The movement, according to the interviewees, has progressed from one of intense activity to a part of daily life, interestingly mapping onto the latter stages of Moyer's (2006) model for successful new social movements.

Yet, even though they cited the strength of the smaller groups, several interviewees referred to the global reach of the Occupy Movement as a reason for its continued activity. Too many people had become involved in Occupy across the world for it to be "dead." International connections made the movement more powerful so that it endures. Those interviewees who exhibited more dimensions of collective identity in their interviews professed a firm belief that they could go anywhere and, with a little

advanced warning, be taken in by the local Occupiers. Though they could not provide many examples of this actually happening, they strongly believed it to be the case.

While the overwhelming majority agreed, not every Occupier wholeheartedly agreed that the Occupy Movement was not over. Several of the interviewees said that the Occupy Movement was weakened in its current state. One commenter even denied that Occupy was a social movement, coinciding with some scholars' analysis of the Occupy Movement as a moment of resistance and not a movement itself (Gitlin, 2012). The commenter said that it started out attempting to be a movement, but did not coalesce into one. But disagreement was very much in the minority.

Related to the idea of the "life" of the Occupy Movement, many who identified as Occupiers spoke of the movement's success. According to the interviewees, overall success was not defined by distinct policy changes or number of public protests. The effects are more subtle and the results of the changes are long-term. Occupy's success is based in lifestyle changes and mindset; its focus is cultural and social change, the fundamental goal of social movements as laid out by Castells (2009). For these Occupiers, the movement's success fell into 3 categories: 1) generating awareness on a global scale, 2) empowering protesters and making protest acceptable, and 3) starting conversations about, and actions in response to, injustice and corruption in a very public forum.

### Generating awareness

One of the first indicators of success that the interviewees cited was both the

public's and Occupiers' increased awareness about cases of injustice or corruption around the world. In the early phases of Moyer's (2006) model, a general awareness of the problems addressed by the movement must be established. That awareness deepens in later phases and translates to public actions and changed mindsets. Interviewees said the Occupy Movement was hugely successful in this aspect. Reports of police actions at protests, statistics in infographics, and pictures of politicians with quotes from them that showcased their privilege passes from Occupy group to Occupy group and from Occupier to Occupier. "[Everybody] recognizes, to a certain degree, that they're being screwed by their corporations. That's what Occupy did more than anything else" (P2).

Interviewees pointed to people who weren't politically aware, much less active, shocked by some of the issues that Occupy highlighted. One interviewee used himself as an example. Whereas before he had not believed in media distortion or warrantless spying or climate change, Occupy presented so much evidence to the contrary that he now says "most fair-minded, concerned, and clear-thinking citizens" must be aware that there is "significant truth" to those claims (P7). Another explicitly stated his efforts to "keep people enlightened" (P1). His local Occupy group engages in "light brigade" actions, where they make huge signs out of black material and twinkly lights and march down the street. "We have fun with those. That always draws the crowd, too. . . . People always come up and say, 'Wow! So what is it you guys are all about?'" (P1). As part of the Occupy Movement, he has the community to execute efforts like these to inform other people in his community about social and political issues. There was a general

feeling from the interviews that the first step toward change was solidly accomplished by the Occupy Movement: people know the problems exist.

They tie this success inextricably to the use of social media. And, unlike the mimeographed 'zines and fliers that one interviewee had been employing in his younger activist days, Facebook proliferates the information much quicker and to a larger audience. He felt that it is efficient in raising the consciousness of Occupiers and public alike as Facebook includes not only political allies but also friends and acquaintances who aren't directly involved in Occupy. As participant 3 said, "I got friends and family on Facebook that I drive nuts. . . . They say, 'Don't you ever post anything other than political crap?'" But he doesn't stop posting, because for him, as part of his political identity, it's important that people know.

And Occupy's reach is global, which makes it an even more powerful awareness-raising tool, according to the interviewees. There are Occupy groups all over the globe and they are connected to each other, mostly through the Internet. One interviewee's former student from Poland forwarded information from his posts about Occupy in England and the United States, which he would not have known about otherwise, from community to community in Poland. Facebook groups connect members from many nations. One group moderated by a participant is Occupy Global Network, whose main goal is to "help Occupy city groups and other support groups by rapidly disseminating high priority posts" (<http://www.facebook.com/groups/GlobalGeneralAssembly/>). They make a point to utilize the common connection of the Occupy Movement to

disseminate stories and quotes about economy, climate change, updates about the Middle East, homelessness, and anything considered "priority" to its over 5000 members, with representatives from several countries. Global information sharing is itself a form of resistance (Castells, 2009). Occupy used Facebook to exert a counter-power (Castells, 2009) through its awareness-raising capability. As participant 4 observed:

Groups like Occupy bring to people's attention things that otherwise we wouldn't know about. I share on to my two hundred Facebook friends anything that I think is relevant to those people. And quite often, some of those friends share on what I've shared. So, in a small way, we are bringing to the world's attention issues that the mass media don't want known.

Some interviewees were a bit more cynical about the information sharing process, such as participant 5 who said over and over again that all media are simply propaganda. Participant 5 viewed mass media reports as grotesquely distorted by the media. She came to this conclusion after participating in Occupy Chicago's NATO protests, seeing the violence endured by Occupiers, and then reading reports later about violent protesters without mention of police cruelty. She credited Facebook in that it allowed Occupiers to present their own propaganda in the face of the power of mainstream media. As Castells (2010) asserts, media is the space of power where players can assert power or counter-power through the channels of communication.



Occupiers fight for their power with social media's ability to disseminate their own stories instead of what is presented by mainstream media, which is controlled by a network of political forces. Social media helps to democratize information (Castells, 2009), redistributing the power once held solely by institutions. In so doing, a transformation of the minds of the people occurs as more people are aware of wrongdoings (Castells, 2009). Participant 5's insistence that it's all propaganda but part of Occupy's ultimate success echoes Castells' theories of media politics and informational politics and their centrality to social movement's resistance to domination and assertion of members' identity.

#### Acceptable protests

For these interviewees, Occupy has progressed beyond awareness-raising. As a living movement, it sustains a culture of protest and encourages lifestyles that match its ideologies. Deep in Moyer's (2006) sixth phase of new social movements where movement members work to keep their cause on the political agenda and the majority of the public are dissatisfied with current policies, the Occupy Movement normalizes much of their members' actions, such as marches and sit-ins.

One of the first indications that the Occupy Movement influenced lifestyle changes, one of their ultimate goals, is the integration of the Occupy's vocabulary in public conversations. "Occupy, as we know it, made an impact. Name me a person who does not recognize the meme "the 99%" and know what it means. Everybody now recognizes that," said participant 2. These terms, the 99%, or its opposite the 1%, evoke

images of businessmen in suits contrasted with "average" people in shirts and shorts. Yet, it represents many societal problems of disenfranchisement, due to racism, sexism, income inequality, foreign wars, or even climate change. "The 99%" is the public's shorthand in any conversation of the interlinked, yet seemingly disparate, issues that Occupy encompasses.

In addition, the word "occupy" now connotes people helping other people or trying to fix a location, institution, or even event. Interviewees could list many examples of groups positively picking up the "Occupy \_\_\_\_" format. Occupy Sydney and Occupy Liverpool, which mirror the original geographic appellation of Occupy Wall Street, focus on improving the conditions of their city. Occupy SEC, referring to the U.S. Securities Exchange Commission, work on specific American economic policy improvements with great fervor and success, according to participant 1, even though one can not necessarily "occupy" an entire institution. More confusingly, a group called Occupy Sandy formed after Hurricane Sandy to clean up and provide aid to the victims. How does one "occupy" a natural disaster? It was impossible before the vocabulary change motivated by the Occupy Movement. In every case, the interviewees observed the public used "Occupy" as positively as the Occupiers.

And this current positive external evaluation of the group has countered, according to the interviewees, the original negative portrayal of the Occupy Movement. At first, "a certain percentage of people . . . most often in front of the camera . . . wouldn't be your picture of, you know, stand-up stellar citizens . . . those folks [that

don't] represent the majority at all" (P3). Occupiers are now seen as legitimate members of society working for change. And the strategies that they employed and still employ are legitimate forms of expression. As participant 4 said, "Occupy, I think, is perhaps the face or the public face of that feeling of injustice and dissatisfaction. . . . I think that they are the acceptable face of protest."

According to the interviewees, actions inspired by Occupy, even those not formally labeled as "Occupy" protests, are their biggest successes. Other groups could employ the tactics they saw Occupy using for their own programs. Interviewees cited several occasions where Occupiers supported previously unaffiliated groups that shared their values, expanding their network. Participant 5 was proud of the "chain reaction" she witnessed during her time in Chicago.

We were supporting parents, students, and teachers that were taking over schools that the man was trying to shut down . . . the clients with mental health worries, taking over clinics. Would those things have happened without Occupy being around and reminding people that protest is good?

Probably not.

Interviewees recognize the importance of normalizing institutional resistance as a result of the Occupy Movement. Occupiers are the social change agents that Moyer (2006) predicts in phase six of his new social movement model. They contribute to the slow absorption and subsequent diffusion of its ideas into the public consciousness.

## Building conversations and action

Finally, per all interviewees, having raised awareness of corruption and societal injustices and rendering protest acceptable, the Occupy Movement's most notable success, which is still in the process of being accomplished, is solution-creating conversations and tangible actions. A few were frustrated by the lack of "on the streets" action by Occupiers (and the general public). Others accepted the decrease in offline Occupy actions as an inevitable part of the progression of the Occupy Movement and defended an increase in online conversations (and sometimes "conversions" to Occupy ideology). But, for all of them, the Occupy Movement inspired further actions and continues to do so.

Online conversations are a huge part of the Occupy Movement. Beyond simply making injustices known, Occupiers can engage in a dialogue about them through social media with each other, their families and friends, and with people who do not agree with them. Supporting the assertion of many scholars that online communities are viable, most Occupiers interviewed dismissed the notion that online interactions would lessen their connection to others, especially those in the movement. They seemed to embrace the fact that people contribute to varying degrees. Even if many people are "passive spectators" or "inactives" (van Dijk, 2009), only reading but never posting themselves, they are still part of this social media-based community.

For some interviewees, the conversations were the most interesting part of being connected through social media. Participant 1 was very enthusiastic about the

transformative conversations he could engage in with people from all areas in his life. For him, Occupy is the "ground zero" of his dialogues and anything that follows. As he said, "we have great conversations going back and forth . . . we duke it out, edumacated some of my fellow cousins in North Carolina . . . Made 'em open." His connections cross social media platforms. After blogging regularly on a site called Firedoglake, he moved some of his activity to Facebook and many of his colleagues followed him over. Though he did not abandon his blog, he increased the amount and reach of his discourse about Occupy issues. Some of his online community even met face-to-face on a few occasions. Participant 2 regularly posts any events he attends or actions he participates in on Facebook. His "friends" will post comments to which he will respond if they are "substantive" (P2). While his intent is not necessarily inspirational, he said that he may be able to influence people just by posting what he already does.

While many of the interviewees could remember times when the conversations were not as civil or rational as an ideal political conversation could be, the general consensus was that the conversations were generative. The Occupy Movement spawned action and inspired some thoughtful consideration. Participant 7 said he changed his mind about reporter bias and privacy rights, because of his interactions with other Occupiers. And that many of the conversations that he has been privy to as moderator of Facebook groups look for solutions to current causes and lend support to those who wish to enact change.

All interviewees were proudest when the words on the screen gave way into action. When Occupy Chicago camped in Grant Park, participant 5 described the march and the arrests as "epic and awesome and empowering." She used the same vocabulary when describing the Occupy Movement's influence on teachers, nurses, and workers in Chicago when they protested afterward. "[The Occupy Movement] empowered them to be able to utilize their voices," she asserted vehemently.

Participant 2 said that the outgrowth of activist activity in his own life stemmed from his identification with Occupy. He had recently traveled from New England in the United States to a mining community in West Virginia to help transport water to the more rural areas that were getting snowed in. He was originally contacted by a West Virginian group that had participated in his local Occupy protests. They reconnected through the Occupy network, and he helped their efforts as well as spoke to the local community about corporate abuse of the workers. The idea resonated with them as far as he could tell, and the Occupy Movement's presence continued. His work there was "an extension of Occupy from [his] point of view" (P2). Though Occupy might not be the primary name on the activist action, it supports and inspires Occupiers and other groups with similar interests to work for the change they profess to want.

#### *Successful Occupy as new social movement*

Rising from these themes, the Occupy Movement maps nearly perfectly onto Moyer's (2006) successful new social movement model. According to the reports of success by the interviewed Occupiers, the Occupy Movement is in the depths of phase 6

and moving toward phase 7. It has progressed through phase 5 where participants become burned out with the effort and a period of "radio silence" issues from the movement as a whole. Participant 5 reflected on the exhausting nature of being part of Occupy, "I burned out and came back and burned out and came back and burned out and came back and burned out and burned out, burned out, burned out." But she also reflected that she always returned and so have many other Occupiers. The network established through their activities and continued connection online bind them to the movement.

Now, they implied, the Occupy Movement has become a social change agent, altering mainstream mindsets and attitudes. It is a new social movement focusing on cultural and social change, so there are ambiguous end-dates as it enters the last stages (Moyer, 2012). Only when the ideas and beliefs of the movement are seen as the status quo is it "finished." One sign that appeared at the OccupyWallStreet camp read "this is a process/not a protest". That sign exemplifies the approach of the Occupiers. Most interviewed acknowledged that it was going to take a long time for the mainstream to see the success that they already know. But the community created by the Occupy Movement thrives, especially through their ties maintained through social media, and will be ready for the "retrigger" events predicted in phase 7 by Moyer.

#### *Current Occupy Movement*

When the Occupy Movement started, the media and much of the public wanted one statement or one issue that the protesters were trying to address. They wanted a

soundbite or a specific, quantifiable goal. The Occupy Movement refused to accommodate and, while criticizing most loudly income inequality and corporate influence and corruption in politics, also spoke about various other political and social issues, such as environmental protection or removing American troops from Afghanistan and Iraq. Each Occupy group developed a different focus, while still remaining connected to the larger wave of Occupy. The mainstream media and sometimes Occupiers themselves struggled to provide a definition of the Occupy Movement. So, could they do it now? How might one describe the current Occupy Movement?

A picture materialized from the interviews. The Occupy Movement remains in its unusual state of simultaneous cohesion and fragmentation. It is a network with qualities that mirror the patterns of social media affordances (boyd, 2011) not an organization with formal structures (Lee, 2009). Occupy groups focus on locally important issues: anti-GMO protests, pollution from shipping companies, mountaintop mining, fracking, police brutality, union rights, homelessness, or others. They collaborate with other groups in their area that are invested in the same issues to increase their resources, time, and people, and to bolster support. Occupy, as a whole, offers a variety of social justice issues that people can choose to engage with.

Individual Occupiers, as nodes of the Occupy network with their own personal identity layered with their collective identity, are not as fragmented as the movement overall. They usually have one or a few issues that they are passionate about. Some core



people manage the smaller Occupy group and organize around those handful of issues that they collectively deem important. Then other Occupiers will drift in and out as they find their interest in their activities, which agrees with Gitlin's (2012) observation of Occupy's inner core and outer range of participants. Participation may have declined now that it is not as "sexy and wild" (P5) as before, but sometimes Occupiers will return after a long time because the focus changed to something they feel more vehement about.

One interviewee described Occupy as shop windows. Occupiers can look around and, if they see an issue in any one window that they are interested in, they can go into the shop (meaning they contact that Occupy group) and do something. They can sign an online petition; they can organize a sit-in; they can write to a legislator; or they contribute to whatever level they feel they can. They are shopping (or being a part of the Occupy Movement), and so they are a shopper (or Occupier). But they don't necessarily go into every shop (or work on every issue Occupy groups are working on). Yet, they can all identify as "Occupiers", since it is the mindset of social justice and a fight against inequality that's being promoted rather than a single issue to rally for. This description supports the finding that overall the Occupiers consistently reported low identification with the dimension of collective identity self-categorization: goodness-of-fit as well as reporting lowest scores for attachment. It suggests that they may identify with the movement as a whole, but do not solely categorize themselves as an Occupier. Identification with the movement is intellectual and behavioral (e.g., shared values and

beliefs, understanding of the place of the movement in society and history, participating in activities that display their beliefs) and less relational. Since Occupiers mainly use social media for information sharing and organizing, it would make sense that participants identify with the Movement in this way.

According to the interviewees, Occupy was an upwelling of frustration and anger against the perceived corporate corruption and governmental injustice. Participant 5 joined Occupy because she had been "waiting [her] whole life for something to kick the government's ass." The Occupy Movement provided a community that could take collective action against what she saw as perpetual injustice by the larger institution. As participant 4 said, "It's part of the global position, the global situation. Anybody who has a sense of injustice in the world tries to do something about it. . . . But they've actually captured the interest of society." Occupy did not have one message or one issue. It provided a Utopian vision of a whole, new society (as in Langman's (2013) analysis of the Occupy Movement). Income inequality, made painfully obvious by the American housing crisis and U.S. government bailouts, was a "gateway" issue to talk about other injustices (a feature unique to Occupy, according to some scholars, see Calhoun, 2013). But throughout the conversations the vision existed of maintaining networks to fight inequality imposed by the institutions in power.

All of the issues focused upon by the local Occupy groups are interrelated, and the belief seems to be that by working on any one of them, Occupiers are working on them all. Participant 7 summed it up well when he said, "It would appear that the time

is right for wholistic thinking, global viewpoints, and global unity of good and caring people . . . to help offset and overcome the greed, arrogance, and monetary self-interest that has pervaded, corrupted, and infected our society, governments, climate, and our world in general." He links together many, if not all, of the diverse issues that Occupy tackles. A movement that claims to represent 99% of the population must encompass a large diversity, and those that identify as Occupiers seem to be comfortable with the tensions inherent in the dialectic between local actions and global consciousness. Their identity as an Occupier is not threatened by their identity as, for example, a Democrat or a historian or a city member, since their Occupier identity can incorporate the beliefs of these other identities easily. Yet their actions of political resistance and reform, online and offline, as an Occupier tie them to others that profess the same identity. It may result in a casual connection (or "weak tie") to other Occupiers, but it is one that exists, according to all of the interviewees.

### **Limitations**

This study had several limitations, which means these conclusions are not definitive. The results are not generalizable due to the small and potentially non-representative sample. Many respondents reacted unfavorably to the study as a whole. And the responses received were self-reported and thus unreliable. The Collective Identity Scale had its own drawbacks explained in the "Methodology" chapter.

## VI. Conclusion

The Occupy Movement holds great interest for political, sociological, and communication scholars alike. Its leaderless structure and dispersed political message; its ability to amass an active group with a vague collective identity; and its reliance on social media for the bulk of its communication and organizational needs combine to make it a unique and new social movement. This study was designed to explore the relationship between the Occupiers' use of social media and their sense of collective identity with the Occupy Movement.

Overall, there is a positive correlation between the two concepts. An increase in social media use correlates with an increase in their sense of collective identity with this movement. And the more they identified with this movement that was portrayed to hinge on its Internet presence, the more they believed that social media allowed more time to participate and had a large impact on accomplishments of the movement.

These relationships may result from the fact that what social media necessitated them to do in order to achieve the movement's goals of larger social change were also steps to reinforcing their presented identity as an Occupier. To generate awareness of their causes, they posted about Occupy on their Facebook. To begin persuasive or solution-generating conversations, they replied to comments and shared with friends on their friends list in a public arena where work colleagues, family, and acquaintances could also easily see their involvement with the Occupy Movement.

Blurred contextual boundaries are part of social media structure, so activity on social media necessarily creates and reinforces the predominant identity presented. In essence, Occupiers would have a difficult time denying their identity as Occupier when their social media is full of content that aligns with those ideals. And since the Occupy Movement encompasses many ideas the posts do not even need to be directly about Occupy to reaffirm the connection between the Occupier's personal identity and the negotiated collective identity of the movement.

Finally, the question was raised as to the state of the Occupy Movement as a new social movement and global community. The Occupy Movement maps well on Moyer's (2004) model of successful social movements. It is somewhere in the depths of phase 6 or phase 7, with no end in sight as it endeavors to establish its ideology of justice, equality, nonviolence among the super-majority against the super-rich minority into the status quo of society. We cannot be certain if the Occupy Movement has stalled and is in decline or if it is quietly working through these phases, but the data of this study indicate there is a continued presence of the Occupy Movement.

### **Future Research**

There are several avenues for future research in this area. Identity construction and social media use are an obvious choice. Continued exploration into collective identity construction through social media use, either with a refined version of Stoner's (2007) Collective Identity Scale or through the usual qualitative methods, would help to define some motivations of social movement participants. This study could not address

the effects of external evaluation, such as media reports or support from social media communities, in any depth, even though evaluation is one of the dimensions of collective identity. Future research could shine light on its effects of identity construction.

Recent news of 'retrigger' events, characteristic of phase 7, in the form of Occupy Central's massive, nonviolent protests in Hong Kong ("Occupy Central," 2014a; Samuels, 2014) provide new data about the Occupy Movement and its vivacity through social media. They use a new form of digital communication, an application called Firechat, that does not need a wifi connection ("In Hong Kong," 2014b). Smart phones connect to each other over short distances that create a larger network enabling a chat room for protesters to organize and inform without being "plugged in." It is a wonderful example of counter-power through informational politics (Castells, 2010) as the people communicate without any need for the traditional media's communication infrastructure. The fight between negotiated lifeworlds and the system (Buechler, 1995) continues under the name Occupy. Further research on the Occupy Movement and the connectivity of its community will be worthwhile.

Appendix A  
Online Request for Participation

Greetings,

I am a student at University of Hawaii pursuing my Masters in Communication. I have been studying the connection between social media and social movements, focusing on the Occupy Movement. Specifically, I'm looking at whether the use of social media relates to collective identity with the movement (that is, people feel part of the whole and work together as a group). I think that this data can help guide future movement activities to be more effective.

Would you help my research and distribute the link to my survey among your members or post it on your Facebook page?

The link to the survey is:

[https://manoahawaiiiss.az1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV\\_03yoaaGUKdcI1Rb](https://manoahawaiiiss.az1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_03yoaaGUKdcI1Rb)

It should only take about 10 minutes. And you can vet it before deciding.

I wasn't sure if this would be an appropriate forum to reach your group, and I didn't want to intrude on your space for discussion.

However, I would like as many responses as I can get to make my research as valid as possible. So, if you can pass this survey on or point me in a good direction to connect with others, I would very much appreciate it.

Again thank you for your time and consideration.

Aloha,  
Katie Ranney

## Appendix B

### Interview with Participant 1

Katie: I have a bit of a cold, so my . . . uh, my, uh . . . people haven't been hearing me so well.

P1: Oh okay. No, I can hear you fine. Okay. Aloha!

Katie: Hi! Aloha! Um, so how are things going over there in Hilo?

P1: Uh, we're active.

Katie: Mm, yeah, very nice. The Honolulu -

P1: We've got one member, we've got one member of Occupy that's actually pulled her papers to, uh, run for County Council.

Katie: Oh wow. Oh, that's great.

P1: Mmhmm.

Katie: Yeah, that's great. The, uh, the physical presence of the local, uh, of the Honolulu, uh, movement has been, has faced a lot of opposition. So it's been kinda -

P1: Oh yes. Oh yeah. The County, excuse me, the City, etc. the State, and even, even here, they want to, well, it's a, a coordinated effort across the nation, y'know, as far as-. They're actually, they're actually, in County Council, they're actually about to discuss, um, a homelessness bill, right? To move them on, y'know?

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: And, and they just delayed it recently. I think it was Tuesday, after the hearing, they said, "Look, is there any" - they had some testifiers come in and say, "Look, we're already down and out, y'know, why are you asking, y'know. Why are you going to criminalize us?" Y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: So we're trying to squash, y'know, put out these fires all over the place.

Katie: Yeah, yep, there's been a lot of movement about that as well here. And there was that local, um, that - I think he was a senator? Representative? I think he was a senator who was taking a sledgehammer to people's -

P1: Oh yes. Oh yeah yeah yeah. I remember that. \*laughs\*

Katie: Oh my goodness. That was just ridiculous.

P1: He got, he apologized, didn't he? After, after all the brouhaha?

Katie: Yeah, he apologized. \*laugh\* But, you know, I mean. Yes. He apologized after everyone started making a very big deal of it.



P1: Right, right, right. Stupid is as stupid does.

Katie: \*laugh\* Well so -

P1: So - Go ahead.

Katie: I was just going to sorta dive right in. I've got a couple of questions, but the interview probably will \*sniff\* um, end up just sort of where it naturally, like, naturally flows.

P1: Right right right.

Katie: And um, going to try to keep it to about half an hour.

P1: Okay. You can try. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\* \*coughs\* Yeah, I mean, I want be, uh, -

P1: I'm a pretty well-informed Occupier. I network with all kind of mainland folks, uh, in, uh varying forms. That's why I jumped on. I'm like wow. And by the way, is there any way that you can send your results? Make it available? Because I can, I can publish it. Or not publish it, but I mean, release it on, on, on the Occupy web. 'Cause we have a web. \*laughs\*

Katie: Yeah yeah yeah.

P1: Occupy Central and etc. There's, there's a bunch of ways I can definitely disseminate your findings, etc.. If you're, if you're interested.

Katie: Uh well, when, \*clears throat\* when I write my thesis out, it will be y'know quote-unquote published. It tends, it is, all my results and my discussion after it will be published and available to, uh, to the public. It's just that people don't usually look at Master's theses all that often.

P1: Right. True, but -

Katie: Yep. And I can definitely -

P1: But I can definitely, I can get that, that out, out there in front of people.

Katie: Yeah, once I've finished up I can definitely send you, 'cause I have to submit a digital copy anyway, so I can send that to you, if you'd like.

P1: Oh yes, excellent. Most excellent. Go ahead. Fire away. \*laughs\*

Katie: Well, um yeah, so you sort of actually alluded to the answer to my first question was so- asking if you identify as a member of the Occupy Movement.

P1: \*laughs\* I was an Occupier before there was Occupy.

Katie: \*laughs\* Well, I'm really interested in that. Why do, why do you consider yourself that? Why do you take on that role, that identity?

P1: I don't know. I come, I've got such a chop suey background. I actually, I actually served 20 years in the army. Well, both the army and the National Guard, right? But I've always been, y'know, astute and aware, y'know, of what's going on. I, I blog regularly and what I usually focus on is, like, our failed foreign policies, y'know?

Katie: Mmm.

P1: I'm a big anti-war guy. And my biggest pet peeve is the I-P situation, the I-P scenario. So that's all, that, that fires me up. Y'know, since the very early eighties. Y'know, when I first heard about, y'know. Israel and Palestine. Especially what's going on with the Palestinians.

Katie: Hmmm. Yeah.

P1: So. And y'know, my mother, y'know, was a activist herself, y'know. We stopped Spaceport being built down on, down in Ka'u.

Katie: Oh.

P1: Right down in South Point, right?. I mean, it was so insane. Here we are, y'know, having all these huge, um, toxic chemical, um y'know, the gas, right?

Katie: Mmmhmm.

P1: Facilities, y'know, fuel facilities. on the most active ridge, y'know, lava, y'know, right?

Katie: Mmmhmm.

P1: So, and, and first of all, it was also our backyard. And so- \*laughs\* I mean, NIMBY-ism, yes. But beyond that. I mean, why are you gonna use, make this huge, toxic Postle, chemical nightmare right in the middle of the most active lava, y'know, earthquake-prone, etc. etc. So y'know, I, I cut my chops early, I guess.

Katie: Definitely. And, and right now, though, you're still really involved. You've got \*cough\* A lot of your friends are involved in, in Occupy and that sort of a thing, or?

P1: It's not, it's, it's not real big. We've- There's probably about 10 of us core members.

Katie: Mm.

P1: Right? But we're always networking out, and we, we talk to the guy [unintelligible] hunters, to the pig hunters. We, we do a lot of, uh, talk, chatting with all the various, uh, sovereignty movements, um, with the GMO crew, y'know the anti-GMO crew, with, with uh, Green Party, with y'know etc. I mean, we netw-, we socialize with them. We're in it with them, and we've fought through a lot of great y'know relations. Y'know. Y'know with the community outreach. We've, we've reached out to the churches, etc. Uh, like Salvation Army, etc. But they've always been kinda relatively hostile, y'know? They've always looked at Occupy as, "Ugggh", y'know, "Oh my god!", y'know?, "These masked fiends!", y'know?

Katie: Uh huh.

P1: "Running around with Guy Fawkes masks, etc."

Katie: Yeah yeah.

P1: It's like, c'mon, give me a break. I'm your neighbor. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\* So that's interesting. So there's like, a core sort of 10 or so of you that really, that really identify with "Occupier" and then you, you sort of network out and link with all of these other, different groups that have, that -

P1: Right. On all of the other islands, and also nationwide, and even worldwide, too. I, I, um, we utilize social media to-.

Katie: Mmmhmm.

P1: And we also do, we do Light Brigade actions, too. We're one of the few Occupys that does have an Occupy, or that does have a Light Brigade. We have fun with those. That always draws the crowd, too. They love that. They eat that shit up. \*laughs\*

Katie: Can you tell me a little bit more about that?

P1: The Light Brigades?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Oh okay, um. It's, it's basically two feet wide by three feet, uh, deep signs. I don't know the exact - it's painted black and then we put in, uh, battery-powered, uh, clear lightbulbs. Like, y'know, the uh, the uh, the LEDs. And it really pops, right? Especially at night.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Y'know, and we're always getting, y'know people always come up and say, "Wow! So what is it you guys are all about?" And stuff. And that's where we also draw in some, y'know? Attention and stuff like that.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: But everybody always digs our signs and stuff like- This, we'll spell out large, y'know, or not large, usually there's about 10 of us or so. But usually the, the Light Brigade actions draw more. Just 'cause they love that shit. \*laughs\*

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Um, ooh, do you do Facebook? Do you do any of the, any of the, like Twitter or-?

Katie: I do a bit, yeah.

P1: 'K. On, on Facebook in particular, there's one of our main, y'know, where Occupy does gather with a lot of the Occupys around, too. Y'know, I mean, I, I do a lot, I do a lot of Occupy London stuff, Oregon, uh, uh, San Diego is strong still. Um, uh, Sacramento

is kinda, been dead for a long time, but Oakland has been strong. Um, and then the Utah folks are pretty good. But even, even, well, Occupy Sandy is still the supreme. They've really taken over the mantle of Occupy. Occupy Wall Street itself, that entity, that central core, they've, they've. First of all, they still have to explain for where two million dollars has gone, y'know. 'Cause they just in-feuding etc. They just kinda like disintegrated. But then they. A bunch of them, they said, y'know, "Screw these three-", 'cause, it was mainly three individuals, y'know, egos. Which, Occupy, that's not about Occupy etc. But then, but then um, like Occupy SEC, which is the Securities Exchange Commission.

Katie: Mmmhmm.

P1: They're rock. They're sterling. Excellent reporting. Doing, um, great work. But Occupy Sandy was really the grassroots one that, that, especially after what happened to, y'know, with Sandy, y'know,

Katie: Yeah.

P1: The sheer effects of that. And they've, they've picked up the torch as it were. Um, then you had, by the way, Sacramento is supposed to be the next NatGat, National Gathering.

Katie: Yeah?

P1: The last one was in Kalamazoo. And that's, that's uh, scheduled for August 25th, 26th, 27th, I believe.

Katie: Oh okay.

P1: Just for reference [inaudible].

Katie: Yeah yeah yeah. That's cool.

P1: Uh, ell, I'm sorry. I just go off like that. See, I'm a historian. I'm a political scientist-historian, uh, a dual. I was a dual major.

Katie: Mm, yeah.

P1: From UHH. Hilo, right?

Katie: Mmmhmmm.

P1: And, and with a lot of Psych and Soc tossed in for good measure. I coulda actually, I coulda actually majored in Psych and Soc at the same time, too. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\* Yeah, you are quite, seem quite knowledgeable, quite in depth in a lot of things that would kinda contribute to, to your activism.

P1: Right right, exactly.

Katie: And so, mostly when you're making these sort of international connections, it's through Facebook, right? I mean, you seem to-.

P1: That's where a lot of it. That's because I'm primarily on Facebook as far as getting it out there. Twitter. I just never, Twitter just never, y'know,

Katie: Clicked with you?

P1: I just never mastered it. 'Cause Twitter's awesome, excellent, y'know, resource for the Occupy. But I just never got, y'know, I never got into that. But Facebook is one of the better platforms, y'know. Um, I believe there is some Reddit action. But Reddit is kinda, came down harsh on Occupy.

Katie: Oh.

P1: So they, they abandoned, primarily. But also on like, Firedoglake was, is, is where I blog all the time.

Katie: Mmmhmmm.

P1: I'm, well, on the front page all the time, uh etc. But, they, they installed, they, early on, they quickly established Occupy Supply

Katie: Oh.

P1: And they were sending out, y'know, buku, y'know. Think about two million dollars worth of frickin' material all together. Logos of Occupy Supply on it, which, excuse me. Everything from sleeping mats to, um, uh, thermal socks, uh, thermal blankets, um, water supplies for the summer folks. Uh, tents, solar panels, y'know, to charge up gear, y'know I mean a whole array of, to camp, to help the campers.

Katie: Oh.

P1: You've ever heard of Firedoglake?

Katie: I have not heard of Firedoglake. That's, uh, that's really interesting. And that they would, uh, have the resources for that.

P1: You would, honestly. Read, uh, I mean, uh, Firedoglake it's reall- uh, it's a progressive, um, blog set up by progressive women. And it's primarily, um, women that that y'know are on the blog. I've been on the blog since, y'know, since its, from day one in like, 2004, 2005, that timeframe.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: But, but uh, great news source, great activist uh, news. I mean, we're not, I'm talking real hard-hitting analysis, real y'know. It just, it really is a worthy read. I mean, spend some time on it. Look at it. There's a whole array that - it's not just the front page. There's a whole bunch of other sites: arts and culture, [unintelligible], myFTL. MyFTL is a great, uh, resource, community resource where everybody can post a, a- In fact, I would actually encourage you to write up, write up, y'know, a synopsis of this and post it on myFTL. Right?

Katie: Okay.

P1: I'll almost guarantee you it will be front paged.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P1: And, and spark comments, commentary from the folks, because it really. A lot of them, most of them, y'know, are doctors, lawyers, and y'know, and doctors overall, PhDs in their respective fields.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: And it's, and it's heavy, heavy- a lot of them are, y'know, social scientists and etc. And then, even y'know, retired colonels and, y'know, they cover the whole spectrum of, of-

Katie: Yeah, that sound pretty fascinating.

P1: Yeah, it is. It is pretty fascinating. \*laughs\* Not to be pitching or anything.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P1: It really is. It really is a nice resource.

Katie: You seem to be very into, y'know, just activism in, as a, as a whole. Um, is that part of the reason why the Occupy Movement itself appealed to you? 'Cause it did encompass so many different-

P1: Right.

Katie: So many ideas?

P1: Yes right. Well, not only that. It's also because it's leaderless.

Katie: Mmmm.

P1: That really appealed to me. That really appealed to me, because I mean sure, actually in, in, in all honesty, we do realize we do need some, some faces, some, y'know, who we can go to.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Right? For answers, y'know. Uh, I always tried, I shied away, I always was, "Okay, you can come to me, but don't expect me to lead you." \*laughs\* That's what I say, right? I said, "I'll, I will contribute to the hilt." Y'know? But don't- First of all, I cannot give a speech to save my ass, y'know?

Katie: \*laughs\*

P1: And I've even tried, um uh, Toastmasters and etc.. I just, y'know, don't put a microphone in my face whatever you do. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\* Yeah. But you seem-

P1: But that is one of the things that. I mean, so you do need, you need some kind of leadership. That is one thing that I will admit to. Um, but you don't, it can not be one face, right?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: I mean that's. \*pause\* And Occupy is always, and a lot of people have always said it's been it's Achilles Heel. And I would tend to agree with it, but I would disagree too. Because it's the consensus building is what you need. 'Cause everybody can always contribute something. They always have a different perspective; they always have, y'know, something worthy, y'know, to contribute. As long as they're open-minded, y'know. And willing to y'know, not [unintelligible] saying y'know, "You're wrong!" y'know, as is prevalent, y'know, in society today, y'know. Like, take uh, take the Right Wing in particular y'know, with the climate denial crap.

Katie: Mmmhmm.

P1: And then y'know, in saying okay, and y'know the fundies, y'know the real Bible thumpers, y'know will all their-. Y'know, it, it- I studied the Middle East a lot. That's one of my things that I really am- Being a Bahai, I recognize, I read from all the, all the literature, right? Be it the Bible or the Bhaghavagita or the Qu'ran or etc., y'know? So, y'know, I embrace all religions, all the Abraham, the Abrahamic religions as it were.

Katie: Mmm.

P1: But, \*beep\* what does uh, like the Southern bastards, Baptists- I'm on a, hello? Uh. I see no difference between the Taliban and the Southern Baptists.

Katie: Mm.

P1: Both just are extreme. Or the Westboro bunch. Right? The Phelps and etc.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Y'know, just to put it in, put it in context.

Katie: Mmmhmmm.

P1: But the thing that the extremists are always the ones-. Like in the Ukraine, think about it. It's the Right Wing thugs that were going into all the various town halls and shutting down the town halls with, carrying their AK-47s. Just totally taking over. And then within, inside [unintelligible] also, that's the same thing. And by the way, we, we, us, the US . . .

Katie: Mmmhmmm.

P1: . . . shelled out five billion bucks, right? Ahead of time to our quote-unquote democracy approving, y'know, like NED, TED - not, not TED- NED, USAID, uh, Newlins . Just, just bring up USAID and type in "Ukraine" to usa.gov and just read all that democracy-promoting stuff.

Katie: Mmmhmmm.

P1: Read between the lines as it were. See, I always read between the lines.

Katie: Mmmhmmm.

P1: \*laughs\* And it aggravates people.

Katie: \*laughs\* So, with your interest really in the Middle East, like, the Occupy Movement didn't start- It started at Wall Street.\*beep\* It started in America.

P1: Well, well yes, because, because of our domestic stuff did. What I've seen for, for the actual- Actually can you, can we just stop for a sec. I have to answer this phone.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: I'll probably lose you. Just give me a call back.

Katie: Okay, yeah sure.

P1: In about five minutes. Okay thanks.

Katie: Yep.

=====  
=====End of first phone call.=====

=====  
=====Second part of interview=====

P1: I was worried there for a sec. \*laughs\*

Katie: Sorry about that.

P1: Hey um, on your, on your um, e-mail that you sent to me. I just put some, uh, links. I just sent you some links on your e-mail.

Katie: Oh, okay.

P1: That you sent with the consent form.

Katie: Mmmhmmm. The consent form? Mmmhmm.

P1: Not my, not my response, but your initial. Uh, I got a Occupy Central Facebook one; um, gave you a link to Firedoglake, and also Occupy Hilo's Facebook page. Um, the Occupy Hilo Facebook page has got some great examples of, uh, Light Brigade actions. Not just with us, but also other, y'know, Occupys etc. To give you an idea, a feel of Light Brigade action.

Katie: Yeah yeah yeah. I see.

P1: Cool cool.

Katie: Yeah very interesting. Um so, what we were talking about before is how, um, Occupy itself before started domestically but you seem to be using it um, or seem to be



going through that idea for a much larger picture. Focusing on the [unintelligible]. Is that-?

P1: No. The only thing, the only- I've always been y'know, always focused on \*phone rings\* the hardcore [unintelligible] Right? I've always been focused on that. And so I just try to keep people enlightened, right? To what we're doing in our name abroad, right?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: And it ain't pretty. \*laughs\* Y'know, I, y'know, I'm a Howard Zinn fanatic. Y'know and, y'know, Santa Ana is, is my creed, too. We just never learned. \*laughs\* We just never learned. And the worst part is, is that the agonizing part is that I've known it. I, I'm aware of it. \*laughs\* Y'know. And I can't do diddly \*pause\* squat as it were. That's what's so heart-rending.

Katie: Mm.

P1: Y'know and gut-wrenching. But I just try to keep plugging the message, saying, "Look folks, look look look, every- We, as Occupy, we're doing a- We're trying- We're pushing to, uh, to, to, uh, pro, to, public, to get the county to declare the grid, right? as it were, Uh, as a public, our public interest, right? And, and take it out of HELCO's hands, because we, all of us, even the customers, right?, paid for those poles and those upkeeps, right? We, the, the- And it's our grid, not HELCO's grid, right? And we need that, we need to get a hold of that, just like Kauai did, right? With, with their, they- the county bought out the, y'know the, what used to be HELCO's, or not HELCO's, but HEI HECO's-

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: Y'know, here, here on the Big Island, it's HELCO.

Katie: I see.

P1: Hawaii- Hilo Electric Light Company.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: That's yeah, that's our monopoly. But it's an HEI industry as it were. So anyway, and then they're milking us [unintelligible] just from the Big Island alone uh, annually, uh. They're sucking a billion dollars literally. A billion dollars out of our pockets for their y'know. And the thing is is we know if we switch to frickin' solar. Not geothermal. Geothermal, trust me, don't talk to the Punatics . . .

Katie: \*laughs\*

P1: . . . about geothermal. I mean, that's their backyard. And they are pissed. And it, it is, it's creating a whole bunch of blowback and stuff. Y'know actual toxic fumes and stuff. Y'know they've had to quarantine, and the county actually had to buy back

homes, y'know. And is in the process of buying back homes etc. etc.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Around the plan, right? So don't expand. And then they want to- Y'know, for the same cost of that 2 billion dollar, or excuse me, 1 billion dollar - it's, it's projected to go to two billion dollars- undersea cable from the Big Island and Maui to Oahu which, y'all are the big, y'know, you all need our juice, y'know? That. Unless you all switch to \*pause\* solar for chrissakes. But, but the way, the way the PUC is set up is they've already proved y'know, the delaying tactics of \*pause\* HECO, y'know, in approving solar etc. etc. etc. You catch the- You understand what I'm saying?

Katie: Yeah, yeah, I do. I, I'm just interested, because all of these, these different causes; these, these different um, ideas -

P1: They're all interlocking, though. They really are.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: It's, it's because, because it's, it's getting to the crux of Occupy: it's the 1% against the 99%, right?

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: And it's the 1% that is raping and pillaging and screwing us, literally. They're too big to jail.

Katie: Mmhmmm.

P1: Right?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: That's why we need to wake up. Y'know? Wake up, folks! Be in the streets dammit. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

P1: Y'know? This is- They're, they're fracking us, y'know, to death. They're, they're y'know, I mean, any angle you look at it, y'know, we're getting screwed. Period. That's, it's just- \*sigh\* Y'know, bang my head against the desk. \*laughs\*

Katie: So, so how, how, um, how can um, like how can these connections through Facebook, um you say other people use Twitter even if you don't, don't personally. Is that um, is that a way to get people active on the street? Is that what it's being used for?

P1: It has. And it does. And that's exactly why, why, like Urdulon in Turkey is banned due to, and Twitter. Twitter is still shut down in Turkey, by the way.

Katie: Oh I didn't know that. (7:50)

P1: Yep, uh, a court- within one day timeframe, within 24 hours of a court, of uh, the,

the Supreme Court of Turkey ruled against y'know saying it's unconstitutional. The Urdulaon[unintelligible], who's the Prime Minister, right?

Katie: Mmhmmm.

P1: Um, leaned on some of the other Justices as it were. It's, it's, it's different, y'know, terminology but the same concept. To, to review, re-review it and overturn it. Within! This is within 24 hours. And then bam! There it went. And in fact, they, they introduced new rule[unintelligible] that they totally pulled out of the whole, y'know, the world wide web as it were, where y'know being open and it has- it's a specific, TTL, which is Turkish Telephone Line or I, I don't-. Y'know, the specifics allude me a little bit. But, the concept is there, y'know?. And that's how- and the same thing- Remember in Egypt, Tahrir Square for chrissakes, right? They did the same, the uh, oh what was his name? Not Morsi. Morsi and then now Cici is going to be the Hanta ruler. But the one they- uuuh, the name alludes me. But anyway, first thing he did, he banned Twitter and he banned Facebook and he banned, uh, YouTube, because of all the y'know incriminating crap, right?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: And now. Now. With pulling the plug that the FCC is fixing to do on us. They're about to rewrite the Net Neutrality law.

Katie: Mmhm.

P1: The same shit is going to happen here. Y'know, I mean, I mean. The sheer rot- it's, it's, it's staggering, jaw-dropping on how screwed we really are. \*laughs\* Y'know, I mean, like I, I keep saying, it's just, it's astonishing. The, the thing is when you know what's going on, y'know I mean, when you follow this. The deep state, the deep state is incredible, it's , they're, y'know. Mmm, mmm, mmm, mmm.

Katie: So-

P1: I mean, think of what McCutchin did, it empowered the Kochs.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: 65 billionaires, right? Own more wealth, have more raw wealth y'know money than than three, than 3.5 billion of the poorest across the world.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: I mean 67 individuals. And you have- and, and, and all of Wall Street and hui, right? It's all interlocking directorates. Interlocking boards of directors. Right? And they're the, the ones doing all the y'know, hiring and firing of the one-percenters or the tenth-of-a-percenters etc. I mean, it's just astonishing.

Katie: So, so do you see like, Facebook as a way to get people informed about this and that information will lead to action or is it simply, is it something to bring people

together? Like, how do you see it playing out?

P1: To inform. To inform and it does draw- The temperature is rising actually. Not only figuratively but literally too. And with, uh, look at California, it's going to- it's it's a tinderbox. And it's going to be ugly this, this summer. Watch what happens in California. Y'know with the sheer lack of water.

Katie: Yea-

P1: A lot of people are, y'know, it's, it's, it's going to get real explosive. People-wise, too.

Katie: Do, do- Okay, do you mean that literally or do you mean that figuratively?

P1: Yes, literally. I mean that literally. It's going to really ramp up. And that's why they are cracking down so hard on public dissent.

Katie: Mm. \*pause\* And well, if they are, if they are um, as you say cracking down on political dissent, on this public version, is are these online forums sort of a refuge.

P1: No! No no not really. Well, as a refuge, unlike- Okay, look, Occupy, unlike the Rightards, y'know, like the Storm, uh, StormWatch crew or y'know Ipsy's regulars or y'know. We're not advocating violence. All we're advocating is, "God dammit, go out and wave a goddamn sign or shut something down with a sit-in or y'know, action."

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Make people aware of it. Look around the world already for chrissake. Okay. Look in Argentina. Look in Brazil. Look in uh, Venezuela. Look in, I mean Spain. Uh, Greece. Uh, France even. I mean everywhere people are pissed. They're making their voices heard. But the sheer apathy of the Americans, it's, it's, it's jaw dropping how, y'know how \*laughs\* lazy. The apathy is staggering. It's jaw dropping. But, \*pause\* y'know everybody I've talked to is, "Yeah m-\*growls\*" And it's like, "Well, are you doing anything about it?" \*laughs\*

Katie: Mm.

P1: "Oh no no. Can't do it, y'know." "Well, why not? It's a couple of minutes here or there etc." And then I, I recruited some, but largely y'know, it's- everybody recognizes it but nobody wants to do anything about it. That's that's really what's disheartening to me. But people are pissed. Around the world. And guaranteed it's eventually, it's [unintelligible]

Katie: Hmmm.

P1: But look, lookit the cowboys and Indians just gathered on the National Mall.

Katie: Mmmhmmm.

P1: So there are sparks of hope, right? And the latest that I'm reading

Katie: \*coughs\*

P1: is that Obama is actually gonna say no to KXL, the pipeline.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Now I, I, I don't believe it. When he does it, then I'll believe, right? But the sheer power of the Kochs and, etc. the other big oil y'know bunches are still going to lean on him. y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: It's been delayed so long. It's promising. Whether or not it's y'know it's only rumor as it were. Y'know. He hasn't done it yet. So y'know, So, I think the cowboys and Indians- you know what I mean by that? Have you read recently- By the way, have you seen any reports about that in the mainstream media?

Katie: No, I haven't.

P1: Were- Am I just making you aware of that by the way?

Katie: Yes, you are actually.

P1: Okay. Google it.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: On the National Mall. Just y'know, cowboys and Indians on the-. Yep. They're from Nebraska, Wyoming, etc., everybody that's supposed to be impacted from KXL.

Katie: \*typing\* Oh. Yeah, protesting the Keystone, the pipeline.

P1: Right yep. On the National Mall. Yeehaw.

Katie: Nice.

P1: Teepees are even set up. \*laughs\* Gotta love it. That's what fires me up.

Katie: Mm.

P1: \*laughs\*

Katie: That, that that sort of action.

P1: Right exactly. Exactly. \*laughs\*

Katie: And the Occupy Movement, at least in the beginning- 'cause there are people who do say it's dead now, that the Occupy Movement is over. Do you agree with that?

P1: Oh my god! It's, it, well first of all, the media just totally buried it.

Katie: Mm.

P1: Y'know, the press. But no it's not. It's nowhere near dead. It's just nobody sees it because first of all the mainstream doesn't report it, right?

Katie: Mm.

P1: I mean seriously. It's, I mean, take Hilo, for instance. We actually drew the, like on a certain GMO action, we drew a thousand people. And we marched all the way down and around frickin' town etc. Right?

Katie: Hmm.

P1: And the Hilo Tribune Herald just posted it. Just a little, um, photo, right? With a little blurb saying, "GMO, uh, activists march through town." And that's it. That's it! No story whatsoever.

Katie: Ah.

P1: I mean c'mon. Hello. I mean, it was the largest in Hilo since back, y'know, I'm talking in the eighties, right?

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: When, when they were first protesting uh, geothermal, uh, expansion in Puna. 'Cause that. That really. That. I mean, we made national news for that. That, um y'know those exploits. See I'm old enough to remember \*laughs\* y'know [unintelligible]. I was actually off-island during that. I, I was uh, active duty. I think I was in Germany at the time.

Katie: Oh.

P1: But yeah anyway. \*laughs\* Needless to say.

Katie: So, 'cause, so you've gotten a lot of pushback from different groups. 'Cause, like, you mentioned Salvation Army was really down on Occupy and the media doesn't really cover it. They're trying to- They're uh,-

P1: Oh, oh yeah. Well they's always, That's- Who was it? Steven Douglass said, y'know, "Power doesn't see power." Y'know? I think it was Douglass, wasn't it? Well anyway.

Katie: Does that, I dunno, does that seem to give you- what feeling do you have about that? About the people who are pushing back? Does it make you want to get out there more, or-?

P1: Yeah. It fires me up. It fires me up. What always saddens me, what always disappoints me is when, is the apathy. How come there's not more people behind me? type of the thing. That's the only, y'know. But every time y'know we gathering for sign waving or, y'know, some significant event, uh, it's an adrenaline rush. It really is. It really is. It really is great, y'know. And we always get positive feedback as far as y'know the action itself.

Katie: Mmm.

P1: Right. I mean from the general public. [unintelligible] You understand what I'm saying?

Katie: Yeah, people honking at the signs, waving, and that.

P1: Right exactly. And people coming up "Aw cool, man." Y'know, "what've you got going on next?" And "what are you talking about?" even. Y'know. Right?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: And we, y'know. and then they're like, "Oh yeah! Way to go, brah. Go." Y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: \*laughs\*

Katie: So you seem to have a lot of like,- people sympathize with you. They think, they think the same way. It's just they- You're the one doing things.

P1: They're just not beside- right. They're just not beside you. Y'know. Fire it up as it were.

Katie: Yeah. Do you think, do you think these people- If there is something very special that you wanted to do and that you wanted to have done, do you think you could, like, you could ask, "I know you haven't done it all these other times, but, for this one thing, could you-"

P1: Oh, I could ask. No worries, now worries on that. I always ask. No, it's just- No, it's just apathy. Seriously.

Katie: Mmm.

P1: Apathy. Sheer apathy. That's, that's it in a nutshell. I mean, we're so dumbed down y'know. I, fortunately, uh see, I was born in Canada, actually. \*laughs\*

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: And so I had an education 'til I was about. y'know, ten. Then I ended up transplanted, y'know. Within a- 'Cause- My dad was killed in a helicopter crash. He was a surveyor for a large mining corporation up in Pine Point, Northwest Territories. We're talking the Arctic Circle, literally. Y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: And then within a month, I was being enrolled in Sunset Beach on the North Shore. \*laughs\*

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: I quickly found out what "kill haole" day meant.

Katie: Oh. Oh dear. Yeah.

P1: And other than y'know my years away on military service, this has been home pretty much.

Katie: Mmhmm. So you've seen. So do people seem unmotivated and uneducated, I guess, around you?

P1: It's not so much uneducated. It's just- they just believe what's being told to them.

Katie: I see.

P1: It's more. You don't have, you don't have that, y'know, critical questioning of authority type, y'know? That's, that's gone away. That's a thing of the past. And that's really what I feel is the main- they just, y'know, believe what's being preached at them. I take everything I see or read with a grain of salt.

Katie: Do you think that Facebook and Twitter can provide an alternative to mainstream? Or-

P1: Well, yes. As long as you back your facts up. As long as you're civil in your discourse, you know what I'm saying?

Katie: And does that happen?

P1: \*long pause\* By and large, well. \*pause\* With who I run with anyways-

Katie: Mm.

P1: My carefully cultivated crew. I have a pretty decent FB, y'know, presence etc. But I, I, I'm bringing in, like, Bill Moyer's-type y'know and common dreams and, and Alternet. All progressive stuffs. All, y'know, Democracy Now, etc. And, and, and a lot of my um FDL friends followed me over, y'know onto Facebook. And we have great conversations going back and forth. And we do a lot of sharing of great information etc. And we duke it out, edumacated some of my fellow cousins in North Carolina. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

P1: Made 'em open.

Katie: So you've got a good group that you have there. But you've seen other groups maybe that act differently?

P1: Oh yeah. Um, on the various blogs in fact, y'know. I've seen blog wars erupt y'know over senseless crap etc. Y'know, between Balloon Juice and Firedoglake. Have you ever heard of Balloon Juice?

Katie: I haven't heard of that one either, no.

P1: What, what type of um do you follow blogs? Just for my own edification.

Katie: Just, well a little bit. I tend to, I don't tend to follow one specifically. I'll go to different blog, like blog articles that people recommend me to. So I don't have people, like a group of people that I follow. I just,

P1: Right right right right right.



Katie: I read the opinion around that.

P1: Right, but recommended to you from Twitter or from Facebook or something?

Katie: Um yeah. Yeah. Or just my friends, people who I talk to face-to-face and that kind of thing.

P1: Right right right.

Katie: They'll recommend something to me.

P1: Right cool. Um, yeah I understand. Um, but every now and then, y'know because- a lot of people don't know about it, but it is a pretty, it is a very respectable blog, y'know FDL is. And then also Think Progress, y'know. See, I've followed them all from their infancy. I've seen them all evolve, you know what I'm saying. Because I've had that long of a presence on the net.

Katie: Mmhmm. So you've seen them sort of, because blogs are a very interactive space. You have the main article and then people can comment on it.

P1: Then the commentary- Right right exactly. And usually the comments, the commentary is better than the article. \*laughs\* Honestly.

Katie: What kind of stuff do you find in the comments? That, I guess, you can't find -

P1: Well, a lot of people on FDL for instance. One thing we use is y'know, "Trust, but verify". And uh, and y'know everybody tends to be civil, because that's kind of our own policy. And we've kept it that way. Y'know, trying to keep it clean. Y'know?

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: No, y'know, Don't go, don't go off on somebody. Don't call them an a- don't use ad hominem y'know etc. No personal attacks. That type of thing.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: So it's a real nice, y'know, um, discourse.

Katie: Yeah, so there's a good discourse; there's a good environment there. So do people, in the comments people are sharing more links that associate-?

P1: Right! Adding to the discussion, yes. And, y'know interesting, very interesting. And great follow-ons. Or even great rebuttals to, y'know, the main arguments etc. Which are even more reasonable, make even more sense, etc.

Katie: So there's even, strength in the connection even with dissent there? It's not all just the same. It's not just everyone agreeing with each other?

P1: Well, there is, there is yeah. \*pause\* But, like I said, we're so- the rot is so pervasive that everybody agrees that it's big [unintelligible] And it's ironic because it's both the right and the left. Y'know both ends agreeing that this gotta go, y'know? Uh, but none of the right really ever trod our soil. \*laughs\* Libertarians every now and then will pop

in.

Katie: Oh, okay.

P1: But.

Katie: And um, with the people that you sorta interact with on these blogs and on Facebook, do you- how often does that extend to other communication, either through personal e-mail or meeting up face-to-face? Does that ever happen?

P1: Yeah we actually do. FDL has actually had quite a few FDL meet-ups. And a lot of ongoing after that going on. But yeah. And also, yeah, also a lot of e-mails are exchanged on the side. On FB or on Twitter or on other means. It's a great community. It really is. Topnotch.

Katie: That's awesome. And yeah. So you seem to be a good, a good and active member on it. Just going out. You seem to really like it.

P1: Oh yeah. Well you've got to get the facts through whatever platform is available.

Katie: Mm.

P1: You know what I'm saying. You have to make people aware of it any which way. Any small little step in the right direction will reap, y'know, some benefit. Almost kind of a butterfly effect. Even if that's, y'know, disproven. \*laughs\*

Katie: Yeah. I know. I understand what you mean. I get the image there. Y'know that's- actually we've answered all of the questions I've had written down. If there's anything else that you'd like to, or had on your mind that you'd like to go into about, sort of, being a member of Occupy or where social media just kinda pops up into that.

P1: The only thing I'm worried about is what's coming down the pipe.

Katie: Mm.

P1: You know what I'm saying? Seriously. I mean, across the board. 'Cause it's just- look at- Take the TPP.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: Have you heard of the TPP?

Katie: Yes.

P1: Okay. Do you know that Tulsi Gabbard is the only Democrat that's headed there to negotiate?

Katie: Really?

P1: The only Democrat on- Yes. Tulsi! She's supposed to be our progressive. She's the only Dem member, other than Obama himself. That, that spooks me. And I'm a Tulsi fan.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: She's been rock solid especially on veteran affairs, too. And it's like, it's coming down the pipe. And we don't even have a clue about it. You know what I'm saying? None are, have been officially released. You can find leaks of it. Y'know. The drafts. Which are all abysmal for the people. Y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: And and not only set up for the Pacific. There's also the TPIP, I believe. That's going to be foisted down our throats from the Atlantic side, Europe etc. And basically Monsanto is going to just y'know run roughshod. Y'know, Monsanto is banned in most countries in Europe. Yo do realize that, right?

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Right. And we're fighting that battle here. By the way Occupy has been behind it, all the, on all the islands, on Kauai too. Behind this GMO, y'know, anti-GMO push.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: [unintelligible] Members, y'know, or Babes Against Biotech etc. They're, We're all meshed, y'know, we've flown over base. Y'know, we had a little fundraiser. We've flown over y'know key speakers etc. etc.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: And y'know, we're ground zero. Even, I think NPR said it. Salon article just had that Hawaii is ground zero for the GMO fight. For the states.

Katie: For the states. Yeah, it makes sense though. I mean, environmental- We're very concerned with the environment, we're very connected with the 'aina.

P1: Mmhmm. Mmhmm. Exactly.

Katie: So you've been collaborating with a lot of the different groups here to make a stronger force, then?

P1: Oh yeah. See that's the- I mean, "united we stand", y'know? "Divided we fall" It, we've got to. And the thing is, we do reach out to the right even. We do. And we've actually got some positive feedback from them. And they've actually supported some of our actions etc.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: But y'know, we agree to disagree on a lot of stuff, too. So, but the thing is we still push that one item for that, that particular y'know issue forward. Y'know in tandem.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Together.

Katie: You can overcome the other parts of your ideology to work for that one common issue at that point.

P1: Well, you always have to realize one thing. The one percent rule by divide and conquer. The old, the age old rule divide and conquer. That's what it is. That's the latin word, or latin terminology. And it still works today. I mean, granted both the Republicans and the Democrats are two heads of the same y'know monster. But, they fool, pull the wool over our eyes by saying, "Okay, one is so bad y'know over the other." Having both fighting. Dividing, dividing y'know the two.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: But there really is not. When you actually look at their direct,y'know, their resulting results. And by the way, they just happened to be the worst frickin' productive Congress ever. Ever?! EVER?! And I thought it was a pretty low bar a couple of years ago.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Y'know when Newt shut down the gov.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Pretty low bar there, folks. \*laughs\* And all we're looking at is more gridlock. Y'know. Period. Cut and dry.

Katie: And that's, and that's, and that's really what's got, has you concerned.

P1: Say again.

Katie: And that's what has you concerned? This future state?

P1: Yeah, what's looming. What's looming is really, really, yes. Yeah. I mean, we're only sliding further down the rabbit hole y'know. And not much traction \*laughs\* there.

Katie: And so, this Occupy helps?

P1: Well, what we're trying to do is to shut down the violence of it. Y'know what I'm saying? To alleviate the fall.

Katie: Ah.

P1: Y'know, cushion the fall as it were. And y'know reorganize society. Y'know what I'm saying? Re-, let's y'know enough said. You know one of the things we're pushing now is an article 5 convention. We're trying to do it legally, too.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: Article 5 convention. Right. Let's rewrite the constitution. Let's rewrite it! Let's, let's put in: first of all, corporations is not a person, specifically. Write that in there. No ifs, ands, or buts. Everything-

Katie: Yeah.

P1: Write in, y'know, FDR's second bill of human rights. Y'know? Google that, by the way. That is a beautiful piece. He got foiled in his efforts to get that through. Just like the ERA got shot in the seventies.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: Yeah. \*laughs\*

Katie: That's ridiculous.

P1: \*laughs\* And isn't it ironic that every Republican female in the House voted against um, not only literally Ledbetter, but this recent one. Uh for equal pay.

Katie: Mmhmm. The paycheck thing-

P1: Every woman! Well, every Republican female. \*laughs\*

Katie: Mmhmm.

P1: Come on! \*laughs\* What is up? How come you're not in the streets? It's the War Against Women! It is. It is the War Against Women. And you're losing. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

P1: Badly. I mean, c'mon look at Texas right now. They just closed down every frickin' nearby, um, plan, um, what's that, the women's-

Katie: Planned Parenthood?

P1: Right. Every one of those facilities. They shut them down in Oklahoma using Virginia. I mean, every state that swung hard right. And then what about Oklahoma's governor just - female, I might add - saying that, um, a minimum wage is against the law. And sick time, y'know.

Katie: Yeah.

P1: What on Earth is going on? Can you believe? \*laughs\*

Katie: I don't know.

P1: There are so many webs. What a tangled web.

Katie: And everything seems to be interconnected.

P1: Oh it is. It is. There is, y'know. There is. And it's really insane. Y'know, I look at the deep space tier. And that is really ugly. The military industrial complex slash intel slash NSA slash and it's abysmal, y'know. But, the irony is that there's so many frickin' haystacks on top of that needle that they can't find their way out. \*laughs\* It's insane.

\*pause\*

By the way, if you ever want, y'know either drop me an e-mail and I can follow up. Or

you can give me a call. Either/or.

Katie: Yeah. Okay. Yeah, um, I may contact you again for, yeah, for a follow-up . . .

P1: If you want, by all means.

Katie: . . . conversation. Yeah, other ideas or themes might come out as I continue doing interviews. I have a couple more to do. So I may come back and ask your opinion on something that comes up. And that would be alright?

P1: Yeah, that would be fine with me. By the way, just to- how many- have you had any that are like me? Just so strung up? I'm totally into Occupy.

Katie: Um yes, I've actually have, wight he responses. There are some people who are full-force. "I am an Occupier. This is what I do." There are some people who are a bit more, uh, \*pause\*

P1: Reserved?

Katie: Uh, yeah, I guess so. "I don't know if I'd call myself part of the Occupy Movement, but I still do all of this stuff with them."

P1: Right on. Right on. Yes. I don't care. I don't care what the fuck you call yourself, y'know? \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\* As long as you're out there, right?

P1: Right. Exactly. Exactly.

Katie: Well, thank you very much.

P1: Yes.

Katie: I actually- That's it. That's it for now. Again if I do have something else I'd like to maybe clarify, I'll give you a call back and we can chat again.

P1: Not a problem.

Katie: And yeah, possibly when I'm done with this project, you may see me out there.

P1: Excellent! Right on. Rock on. Go girl! You go! \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

P1: All right, aloha m'dear.

Katie: All right, thank you so much. Have a good night.

## Appendix C

### Interview with Participant 2

P2: My pleasure.

Katie: Thank you. Um, so I'll just dive right in. I've got a couple of questions. Um, but uh, if the sort of the topic ends up veering a little bit, um, that's alright. We'll just go with it. But I will try to keep the interview to half-an-hour.

P2: Alright.

Katie: Okay.

P2: \*laughs\*

Katie: Yes. My first question is fairly straightforward. Do you identify as an "Occupier"?

P2: Yes, I do.

Katie: Yes, you do. And why is that?

P2: Because I have spent an extensive amount of time, um, at the camp. And after we were evicted, um uh, it was my life. It was pretty much what I did for a very long time.

Katie: Like, what activities were involved in, in you being an Occupier?

P2: What activities? Oh my god. So, we would have marches and rallies and oh little conferences and working groups and general assemblies. And I was intimately involved in so many of these things so many times. I mean, uh, you know, spending all day down at the camp hanging out with people, associating with others who were upset with the sad state of affairs in America. Uh, all of those things added up to make me say, "That's my identity now."

Katie: Mm. And, so which camp were you at?

P2: Boston.

Katie: In Boston. Okay. I, just, just double, just double checking. Um, so a lot of your, a lot of your association with it was face-to-face. It was at the camps; it was with the people?

P2: Yep.

Katie: Um, how much of sort, how much of social media, of Facebook and Twitter did you use during that time?

P2: So, during that time, the only thing I did with Facebook is, um basically just publish sort of daily pictures and comments about what we were doing. I didn't have any communications really with practically anyone during the entire time the camp existed. All of my communications would be in person.

Katie: And- \*slight pause\* Go ahead.

P2: That's it.

Katie: And afterwards, when you were evicted, did your activities change? Did it go from more face-to-face to being on social media?

P2: Absolutely. Um, we were more dependent on social media for making sure when our meetings were and what we were doing at our meetings. Um, we still continued to have meetings for, ah, six to nine months after the eviction. After that, it calmed down a lot. But um, yes, um, you know, basically in this case Facebook and e-mail kept us coordinated.

Katie: And do you do that a lot now?

P2: I do.

Katie: And in what sort of sense are you using it?

P2: In what sort of sense am I using it? Well, um, uh as a member of Occupy and Christian concerned about the welfare of my country etc. etc., um I publish, if you will, publish a huge amount of what I'm doing via Facebook. I use it as a blog or something. Basically, I'm telling um my little story of my little interactions with people and uh, various things I'm involved with. So, with conferences that I'm going to. I've been to two national gatherings. I've been to several other conferences. To speaking tours that I've done when I'm out speaking and talking about democracy. I regularly publish things on Facebook saying like, "Here I am in West Virginia. Here's what's going on." I just returned from West Virginia. I was there for three weeks. Um, distributing water to people who were affected by the chemical spill that was there.

Katie: Mmmm.

P2: So, for three weeks, my Facebook was pictures of me in my pickup truck with a big ol' tank of water in the back. People getting water. So, and all of that came from my involvement in Occupy.

Katie: Do you get many responses on, on these updates?

P2: A modest number.

Katie: And do you engage with them?

P2: Uh, yes.

Katie: In, in what way? Is it a-

P2: I mean, if somebody responds to something with a general comment just about how the world is, then fine. But, if someone says something specific, I may respond to it, you know, in the little comment section. Um, not a great deal. I don't, I don't engage in discussions particularly.

Katie: And so, Occupy remains important to you? Is it important in your life?



P2: Very much so. I, I, I both identify myself with respect to that and, um, like I said, the vast majority of things that I'm doing are spawned from that experience. That, the reason that I am going down to, uh, Florida, and talking to tomato pickers came directly from being in Occupy because they came up. And, and uh, we joined them in a protest up there. I got to know them, so I said, "Sure, I can go down to Florida." So uh. Yes.

Katie: And so, uh, where do you see the role of social media within the Occupy Movement?

P2: The role of social media? It's a convenient way to communicate and talk about stuff.

Katie: So, it's more, um, it's information sharing then?

P2: Uh, sure. Yeah information sharing. Most of its information. As opposed to-

Katie: Uh, like-?

P2: As opposed to um you know, personal interactions. Most of those are still pretty, pretty personal, as in face-to-face and everything.

Katie: So do you see most of the personal interactions being off of Facebook or on it, or?

P2: Well personal interaction, yeah. Almost entirely off of Facebook. Occasionally, you'll get something, you know. Um, a couple of months ago, the Herald printed an article about our new, um, Police Commissioner. And um, at the end of the article, they said that uh this guy, this Occupier, Bil Lewis, thought that um superintendent Evans was a pretty damn good cop and deserved to be commissioner. Which is absolutely what I said. And, um, oh my god, that caused a little firestorm of snitting and snatting in the background. How dare you talk to cops?! And all cops are evil. I knew you were an informer beforehand. This kind of crap. If you haven't been accused of being an informer, you're not trying hard enough.

Katie: \*laughs\* That's somewhat comforting. It means I'm trying hard with this project. Um.

P2: Good.

Katie: Okay. And so you, personally, which types of social media do you use?

P2: So, I myself, . . .

Katie: Mmmhmmm.

P2: . . . really um, my usage is pretty much reduced to Facebook. I don't bother with Twitter. It just hasn't been worth bothering about. I hate the idea of my telephone bothering me. It bothers me enough. Get my stuff when I sit down at home on my computer. I don't need to be reminded all the time. So, um, like I said, pretty much just Facebook. YouTube, I use regularly for publishing videos. So if you want to include that,

Katie: Yeah I would. That's great. And, and how did you get involved with Occupy? What inspired you to go out the first time in the camps?

P2: Um, a couple of days after OccupyBoston started its camp, I was giving a speech down at the Federal Reserve Bank. And after I gave my little speech, I walked out across the street and talked to the people on the other side and said, "Oh my god! Those people are saying the same things I've been saying. Except they're getting attention." And I stayed. And um, yeah wow. I've done a whole bunch of stuff ever since.

Katie: And were you ever involved in any, um, sort of activist activities before?

P2: Um no.

Katie: Mm, okay. Um, and \*cough\* what would you say to people who, um, think that the Occupy Movement is dead right now?

P2: Oh, I get that stuff all the time. It's like, dead, alive. The answer is: I don't care. Occupy, as we know it, made an impact. It- Name me a person who does not recognize the meme "the 99%" and know what it means. Everybody now recognizes that. They recognize, to a certain degree, that they're being screwed by their corporations. And that's what Occupy did more than anything else. Um, as to how much people who identify as Occupy s are doing right now. Um, there's stuff going on. It's not like it was. But um, you know, Occupy the SEC, the Security Exchange Commission, they have three hundred comments during the hearings in Congress. And Congress is paying attention to them. And well, I was down in DC several times, talking to my Congresspeople, and um, every time, you know, officially I went down to support the PeaceCorps - I'm a returned PeaceCorps volunteer - and so that gave us very easy access to our elected officials. \*clears throat\* And every time the conversation turns to, you know, the role of the citizen in society. And I say, "You know, I was part of OccupyBoston. And this is why. And this is what I care about." So, it's constantly in there. My senator is Senator Elizabeth Warren. She's one of my two senators. And I have unbelievable respect for this woman. She is saying what I want to be have, what I would like to be said, y'know? She has much of the same value system as I do. So, when I was in DC, I went out of my way, so I could get to meet her.

Katie: Okay, um. And so, how would you, how would you sort of define the Occupy Movement, as it exists right now?

P2: \*laughs\* Define?!

Katie: Yes. Or describe.

P2: As it is right now?

Katie: Yes.

P2: Okay, right now, there are relatively small number of people who continue to do something under the name "Occupy". Um, consists of folks like Occupy the SEC. Um,

here are a couple of other working groups in uh, New York City I believe. Here in Boston, there is, uh I think, there's still people working on what was once known as Occupy Boston Radio. And um, uh, \*pause\* certainly there is going to be a national gathering in Sacramento uh, this, uh, summer. And um, some number of people are working on making that happening. Uh, last summer in Kalamazoo, Michigan, we had about max a hundred people at the, uh, national gathering. And um, you know, in one sense, it does feel kind of depressing. We got a hundred people?! That's all? We had a thousand in Philly a year ago. And we had thirty thousand on the bridge in. And now, yeah in that respect, it does feel like, "Yeah, we ain't much, but we are doing stuff that's worthwhile. So keep going." And um. So that's kinda what I say.

Katie: Yeah. And do you- would you have described it differently if I hadn't said "right now"? If I had just said, "Just describe the Occupy Movement"? Would there have been something that you would have added or done differently?

P2: No, if you wanted me to describe the Occupy Movement, then I talk about all the stuff that we were doing, all the human interactions that were going, all the crazy shit that came down, all of the adventures, blah di blah di blah. Oh, we had a good time in many respects. And you know um, today we are not camping out; we're not a huge, massive mob that gets attention; um, and that's just the way it is. But um, the individuals who continue to work are doing very effective work. Um, and that's great. It's not, it's not big and flashy anymore.

Katie: \*coughs\* Pardon me. Do you think that the outside perception or the portrayal of the Occupy Movement shaped the way that you or other Occupiers saw yourself?

P2: No, not at all! We paid hardly any attention to what other people said about us. We were too busy with our own stuff. I mean, nobody said anything that nasty about us as we said about ourselves.

Katie: Ah.

P2: You might be familiar with that phrase that goes around sometimes: the Left is its own worst enemy.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P2: So, so I, I can definitely see where that came from. Um. God, we could be so self-destructive, but oh well.

Katie: So, how do you, well, if it could- if being an Occupier, you yourself um, or the Occupiers themselves were sort of infighting, how did that affect whether you wanted to be I guess, labeled as an Occupier or not? The fact that you were so self-critical.

P2: Oh, there were lots of people who got their - in a twist- what's . . .

Katie: Their knickers in a twist?

P2: Thank you! I knew- I was looking for that. And it was like, "Oh well, you don't love

us! You don't respect us! Blah blah blah." And they stomped off and never wanted to come back. And you know, yelled at the rest of us who continued to work on things. And um, so all sorts of crap like that came down. And um, several of the Occupiers had some version of the same thing. We had an instance where it was discovered that um, one of the people at the uh camp was a registered sex offender.

Katie: Mm.

P2: And uh, not surprisingly, not unreasonably, a number of people, especially those who had kids, were upset. They said, "Oh my god, we can't have this happening. We don't want a registered sex offender here among us." And then other people came into the conversation saying, "We don't trust the justice system. What do we know about this person? We just know that the justice system called him this. You know? We get those extreme cases where you're peeing on a tree, somebody sees you and boom, you're a sex offender." And so that is where this discussion started to go. And people who had, several of the people who were majorly concerned said, "You don't care about us. You're just a sexist pig." And uh, it just blew up. And there was screaming and yelling. All sorts of stuff. And um, they wanted a vote. And they were trying to say: we will ban all registered sex offenders. Some version of that. And um, it uh just was a thing that a majority of the people, significant people there, y'know, said, "We can't go that far, y'know? No, we don't want sex offenders. But we don't even know what that means. And we're not voting on banning somebody." And a bunch of people walked out at that point. Um, so. That was one of the most extreme versions of this kind of thing. And uh, we thought, y'know, our battles with what many of us referred to as "political correctness". And um, it comes in. Um uh, some set of people think race issues is a big deal. And some set of people feel very strongly that um, that the races are- I don't even know how to describe what they're thinking. I don't know what they're thinking. But it's the idea that because you are a minority race, and you and your peers have been discriminated against, we should pay more attention to you and that uh, I personally was told by several people that I should not be involved in uh uh working on issues with the police, because I am not a minority. And uh, it should be led by a black person, if we're going to do anything. Um so, that comes up numerous different forms. Both us and New York have different versions of what they call a People of Color Working Group. And um, it was often seen as a somewhat oppressive group that was there. It just seemed like they wanted to um, uh \*pause\* um, scream out their victimhood and blame somebody, which was the rest of us, who were not people of color, and most of us were going, like, "We don't want to discriminate against anybody, but we really want to get some work done. And we don't want to spend all of our time talking about racism. We want to be out on the street, making uh uh a protest, and a difference, changing society, blah blah blah." And it would become a real contentious issue. I mean, people would get really upset. And um, one of the classic things that we saw sometimes was on telephone calls, someone would have- the instance I'm thinking of was uh- a telephone call about the national gathering and one woman on the phone

call wanted to keep coming back to the issue of um, women's rights and uh feminist discrimination about black feminists by white feminists. And this had to be a central theme of the conference, and everybody else on the telephone call really wanted to talk about uh, y'know, where we were setting up tents, and uh how we were organizing food, and y'know getting the conference ready. And and so, this type of thing happened regularly. And uh, there were times when it would just y'know sidetrack a working group into not being effective.

Katie: \*cough\*

P2: I was on one call where we spent virtually the entire call trying to decide who was going to moderate the call.

Katie: \*giggles\* And yet still, you are a part of this group? You are an Occupier?

P2: Oh totally.

Katie: Even with all of the difficulties?

P2: Oh yeah! Y'know. Some of them piss me off. They fundamentally see the world in a more realistic sense than most people; they have good intentions; and I will support them all the way, even if they piss me off.

Katie: Would you- if someone were to call you up and say, "Hey, I'm from OccupyKansas and I'm in Boston right now. Would you like to meet up? Or could I stay at your house?" Would you do that, just with that connection?

P2: Sure. Um, I've had a fair number of um, Occupiers from different places stay here.

Katie: Was this during the time of the camps? Or afterwards? Or-

P2: Um afterwards. A few times while we had the camps going, I invited a few people back to uh, take showers and things like that. But uh uh, no. After the camps broke up, New York came up for a visit, and I had four guys sleeping \*slight pause\* everywhere. On my table, on my futon, on the floor, fine whatever. So.

Katie: Okay. And do you think they would do the same thing for you? If you were to go to San Francisco, say, and just be, like, "I'm an Occupier." Do you think you'd be able to find a place?

P2: Yeah absolutely.

Katie: Yeah?

P2: Uh huh.

Katie: And do you think you would like, connect through- would you go to- where- To connect to somebody in Occupy San Francisco, what would you use? What methods would you use?

P2: Well, in this case, I would simply e-mail somebody, um I was at Occupy San

Francisco, so I actually know people out there. Um, but y'know even if- when I went out to Spokane, I looked up people. I tried to contact people, when I went out to Spokane and I did not actually get a response, which I suspect is not uncommon. But um, so um, sure I would and I might succeed and I might not.

Katie: Okay. Have you ever heard of the term 'slacktivism'?

P2: Yep.

Katie: What do you think about it?

P2: Um, I think slacktivism refers to \*sigh\* um, bubbas[unintelligible] basically some version of lazy activism. I've heard some people talk about the idea of um, progressives who click the protest button on their computer like, "Okay, I have done my activism for the week." And okay whatever. Um, it's better to click than not click.

Katie: Have you seen that with anybody? Have you met people who like, if they click the 'like' button on, on the OccupySandy page then they don't actually- they feel like that's good enough, that's signing online petitions is all that they have to do?

P2: No. There may well be people there. But I would not say I know anyone who fits in that category.

Katie: So it's not something you- you've heard of the term, but you haven't personally witnessed it?

P2: Correct.

Katie: \*pause\* We've actually gone through the questions that I've written out here. But if there's anything that you would like to add about, uh about your identity with the Occupy Movement, with the use of social media in the Movement, um, I'd love to hear it.

P2: Okay, so let's see. What can I say? I think as I said before, um, someone from Occupy Sandy had uh, said something on some Facebook group or something, that they needed help down in West Virginia with the chemical spill into the uh, water system there. And um, based on that one comment, you know, I contacted these people and spent three weeks down in West Virginia. Um and, you know, they took good care of me where, at least if you think sleeping on the floor next to dog poop, and eating dumpster diving stuff is taking- I mean, it was nice, fresh food from the dumpsters, but whatever! Um, they were great to me, and we did good stuff. And people were happy that they got fresh water they wouldn't have gotten otherwise. So that is because I was involved in the Occupy that I went down there. And I consider that an extension of Occupy from my point of view. These people weren't involved themselves, but they were mountaintop removal activists mainly. But um, so that has majorly affected my life. In other words, I was a computational geneticist four years ago; I was at MIT figuring out what types of bacteria hang out in your gut and hopefully what the heck

they were doing there. And um, then Occupy started and I decided that, wow, I really care about people. I want to do something and make y'know out[unintelligible] other human beings better off and make my country work and I'm really big on democracy and we're getting so totally screwed by our government and corporations combined and I want people to pay attention so um, I would, I take speaking tours when I went out to a conference, the "Tear Down the Wall" conference in Tucson, Arizona, where we talk about social justice issues obviously. I did a speaking tour of Tucson and um, and Phoenix. I spent the next week going to Toastmasters clubs there. And I get a free audience of 130 people. And for seven and a half minutes, they have to listen to anything I have to say. And I talk about issues of democracy, corporate domination, and all this stuff. And so um, all of that came out of Occupy.

Katie: Sorry, this, this spurred just one question. Do you have a different definition- or do you see being an 'activist' as being different from being an 'Occupier'?

P2: Uh, that is a, what is the word I want, linguistic, psychological, whatever the heck you want to call it, differentiation which is kinda meaningless to me. In other words, the general term 'activist' I suppose I now fit under. I don't really call myself that, but-. Um yeah, I think that would be a pretty accurate description. I am certainly active, and I'm out doing stuff for other people. For uh, my country, and all this. So, that's fine. Occupy was a specific thing, which I think was a reasonably described as a subset of all activists or Occupiers. Okay fine. But I don't care. It's not important. The only thing that I really care about is um people, are we giving- our people the, the, the country, the opportunity, the democracy that they should have, that our \*slight pause\* that our Constitution guarantees them? Of course, no we're not. People get screwed left and right.

Katie: Actually do, do you locate the Occupy Movement as global, or is it much more domestic? Is it within a national scope?

P2: Um, I know that there were Occupys in, outside of the US. But um, no, I don't know anything about that at all. It's like, I found an article or two, but for me, everything I know about is uh, y'know domestic.

Katie: And that's where, that's where your energies are located? With the face-to-face physical? Within the United States?

P2: Yep.

Katie: Well, thank you so much. That's, that's the end of my interview. You've answered all of my questions. And um, thank you so much for your interesting stories.

P2: Well, I'm very pleased. I hope that you can forward me my grade. If I answered the questions correctly enough. Well, I'm hoping . . .

Katie: \*laughs\*

P2: . . . I think I get a B+ on this one. I know that I missed that one question. \*laughs\* So I will tell you a story then.

Katie: Yes.

P2: I went down to West Virginia a month and a half ago like I said. Um, and I worked with the West Virginia Clean Water Hub, which was um, basically a bunch of more or less hippie-types. Um, who were concerned with primarily mountaintop removal, but um when the chemical thing happened, they said, "Let's get water to people." And that's what they were doing. And um, I rented a pickup truck, and drove water around. One - I would go to church, because I figured church was one thing that would get me involved, get me connected to people in the community which is real important to me. I want to know the locals, and the Water Hub did not actually have many locals, a few. Anyway so I would go to church and one day after church, in the middle of a blizzard, a minor blizzards but it was, I drove to a water distribution in a little town called Gallagher. Sitting out there, it was cold, it's snowing, it's miserable, and only one woman shows up. And I'm not too happy. I spent all these hours going over here, getting the tank filled up, and it's snowing like crazy. Um, she comes back and says, "Hey, you know my father lives up above Pax the next town down in the hills. Can you get up there?" And uh, I kinda figured like, why else did I rent a four-wheel drive F50 if not to go up hills in the middle of a snowstorm?

Katie: Yeah.

P2: And so, in this gigantic truck, and believe me it's a big truck. And I'm getting lost up there in these little dirt roads, and I'm trying to do 19-point turns, just like I'm going to die here. I'm just going to fall off the edge at any moment.

Katie: \*gasp\*

P2: And I get to this guy's place, and offload a gallon of water to him and his neighbor. He's real happy; I'm real happy. And y'know he says, "You are an angel." And uh, y'know, that's kinda nice when he calls you an angel. It's like wow thanks and um. Anyway. I go back down and it's my last day at church. And this is a real conservative church. I mean the preacher uh, got out there one day and was pounding up the aisles saying how much better our God is then their God.

Katie: Oh.

P2: Yep, that guy is nothing. Let me tell ya: our God. And it's just oh my god.

Katie: Oh.

P2: But uh, I got up and said I would like to testify, if I may. And everybody in church was like, oh wow, it's that guy who's been here a few weeks. Um, told them all about that, told them about the Gallagher thing, and uh, I said that y'know, I figured that there was an angel sitting on my shoulder there, and that I'm the one who's blessed to



be able to come down here. And why is all this terrible stuff happening? Because corporations are screwing us. They're just fucking us over. I didn't say that word.

Katie: Yes.

P2: And uh, y'know all these super-conservative Republicans, y'know? They're working for the mines, 'cause mining pays real good in West Virginia. But they know what's really happening; they know that their friends are getting sick and why every week in church they're praying for people with cancer and uh, I just wanted to make that point when I was there. And um, so even these supposed Right-wing y'know reactionary Confederate Battle flag toting rednecks um, y'know they, they really do see what's going on and- \*sigh\* Sometimes they hide it from themselves and pretend. "Nope nope, that's where we're getting paid. Mine space[unintelligible] and we've got to be good to the coal companies." So, \*sigh\* that's my story.

Katie: And that, and that's a wonderful one. That's great. Thank you.

P2: You're welcome. I wish you good luck, y'know. And when you're done with your studies, I would love to see what kind of a thesis comes out of it.

Katie: Thank you. Um, I will- yes, I've been having that request um, quite a bit with my interviewees.

P2: Cool.

Katie: So, I'm prepping something for when I'm finished, what I am able to send out to everyone.

P2: Marvelous.

Katie: Yes. I hope you have a great rest of your afternoon. Yes, thank you very much.

P2: You're most welcome. You have a beautiful day!

Katie: Thank you. Good luck.

P2: You too. Bye bye.

Katie: Bye.

## Appendix D

### Interview with Participant 3

P3: What are you doing this paper for?

Katie: It's, it's my master's thesis. It's my main project for Communication, to get an MA in Communication.

P3: Alright, very cool.

Katie: Thank you.

P3: I'm happy I could help.

Katie: Thank you very much. Um so I, I just have a couple of questions. Um, but the interview will probably just flow naturally, however however it goes. And I'm going to try to keep it to half-an-hour.

P3: Cool.

Katie: Mhmm. So, my first question. You sort of addressed this before in some of your previous messages, but. It's asking if you identify as a member of the Occupy Movement.

P3: Well, I'm an administrator on the Occupy Facebook page. Um, I have marched with Occupy Movement. Um, I'm not into going out, y'know, pitching tents, rioting, things like that. Uh, but um, I would say, yeah, I identify as a member of the Occupy Movement. I have actually, um y'know, have taken part of uh, y'know, actual functions via networking. Facebook to organize and orchestrate, uh, things that uh, y'know work out pretty well.

Katie: That's good. So it's mostly um. It seems mostly your online activities that craft your identity with the Occupy Movement. The fact that you-

P3: Right. Exactly. I mean, I'm a Precinct committee man, I'm a Precinct committee officer for the Lockwood[unintelligible] Democrats. I'm a Democrat. So, y'know there's some Occupy people that they don't really want to identify with either party. I think that doesn't work. Y'know? Um, uh, just like the Green Party. That doesn't- It, it doesn't work out. Y'know so, I think rather than, as I told my nephew recently, rather than trying to reinvent the wheel, you just gotta try to do what you can to uh, fix what you got. Y'know?

Katie: Is there anything else that um, makes you feel as though you're part of the Movement? Friends that you have-?

P3: Oh absolutely. Their original cause overall. Their original cause overall, I think, um, if they would have gotten together with the Tea Party members before the Tea Party got um, basically y'know sold out. I mean, they did. They, the Tea Party was against the corporations, and them having control over government. And then the very people they

were against paid to put many Tea Party members into the Congress. So, y'know I mean, I do walking and knocking, we're getting petitions signed. We've got sixteen states already. They're in to go uh, end corporate personhood. I think, frankly the single, largest issue for me. And it's the single largest issue in America today um, because no matter what your other issues are you really don't have that much control over them until we- well let's face it, we've got the best Congress money can buy.

Katie: Mmhm. So, if this is the one issue, so you work on this issue *through* the Occupy Movement? Like is that how it goes, or is-

P3: Somewhat, somewhat. Through the Occupy Movement on Facebook and things like that. Y'know. I, I, I think it's a damn shame the way that uh, many of the Occupiers were treated by authorities and things in different uh, in different uh, peaceful protests. I actively um, like for instance, when that Marine got beat half to death in Oakland.

Katie: Mmhm.

P3: We had hundreds and hundreds of people that we strategized and organized right through our Occupy Facebook page. We had tons of people calling the Mayor's Office and I mean literally within a couple of days the Mayor had changed her tune. And completely changed y'know her entire message about that particular situation. Y'know.

Katie: Mm.

P3: So, I, I would say I'm more behind the Occupy Movement than any other movement there is. I think there are a lot of banksters that need to uh, go to jail.

Katie: So, how important is it, this Movement, to you?

P3: Um, well. If by this Movement, you mean something like campaign reform, taking corporations' power from our government, uh things like that, I would say it is as important to me as America is to anybody. We are literally seeing a fall of a democratic republic. A recent study from Princeton just showed that frankly by definition, America is not even a democracy anymore. It's not even a democratic republic anymore. It's an oligarchy. And that is a crying shame, y'know?

Katie: Yeah, I just read that article today as well.

P3: Isn't that just something?

Katie: Yeah.

P3: Hold on. I gotta type something real quick.

Katie: Mmhmmm.

P3: \*typing noises\* I can't, I can't do two things at once.

Katie: \*laughs\* It's alright. It's fine.

P3: \*typing noises\* Okay, go ahead. \*coughs\*

Katie: Um, I just, I kinda want to take a step back. How would you define, like how would you describe the Occupy Movement? What is it to you?

P3: Um, well, that's, that's, that's, that's a tough one, right?

Katie: Yeah.

P3: Because they're- I would, I would describe the Occupy Movement as pretty scattered. It's uh, y'know- there's- you've got your, you've got your base, y'know and you've got your Occupy people that are doing some specific things, and then you've got all these little factions all over the United States that are doing their own things. Um, which I guess how we would describe the Occupy Facebook- United We Stand! So, uh, so I do, I think the Occupy, the Occupy Movement is scattered.

Katie: But is it still- is it one movement even if it's in all of these places?

P3: Well that, that's just the question then, isn't it? Because I don't think, if you talk with a hundred people who associate with the Occupy, I don't think you're going to get the same answer . . .

Katie: Mm.

P3: . . . out of any three of them as to what it's really- y'know what's the plan, what it's really all about.

Katie: Mm.

P3: It's uh, y'know, like I said, if the Tea Party would've stayed the path, y'know. I marched with the Tea Party too, when it was first starting. I was like, "Woohoo! This is great!" And after we did this march, everybody convened to these houses, where they then did Bible study and uh, worship on this book called *The Five Thousand Year Leap*. And I'm sitting there looking around, going, "What in the hell is the matter with you people?" Y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P3: I mean, frankly religion is just another means to brainwashing people, y'know?

Katie: Mm.

P3: And, and, and manipulating people. Case in point, last presidential race three Republican candidates had their constituents convinced that God had told them to run. Y'know?

Katie: Yeah. Well.

P3: It's pretty pathetic.

Katie: It sort of is. Do you think, do you think- sorry, to bring it back- do you think that um, because the Movement is so scattered, that they have all of these different issues,- Hmm?

P3: \*click\* \*tap\* \*tap\* \*tap\* \*tap\*

=====

P3: I think it was on my side. I had the uh, Internet just. I had that happen one time before here. I'm at a client's house now. Doing an overnight. And uh, the Internet just kicked me.

Katie: \*laughs\* Okay. Yeah, that was kind of odd. I was just like, "Ah. Oh no."

P3: I know you were like \*poses\* just frozen there.

Katie: Oh dear.

P3: Hey, what happened? Well, anyway, back to the questioning.

Katie: Yes, um. Let's see, trying to gather my thoughts back to where I was. Uh, we were talking about how it was, how it seems all scattered.

P3: Yeah, in my opinion, I, I think it is very scattered, y'know? Um, I, I think the Occupy Movement's biggest problem is that they have a \*pause\* certain, \*pause\* a certain percentage of people who are most active and most often in front of the camera that's uh, \*pause\* let's just say they wouldn't be your \*pause\* your picture of y'know stand-up stellar citizens, for instance.

Katie: Mm.

P3: And they're not really representative of what I think the majority of people who feel uh, they are involved. I don't think those folks represent the majority at all.

Katie: So these, these people who aren't sort of the average Occupier. They're who gets picked by the media?

P3: Perhaps, y'know. They're the ones that make the news.

Katie: Mm.

P3: Y'know. They're the ones down in Seattle, making all the noise and things. Which, it's cool. I mean, we need the peaceful protests. But, to what level? I mean, when you start throwing bricks through windows and things like that, you're basically- you're, you're losing credibility, in my opinion, in a real big way. Y'know. I think this guy, Clive Bundy, is a perfect example of that. Y'know he's- you just don't flippin' form a couple hundred people rebellion. Bring your guns and get ready to go to war with the government. It's just not the right way to do it, y'know?

Katie: Yeah. So do you think that, that sort of representation, how do you think it affects people who do identify as Occupiers?

P3: I think it's damaging.

Katie: Yeah?

P3: Y'know, I really do. I think it's damaging. Um, y'know and, and, and again, I'm all for peaceful protests, but I, I, I really got the idea watching a lot of that on TV. And I was streaming it live as things were happening. And I got the idea to stream it live through the website. We had a whole bunch of other people watching everything going down. And I think as it got a little later, I think a lot of those people just didn't have anything better to do, y'know. And, and, that uh, makes it tough on anything. When you're trying to take a position in society and, and you want people to take you seriously, I think that it's important that you uh, you go about it in a way that people will take seriously. Y'know, it's easy to lose credibility these days.

Katie: So do you think people want to distance themselves from the Movement, when-?

P3: Sure, I do. Yeah, absolutely. Why wouldn't they? Y'know, I mean, I was, I thought about going down to Seattle. Now I marched with Occupy here in Billingham[unintelligible] and it was a peaceful protest. We marched and then everybody went home. But, I think this idea of- well, I guess technically it's "Occupy" right?, but uh, y'know it, it really did gain some ground, but I think that it's just uh- I think a lot of people got turned off by some of the things that happened with a lot of these protests, things as well. Y'know um, I talked to people, like, like, where they were occupying in New York. I talked to people who had went and seen. And they were living like pigs in the streets. They were, y'know, they were really just \*pause\* They, they weren't representative of the average American citizen. I will also say this. As a Precinct Committee Officer, y'know, it's my job to keep the constituents in my area informed, make sure if anyone needs help getting registered to vote, I'm like the clerk in the ditches. It's the lowest form of elected official that you could possibly be, y'know. And interestingly enough, on this initiative 1329, the reversal of corporate personhood, you'd be surprised how many Republicans completely agree with me. And they all, they sign the petition, too. I think that's - I don't know - I think that if I was to start my own movement, the first thing I would want to do is tear down the walls that the media and this government have put up between the two parties. Y'know, divide and conquer, that's the oldest trick in the book. And it works! \*laugh\* Y'know.

Katie: Mm.

P3: If we could get one movement where everyone just agreed to disagree about everything except for this one thing, it would be huge. Nothing could stop us. Y'know? And you get thirty-five states and you could amend the Constitution, whether Congress likes it or not.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: Which is exactly what we're shooting to do. I would've taken an approach that I don't think anyone has taken yet. Because I've been in contact with some Republicans and I'm trying to get through and get an appointment set up with the, the uh, my counterpart um, on the Republican side, the Precinct Committee Officer. I want to go

door-to-door *with him*.

Katie: Mm.

P3: I want us to y'know- I think, and I think, I, frankly I think that if people at the grassroots started operating like that? The government and the higher-ups are going to look, going to look at that and go, "Oh shit. Now what? Y'know, what are we going to do now?"

Katie: \*snickers\*

P3: "Wh-, we-, wh-, BENGHAZI!"

Katie: \*laughs\*

P3: I mean, what are they going to say? Y'know.

Katie: Yeah. Do you think that's what the Occupy was supposed to do? Like, that was originally-

P3: I do. I do. I think originally that that was kinda what it was supposed to do. And I don't think that Occupy has sold out the way that the Tea Party did. Y'know? I mean the Tea Party is so far away from what I thought they were supposed to be about. Now, it's like, wow! But uh, I, I do. I think that originally that was the idea: is for Occupy saying, "Listen. Everything is screwed up. Let's deal with this issue. This one right here." Y'know. It, it was all about that. Well-orchestrated recession that we went into. It was planned, man. I was *in* the mortgage business when it was happening.

Katie: Mm.

P3: And I was young and dumb. I didn't know any better. I believed it. I drank the Kool-aid myself. And I was making money. And I was selling loans like crazy, and I didn't understand anything. But now, in retrospect, it's like, \*pause\* wow, man, that was planned. I guarantee you people who are a hell of a lot smarter than I am knew *exactly* what was going down. And you know, they invested in hedge funds. They bet y'know- fifteen years in the casino business in Las Vegas before I moved up here to Washington and uh, we would call that betting on the don't come. I don't know if you've ever played dice.

Katie: No.

P3: Well, when you play dice, you bet on the come-out roll. So shooter shoots the dice. Say he shoots a six. You bet on the six; that's called betting on the come. Or you can bet against that. You can bet on the don't come. That's exactly what these son of a bitches did on Wall Street. They, they, they hedged their bets, man. And they bet on the don't come, 'cause they knew that house of cards was going to come tumbling down. And a lot of them got really, really rich. And even though I voted for President Obama, frankly, I'm pissed. I really thought some heads were going to roll. I mean, I don't know what kind of deals he cut, things like that. But the fact of the matter is you've got to bear

this in mind: right now people live in a society where corporations choose our wars. They choose our enemies. Y'know. We live with the new Citizens United, which consequently brought about the superPACs. The Prince of Saudi Arabia can throw down five hundred million dollars in our presidential race, and we don't even know it happened. Y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P3: That's not America.

Katie: So, do you, would you consider yourself an activist then? Like for that-

P3: Sure, yeah. I'm a, I'm an activist. And I would consider the five Republican Supreme Court Justices, I would consider them activists cloaked in black robes that said, "Yeah, this is good. Citizens United. That's Constitutional." That's activists, if you ask me. Y'know. And they're a lot better at it than I am apparently.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P3: \*laughs\*

Katie: I think they have a bit more power.

P3: Right. They put, yeah. By all means.

Katie: How- and so how did you get involved with the Occupy Movement and the Tea Party? How did you-

P3: Well, because I, I'm, I'm, I'm a complete history geek, y'know. I'm a Master Freemason. I have, I have a pretty damn good knowledge of what the Founding Fathers' plans were, and considering that most of 'em were Freemasons. Y'know?

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: Do you realize that the Tea Party don't even realize that the original Tea Party left a Masonic box[unintelligible] to soak up that tea in the harbor? Y'know. They don't even know that.

Katie: Mmhm.

P3: And, and, and you see people talk about, "This country was founded on Christian principles." No, what? It was founded on *Masonic* principles. Some of them happened to be the same as what Christian principles are. But uh, anyways that's what got me involved. Um, I've always had a big interest in politics, y'know. And uh, and, and, and the older I get, y'know, I'm forty-three years old. I have one of five kids left at home. I am seriously worried. I'm worried for the lives of my children. And I can't really identify- And, and, and the thing is people want to cut it, it's black or it's white, it's left or it's right. And the thing is I'm just a little left of the center here. I don't, I don't identify with some idiot that thinks he's got to own an AK-47 to "fight the government". He's the one I'm afraid of. But then on the same note, I've got a 12-gauge on the wall at



my home. Y'know.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: I like to shoot. It's not like I want to take people's guns. It's like everything has to be *so* to the extreme. Y'know. This idea that people have that they just willy-nilly form a militia and stand up against the authorities. That's batshit crazy, y'know? Uh, I keep thinking this guy Clive Bundy, 'cause I'm really in some serious debates right now about this gentleman.

Katie: Mm.

P3: He's a lawbreaker. In my opinion. You know who I'm talking about?

Katie: Yes, I do.

P3: Okay. You seem pretty well-read. So in my opinion, when this gentleman uh, when he speaks the words, "I do not recognize the United States government as government." Okay. You are in a different realm now.

Katie: \*snickers\*

P3: And then, and then in the next shot, he's on a horse with the American flag.

Katie: Yeah.

P3: \*brrbbrrrrblbb\* The Federal American flag. Apparently he's never seen the Constitution that was ratified in 1864 for the state of Nevada, 'cause yeah, they kind of do. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

P3: Y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P3: I mean, yeah, y'know? I'm just like, I'm all over the place with it. But the fact of the matter is I really do not believe that any of it matters until we get money out of politics.

Katie: Mm.

P3: Because the bottom line is going to be the guy with the gold makes the rules.

Katie: And do you find that any of your connections with the Occupy Movement help in your campaigns? Help in your efforts for this?

P3: Well yeah. Absolutely they do.

Katie: Mm.

P3: I chat with people. And people chat with people. And my net- my social networking is really a *HUGE* branch of what I do, y'know. I'll do some walking and knocking and things like that. But let's face it, I can put a message in almost ten

thousand people's eyes like \*snaps\* that. Y'know, and you get a response. And the next thing you know boop, boop, boop, things are popping up all over the states. And I tell people, y'know, you can sit here and bitch on Facebook all day long and that will do *nothing*. But get involved. Go to a local meeting. Get involved in politics, at the grassroots, at the local levels. And, and go from there, because um, it gives you a voice. Y'know?

Katie: Yeah, And so, is, is social media, is Facebook, is Twitter, YouTube sort of the first step? It's the information, and then people have to get out? Or, how, how does it work?

P3: Well, I, I, I think social media is a huge part of it, because you're able to communicate with people you would otherwise not even communicate with. And I'll tell you something else – and I did a paper on this – social media, we live in an absolutely fantastic time in the world right now, we really do. We know how batshit crazy a lot of things are. However, we're talking. People are talking. The entire revolt in Egypt; that started on Facebook, that was put together on Facebook. Y'know? And the thing is it used to be easy to control it, and manipulate people um, through, for the churches and the governments. And now? You can chat with someone in Iran, and you start to realize, wow, these people are not so different than we are. They just wanna be happy. They just wanna raise their kids and have them educated. Y'know, and so I think that's an awesome thing. Y'know, to see the world coming together like that is, is something that has never, ever happened in the past. Do you know how few Americans realize that the words "In God We Trust" were not put on our money until 1956?

Katie: Mm.

P3: The words "One Nation under God" was not put in our uh, our Pledge of Allegiance until 1956? Strangely enough, during the height of the Cold War, when they wanted to justify testing nukes that gave shitloads of people cancer. But hey, we're one nation under *God*. If you're not one of us, you're not with God. It's just a whole game of manipulation, y'know? And I'm not even an atheist. So if I sound like one, \*cough\*

Katie: Heh.

P3: I'm *not*. I'm more agnostic. I received the priesthood when I was thirty-three years old. And I studied it so much that I realized this is all bullshit.

Katie: \*snickers\*

P3: It's made up.

Katie: Mm.

P3: It's a fraud! \*laughs\* Now there's a quick way to end a conversation with a Christian.

Katie: \*laughs\* Too true. Too true.

P3: Yeah.

Katie: Okay, I'm really fascinated in this um, how you see making the connections, the social media, it's meant for making these connections that weren't there before. Is that the main role that you see it playing in these movements?

P3: I, I, me personally, I gotta tell you I got friends and family on Facebook that I drive nuts. It's like, "Don't you ever post anything other than political crap?" And things like that. And I tell 'em, "No. Why?" We have this fantastic tool. I mean, where are you right now? Hawaii?

Katie: Yeah.

P3: Yeah, and, and I'm sitting in a garage of a client who- I'm, I'm in the Northwest corner, the pit of the United States, and we're sitting here chatting right now.

Katie: Mmhmmm.

P3: Y'know? And we met on social media. So absolutely! Think of the power of this tool. I mean, some people can keep showing pictures of their ugly babies and trading recipes if they want to. Frankly, I think that it's uh, it's, it's it's it's a much, much bigger tool than that though.

Katie: Mm.

P3: Y'know?

Katie: How so?

P3: Instantly. You're plugged in, y'know? Uh, when- Perfect example: when uh, I'll go back to that incident when that Marine got beat by that police in Oakland.

Katie: Mmhm.

P3: Uh, instantly, I'm chatting with people in Florida, New York, Kentucky, all over the United States. I'm, I'm instantly- and we had things were running. If you were to have been on the Occupy Facebook page back then, you would have been like, "Woah this is cool." People were making phone calls. Everybody was doing something. They sent flowers. But thing is is you've got all these people from different states organizing. How do you think that Mayor felt when the phone rang? Ooh, [unintelligible] I'm from Kentucky. I'd like an explanation." Wait, wait, wait. "Uh yeah, we're from Florida. And we really do not like what we see." It's just coming from everywhere, y'know? So, so I think that the power that is uh, it's it's it's just- it's awesome. I mean, who would've thunk, right? I don't know. I'm probably a few years older than you. But I can remember when this was all just rumor. Like uh, yeah, they say that all the computers are going to be connected, that everybody is going to be communicating. And our reaction was like, "Who the hell wants anything to do with that?!" But now that it's here. It's like wow, this is cool. Y'know? This, this, this is an awesome tool.

Katie: So it has a pretty big impact on the way the Movement is organized and the way that everyone is connected?

P3: Absolutely. Yeah, I think so. Y'know. I think it does. I think it's a way to get your message out there. a way to find like-minded people, and, uh, and uh, you can organize and come together. And it's, it's just so easy now, y'know?

Katie: Mm.

P3: I don't have to go knocking on neighbor's doors and junk like that. I can just get on a computer. I can start hooking up with people all over the world.

Katie: Mm. And okay, yeah. And so how, you personally, 'cause that can apply to uh, the entire movement, but you personally, how do you use the social media? Do you use one platform more than another? Do you use YouTube and video? Twitter?

P3: Personally, Facebook more than anything. I mean, Twitter is a waste of time.

Katie: Mm. 'Kay.

P3: Y'know, anything that's going to limit my characters, I'm way more long-winded. I don't think I've ever, I think I did Twitter once or twice and I get to the y'know, starting on delivering my message and it says I'm out of characters. It's like, "What?!" So, I don't really use Twitter that much. I think that Twitter is for one-liners.

Katie: Mm'kay.

P3: You know, if you want to delve into – and I'm huge on debating and, which unfortunately on Facebook, so many of these pages like "The Partisan Brawl" – well, it's exactly what it sounds like. Y'know, it gets pretty ugly and, and uh, "The New and Improved Partisan Brawl" and there's no– it's hard to get real debates going. Where someone may mess around and learn something from someone they disagree with, I think that's that's awesome, but so often that's just not the case, y'know? It's like uh, I mean, I gotta tell you: the Republicans' go-to uh, method is to throw out some insults: "You're a dumbass and you don't know what you're talking about!"

Katie: Mm.

P3: But then if you want to start pulling up facts and fact-checking things.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: Well, many of them in those debate rooms, they don't care! They don't want facts! They live in a bubble, and they like it there, y'know?

Katie: Yeah. So, do you do you see these areas that are supposed to be for debate, um, in social media tend to be more divisive?

P3: Yeah sure.

Katie: People are more like, "Oh, I'm an Occupier. I'm a Republican. I'm a–"

P3: Yeah right. Yeah. And you don't see too many Occupiers in these debate rooms. It's more Republican, Democrat, Libertarians,

Katie: Mm.

P3: Um, y'know. But uh, yeah, it's just mostly shit-slinging. Y'know, sometimes you'll get involved in a thread where there's some actual intelligent debate going on. I just thought of an amazing idea. What if you had something like a debate page, like on Facebook. And you had a group of fact-checkers there, reading everything.

Katie: Mm.

P3: And the fact-checkers can intervene and call bullshit anytime they see it.

Katie: \*laughs\* That, I think that would be a very intensive job for the moderators.

P3: Yeah, wouldn't that be awesome? I think that would be cool. Eh! Bullshit! FALSE! No, that wasn't true either.

Katie: \*laughs\* I think that would change a lot of the content that's on the Internet.

P3: Yeah. Right. Boy, isn't that the truth? Y'know, I would absolutely love to debate someone like, say, Rush Limbaugh. I would *love* to debate Rush Limbaugh with a fact-checker sitting right there, checking every single word that's said. Everything. That's said by anyone. Y'know? I, It's not going to happen.

Katie: No, probably not.

P3: I would be game.

Katie: It probably would cut off the conversation quite early for a lot of it. Okay, that's that's very interesting. So a lot of this seems more, at least, at least for you, a more general 'activist', politically active life, I guess.

P3: Yeah. Yeah.

Katie: It's not necessarily the Occupy Movement itself? Like that.

P3: No, not as much for me. Especially the older I get. 'Cause the older I get, the more I'm realizing that you got to get active. Somebody's got to get active. You're not going to overthrow the government. It's just not going to happen, y'know? It's, um, they'll squash you. Y'know, like the Bundy Ranch again back to that, just 'cause it's the most current thing going on.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: Right now. But uh, let's face it. If, if we had other people in power than had been in power, those people would be dead by now.

Katie: Mm.

P3: They'd be gone, y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P3: Janet Reno. When Janet Reno went into Waco, Texas, they killed everybody at the

Branch Dividian. There's was no, no- I mean, some people got out, but they didn't go there to play around anymore. After that stand-off, it was like, "We're not leaving." It was uh, it was - and I just hate to see that happen to anyone.

Katie: Yeah.

P3: Y'know, because uh, there cause is not that big. It's not something that the whole nation is going to get behind them on, y'know?

Katie: Mmhmm. Interesting. You keep, you mentioned a couple of times "as you get older" were you politically active before, when you were younger, in college?

P3: Well, I mean, I've always been politically active as far as watching, talking, debating, chatting. I've always been sort of well-read on the issues. And more on the federal level, the top three branches, um y'know. But as I became older, I see the need to uh, \*pause\* just voting isn't enough. Voting is huge! But it isn't enough. And the thing is if you don't like something on your party's platform, then change it, y'know. I can literally go and I can add something to the platform of my party now. And then we discuss it, and we decide whether or not it's gonna- But I'm in there. I can, I can have something to do with that now. Y'know, you don't like the way things are being legislated, change it. But you gotta be involved, y'know. Think of the percentage of people that just don't vote. I'll tell you one thing that I really disappointed in my own party about. It's that we only got about thirty, thirty five percent of the Precinct Committee Officers spots filled.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: It's not, we're not working it at the grassroots. Y'know. You wonder how some idiot like Michele Bachman gets as far as she got. That's how. That's how. Knocking on doors. Y'know. And saying whatever people want to hear. Now that's a huge spider. I hope he doesn't come this way.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P3: \*laughs\*

Katie: I hope not either.

P3: It's about that big around, running across the floor.

Katie: Oh goodness. Ah.

P3: \*laughs\*

Katie: We don't really have spiders in Hawaii.

P3: I think I'm going to move to Hawaii. He's sitting over there.

Katie: Uh, okay. I hope he keeps his cool.

P3: Yeah.

Katie: Have you ever heard of the term "slacktivism"?

P3: "Slacktivism"?

Katie: Yeah.

P3: No, but I like it.

Katie: It's, it's a term that's coming up in the literature with social media. It's basically the idea that when people click on the 'likes' or the 'shares' um, in Facebook, if they retweet something, they're like, "Op, that's it. I'm done. I've done my due diligence."

P3: Oh yeah, my civic duty is done.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: Isn't that amazing? Yeah.

Katie: And they'll be demotivated for that.

P3: I am definitely stealing that. You will see my, you will see my posts. "Oh look, another slacktivist." \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\* Is that something that you see?

P3: Oh abso-

Katie: Being moderator, administrator?

P3: Oh yeah, I see it all over, y'know. That's a fact. And uh, y'know the thing is I don't even know if the democratic party is going to get the kind of- a lot of the turn out for Barack Obama, which I voted for him. I voted for Hilary in the primaries.

Katie: Mm.

P3: But uh, a lot of the turnout for Barack Obama was a lot of people. A lot of black people who had never voted in their lives. And I probably asked at least a dozen different black people - 'cause I was interested - "why are you going to vote for Barack Obama?" Their answer was inevitably, "Because he's black." Which is kind of a sad truth if you think about it. Y'know, I voted for him 'cause I thought he was the best candidate for the job, y'know. But uh, a lot of slacktivists, a lot of slacktivists stood up and got counted for those votes, y'know. And I just, hope they're still around, y'know.

Katie: Yeah. Do you think that the Occupy Movement could, could motivate people to go beyond? Or is social media just encouraging that sort of, that armchair politician? The okay I'll click on it on Facebook or I'll talk about it on Facebook, so then I don't feel the need to go out and vote or go out and -

P3: You know, that's a good, that's a good question. It could be. But then you gotta figure Facebook is such a broad spectrum. 'Cause there's actually pages on Facebook that can be literally created for specific things. And if you're not into that specific thing, you're not even going to that specific page.

Katie: Mm.

P3: Y'know like uh, the YouTube thing. When that all went down. They had created Facebook pages to communicate on. Nobody else was in there, but that's what they were using it for, y'know. It was uh, It was used like that.

Katie: Mm.

P3: And so, but I think yeah. A lot of these debate pages do. It creates, it creates a bunch of uh, \*pause\* of uh, skimmer. Let's just put it that way. Let's say there's people who will, let's just say the whole thing is just a big ocean. And most folks aren't actually deep diving into the ocean of knowledge. They're just kind of skimming across the top. They're reading the big, bold print and they move on. Y'know. I, I think the Internet in general has created that phenomena anyway.

Katie: Mm.

P3: 'Cause you think about it. I mean, I can find something out in about three minutes. \*snaps\* At one point, would've been three months in a library to learn You gotta find it, you gotta read, you gotta reread, y'know. You gotta cross-examine it. So yeah. I think, I think it could be creating some slackers. But I think that anybody who actually feels serious about it, y'know, it's good to be able to get that message out that you can just say, "Hey." All you gotta do is get a hold of your local party, get involved. That's it. Just go do what you can do. Y'know, because every little bit helps.

Katie: Hmm.

P3: And it strengthens the party.

Katie: So do you think people will identify more, be more willing to act because of- like, does social media cause the, allow for solidarity in the group? Allows them to feel like okay, if I say I'm a Democrat, and this person reached out to me through Facebook, and we're talking through Facebook about the Council, about whatever we're doing, that they'll be more likely, more inclined to do something about it?

P3: Maybe. That's a, that's a tough, see because I don't know. I think you could get six of one, half a dozen of the other there.

Katie: Hmm.

P3: Y'know, I think you're going to run across some people who are more inclined to do something about it, and then you're going to run across some people who are just going to be less inclined because they're comfortable. And that's another unfortunate reality in the United States of America is like, "Hey man, if you can't see it from my backyard, then I don't care." And that's just really an issue that's huge, huge, huge. Y'know um, Thomas Jefferson once said, "For a democratic republic to work, an educated electorate is imperative." And y'know, you just walk down the streets. You see it all the time. There's, you know how many people that don't even- you know how many people, right now, living in America, they don't even know who the Vice President of the



United States is.

Katie: \*snorts\*

P3: They have no clue, y'know? They don't know squat! \*laughs\*

Katie: Yeah.

P3: And the thing is America's history has been rewritten big time. And a lot of folks, I would say the average folks, they don't even realize it. They don't even know. Y'know.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: And a lot of it I blame on religion, y'know. \*laughs\*

Katie: Yeah. Interesting, okay. Well, actually, we've gone through all of my um, set0out questions in the beginning. Is there anything else that you'd liker o add about the idea of \*pause\* people identifying as Occupiers and the use of social media within the movement?

P3: Yeah, I mean. I think, I think uh, the use of social media is definitely a, a very valuable tool that can offer uh, a lot um. And um, by the way, the Tea Party Movement. Last I seen they had close to three hundred members. They probably have more than that now. And if you go on their page, and you even start asking questions that may suggest that you're going to have your own train of thought, they will kick your ass off in a minute. I know.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: 'Cause I've done it a few times. \*laughs\* They don't play, y'know. But uh, I definitely see the value of the social media. I think, in my opinion, that for the Occupy Movement, if I could say what would I do, if I could change it all up, okay, and improve the Occupy Movement and make it more successful. Is I would pick the one issue, and go after it. And go after it with a passion. And I would go to Tea Party members; I would go door to door; I would go the the grassroots. Try to get an actual party behind you, y'know.

Katie: Mm.

P3: That's why I'm just, I'm a Democrat. I couldn't possibly be a Republican, I have a conscience. But uh, I'm a Democrat because, you have, it's an entire party that everyone is already identifying with. Y'know. And if the Occupy Movement would just say, yeah even though there's Democrats that piss me off, and there's Democrats taking billions and billions from these corporations and things as well. It's gotta make their jobs easier. I mean, it's like when somebody cuts you a check for three hundred million dollars, you're done. I mean, pretty much.

Katie: \*snorts\*

P3: Oh okay, there's my constituent. \*laughs\* Y'know?

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: But uh, I think that if we got behind that. Then, we can tackle things. And y'know, and, and, and the fact of the matter is during the time of the founding of this nation for a politician to take money from a corporation was treason. It was against the law! But then again corporations were kept under very strict government charters as well. So you know, but uh, I just think that if the Occupy Movement, if everybody just \*pause\* focused on one issue, and that would be the issue that I would choose. Because consequently, changing corporate personhood will Citizens United would go away 'cause it's not longer Constitutional.

Katie: Mm.

P3: Which means superPACs will go away 'cause it's no longer Constitutional. Which means unlimited funding will go away because you know, who has that kind of money? A few people in the world, but uh we an deal with that later. \*coughs\*

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: So that's, that's pretty much my biggest message that I would say that I would wish everyone could just behind that in the Occupy Movement, y'know. And don't act like flipping idiots when you're out there protesting. \*laughs\*

Katie: Actually, you your response sparked something. What would you say to people who say that the Occupy Movement is dead? That it's over right now? That it's not-

P3: I don't think so. 'Cause that Occupy Movement is worldwide.

Katie: Mm.

P3: They're, they're- The Occupy Movement is worldwide. So I don't think it's dead, y'know. I think it's - I haven't heard a lot lately.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: But they're still gathering, they're still grinding, they're still doing things, so it's far from dead. And there were a lot of people involved, a lot of people were identifying as Occupy, y'know. And it was something that the precedent was set in the United States and it went worldwide. It went all over the world y'know. And I think it's more, I think, I think what it is- It's more about income inequality than people want to admit. That's, that's exactly what it's about. Y'know, I mean, we got four hundred people in the United States that have more money than everyone else combined! Y'know? When you've got a company like Wal-Mart, who imports everything they sell, and they've got employees who are on flippin' food stamps and they're worth billions. I'm sorry, that's capitalism gone awry. That's not even Capitalism, y'know.

Katie: Yeah.

P3: And, and uh, I, I, I think a lot of people would get behind a specific message. I

mean, everybody talks about this minimum wage problem that we have. No, we don't. We have a maximum wage problem in the United States.

Katie: \*snorts\*

P3: I mean, for real. Think about it. Who in the hell needs to be worth thirty billion dollars? Because you're not talking about comfort anymore, you're talking about control.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P3: Control, that's what that's all about, y'know. And the thing is the King of England, he know. That's why he wouldn't allow corporations to be so big. And so did the Founding Fathers. That's why they dissolved corporations. A corporation could form to build something and then they were dissolved. Because they knew. Money is power.

Katie: Mm. Alright. Well thank you very much.

P3: You are very welcome. I hope that I helped you somewhat for your paper.

Katie: Ah, quite so. I'm going to have a real fun time transcribing this, and going over, going over all of your responses.

P3: All my babble.

Katie: \*laughs\* It's good answers. Thank you very much.

P3: Well, the thing is is uh, I have a tendency to uh, I get soapboxitis.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P3: \*laughs\* When I get on my soapbox, y'know. But I do feel very passionately about a lot of this stuff.

Katie: Yeah. Absolutely.

P3: We're watching the greatest country in the world slip away. And that's a sad, sad situation in my, in my personal beliefs.

Katie: Yeah. It is.

P3: Well, I will let you go to bed. It's probably late there. What time is it there?

Katie: No, we're actually, we're actually earlier. It's . . .

P3: Oh, you're behind. That's right you're behind us.

Katie: Yeah, it's only seven.

P3: Okay, it's ten here. That's right. Well . . .

Katie: Yeah so,

P3: . . . then let me go to bed.

Katie: Yeah, you can go to bed. I'll have dinner. And it'll all work out.

P3: Fantastic.

Katie: And when I'm finis. . . .

P3: And if you can, if they're going to publish it somewhere. I wouldn't mind seeing your paper. I'm interested, y'know.

Katie: Yeah.

P3: To see how it reads.

Katie: Um yeah. Yeah sure. I should be finished with it. Well um, I'm going to be graduating in December, so it will be finished before then.

P3: Good for you. Congratulations.

Katie: Thank you very much.

P3: You have a wonderful evening.

Katie: You too.

P3: Bye bye.

Katie: Bye.

## Appendix E

### Interview with Participant 4

P4: I've shut everything else down so that we get as good a line as possible because Skype can be quite, ah, difficult at times.

Katie: Yeah, it can be.

P4: Okay, yes.

Katie: Thank you.

P4: So, um. Go ahead. I'm all yours.

Katie: Alright, wonderful. Um, that's great. I just have a couple of questions and we'll kind of, um, go along and see how... see where, see where the topics take us.

P4: Okay, fine.

Katie: Um, my very first one, just sort of establishing it, is that, um, just.... Do you... Do you identify as sort of a member of the Occupy movement? Do you see yourself as an Occupier?

P4: Ah... not directly. I... I am interested in it, I am involved with it, I am prepared to talk to them and go along with them but I live in Poland. There isn't an Occupy movement in Poland...

Katie: Mm-hmm.

P4: ...as far as I'm aware. My Polish is not wonderful so it's possible that ... I don't know... But I've been involved in social... um... politics, if you like, for all of my life. I was... I was at the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in the sixties. Katie: Mmm.

P4: So... I consider myself as... a slight activist, but I don't actually do much these days because there's not a lot I can do, um, here. So it's mainly social media.

Katie: Oh, okay. And, so, what do you do on social media? To sort of fulfill that activist bit?

P4: Uh... I make comments, I share things on, I sometimes do a little bit of research and post the results.

Katie: Mmm.

P4: Um... You know, I regard myself as a, as a participant, rather than an activist.

Katie: Mmm.

P4: And, so, I look at the websites that Occupy and many other groups... I don't know if you know these Thirty Eight Degrees...?

Katie: Um, no, I haven't heard of it.

P4: I think, well, there's half a dozen, I can't think of all the names but, ah, Thirty Eight Degrees is... European, I think is the best expression. Uh, there's quite a few British ones, as well, and I lived in Britain until five years ago... Various ones about [unintelligible] they call an election now because of political problems in Britain and uh, also things like Green Peace, Friends of the Earth.

Katie: Oh, okay.

P4: So, uh, I... I think most are actually European rather than world-wide. But I'm... present in quite a lot of those groups.

Katie: Mm. And, um, when you comment, is this through... sort of like FaceBook and Twitter and those sort of already established ones, or are there other forums...--

P4: There are... --

Katie: -- within this... --

P4: --There are other forums on some of the websites... and I come in through those. Um, I mean, without opening half a dozen windows, which might screw up Skype...

Katie: Hahaha

P4: ... I couldn't tell you off hand which ones, but certainly Thirty Eight Degrees and others have websites... There's a lot of online petitions about at the moment.

Katie: Mmm.

P4: And both myself and my partner here, em, when we find one of these online petitions, often via e-mail or FaceBook, em, originally. Then, if it's an issue that we have an opinion on, eh, we'll go to the website that creates these online petitions, and, you know, sign it or not and make appropriate comments. Some of the comments that I've made have actually featured on the website in later days because they pick the... I suppose the best comments, you know.

Katie: Yeah, yeah.

P4: So I regard myself as an activist in that sense, but an armchair activist.

Katie: Oh, okay... And, so... Where do you see the role of the Occupy Movement in this? Like how important is it?

P4: I think it's important because it's an awareness-raising tool. Uh... it's... I mean there's quite a lot of Occupys. There's London ones, there's English ones, there's um, you know, uh... European ones, various... uh, oh, I can't even... One of them I think is even something like Occupy Liverpool um, which you know, which is a ... a medium-sized city in England. Ah... and those all spooled out of the Occupy Wall Street origin. And so they... They all have their own value and yes, I regard myself as part of that community, if you like.

Katie: Um, okay... Um, and so, how do you see... How do you see others using social media within... within this... large and rather...

P4: Um... Well, I think the, uh, the... Yeah, it's a chance for people to comment, and it's a chance for people to be made aware. I have about two hundred FaceBook friends. I don't use Twitter. I looked at it once or twice, and it just didn't... do it for me, you know, turn me on if you like.

Katie: Mm-hmm.

P4: And, um... I think we are... It is very difficult to take an active role in the world today - certainly in Europe. The politicians are... their own... you know, they live in their own circle and I was, at one time, involved in the fringes of some of those circles but not now. And we are just... we, you know, we are passive consumers. Um, we, we see what they choose to put on the television, or choose to put in the newspapers, and the newspapers in Britain are all owned by about three very rich... people. You know, ah, oh, what's his name, um, Rupert Murdoch?

Katie: Yeah.

P4: Owns something like forty percent of the newspapers in Britain. And Sky News of course. So, uh, it's very difficult not... to... read a newspaper that... ah... very closely allies itself to his views. Um... and um, they... Independence, if you like, aren't independent. The newspapers that claim to be independent aren't. They also follow the same establishment rules. So these websites are really the only opportunity for most of us to look outside of that... Uh, certainly I've seen things on the Internet which I know to be true, and never made the national press.

Katie: Mmm.

P4: Uh, censorship is the word I would use. And...it's very difficult - it's not impossible - it's very difficult to censor the Internet. And so groups like Occupy bring to people's attention things that... um, otherwise we wouldn't know about. I share on to my two hundred FaceBook friends, um... anything that I think is relevant to those people. And, quite often, some of those friends share on what I've shared. So, in a small way, we are bringing to the world's attention, issues that... the... mass media don't want known. Um, that would be, really, I think the way I would, um... I would say. Newspapers, the police, the media, radio, the television, um \*sigh\* are very much part of what-you-call the establishment. And the establishment is what our politicians want us to talk about and no more. Occupy is a way of bypassing that.

Katie: Um, do you- do you see the Occupy Movement as having a more ... active role, I guess, um, spreading information and creating awareness, but is there a way to- that it creates more unity or, or more action beyond just information sharing?

P4: Yes. I mean, there are demonstrations, Occupy-organized demonstrations, in the streets, and other groups also have demonstrations. If I lived in the UK, I would

probably be at the ones that would be possible to get to. Um, uh, you know I- it's been a while since I've been to a demonstration, but uh, do you know about the miner's strike in Britain in the 1980s?

Katie: Um, somewhat.

P4: Well, it, it was almost a civil war. Trust me; I was there. And the police and army or soldiers dressed as policemen, uh were beating up miners, their wives, their children. I can say that, you know, publicly, because I saw it, others saw it, it was filmed. It did not appear in the television or the newspapers. And, and that was an attempt to suppress, in my view, a legitimate protest. So I was there. I was on the picket lines. I was taking food parcels to the miners that the government was trying to starve out. You know, I was taking photographs, which why we didn't have the Internet back then. But we were sharing the photographs 'round as far as we could. I printed about a thousand leaflets on an old fashioned folio and handing them out on the streets in Leeds during that time. So, I consider that *at that time* I was an activist and ... part of an active movement which I believe still exists today. And Occupy if you like, hangs on to one aspect of that.

Katie: So a lot of it is sort of- sort of the same actions, just different form now, 'cause there's social media and a way to spread the pictures?

P4: Yes. I mean, we were, \*sigh\* uh, we were very limited. I mean, I- I know, you haven't asked my age. I'm happy to share it. I'm 64. I left school united[unintelligible] in '65 at the age of 16 ...

Katie: Mm.

P4: And I was at that time a member of the liberal party. I now feel quite lapsed about that. Um, and I was attending, I would say, anti-Vietnam War demonstrations and other such events in the '60s. Also, being involved in things, campaigning for gay rights, and other similar issues. Um, a lot of it was censored. A lot of it was closed down. I wrote to newspapers and nothing ever happened. I tried to get on to radio phone-ins and I was never selected. And, I felt a bit powerless about this, because if I rang up and said I wanted to talk about gardening, I'd get selected. But if I said I wanted to talk about politics, I wouldn't. You know, even on the political phone-ins. They'd often ask you, say, "What- what is it you want to say?" And then say, "Oh, I'm sorry, but the lines are now closed." And that's just a shame. And, I mean now, websites get shut down. I've seen a few politicized sites get shut down, often reopened you know under another server in another country.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: Uh, there's a few around Britain that that's happened to. Censorship does happen. Um and, you know, there's ... It's our duty, if you like, to do more than be passive consumers.

Katie: Mm.



P4: And Occupy and its role in Facebook and its role in alerting us to the presence of other social media sites or other websites, if you like. Like Thirty Eight Degrees. I think it's important and, to some extent, replaces the on-the-street situation.

Katie: Mm. So do you think that people- so even if you don't identify yourself as an Occupier, do you think that those who do are using the social media to reinforce that? That their activities on Facebook and Twitter and YouTube are helping them to feel part of that community, part of that Occupy Movement?

P4: I think so. Also, it's, it's encouraging healthy debate. Because ...

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: . . . you get everything, you know, from fascist idiots - um, you know, "send all the blacks home" - there's a fairly famous comedian called Lenny Henry in Britain who's of Afro-American, Afro-whatever origins. And you know, he's a really funny guy, and a figure of society, if you like. And, one of the politicians um, who's standing for election next year in Britain is saying, "He should be sent home to Africa."

Katie: Oi.

P4: He was born in England, of course. \*laughs\* But I mean that's, that's been exposed on the social media.

Katie: Mm.

P4: The idiots in [unintelligible], as the party calls itself. Many of them are um, \*sigh\* fascists um, idiots, racists, you name it. They're attracted to these fringe groups. Maybe I'm attracted to other fringe groups. And em, they you know, they shoot themselves in the foot, as we say, by opening their mouths, you know. They only open their mouths to change feet, as I think the expression will do [unintelligible].

Katie: \*laughs\*

P4: And, in the role of social media in passing that on. Uh, can I give you a quick example?

Katie: Yeah.

P4: Right. A 12-year-old boy was dragged out of his classroom by the anti-terror police in Britain last week. There's also a story that the front door at his home was smashed in by the same police group. Because he'd said on Facebook that he wanted his friends to protest against, outside the Prime Minister's private residence. Um, because his youth club was to be closed down.

Katie: Oh.

P4: Britain is bankrupt basically.

Katie: \*snicker\*

P4: No, it's true. It is true. And uh, the government is cutting back, cutting back on all the social provisions that existed oh, for the last fifty seven years. And one of the many things that's being closed is things like youth clubs for teenagers.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: And this lad who's twelve actually wanted to protest about the fact that his youth club was being closed. And so, the anti-terror police picked up on this and arrested him.

Katie: Oh goodness.

P4: And if you're interested, after we've finished I'll send you an e-mail with some of these links in them.

Katie: Yes, please do.

P4: That's, that's easy ...

Katie: That's terrible.

P4: ... I mean, this is, this is stuff that *is* reported in the newspaper. What about the stuff that isn't, you know? \*laughs\*

Katie: Hmm. Yeah.

P4: I'll, I'll put together an e-mail. I'll have it tonight or tomorrow. I'll put some time tomorrow afternoon, and I'll e-mail it to you. And it'll just be a series of links to things like Thirty Eight Degrees and some other groups. And you can decide if it's relevant to your studies or not.

Katie: Eh, no, that would be great. Thank you.

P4: Okay.

Katie: Yeah. Um, \*pause\* do you think, so, I'm just wondering, do you think that this ... movement- how is the Occupy Movement, do you feel that there is a connection to other activist activities that aren't necessarily labeled as Occupy? Is, is, or is Occupy itself its own entity and that people are just, are using, are going through that movement? Or is it something else?

P4: Yeah, yeah, I understand your question. I'm not sure I understand my answer. Um, it's part of the global position, the global situation. Um, \*pause\* anybody who has a - sorry I'm a bit of an academic- anybody who has a sense of injustice in the world tries to do something about it. Now, um, how they do something about it \*sigh\* I suppose some people strap bombs to their stomachs and walk into public buildings. That's one form of protest. I'm not defending it; I'm commenting on it.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: Um, other people write to the newspapers or stand for Parliament. Um, there's a group called the Monster Raving Loony Party in Britain.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P4: And you know, they are what they say. You know, they are totally um, \*pause\* making fun of politics, if you like. But they get quite a few votes. So uh, Occupy, I think, is perhaps the face or the public face of that feeling of injustice and dissatisfaction. And I think the good thing about Occupy is that they have actually captured that more successfully than the other groups like Thirty Eight Degrees and Greenpeace and OxFam and all the other you know charitable institutions. So Occupy I think had, maybe they've got good media people; maybe they've got good public relations people. But they've actually captured the interest of society. And I think for that reason, they hit up a very wide process, protest movement.

Katie: Mm. And so do you think, do you think if someone wanted to start up an action, they could just call on this, this sort of network of Occupy and have people rally behind them? Do you think that's like, established a network there that they can just call upon?

P4: Eeh, I'm not sure it's that structured.

Katie: Mm.

P4: Um, I'd be rather surprised if they've got a database with 50,000 e-mail addresses on.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P4: I mean, it's possible. I doubt it. Because when I've tried to do things like that, it's failed miserably. Um, I think it's just a matter they've got - can I, can I use the word "a shop window"? ...

Katie: Yes.

P4: ... And so they put today's offer in the shop window. Which maybe there, there are websites around the world. And people will see what's in the window and if they're interested, they go into the shop. Now what they do when they get there, whether it's just a comment, signing a petition, going on a rally or starting a new group. I don't know. But I think that they are the acceptable face of protest. Does that answer your question?

Katie: Yeah, yeah. Yes, that does. \*pause\* Um, do you think that the, that the use of social media is important to the movement itself? Like do you see it as a central factor within the Occupy Movement or a central tool maybe, in the Occupy Movement? As opposed to some other actions that are more, perhaps on-the-street, i guess?

P4: Yes, I do, because it's worldwide. Um, local initiatives, local issues are great locally. But if they are censored and not reported nationally, which ... or just basically not of interested nationally, then nobody else knows. Um, because Occupy used social media, they reached that wide audience. I mean, I've, I've lived in Poland for five years. I don't know what your geography is like. Mine is dreadful, but I'm fifteen hundred miles from

my origins.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: In a country, in a language which, although I've been here five years, I understand almost nothing of. I'm trying. I'm really trying; so's my partner. But, um, we are completely divorced from the UK in practice. I visit maybe once a year. My partner visits maybe once a year just to see family. Um so...

Katie: Yeah.

P4: ... I have no involvement at all with the country that I spend sixty years in. Except Facebook.

Katie: Mm.

P4: And that's why I value Facebook, even though I'm an old man. Because it allows me to keep in touch. Do you know about the hash cross harriers?

Katie: No, I don't.

P4: Right, well, I won't bore you with the details. But they call themselves a drinking club with a running problem.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P4: Basically, they're cross country runners. It's a worldwide organization. I was a member for twenty years in Britain. Um, we had a group of about sixty to seventy people based in Leeds in Yorkshire. And we met every week. We did two hours run, and then we went to the pub. Um, and I keep in touch with that social group um, via Facebook. Because maybe ten of the people that I saw every week. I wouldn't call them friends; I would call them acquaintances. Um, but I keep in touch with them thru Facebook. In the same way, if I post something from Occupy, then some of those people comment on it. [unintelligible]

Katie: Mm.

P4: There's a guy here. He was one of my students. I was teaching him English. And he's now forwarded on stuff from Occupy and others in Poland.

Katie: Ah.

P4: You know, that's, if you like, the power of the social media. That would never have happened in the days of newspapers and photocopiers and writing on the streets. There's no way that what's happening in Portland, Oregon would be in Malic's consciousness.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: You know, if it wasn't for the fact that *I* am interested in it, and *I* post stuff that he says, "Yeah, I agree with you on that." And he passes it on. So it goes around from

community to community in Poland, as far as I'm can see. Now that's the boundary, that's the power of social media. Not just in terms of political protest, in terms of any issue that you know can be raised. I mean, new musicians, new music groups, [unintelligible] Queen fans.

Katie: Hmm.

P4: You know. You know the Queen?

Katie: Yeah.

P4: Yeah well, um I'm a Queen fan. And there's a new guy called uh Robbie Valentine who's Dutch, who's like the new Freddie Mercury. Now we've been sharing all our stuff. And he posts so if you like this new up and coming musician is becoming better known because of social media. So it has many \*pause\* dimensions not just political ones.

Katie: Uh yeah. Do you think um, do you think that- so if people can be connected through issues, and sort of um, what they share and their tastes across social media, do you think that can extend further? That if someone in um, say Boston really liked- found out about Robbie Valentine and really liked him as well, do you feel like you could go to Boston and stay at that person's house or meet up with them?

P4: That does happen. Yes. Uh, I mean no, I've never done it myself, but I do know that um, people make lifelong friends through social media. Um, \*pause\* uh, I mean to some extent, the reason I'm here is a function of Dadoo-dadoo, which is an instant messaging service.

Katie: Oh.

P4: Because uh, five years ago I was living in England, not happy to say the least.

Katie: Mmhmmm.

P4: And uh, seven years ago maybe. And uh, I was, I got in touch with my partner, who's here, through a social messaging function. I knew her vaguely. and I ran into a friend in England during Christmas. And she said, "Do you remember Vicki?" And I said, "Yeah, what happened to her? She was in Poland. Have you got her phone number?" "Yes" I rang her up. Realized how expensive it was ...

Katie: \*giggles\*

P4: ... and she recommended Dadoo-dadoo. So we spent hours talking on instant messenger. Then I suggested Skype. So we spent hours talking on Skype. She suggested coming for holiday, and I never went back.

Katie: \*giggles\* Oh wow.

P4: Now that's the absolute truth, you know. Now social media, in terms of instant messaging, changed my life, that's for sure. Now, I'm not saying it wouldn't have

happened with just the telephone. But maybe I, it would have taken a lot longer, you know? And so, yeah. And I've made friends through Facebook who I honestly believe are real friends and am quite likely to um, meet in person. Um, for the first time *as a result of* Facebook. You know, there's a few people who I didn't, I mean - I do a little bit of painting and um, I've no idea how I'm on the same Facebook list as he is. But there's a guy who paints [unintelligible]? pictures for me, who I've become quite friendly with. Now we've never met, but he lives in Manchester and it's quite possible that on one of my trips to the UK, I'll actually drink with him. You know, so yes it does happen. There have been other places like this. People I knew very very slightly when I was in the UK um, I'm now much closer to.

Katie: Mmkay. Well, I have actually- oh, one other, one other question. You've said before about how the social media is especially good about raising awareness about issues in the Occupy Movement, um, do you think that it's uh, that role of social media and the perhaps, the reaction from the mainstream media has any effect on people who are Occupiers? Like the ...

P4: Uh. Yeah. I- \*pause\* If you increase knowledge and awareness via movements like Occupy, people perhaps get more critical of mainstream media.

Katie: Mm.

P4: Yeah, yeah. Does, is, is, is that the answer? Um, uh. People who implicitly trusted the local newspaper, you know, the daily newspaper or the BBC or you know, television channel um, start questioning it when they hear other opinions. And so, I think the Occupiers have the power to increase awareness generally. And um, maybe actually does influence the mainstream media ... in that they either close ranks, totally ignore it, or they start to realize that they need to do it. I mean, I've always read a UK newspaper called *The Guardian*, which is, it is still owned by one of the multimillionaire groups, but it's perhaps more liberal, more left-wing, slightly more honest usually than the others.

Katie: Mm.

P4: And that's got a free website, which is excellent. Better than the BBC, I have to say.

Katie: Ah.

P4: And I use that to keep in touch with what's generally happening in the world. Um, I don't speak enough Polish to use Polish television news or Polish newspapers yet. And so, I rely on that English newspaper's website for my outlook on the world. Um, and maybe it works both ways. So maybe the influence of people like me if I choose to write to those people or just, just through their data mining they realize where their readership is.

Katie: Mmm.

P4: What the issues are that their readers are interested in. Because you know, people who do this, who, who, who looked at this also might like is one of the web phrases, yes?

Katie: Yeah.

P4: When they mine your data to see which links you clicked on and they actually form a profile of you – it's all up to [unintelligible]?, there are no people involved – and, and so there's a profile somewhere for IP address whatever I am. Uh, which says he's interested in politics, he's interested in rock music, he's interested in um, environmental issues, you know.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: Point this stuff at him. Now maybe because I've clicked on all the political links, that will increase their political focus. Maybe

Katie: And how, well so how do you see that possible influence being connected to the Occupy Movement as an Occupier? Do you, the view of sort of this outside, of the mainstream media to people who say that they are Occupiers or are involved in something that's related to the Occupy?

P4: We all, oh, we all base ourselves is the wrong word. We all ground ourselves on um, public opinion. Now you may be opposed to it. But you're never unaware of it. Um, so if you um, if you are an Occupier, you are um, consciously or subconsciously looking for reaction from society. Otherwise you wouldn't be doing it. And so ...

Katie: Hm.

P4: ... the mainstream media and their opinions of you will influence how you behave. Whether it will make you more socially acceptable or less socially acceptable I don't know. But yes it will change your, you know. In the days when I was a hippy and I wore a white dress and went to pop concerts and worked as a roadie um, I was very conscious of the fact that my mother didn't like the fact of me going out of the house in a white dress. You know, even though in the sixties it was normal.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: Um, and so my ... position in society was, to some extent, controlled by you know the feedback I got. And I think that would apply to Occupiers. If they take up an issue that the public just don't like.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: Whatever that might be. Um, they'll realize that they're you know, fighting a losing battle. The number involved in it will be smaller. You know, you can't get away from public opinion and all that.

Katie: Mm. Do you think that it's, that that public opinion, they can experience it more,

less, or the same using social media because it's widespread, on a global scale? Do you think it's more of an influence, less, or not ... ?

P4: No, I think so, because if I post a comment on one of the Occupy sites.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: And somebody actually reads it, they're influenced. Whether they say, "That's a pile of shit, don't like it." Or whether they say, "Oh, never thought of that." You know?

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: Eh, nobody lives in isolation. We live in a world, and so there's always a, a response. And I mean maybe the people who take extremes views in their dress, in their behavior, if you like - and Occupy could be one aspect of that - uh, maybe they do it to *get* a reaction. So, the one thing they don't want is for nobody to react.

Katie: Yeah. \*pause\* Well, we've actually gone through my list of questions here, but if ...

P4: Oh

Katie: ... there's anything, anything that *you* would like to sort of, add on in relation to the people's feeling of identifying with the movement in this sort of, collective way as a group or about social media and its role in it?

P4: Ah, only if I can try to summarize what I think we've just talked about. Um, and say that people ... if people have a sense of injustice, then they look for an outlet for that sense of injustice. And groups like Occupy are a valued outlet where you can meet others with the same sense of injustice. And ... calibrate yourself in terms of "I'm not the only person who thinks like this. There are lots of us." So that would be, in one sense, very valuable, because sometimes I felt as though I was a lone voice in the wilderness, you know. I was the only person who ... didn't like what was happening. You know, in any situation, whether it was the coal miners' strike, Vietnam War, um the latest Afghan War, the Falklands War. Uh, you know I was involved in that. Um, protested against that. Um, you know, social media is a new pathway, a new, a new direction, a new way of spreading the word, if you like.

Katie: Mm.

P4: That's all. That's all.

Katie: Thank you so much.

P4: Can I ask you just one-? I mean you may not to record this, this has nothing to do with this. I'm just really nosy. Uh, I'm writing a book on this subject as you may have gathered.

Katie: Mmhmm.



P4: I started off by doing a doctorate myself.

Katie: Mm.

P4: Looking at people's use of social media, and particularly people's volunteering. Keep it simple. And so, I was interested in what makes people give up their time in a social group. Do you know the expression community of practice?

Katie: Yes, I do.

P4: Right well. I was particularly interested in studying communities of practice. Um, in social situations, and that's where my book is going. I just, I've done 21 of these interviews. And my mate is doing 10 in Poland. And that's going to be published hopefully at the end of the year. So, how did you get involved in this? What made you decide to pick this for your subject? Or were you just given it?

Katie: Ah. No, um, well I - during my undergraduate career, I was um, was very involved with different social justice movements, especially protesting the genocides in Darfur and working with that ...

P4: Oh. Yeah.

Katie: ... um, uh the also, the uh silent children about child soldiers.

P4: Oh yes. Yes.

Katie: Working with that, so being involved with that. And when I did my undergraduate, I was near San Francisco when they had days of silence and we were all across the Golden Gate Bridge and all of that. And I still maintained an interest in yeah, what causes people to come together. And there was a great feeling of solidarity in a lot of these movements, and I was wondering if that could still, could still be translated, that feeling of togetherness could still be translated over the Internet through things like Facebook. And um, I was introduced to different terms, like 'slacktivism', where if you click 'Like' then you don't feel like you have to do anything more, there's no other ...

P4: Yes. Yes, yes.

Katie: ... other contributions to it. So, I just sort of wanted to look a little bit ... deeper into how people, if people felt that same connection through these sites that are inherently as they are defined, social media is supposed to be making those connections. \*laughs\*

P4: Mmmm.

Katie: And so whether it actually was, was living up to its name, I guess. That social media was bringing people together in that way *for* causes in larger movements. That's sort of, how I got interested in.

P4: Right. Sounds very similar to me. Oh thanks.

Katie: Oh.

P4: Go on.

Katie: No, go ahead.

P4: I was just going to say if you want any, if you want to bounce any ideas off of me, you're welcome. You know, outside of this specific piece of research. I've obviously got um, a lot, an interest in the subject. I've got about a hundred textbooks of qualitative research.

Katie: Oh wow.

P4: And I was a university, so I didn't [unintelligible]. So I'm using an interpretive phenomenological analysis to analyze my studies. So if you want to share any ideas, knowledge, questions, feel free to you know e-mail or otherwise get in touch.

Katie: Okay, yeah. I, Yes, I definitely will. If there's anything, anything I see. I'm only doing my Master's so it's a little bit- but the topic is definitely a lot larger ...

P4: Yeh, well I did something similar for my MBA.

Katie: Mm.

P4: I did two theses, because of the way it worked. I did a diploma in Management and then I did an MBA. So I had to write two theses. And uh, they were vaguely related. One was um ... about introduction of new technology in the company that I worked in, but it was a very much qualitative piece of analysis.

Katie: Mm.

P4: You know, and so you know, as they say, that's how I got into it. And I, I, I left school at sixteen with no qualifications; I did an MBA at forty-five, which was my first university exposure ever. And started a PhD at fifty-five. You know, \*laughs\*

Katie: Yeah.

P4: Not because I needed it for a career, but just because I was interested.

Katie: \*sniff\* Oh no, oh no. That's great. At, at this point I'm a little tired of school just because I've been in it for so long.

P4: Yep. Yeah.

Katie: I may, I may go back. It's very encouraging to me. 'Cause everyone says that oh, once you stop you stop school, like you'll never go back. If you want your PhD, you have to do it now.

P4: Now that's rubbish. That's rubbish. Bollocks, total bollocks. Um no, it's not true. Um, it's never too late.

Katie: Mm.

P4: You know, you can um, you can start, I know people who have started in their 70s and 80s, you know?

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: It's never too late. If, if your life permits, you know whatever your life involves, if it permits, you can always go back and do something ---[unintelligible]--- Yes, things like children, you know, pensions or whatever get in the way.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: And, and also people have said to me that retirement, which I am approaching fast, is the perfect time to take up a new career.

Katie: Mm.

P4: You know, or a new interest, if you like. Um so, it doesn't matter. Just do what you want to do is the you know. You're never, you're never too old ...

Katie: Yeah.

P4: ... to study. As you say, I, I got my first ever qualification at the age of 42. You know.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: It's never too late.

Katie: I, I also want to congratulate you on, on attempting and succeeding I guess to a certain extent, learning Polish. Um, \*laughs\*

P4: \*laughs\* Yeah.

Katie: I hear that syntactically, grammatically, it is a very, very difficult language to learn. One of the hardest.

P4: People say it is the second most difficult in the world. And I suspect it might be true.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P4: I mean, there's something like 27 versions of Monday.

Katie: Yeah, I ...

P4: Nobody really knows why, but depending on whether you're saying- oh that's it, sugar is *succru* if you like it, and *succir* if you don't like it.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P4: *Ludum* means like. So *ludum succru* means "I like sugar" and *na ludum succir* means "I don't like sugar." I mean, what the hell's going on there?

Katie: Oh goodness.

P4: Do you have any native languages there or is it just English?

Katie: Uh, there's native Hawaiian ...

P4: Yeah?

Katie: ... here.

P4: You speak it?

Katie: I don't really speak it, no. I haven't, haven't learned it. But I do know several words and the grammatical structure actually. Because Hawaii is as it currently is, an island of immigrants. There's a been a steady stream of immigrants from all over coming through, so it has its own pidgin. Its own sort of creole.

P4: Right.

Katie: Language. And the way that the grammar of the, the sentence structure of the pidgin is the same grammar structure of the Hawaiian language.

P4: Right.

Katie: So that kind of works out well. That there was um, a cultural renaissance because there's a history of oppression here. And there was a cultural renaissance later bringing back hula, the dance ...

P4: Yes.

Katie: ... and trying to incorporate the language into everyday usage. Um.

P4: It sounds very much like Ireland actually.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: How many people in Hawaii? What's the population?

Katie: Um, I think, on the island of Oahu itself, we have a little over a million or so. And so-

P4: So not very much. Right okay. There are two million in the city of Leeds.

Katie: Ah, yeah, we're pretty small.

P4: Yeah no, but listen. [unintelligible]? Ireland is about five million. And Ireland had the same problem. Britain um, \*pause\* invaded Ireland in the 15th well, every century, but particularly in the 15th century. They tried genocide several times. This is not always put in the textbooks, but it is true. In the 1850s there was an artificial, created famine. And the Scots tried to actually exterminate the Irish, which is why so many of them moved to America. Um, several million died, and the Irish language and the Irish culture was very, very heavily suppressed. And then in the 1920s there was a revolution and the country had a renaissance. And *certainly* since the 1960s there's been a renaissance in Irish language, Irish music, Irish culture. So it sounds like there are many parallels.

Katie: Yeah, it sounds quite, um quite similar. Uh, how much government support is there for that? Of the Irish culture.

P4: Uh, quite a bit. It's, it's complicated, because Ireland is, Ireland is a divided country. There's the six counties, which is Northern Ireland, which is part of the UK, and then there's the other three-quarters of Ireland, which is based in Dublin, which is an independent country in the EU, just like Poland is. Um, and \*pause\* so it's quite a complicated situation. Certainly the Irish government has attracted a lot of EU money towards creating cultural festivals and cultural initiatives and uh, standards of the language and stuff like that. And the Northern Irish generally hate it and say, "We are a part of the UK." to a greater extent than the people of the UK do.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P4: Most English people don't care that they're English people. They're not patriotic. We don't fly flags; we don't, you know, do St. George's Day and St. Patrick's Day and all that crap.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: We're not interested. But the Northern Irish do. And it's quite embarrassing to us. You know, we should be more patriotic. Um so it's you know, it's very mixed. But there is certainly a renaissance there. Cultural centers, heritage centers, all over the [unintelligible] island, usually funded by EU grants. Um, and quite a few people got rich on money in their back pockets from the EU - the usual corruption stories apply.

Katie: Mmmm.

P4: But um, yeah there is quite a renaissance, certainly Irish music is um, But Irish music is very, very popular ... across Britain. In fact, even in Poland, um, you know, so there is a renaissance in the old style. Old style. You know, we're not experts on this. There is what's called the mountain culture here. We live in the Visgivi Mountains in the south of Poland. And there is actually a local culture. Em, of mountain men. A culture in this part of Poland. And that seems to be quite heavily promoted at the moment.

Katie: Oh.

P4: And when the Russians were you know- I mean, basically Britain sold out the Poles to the Russians after the Second World War. \*clears throat\* And um, the Russians were occupying Poland until the 1980s and then they, because of [unintelligible]? problems, they withdrew. And Poland has been independent for about 25 years roughly. And so, Poland is going through quite a bit of renaissance. And in the last ten years, as part of the EU, spending European money like there's no tomorrow, and one of the things it's spending it on is research in the culture, which possibly never actually existed.

Katie: Hmm.

P4: You know, but it's interesting.

Katie: Yeah, it's interesting that it's, that definitely goes along with the idea of identity issues and how do you. how do you see yourself, how does one see itself in that ...

P4: Yep.

Katie: ... revival of culture.

P4: Mmm, yeah. I mean, I've I was, I was, I was in the sixties, you know. I was a child of the universe, as we put it. So I never saw myself as a British nationalist. I saw myself as a human being. You know, something, a quite liberal human being.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: And \*sigh\* most people my generation are either, \*sigh\* either wish that Hitler *had* won the war or ...

Katie: Heh.

P4: You know, or take the view that I do that hey the world is too big for all this rubbish. You know, so uh, this cultural renaissance. I think it's happening worldwide actually. I think the standardization culture that Big Business wants is dying. You know, the McDonalds and the Microsoft culture, if you like is a bit 20th century. And I think that people are beginning to grow out of it.

Katie: Mm. That is something that I wonder about, that this sort of, being connected globally ...

P4: Yeah.

Katie: ... being able to see everyone else's different cultures. Whether that's reinforcing people's need to have their own, to have their own individual, local, cultural identity within this whole mix. Because they know so much about everyone else's.

P4: Yeah, that's right. I mean, \*pause\* yes, um. There is a local- I think there is a localism issue somewhere amongst all those. We want *our* local you know, em, we don't want to just be part of the global world. Yes, we do want to be involved with the global world, but we want our own values.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: Our own little bit of life. You know, we want our own um identities, if you like.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: And you know, I now, I start to think of myself as Polish. I'm not sure the Poles do, especially when they hear my accent. But you know, I love the community here. I love the life here; I love the culture here; I've adopted it. And like most outsiders, I've probably gone overboard, you know, in the way that we've adopted it. But you know, we go to the folk music conventions and festivals and shows and you know um.

Probably more than the locals do.

Katie: Heh, yeah.

P4: But we see ourselves as part of the you know Bioskelaa community.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: You know that's, that's, and that's quite important to us. And certainly I've heard similar expressions in rural village areas in Britain, but not in the big cities. You know, in the big cities you're just totally anonymous, totally amorphous. But uh, you know uh, it was only a joke, but where I used to live, people talked about Independence for Patsy. And Patsy was a suburb of Leeds.

Katie: Hah.

P4: You know, with our twenty thousand people.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: And there was actually a movement for independence in Patsy.

Katie: Hah.

P4: And it was only a joke ...

Katie: Yeah.

P4: ... [unintelligible] or whatever. But maybe there was some truth in it, you know.

Katie: Mm.

P4: So, uh, okay. \*clears throat\*

Katie: Yeah.

P4: If that's everything, what time is it there?

Katie: It's almost 10 o'clock in the morning.

P4: Oh right. Well good morning. Right well it's, we're halfway around the world then, because it's almost 10 o'clock at night here.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: It's bedtime. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\* Sounds like ...

P4: That's another cultural difference. Um, in England, people work from nine 'til five; here, they work seven 'til three.

Katie: Oh!

P4: Yeah, yeah. We notice the difference. Um, a lot of people start work at seven am, local time, and most people don't have a lunch break and finish at three.

Katie: Oh that's-

P4: Yeah, and that's the culture.

Katie: Yeah, a different way to live.

P4: Oh, well I don't know what it's like in Hawaii, but certainly in England it was nine 'til five. Or 'til half-five with an hour for lunch.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P4: I'm assuming there's lunchtime. Finish work at half-five or six o'clock. Um but here, it's seven 'til three, so it's a fairly different culture.

Katie: Yeah, that's very interesting. We actually have sort of a rolling start for times. People will wake up very early, and actually do that seven to three or six to two um, sort of thing, but it will go until ten or eleven. Our rush hour is very long. \*laughs\*

P4: Right, okay. Yeah. Flexi-time took off in Britain in the 80s. Um, and I worked for Yorkshire Water, the water utility, for thirty years. And they introduced flexi-time for everybody in the 1980s. It was great, because you could start any time between half-seven and ten in the morning. And finishing time from about four to six, seven at night.

Katie: Yeah.

P4: And that was great, because if you had child care issues, family issues ...

Katie: Yeah, that.

P4: ... you know, I used to take the kids to school and then cycle to work.

Katie: Mm.

P4: Uh, you know, so I worked quite late, and that suited me fine. But, others would begin at half-past seven in the morning, and were ready to go home when it was my lunchtime.

Katie: Yeah, well it's- a lot of the people, those who start around the ten o'clock time, usually it's because they're out early surfing.

P4: Oh right.

Katie: You get the best waves in the morning. \*laughs\*

P4: Right well, that's certainly something I've never tried, because the, it's, it's a thousand miles to the sea here.

Katie: Yeah, that would be \*laughs\* quite a long travel just for that in the morning.

P4: And in the UK, you'd freeze to death if you went surfing. I mean yes, people do do it. But only only in wetsuits.

Katie: Yeah.



P4: And probably after a couple of bottles of whiskey.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P4: Um, you know so it's, it's really a different world, you know.

Katie: Yeah, entirely.

P4: Well here, you get skiing, of course.

Katie: Oh. Yeah. There's no skiing here.

P4: Everybody skis. Um, you know, but this year we didn't have any snow, which is something to do with global warming, because it's the first time it's *ever* happened.

Katie: Oh wow.

P4: Yes, there've been- I mean, I used to work for the water company with environmental scientists and things. Um, and uh, uh, \*pause\* fifteen of the most extreme years on record have happened in the last twenty years.

Katie: Huh.

P4: You know, that's the driest, wettest, warmest, coldest, snowiest, whatever ...

Katie: Yeah.

P4: ... in the last twenty years, we've had fifteen of the extremes and the records started in Britain in about sixteen hundred. We're talking about over a four hundred year period; fifteen of the records have happened in the last twenty years. So don't tell me there's no such thing as global warming.

Katie: Yes, that's absolutely ridiculous. We're very connected with environmental issues here. It's something that's very very important on our public radar. Um, in Hawaii, so that just makes me feel horrible. \*laughs\*

P4: Right, well I'll leave you to it.

Katie: Yes, well thank you.

P4: I'll send you an e-mail with these various uh, links that I can find. I'll do it tomorrow, tomorrow will work better.

Katie: Yeah yeah yeah. Absolutely. Thank you very much.

P4: [unintelligible]

Katie: Have a good night.

P4: Okay. All the best.

Katie: You too.

P4: Dosvedanya.

## Appendix F

### Interview with Participant 5

P5: In Chicago we have a lot of neighborhood Occupys as well as the large local one. Um, so I've managed to go to a few different ones.

Katie: Yeah, so what drew you into, what drew *you* into Occupy?

P5: Um, \*pause\* \*laughs\* Waiting my whole life for something to kick the government's ass. Um, I've always felt like I was somehow this child of the sixties that wasn't born in the sixties. Um, my brother started uh protesting when I was young. Like he was- my brother's six years older than I am- and he was a Junior in high school, set up a sit-in at his high school, because there was the senior center. The senior center was where all the seniors went to eat lunch. And if you weren't a senior, you weren't allowed in. And all his friends were seniors. So he wasn't allowed to go and have like, lunch with his friends.

Katie: I see.

P5: And uh, so he ended up getting the senior center shut down. But uh, was uh, not expelled but uh, suspended for a very very short while.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P5: And you know principal called my mom, and tells her what's going on. Yep, he knew what the consequences were, do what you need to do. \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

p5: He knew it going in. He'd had the conversations. ...

Katie: Yeah.

P5: ... Um, you know so I think there was already influence. You know, our parents, uh very socially liberal. I didn't even realize they were actually Republicans; didn't find out they were Republicans until like I had, God, like in 2000.

Katie: Wow.

P5: Because like, the social stuff was always more important thing. Um, and then my brother and I were talking and like, "what are you talking about?" "Yeah, Dad worked for Dixon (Nixon?). Didn't you know?" And I'm like, "No." \*laughs\* Like, "what?" Doing campaign stuff. And and you know, when I confronted my parents. It's like, "you know, when you reach a certain amount of money-" Uh uh. Uh uh. That's not what you taught us. \*laughs\* But my Dad was also military background, so there was a lot of that from him. Um, although before he died, he did vote for Obama. So we at least gotten him pushed that far. And I had worked on Obama's first campaign and all of that. But then Occupy started, and he began to be just like every other bullshit president out there. And so now I'm like screw all that, so. You know, I'm way further past that line, but uh,

yeah. We always, we always had a a little, little bit of civil disobedience in us, raised in us.

Katie: Why Occupy? Rather than I don't know, any- there seem to be some many other individual causes, groups that are coming together. What-?

P5: I was involved with um, the single payer health care movement uh, previous to Occupy. Um, I was working for a nurse's union that did lobbyist work. Whatnot, like during the DNC convention, all of that. Um, like true single payer healthcare, not the Obamacare that's not completely, nothing but a novelty for insurance companies and it's, I mean the only good thing about it is not being denied based on pre-existing conditions. But everything else in it is absolutely horrible. Um, so I was already you know up on that. Um, I'm queer, so GLBT issues are always there. Um, you know, and I've done online petitions and some online stuff. Um, but Occupy had just got a time, and I felt an energy. And you know, it was one of those where I hadn't even heard about OWS until pepper spray incident with the two gals that had gotten corralled.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: One of them was blind. Um and I was just like, "What the hell is going on?! Like this is just, what is this? When did this start? How did I not know about this?" And that was like the very, very first day or two that Occupy Chicago started up. And um, uh Day 4 of Occupy Chicago and I'm on the computer with my friend. And I'm like, "Hey, did you hear about this?" And he's like, "Yeah, did *you* hear about this? Yeah, you wanna go down and take them supplies." And I'm like, "Yeah, absolutely." So um, we gathered everything up from our houses that we could donate: bedding, [unintelligible], that type of thing. We went over and bought a ton of food. I grabbed a bunch of gum and candy from um, Wrigley Gum, which is where I was working from at that point. Um, umbrella hats and stuff 'cause it was raining for like a week in Chicago. And I came back the next day, um, on Day 5 and went to my first General Assembly. And on day 3 when we were handing out stuff, we had like um, string cheese, and I had uh, some kind of candy stuff, and like protein, sugar, protein, sugar, what do you need? And um, so my first General Assembly, I went to say something. I went to introduce myself, and um was told that no, my name is not Kathy, it's Sugar. And so I've gone by Sugar in an activist sense ever since.

Katie: Ah.

P5: Um, and immediately I jumped in and contacted whoever was running Facebook 'cause they were doing a crap job.

Katie: Hahaha.

P5: Look, I know you don't know me from Adam. Yeah this was the night of Day 4, so this was before I even hit my first General Assembly. I'm like, "Hey, I'm really good at this, and I can help do this. So, by the time I went to the GA, I had already been handed

over the Facebook. Um, I woke up the morning after the GA, 'cause I got handed you know, a phone number that needed to call after that GA to be able to help with the social media stuff. The next morning she had e-mailed me, and she was the liaison for New York, had e-mailed me a list of numbers of the core organizers at OWS. Like, very very fast.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: And then it was, okay, how do we put a structure? How do we work committees? How do we, you know, build all this stuff? So I wasn't only do social media, and I didn't actually stay on social media all that long. Um, I shifted over to focusing a lot onto direct actions. Um, I think it's where, where a lot of my focus was. Though I was doing it for a long time ...

Katie: Mm.

P5: ... was also really happy to do press. So I was doing media releases, um, learning how to do interviews. I was doing tv interviews, radio interviews, [airplane sounds: unintelligible] interview, radio shows on CBC, to you know, where I was running a pretty full gamut of as far as media. And not only there but out here.

Katie: Okay.

P5: And then also I got involved with uh, the medics. Chicago Action Medical Help, done their training. Um, and I'm like yes, I'm going. And uh, immediately rolled into that, and started doing that all the time. Um, stopped working on press. The mental health movement in Chicago had started, which was a side thing in Occupy, but was very supportive of, brought a lot of people to. 'Cause Rahm Emmanuel who used to be Obama's Chief of Staff ...

Katie: Yep.

P5: ... who is an evil evil evil evil bastard. Uh, came into Chicago, became Mayor, and like it was anti-protest laws, there was shutting down half the mental health clinics and there were only twelve in the city to begin with. Uh, the city has a higher population than this entire island, um, which is where the mental health movement kicked off. I mean, there was a lot of cutting out funds, so they can, of other stuff, so they can host the G8 and NATO in Chicago, which was supposed to be happening, happening simultaneously. Eventually, G8 got moved up to uh, uh Camp David, because we were kinda kicking their asses all over the place. And Obama had a little bit of a brainstorm: "Hmmm, maybe we don't need two high security events going on at the same time in Chicago, because mmm." So uh, you know we then focused in on NATO, but um mental health movement was the actual only encampment that survived in Chicago. Um, my first arrest in Chicago was trying to set up an encampment in Grant Park. Um, which I knew was not going to work, and that it was going to be a PR thing. \*laughs\* I said that in our meeting, and it got totally like no, no we're good. And like \*laughs\*

there's no way. There's no way. And it didn't happen. And there was a big, beautiful arrest of um, over three hundred people between two actions that were uh, taking over Grant Park. Um, and it was epic and awesome and empowering. And we had you know, thousands of people down there during those actions. And um, tons of groups from all over. Um, [unintelligible] Do you care if I smoke?

Katie: No, go ahead.

P5: Ah, yeah So the medic stuff came over, the press stuff came over, the encampment skills came over, um it was nice to start living in a tent that was not in forty, fifty degree weather. Um, ...

Katie: Yeah.

P5: ... not having to worry about everyone freezing and hypothermia and making sure they have like appropriate insulation on the ground and in the tents and you know all of that. But um, it was definitely a different culture here, then what the Occupy culture was on the mainland. And that took me a while to adjust to.

Katie: What have you noticed as far as differences go?

P5: Um, \*pause\* deOccupify Honolulu had, has like a lot of police irritation.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: Um, Chicago wasn't getting the level of violence that like Oakland was, or New York was. But there were certainly people getting their head smashed up against the wall by cops and um, there was a higher intensity, for sure. Um we had police liaisons that worked directly with the police department that were members of Occupy Chicago. Try to like coordinate stuff so we could have you know, big actions. All of that with limited enforcement. But like, you know there was definitely a much more violent response from the police on the mainland, in Chicago, then like here.

Katie: Mm.

P5: Not that I haven't seen some shit here, 'cause I've seen some shit here. Because of that difference, there wasn't so much of a anti-police mentality here.

Katie: Mm.

P5: And I'm very much in that fuck the cops, fuck the police I'll take you like category of things. Um, you know because I've seen what I've seen, and been part of what I've been a part of. And like, um whatnot. And uh, after the NATO protests um, which were incredibly violent, um, and brutal, um, where I was a medic and running the dispatch. And leaving dispatch to go pick up concussion patients and had a cop slam my hand in the doors to prevent me from getting concussion patients out of there. And bloody eyeballs and almost every single person you know that came out of jail was treated for head injuries. You know, [unintelligible]? jail support and stuff totally messed me up. Major PTSD, still struggling with it. So when I came here, I was completely like wiggling

out already. And then you know, of course on the streets we were doing actions. There was one action um, that I started doing it. I started working with Local 5 when I came here, and that was something I had set up beforehand. And um, ended up doing an internship, and then the position that I was going to be hired for ended up being eliminated.

Katie: Mmm.

P5: So that obviously didn't end up working out. ...

Katie: Yeah.

P5: ... But um, there was a day, and they had started to do an action at the police station 'cause there was another raid. And we were demanding that the heads of Housing uh Trish Morikawa, and the head of DFM, [unintelligible]. both of them have lost their jobs since, but um, Wes, Wesley Chung. We were demanding their arrests for theft. And my friend Andy, who is also from Chicago, he came with me - he came a little early; his mother was out here - um, earlier than I did. Uh. Set up you know a stage to sit in in the metal detector leading into the police station. And right at the tail of my day at work, and I was watching via livestream. Working and then had gone, one of the cops had gone through the metal detector and shoved his head up against the wall, and that like totally triggered me...

Katie: Mmm.

P5: ... I got out of work, and I went over there. And I was literally like, "Aaaaaah!" Just ragin'. Um, completely ragin' at a level that was like, "Oh, I can see how in Chicago that may make sense, but not here." Yeah, um just a very different mentality, a very different uh laid-back, Hawaii-style you know thing. Uh, I was used to very intense people. Um, wanting to do and having the drive to do very intense things, and weren't afraid of arrests and uh, it was just a different drive. So it took me a long time to adjust to that. Um, then I focused in on housing rights and uh, and now am at the point where I have two Federal law suits against the city. Um, I've got summary judgement coming up on the first one. Uh, which isn't going to lead anywhere. We're going to end up going into court, jury trial. Uh for that one. Uh, I think it's in September; I can't remember. Um, but yeah, we've, we've rushed that through. And you know we're fighting two different ones that allow the city to uh, steal from the houseless. As the Mayor says, "compassionate displacement". We're going to steal all your stuff from you, your kids, everything you have to force you into shelters that a) really suck, and b) that have wait lists. It's not a feasible thing, but it's all about image. Um, ironically, the houseless issue wasn't so visible until the first bill that we're suing on in conjunction with closing the parks happened.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: And that was all leading up to uh, APEC, which happened before I came here. They

pushed people up from the parks out to the sidewalks, which then - and they did that purposely to build support for the new bill.

Katie: Mm.

P5: You know, 'cause it suddenly becomes like a huge issue that wasn't there before that people didn't see and obviously we need to come cracking down, because the you know - let's create a problem, so we can come in with the solution. Um, which is all politically driven.

Katie: Mm.

P5: \*laughs\* That was a lot of information, right there.

Katie: No, no, no, it's cool. Um, so I'm wondering if all of these political sort of, this political action that you're a part of and the causes that you support, would you consider yourself, would you label yourself as "an Occupier" ...

P5: Oh yeah! I am definitely a member of the larger Occupy Movement as well as deOccupy Honolulu. I also consider myself an activist in general, and specifically a houseless rights activist. {2;11:17}

Katie: And is it because of, do you identify with the Occupy Movement because you were part of the, the, the encampments, because your friends are a part of it, like the group-?

P5: I, uh, \*pause\* the money and politics and the things that Occupy was really founded on I fully supported. Um, at that point, I was into true Democracy and uh, as far- well not even true Democracy, true representation, um, that didn't have that financial influence. Um, I had so many friends affected by the economy; I had been affected by the economy. Um all of that was very straight-forward and clear to me. The fact that Occupy was very open and was about generating discussions of "Okay, this is the problem; here are the consequences that have come because of it; here are all the problems because of it." Um, I was involved in the healthcare, with the healthcare issue stuff. Um no, I definitely was an Occupier. Um, and still am. Um, 'cause it's about that ideology, for me. Um, you know, I also consider myself an anarchist. Which didn't happen until NATO. But once NATO happened, it was like ... yeah. \*laughs\* It was done. I was done. Um, you know my mom is sitting here telling me that she'd write letters to Obama talking about, uh, NATO, because, she says, "I'm sure he doesn't know." \*laughs\* I laugh and I'm like, "Mom, he was the one who ordered it." \*laughs\* Like, even my mother who is fairly aware was that ignorant and blind. And seeing how the media coverage was throughout all this was a really big influence to me too. Um, with that, definitely a big part of this concept you know, so much of the system is blind. Um, the media should be a completely separate entity, and it hasn't been for quite some time. And um, have brutal protests coming down and saying nothing on a national level. And on the local level, it was like "Praise the cops" and it's like ... We had people

being followed like crazy. They framed up kids I knew from the mental health movement, um, charged them with terrorism. Charges which ultimately ended up them not being found guilty on. Uh, you know informants at the mental health movement encampment that I knew one of them; I treated handcuff injuries on, which makes me sick. Um, it was, it was very very close to home. And being able to see what was really going on versus what was being publicized and the enormous discrepancy. Um, yeah. \*laughs\*

Katie: There's a misrepresentation of the-

P5: Completely, completely. Completely. Um, it was, like I totally don't do propaganda. I don't read propaganda. Like I don't watch the news. I may catch the headlines if there's some kind of national or international, you know, national disaster or something.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: But, but like I don't participate in filling my brain with propaganda either, because regardless of what is reported on and no matter how liberal you know, left wing that news media site is. I was even having problems with like NPR ...

Katie: Mm.

P5: ... in our coverage. And huge, huge discrepancies there. Man, it's so bad, it doesn't matter. And anything that's being fed to us is crap. You know, I can't trust any of it. I will create, I will work on propagating and having issues be forefront, and try to get you know the media cycles up to it. And I'm fairly successful at that, but \*laughs\* like I don't ...

Katie: So where do you, where do you get your news from? Where do you find out?

P5: Um. \*pause\* I don't. Um. You know, I'll hop on- like I said, I'll grab CNN headlines or I'll flip on Huffington Post or Al Jazeera, um, BBC on occasion. Um, to kinda get the main headlines or something that gets emailed to me, or if I see it on Facebook I might, you know, dig into it.

Katie: Uh huh.

P5: But at this point, I'm completely disconnected from all of it. 'Cause it's just so untrustworthy that I was already disconnected from it I just didn't know it.

Katie: So like, unless, unless a friend tells you, "Here's something. Oh, check this out. I saw this. ...

P5: Yeah..

Katie: ... online." Okay. Got it.

P5: And most of the stuff that gets sent to me is like you know - one of my friends emailed me a couple of days ago that a case had been shown that the cops had shot a



mentally-ill houseless woman in the stomach five years ago. And there was never a – so you know, I'll get, most of the ones that I get deal with the houseless fight, so.

Katie: Mmhmmm.

P5: Even that's barely dovetailed into limited–

Katie: Yeah. Yeah. Okay. Um, so do you– but you mentioned using Facebook to find articles. Do you use Facebook pretty frequently? Are you like a Twitter fiend? Or– do you go on there?

P5: It's all tools to me.

Katie: Mm.

P5: Um, you know I started back on MySpace when I was – and uh, Friendster when I was producing burlesque fundraising shows in Chicago. Then when I got involved in Occupy, it became a tool for that. Um, when I moved out here, I've used it more to you know, reach out to people back in Chicago or out in New York. But, um, right now, I actually have my profile off.

Katie: Mm.

P5: Because I'm doing major job-hunting. And like you know, kinda need to know. You know, I talk about obviously the skillsets that I've developed and learned. Um, you know working with media, you know, working with community organizations, but I don't necessarily advertise that it was with deOccupy. Because people already have such a predisposition, I focus on the job and my skillsets not about the politics. Um, yeah so my Facebook page is off. So I'm even more kind of in the, in the dark as far as all of that. Like I said, I was already in the dark; I just didn't know it.

Katie: When you say you use it as a tool, a tool to do what? Is it people-connecting, is it information sharing, is it –

P5: Uh, getting information out about events. Um, I uh, and stuff on the lawsuits, any kind of press release that gets developed gets put up there. Pieces that have come from that, interviews that have come from that. Um, it's a propagation tool.

Katie: Mm.

P5: Propaganda, propaganda, propaganda.

Katie: You see it coming from you, rather than using it to bring stuff back to yourself.

P5: Yeah. Yeah. Um, and I've always kind of used it in that regard. I mean, you know obviously, you know, I was [unintelligible] burlesque shows and stuff going on. I would have that stuff going on because they were my friends. [2;03:24]

Katie: Yeah.

P5: But, I knew they were going on, because they were my friends. And I was either

involved with the show, stage handing or you know. So I would already have that info anyway.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: But yeah, I've always used it as a tool to promote whatever it is that I'm involved in.

Katie: You have a favorite social media thing? Is it mostly Facebook or is it all across? Do you use YouTube and Tumblr? ...

P5: Um!

Katie: ... Instagram?

P5: I haven't done Instagram at all. It seems to be a social media thing that's kind of developed, um, a little bit later on as far as my main use of those tools. I guess I started off with Friendster. Like back in, you know, 2005 when I was starting burlesque and I went into MySpace and I went into Facebook. Um, and Twitter and that's about where my interest kind of ended. Um, after I moved here from [unintelligible] I just didn't get into it, you know? It wasn't as much event-focused and you know, propagating. So it wasn't necessarily a tool that worked well for what I was doing. Yeah \*laughs\*

Katie: But YouTube and the video, Vimeo, that kind of thing, uh, not really?

P5: Um, no. All of the videos that I have personally done have been uh, raid videos that have been for evidence collection for law suits since the day I arrived. Way before we even got [unintelligible] But we also have somebody in deOccupy who does do that. He edits, you know, yeah.

Wang [unintelligible] Media is the name of the group. And so we had somebody doing that already. And that's how we use that. So, you if you do a search for cop officer you'll see Officer Olbida (*sp?*) And it was a whole scene and like, it started off originally with me filming on my phone and then like, I handed my phone to Noah, and he hit something and it stopped recording. Which was bad timing, because that was about the time that I handed it to Mike and headed to my friend's truck because he was going to be arrested. Um, and totally because he didn't take care of warrants that he should have taken care of. Like you know, he had gone in no parking zones. So like it was on him. It wasn't protest-related. Though, you know, it's targeting very much. They like to send in Noali'i, their bulldog, with us. And um, whatnot. But I went into the trunk and they proceeded to order the tow truck to take the car and have the trunk slam down on my head. And that didn't get on film because Nova pressed the wrong thing, so I couldn't pull it out of the originals, because that didn't end up getting recorded. Then we went directly to the police station to file a report. Um, then we asked for the sergeant on duty. And I was in the back of an ambulance, and uh, getting my head checked out. And one of the black SUV comes up and one of the cops is like, "Oh, here's the sergeant now."

And out comes Olbida and starts going off on me, coming at me while I'm in the ambulance. Um, the EMTs had to ask him to step away and shut the doors and then talked about how they've seen him be crazy before. They were really like, like and my blood pressure was going up, everything was getting unstable as far as my condition, so they wanted to get me into a stable, y'know, safe environment 'cause I was the only one who had been slammed on the head.

Yeah.

Um, but that's about the time that Nova got his camera up and running 'cause we were still [unintelligible] We didn't have our stuff, right? And then he started going after Nova in the same manner and Nova's backing away, and the cops are having to push Olbida back. And he chased him most of the way down the hall. Um so, if you look up if there's a cop that's got a court hearing hanging over their heads, um,

\*laughs\* His ex-wife, who moved to the mainland because of domestic violence and she's terrified of him, has um, been spreading it even. Y'know, I obviously connected that up to y'know, my contacts in New York and Chicago and that spread out pretty good.

There was another video that came out after that. One of my lawyers, Brian, was uh, down signing paperwork. It was an Art After Dark night for the Academy.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: He was going on a date over there, and he had come by the encampment so I could sign the contracts for the [unintelligible]? And they had done a bunch of raids that week. under the new ordinance. And we had already figured out how to work within that, and that had really pissed off the City, when you figure our how to work within their own laws.

Katie: Uh huh.

P5: Um, so Olbida was sent over, and he pulls up onto the sidewalk, and blocks both sidewalks, y'know 'cause they're across the street. And then he starts going after uh Princess, another dog that we had down there, with Harry, who was the 70-year-old-the 72-year-old guy that was staying with us. And I'd worked 8 months before we got him into housing. And the only reason we got him into housing was because we got a meeting with Senator Oakland Chun, who controls the money at IHS. Um, suddenly he was taken care of. But it took 8 months of hitting my head against walls, trying to get this guy safe. And um, the police know you don't mess with Harry, and when you mess with Harry, it's going to send me off. 'Cause I am Mama Bear, big-time Mama Bear. And so, I'm sitting here talking with my lawyer, his girlfriend had just shown up, y'know, we're sitting and chilling for a couple of minutes before they're going off to their date, and suddenly here's this cop rolling up and targeting Harry and harassing him. And they're confusing him the whole entire time.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Very quickly into this incident, Olbida came up and physically assaulted Brian. Not- He just thought he was another dirty hippie.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Brian's a younger lawyer. He's, I think, a year younger than I am. Um, so \*laughs\* it, it, it was just bad. Heheh. I had the perfect video view of it. Where y'know, Brian was here facing this way, Olbida was here facing this way, and I was here facing here. And as he pulled, y'know came up on him, you could see the chest bump twice go out. And it was clear as day.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: There was also a kick in there that didn't get in 'cause it was lower down. But Brian had a huge bruise on his shin from that for like, two weeks. Um, and Brian y'know, was like, and we were y'know stop y'know, assaulting this guy. And Brian was like, "Yeah, I'm an attorney." And Olbida was like, "\*whispers\* Oh shit. \*louder\* Uh huh." \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

P5: But it was a show. It was all about these [unintelligible] work. They wanted to put on a show at the height of the beginning of Art After Dark. Um, they stuck around until basically everyone had gone into the event. Um, obviously there is this guy who just assaulted a lawyer. They weren't going to be arresting anybody or fining anybody or ticketing anybody.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, \*laughs\* my public defender, um because I'm part of the chain gang action, um if you caught any of that.

Katie: No.

P5: Yeah, we locked ourselves in a tent, got charged with obstruction of government operations. I got sentenced to uh, 60 days, got the sentence to 45, we got bail immediately. So I only served, like the next day we got out.

Katie: Mmm.

P5: So I'd served a couple of days from the original arrest, and um, then the one day, one overnight. But uh, she had even gotten a call from one of her friends who was down at Art After Dark. So I got a call from her the next day going, "Are you okay? Can I help any?" So, that was the concept, that was the plan. That was the key arse tactic implemented with the police, as the y'know tactic and bringing in the bull dog. And he was the highest y'know ranking on site.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: I'm yelling and screaming in their faces. And uh, Brian's kinda like doing the less intense thing. And his girlfriend is going like way, way less intense. And we were all just kinda – y'know I just kinda looked at the cop roll that was going on. And he at some point couldn't even keep a straight face, 'cause we're just winding him up. And he knew that it was all shit. We all knew it was bullshit.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: We all knew what it was about. And it wasn't about justice. It wasn't about helping anybody. It was about creating a scene, which then spread out. You know? But \*laughs\* also, then there's the whole lawyer bit with the original filing that we had done from the car incident where my head got hit.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Investigation, video footage, the whole thing submitted, on top of our lawyers sending him a letter to his superior at the police basically a letter saying, "I know I've got up to a year to file. Basically, leave my clients alone and I won't file. You know? But if you don't back off my clients, then y'know, yeah we're going to take this all the way." But between those things, um, Olbida finally got demoted and he was suspended for – oh shit, I can't remember – it was a couple days. It wasn't long. Um, so poor little Sergeant Olbida is no longer a sergeant and doesn't have a shiny SUV.

Katie: Oh.

P5: Darn. \*laughs\* Um, yeah so the police action is just, it's different here. But it's all propaganda. Even down to harassing a 72-year-old that–

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Yeah, they had him going all over the place. Telling him that they were going to arrest him, telling him that he had warrants out. It was going back and forth between Brian and the police and our group to Harry and all the other police sitting there telling him– He thought he was in the middle of a raid. Y'know he had dementia. He has dementia. Middle of the day, he thought a raid was going on. So he was trying to pull the tents down. Like, no Harry, just go sit. And like but he was in crisis mode, and he was being told by the police that he was doing wrong, and he wasn't. And trying to make him do things in order to create the chaos.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Yeah. a lot of respect for the police I've got.

Katie: Yeah, yeah. Oh dear.

P5: Yeah, as far as the YouTube stuff, the social media, that's done a lot with Doug. Um, but if you look it up, he's our popular connection with the videos. And he's been kind of our archive person. Like he gets all the copies of the raid videos. Like all of the things get over to him. He'll edit together stuff when necessary. Uh stuff. We also have people

who work over at 'Olelo. Um, so we now have a deOccupy show that started up on May 5.

Katie: Oh.

P5: That's hopefully broadcast. In addition with that, for a very long time, I think he still does a little bit. But when there was empty air time on 'Olelo, they were playing raid videos. So like, we had pretty good connections in a bunch of different video aspects as far as promoting, social media goes.

Katie: Very cool.

P5: Can I take that on? \*laughs\* So-

Katie: I was wondering, how do, what- so you use social media as a tool. It's very much propaganda, getting the information out there, getting news out there. But for the Occupy Movement as a whole, have you seen it? What is the role of social media?

P5: It's been pretty huge. Um, and the fact that um, all of Occupy has been utilizing social media, particularly Facebook. Um, as ways to get out information. And not only of the stuff we're doing, but also like under ground independent reporting on real issues, stuff that's really going down, and not that propaganda fluff, crap. Has been really helpful in getting that information spread. Y'know I'll have friends in New York that will post something and I'll pick it up or Chicago will pick it up. And y'know it spreads out. And my brother's out in Albany, y'know, was pepper sprayed out there and still is involved in Occupy although without the name. Uh with the encampment stuff out there. It's been highly effective. I think it's been crucial. Um, what's funny is at the beginning part of Occupy Chicago, they weren't paying any attention to it whatsoever.

Katie: Oh yeah?

P5: The city. Yeah, no. When we did our first action to take over Grant Park, we were going to do an encampment there. We had it set up at a time when basically everyone was going to be getting off work and we had a rally set up. And like, it was all promoted. I mean, everybody knew we were taking over Grant Park. Though it wasn't hitting.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: They had the same number of cops out at Jackson LaSalle um, which was in front of the Federal Reserve and the Travel Mercantile Exchange, and Bank of America corporate office. This T-intersection, and that was our headquarters.

Katie: Oh.

P5: And we had people that were spending the night, and hanging out until it got too cold.

Katie: Ah.

P5: And then we had, been working with a church close by that was letting houseless stay and store stuff there and whatever. So we had been promoting this.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: And they didn't have any extra cops ready for it, nothing. And suddenly there's this swarm. We went from our normal numbers to about 3000 people in like the matter of a half-hour.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: And then we started marching and they had to stop us. Like we had gone, like here's the intersection, we had gone one block and they stopped us and waited until they could call, and pull people in off-duty to cover what was going on. And then we got to Grant Park, and they still didn't realize that this wasn't anything but a big march. \*coughs\* And we saw the cops outside, like on Michigan Avenue, talking and paying no attention. And we're sitting there, putting up tents in the middle of the big crowd. So like, tents are just slowly popping up, and like it took awhile for the police to realize that that was going on. And they were so unprepared. Like, when I got arrested, most of the people got arrested, we weren't taken down in the wagons. We were taken down in buses, local CT buses. Chicago Transit Authority buses.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, so. They were just completely unprepared. The poor people. The cops that came on shift during that. Like there was the original rent-a-cops that arrested us, and then I think, the last- I was one of the last ones. I ended up calling the time based on the bus as to when the last person was removed from Grant Park. Um, \*laughs\* but like these people, like came on to do their shift in the morning and suddenly had undress of people to process. And they were not so happy.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P5: Uh, in the jail cell I was in, um, they were really trying to have people engaged, and everyone was laughing, sharing stories, what brought them, and their experiences. Um, I was getting the police that were processing us, that were really pissed, I was getting them to laugh. And the woman who was assigned to scheduling the court dates gave me an afternoon court date. I was the only one in the afternoon, so nobody from the city showed up. So the charges got dismissed. Which I really think was on purpose. I think that she gave me a ...

Katie: So you think that you were uh, -

P5: ... a pass. An uh, then in Chicago, even though it's dismissed they can try to charge you again.

Katie: Oh.

P5: Um, so I got brought in and charged again. So, apparently they set out something like a date, and didn't actually send it to me. So there wasn't any notice until they realized that it wasn't sent out, so they had to set out another date. And then when we got there again, nobody from the city showed up, so it got dismissed with prejudice, which means that they couldn't bring it up again. And I was the first case to have been dismissed. Um, I think there ended up being maybe 6 or 7 within the first two major arrests of 300+ people entered. There were 26? Man, I used to have these numbers off the top of my head. It's been so long. \*laughs\*

Katie: And all of that had been organized on Facebook, promoted on Facebook? Like people were making pages. "Hey guys, we're inviting you to this event: March on Grant Park"

P5: Yeah, Mmhmm. They were clueless. And that's when they figured it out. "Oh, we need to actually start paying attention." And so, we wouldn't, they,- we knew they were watching. A) we had the police liaisons with them, but also on the days when we had heavier things going on there was a bigger police presence.

Katie: Mm.

P5: So they had finally clued in, but it took the first round of arrests where we just caught them so off-guard. But it wasn't off-guard, because we kept it quiet. It was off-guard because they were being stupid. They just weren't watching the social media bit.

Katie: Mmhmm. And do you ever use it to make new connections? Like, do you find people who are part of Occupy? Or is it-

P5: Um, I did it a lot in the beginning of Occupy. Um, \*pause\* and especially as NATO was ramping up and the mental health movement, 'cause we had a lot of people coming in ...

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: ... from out of state. We had big nationalist's unions, we had big buses to transport people across country, y'know from the NATO protests. Um, and so I was getting a lot of contacts from that, people that were reaching out to me. I wasn't necessarily going and finding them, but I was very visible. And you don't really miss the name 'Sugar'.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: And um, so uh, y'know in the beginning, it was a lot of helping people connect, so I got a lot of Facebook requests. And if they were related to Occupy then it was 'yes' and later when NATO happened and we had seen infiltration and what was going on. I stopped. If I didn't know you, I didn't accept your friend request. Um, and if I don't know you, I'm not going to have direct interaction with you. Actually, I removed a lot of friends for awhile. Y'know, and then stuff just became too much. 'Cause I have so many people now and we're connected up, so I'm not going through, figure out the



couple hundred people ...

Katie: Yeah.

P5: ... versus the multiple thousand that I've got on my connections. Um, but \*pause\* yeah, Facebook suddenly became a scary proposition with the infiltration aspect of things. Not that I have any issue with what I put up there. I don't have any problem with what I post.

Katie: Uh huh.

P5: One of the reasons that I got a heavier sentence on the chain gang action here is that I had you know anti-police stuff up on my Facebook and they brought it in for sentencing, printouts of my Facebook posts.

Katie: Oh.

P5: It's part of free speech and I have no issue with what I post. I'm job hunting, so that's down, because they don't need to be looking, and going into my politics.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, but they were also really trying to get me, because they view me as a ringleader here. Um, and I y'know, the houseless rights issue is one that I've headed. It's not necessarily a leader thing, it's y'know I'd put my entire focus into it. Other people focus in on GMO stuff, other issues like. This has been my issue. Um, y'know everything, I think I've done all the press release, maybe less one or two, since I've arrived. Um, I've been the face of the PR here. Um, at one point, I even colored my hair blue. Um, as a conscious, "I. Want. To be. Very visible." And like, you see, somebody with blue hair, it's going to catch your attention.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, so I literally changed my physical appearance to like focus in on that.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, which was great, because it had people coming and finding me specifically and recognizing me. On the other hand, it had people recognizing me, so I was getting yelled at more. And y'know like, y'know when you're walking down in Waikiki going to the doctor's office, and you're getting people sitting there and yelling good stuff and bad stuff, y'know?

Katie: Yeah.

P5: It's an interesting process. And since all that's gone, okay I've lost weight, grown my hair out, my hair's back to a normal color, I'm on a job hunt, I need to- I'm working on, I'm actively working to change my physical appearance back to something else. When I'm doing interviews, they're not recognizing me as that. Um, so that's been a really big part of the PR kinda tactic. But, because I was that face, y'know, and I was down and in

the cops' faces all the time, and knew my rights and knew everybody else's rights. Get up in the cops' faces and DFM faces and parks peoples' faces enough that they literally leave the houseless, the other houseless people alone and wouldn't chase them out of Thomas Square. Um, yeah okay, give me more time it's all on appeal and we'll win it.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Like, I got no issue. I'm not afraid of that, never was. Um, but yeah propaganda has been a huge, a huge part of my particular battle with this issue.

Katie: Mm. And so you've been – do you find a distinction between these identities? The job-searching Cathy and the activist-Sugar? Do you have like–

P5: Yeah, oh yeah. I have many names. I'm also like, a burlesque mama. So I've got burlesque babies that I've trained. And are now producing their own shows. And to them I'm mama. And back in Chicago when I was producing, I was "Maiden Sacrifice" Yeah, I've always had some persona going on. \*laughs\*

Katie: Okay. And you see them, or I don't know, how do you see them, all of these different pieces there? Is there a disconnect or are they seamless?

P5: Eh, a little bit. I mean, you know, when I was working a doing the burlesque thing, obviously having my name was up, and my performer name was up, it could be a job issue. Y'know, doing fundraising in the nontraditional entertainment field of y'know inviting women and men in a somewhat sexualized performance.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: Um, it's there but sort of taboo. And so you kinda bend that separation out.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, when it came to social media stuff. You know, it's a different community. And at work, I'm more reserved, and mainstream and all that, which is sort of me too. Um, it's not like I'm pretending to be somebody else. But you know, you just maintain– it's like being with your family and with your friends. You don't necessarily talk the same way around friends. Like when I'm with my mom, I don't swear as much. 'Cause she really hates it. You know those sorts of things. And it's the same thing. So you know, I have the burlesque stuff that was one thing, and then work stuff when I'm Cathy. Once the activism stuff and that stuff started coming, Sugar. And very focused. And that's the community that I'll talk about anarchy and political theory.

Katie: And how does that– how do you manage that on Facebook, with the social media?

P5: Um.

Katie: Is that difficult?

P5: Because Facebook was always a propaganda tool. The hardest thing is actually

transitioning and merging especially when I was in Chicago still. The burlesque stuff and the activism stuff was too different names, two different groups and communities, but I was still promoting for both of them, for both things. And still I had stop producing a bit before Occupy had started, just because I had done it for six years and I was, I was done. But, I was still stage-handing and involved with other people's stuff. And people still needed me as [unintelligible]. But then of course, there's all these people that know me as Sugar. So like, trying to figure out- there were a lot of name fluctuations for awhile trying to be able to have both of those communities. And to be able to use Facebook as that tool. Um, if I had realized that the Occupy stuff would blow up as big as it did, um, I probably would have written a whole separate profile.

Katie: Mm.

P5: But I didn't realize it was going to be what it turned out to be. And when you're sitting here and spending every waking moment that you have when you're not working. Like, I was going from work to GAs to direct action committee meetings. Y'know, I was like work, Occupy, or sleep.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: \*cough\* And even when I went home, I was up until 3, 4 o'clock in the morning, working online. Um, nonstop, it was nonstop. Um, \*laughs\* Cathy didn't really exist, because there wasn't time.

Katie: \*laughs\*

P5: Um, that little section with the layover, that was weird. I think I've shifted over, I think my name is Cathy Sugar on there. 'Cause I've done enough with the burlesque community and the burlesques know me as Cathy as well so like- And they like, they knew me during the Occupy stuff. I think I put on a fundraiser thing, show of my burlesque performers and Occupy people, Occupy coming in and doing acts, including some of our actual lawyers-type people.

Katie: Nice.

P5: Um, to do fundraising for Occupy. And so, the most amazing moment of that merge was the night of the show, where I had people knowing me as Maiden Sacrifice and people knowing me as Sugar. And everybody in the same room. And I'm like, "Yep, I'm performing." And doing a complete like Guy Fawkes mask and transforma- y'know, the actor got off from business work and got into like black bandana activist, anarchist gear.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, so like, the burlesque people are like, "Yeah!" 'cause you know, they've obviously seen me do burlesque before. And everyone else was looking around and like \*laughs\* "Yeaah. ..."

Katie: \*laughs\*

P5: ... This is weird. I've never seen you naked before." Um, but to have that support from the burlesque community for the activism work was truly amazing. Truly amazing.

Katie: That's nice.

P5: Yeah, weird layovers. You know. I actually ended up losing a lot of burlesque friends over that thing. 'Cause I was so focused in on Occupy. And a lot of people couldn't handle the intensity of like how much I was supporting it. It was all I could talk about; I was so consumed. So consumed. So absolutely consumed. Um, like even work, people were sitting here talking about celebrity gossip and I was like, "Do you not understand?! All of the stuff that's going on! And you're aaaugh ..." \*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

P5: But luckily I was able to keep it inside. But yeah, it was definitely, definitely a process of that merge.

Katie: Mm.

P5: Um, not so much an issue anymore. Um, you know I don't see myself heading back to Chicago anytime soon. Those people are there and still will be there. Um, you know, like Chicago people. I kind of keep up with my place-based friends through Facebook a lot. Now that I've moved here. But you know, but when I'm on there for marketing and whatever, okay, it doesn't really matter. I really need to clean out my Facebook.  
\*laughs\*

Katie: \*laughs\*

P5: And everybody that I've put on from here, I've met first.

Katie: Mm.

P5: Y'know, I don't add um, anybody anymore that I haven't had face-to-face with. So not so much of an issue when I crossed over here.

Katie: And you said that social media has this huge role, basically overall, but you also said that it's very dangerous, because it's so open basically.

P5: Um, I don't think it was necessarily dangerous, but it felt \*pause\* it felt there was a higher risk in participation, y'know because of participation. Um, 'cause, let me give you some background with the NATO stuff, or the pre-NATO stuff. Um, how can I put this more into the perspective. \*long pause\*

So the mental health movement had started up in April. Um, and how I got involved with that. They needed, um the clients of the mental health movement along with some community members, so very very client-driven. Um, people that were using these services, y'know, people, they had already shut down some of the clients and

people, they were already seventeen suicides from two clinics closing. Including one where a gentleman had got to his appointment and they were like, "Oh, we had to cancel it. You're going to this new clinic now." And he proceeded to go down to the subway and jump in front of a train. It was that quick and so directly related to these closing.

So that had y' know, we had been working with them beforehand and we knew there was going to be this action. And kinda got one of those coded conversations, because security culture, you don't talk about anything on your phone and anything online that you're not okay having on file. So, you know there was the coded phone calls: Hey, we could really use some medical stuff down here. Okay. And then come down, and then it was like everything else that was going on. But I knew there was something major was being planned. And what it was was the takeover of the clinic.

Katie: Mm.

P5: So, um, you know, I got the notice the day before, went down, the next day I was locking myself you know inside barricades. And it was, the building it was in, one side was City Mental Health which was being shut down and the other side was State Mental Health which was staying open. So they needed access to the records and facilities and treatment [unintelligible] and there were two big corridors separating the two. So we had to put up barricades at the ends of those hallways and lock all the doors. Um, and that led to a stand off, and we had tons of people outside and there was some, a little bit of police brutality outside, specifically with white [unintelligible]? getting knocked down, tackled by cops, cameras getting broken, stuff like that. Um, and uh, we had a PA system so that we could talk on the microphone inside and project to outside and when things were getting really intense, one of the clients would start singing gospel songs. And it would just cool down all energy, and settle everybody including the police. You know, when things would ramp up; police pushing and shoving and things going on, while people were doing sit-ins and walking lines in front of the building. You know?

Katie: Yeah.

P5: It would help cool it down. Uh, so that was going and during that time, they had sent in two informants uh, that everybody missed. We all missed them. I had actually helped nail the paper door with some other guy. After, after we had done all the research on him, busted, he had been busted for drug-trafficking and so he was basically avoiding sentencing by coming in a doing disruption.

Katie: Mmm.

P5: Um, so and there have been other people that had kinda been pointed out, that we figured out as cops, and we got them out really quickly. These two we completely missed. Um, the lawyers missed them. Everybody missed them. People who had been far more experienced in anti-war protesting missed them. \*pause\*

Um so, in the beginning of May, there was a, a group of guys who had walked cross-country from [unintelligible] to come to Chicago. Um, and they were staying at the camp. There were a lot of people who were temporarily staying at that encampment. Which helped our numbers, they helped people to take care of the encampment, and got involved in Occupy. And Occupy was all about the mental health movement and stuff to support. So it was a really great location to do that. So the police were not breaking down on us very quickly as far as the encampment, but that wasn't for long.

But, um these guys had been pulled over by the police. And one of the them had recorded the incident without the cops realizing it. And they were being threatened with violence. "Are you here for the NATO protests? You with Occupy? Well, you remember what happened her in '68?" [unintelligible]<Talking about the DMC convention, with major retaliation.> Talking about how they were going to stomp heads, they were going to track these guys down. And um, that video, the people who were involved with that contacted somebody that contacted me and I contacted them to the independent media and that got released and went viral.

Um, and it was bad publicity for the police. Um, because it wasn't set-up. And the propaganda from the police was protesters are bad, all these guys are going to come in and tear up the city, they're going to trash the place. All of this.

Katie: Mm.

P5: And they worked very hard within Occupy and a lot of different community groups and we had like basically a community standard. And it was like nonviolence all the way. You know, no vandalism, all of these things, especially you know to counteract all the propaganda but of course. But the propaganda issue was primarily to scare the public. Like, "don't come down this is going to be dangerous." Tight?

Katie: Yeah.

P5: And then there was like, this big release of the police doing this, goes viral all over the media. The police are the bad guys. And the police, the new police superintendent, Jarrett McCarthy, had been brought in from New York and had like, lots of experience with like, suppression of protests and um, was brought in specifically for this. Um, and shortly after that, these same three guys, there was a raid. And these guys were arrested with a few others. There were people that were disappearing and showing up in alleyways beaten to fuck by the cops. Days later. We had police raping women in the back of their cars. Uh, as the buses were coming in with out-of-town protesters. All these things going on. But they arrested these kids on terrorism charges that were bullshit, that were eventually found to be bullshit. Um, they were found guilty on some other stuff, but even those were bogus, set-up. Ridiculousness. Obviously [unintelligible] find out more and more. Butce it was figured out that these were under covers that happened before the NATO protests. that had infiltrated. You know,

obviously that information was released and spread widely. And their undercover career was done.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Because they had been – oh bee, come out of the house, what are you doing? Aaaah. Yeah, fly that way–

Katie: Yay.

P5: Realizing that we had. I mean, we knew that we had under covers around. But I don't think any of us really comprehended how many and how big they were. Um that's when it felt scary to be utilizing social media. Is because it became so real. Like, I knew these guys. I talked to these guys. I helped get these guys bedding and clothes and places to stay, and felt connected. And suddenly they're arrested on terrorism charges? Oh. Like, it was a whole new level. And as NATO was starting, we had way more raids. Almost every single key organizer had their house raided. Um, all without warrants, just police breaking in. Some people were home, got their doors locked, talking about "where's your warrant?", getting on the phone with their lawyers. I think the only thing that saved me was that I was focused in on the mental health movement. I wasn't organizing NATO. I was doing the medic thing. So the under covers knew that I wasn't one of those key people as I was before the mental health movement started. Otherwise my house would have been raided. No doubt.

The upside of that is that the people who were being raided had safe houses. And so my house became a safe house along with many others. So people were gated through. And I kinda became the personal aging medic, the main group medic for the people who had been raided by the [unintelligible], because they were so traumatized by the whole thing. And they were core organizers, and their houses had been so violated. Not just their apartment, and when they raided, they ended up hitting when they raided, they actually raided five other apartments in the building, 'cause they weren't sure which apartment they were supposed to go to, and it was a blank warrant. They filled in later. And I had in may place double doors in both the front and the back. Um, which made it kinda extra safe. So whenever I had anybody come in, um, it was part of this safe house rotation. It was the walking through the apartment. The "okay, here's the first door, that's how that locks. Here's the double lock and there's this tiny 4x4 space and here's another door so if anyone comes slamming in, you got to go here and get a thing here and here's how this locks, and go to the back, this is how this locks and there's a storage space and there's a whole 'nother, fence behind, and how does the fence lock. Um, so the house itself, it would have been hard for them to get into quickly. Um, but the safe house thing was going on. So I was medic-ing, I was safe house, I was \*laughs\* yeah, it was all intense.

But yeah, but once we figured the infiltration and like all this stuff. And someone was like, "oh, it was people that we knew." It was like one woman that I treated

handcuff injuries for. The cover was getting arrested in one of the actions, 'cause there was a few rounds of that with the mental health movement.

Katie: Mm.

P5: You know, I'm not going to sit here and think that someone I'm treating handcuff injuries on, and handing my \*pause\* phone to in order to check in, which I didn't realize was them actually checking in. It was like, "I need to call my girlfriend." "Oh yeah, cool." You know? You know they were calling in, they were checking in about the raids. On my phone. Um, so it became a whole different level of being very very close and very very intense.

Yeah, Terry's home. That's my roommate.

Um, so yeah, the concept was already there: you don't say anything on your phone or online that you don't want on file. But that was just so close and so we missed it. Yeah, but so during the NATO protests, we had tons of under covers, we had tons, tons of different agencies that took different levels of visibility. From directly you know, Homeland Security, Chicago Police, of course, um, we had uh, FBI, um, military, um, and we were being followed. I burned through \$600 during the week of the protest. Mostly on cabs, because taking public transportation wasn't safe unless, you know, unless you were with a buddy. And you know, because I was doing the safe house thing, I didn't have a buddy staying at the house. I didn't have my medic buddy staying with me. Um, they were staying in another apartment that had multiple medics in it. But, I didn't have that buddy system. And we had people that were highly visible and stuff and they were sometimes very blatant about following me. You know, I'd be walking down from one protest and going to the health care center that we had set up and they would visibly give off symbols passing me from one set of police to another set of police. Um, cops parked out in front of the house, undercover, visible, marked cars, the whole thing.

Katie: Mmhmm.

P5: Um so, it was incredibly intense.

Katie: Yeah, it must have been a very big shift coming here. \*laughs\*

P5: I was really- It was so funny. NATO was such a really- \*laughs\* on the first day of protests, we had 10,000 people. It was- everybody- and as soon as the darts had done their thing with throwing their medals over the fence back at the commanders and eight - I visited I was closed off. And we had a live streams everywhere and I was running the dispatch center at a totally separate location and I was in the room with occupy Chicago media, the independent NATO media. And we were getting - the independent media group was processing police brutality videos and we were watching. So we were getting every photo, every video, and we had every live stream running on huge monitors in this room. So we saw everything. The reason I was in dispatch is because



we had a lot of medics from out of town and because I was part of occupy Chicago. I had all connections to our local social media, to our local live streamers, you know I could get on the phone. And I also recognize the city, so as major protests were going on and wildcat marches were going on, where people were just going anywhere or everywhere because they were getting separated by police and they would join up later you know. And protest that were going on for 18 hours a day, 18 hour ones. The duties were dicks. But I could watch the live streams and I knew the streets. I knew the directions they were heading and that sort of things, so me being in dispatch made sense.

But we could see when the kettling started. We were watching black groups and going, "oh they're going on their thing already?" and no, they were getting turned around. Maybe they aren't doing their march now. And then talking with them later, putting stuff together, finding out what they were doing was that they went out in the black blocks, they were scoping the areas, when they saw the kettling, they created a space for the medics and put the medics in their and when they were pulling people out who were getting beaten up by the batons and getting kicked all sorts of stuff and bring patients out to the medics. They had a space set out for the medics to work to be able to work him black block was amazing. And really important. Being in the room with all the live streams, all the feeds on the live streams, all the social media people, all of this up on the screens that we were working from, and sharing the information as it's coming in in this room. We got to see all of that coming together. We knew when the kettling begin, we knew that the violence happening. And the more people were – the moment that the police got the signal to start beating on the protesters. They sent out a pulse. Everything went down. All the live streams, mainstream media, everything went down except for NBC. NBC's signal was strong enough. And so we saw simultaneous police coming up and it was the only one and they had the broad view. Um, and once the signal came back on and everybody's live stream kicked back in and, you know it was on the ground close up. It was talking to our live streamers, "Okay. keep that person there. Where are you? We're sending someone to you. You know, keep the camera off of them focus on other people but you know keep this person here so. There was a lot of coordination that was going on. Social media, livestream were crucial and all of that. Don't hear that on the news, do you? Don't hear about police raping women in the back of their things just because there pretend protesting. Or people disappearing off streets and coming back days later. And I'm sitting here training for local five job, you know, over here with you know the Chicago group. Making phone calls and I'm getting phone calls and needing to like set up sending medics over to places where people have just been dropped off by police all beaten to fuck. All that was crucial. Social media was crucial. I couldn't have imagined doing NATO without that. It would have been – way more dangerous and a lot less known of what was going on. When you have all of that together, it gave us the full picture. At least everyone in that room.

And there's an interesting side thing that happened is that as protests were going on

people were going home and reviewing tapes. they were reviewing arrest footages and tapes of people getting arrested they were looking at arrest footages and going through other people's tapes. They were trying to find footage of their arrests and all of these people were having a traumatic response online. So we began to do what we call social media medic-ing. So we began to, like, contact people who were showing trauma on Twitter, Facebook, live stream chats, and connect them to our resources. As people left the city, we were contacting other Occupy groups and medics and they were setting up safety and you know, recovery therapy connections and stuff for people after they had gone to – so that became a big connection to get people to care that they needed after. NATO, NATO didn't just affect Chicago. The protest didn't just affect's Chicago the police didn't just affect Chicago we pulled people in from all over the country. It affected an entire nation of activists. So yeah, there was a lot of follow-up that went through that.

Katie: It was a very powerful and very effective tool.

P5: Yeah. Obviously before live stream and Facebook and twitter came along, there were other other ways – you know medics came up during the civil rights movement and gave patients care during the civil rights movement. You know they had gone you know they have we have the whole entire set up with the military and paying for college and the G.I. bill that was because after the soldiers had come back from war the government didn't have money to pay them and they weren't getting paid and within a month they had like 10,000 people on the White House lawn and all without social media. All without you know Internet you know. So obviously you know this stuff has worked and there are ways that it works without the social media. I wish I knew how because, because I don't. The only interaction I've had is direct with this.

I know in Egypt when that kicked off the first round was all through social media. Once that was cut off, you know the taxicab connection. You know this? Oh the second one they did. This is knowing knowing the local culture. So social media was obviously being watched after the first gathering and in the square. And they knew that it wasn't going to be effective they were shutting down the Internet, they were shutting down Facebook, they were cutting that off. So what they did was that they knew the taxi cabdrivers talked a lot and they like to share secrets. So they would set up people having phone calls outside the tab, or inside the cab. And just outside the cab saying you can't tell anybody about this and like laying out the information. It was the cab drivers that spread it without realizing that they were being you know utilized that way and orchestrating information and then the second wave at the square happened and it was even bigger. And that was because they replaced social media with the taxicab drivers. Because they worked in the same fashion.

Katie: Yeah ingenious.

P5: Yeah completely brilliant. Completely. But you know especially in America and

westernized countries we don't do that. You know where so reliant upon Internet, like organizing something without it is like, "What? What? You can't do that, it won't work." We have lost our ability and knowledge as to how to do that. I'm not saying like- it's the you know 10,000 soldiers and their families protesting on the lawn.

Katie: Have you ever heard of the term 'slacktivism'?

P5: I don't like this.

Katie: You know the idea that you can just hit like and then it doesn't -

P5: It's a role. \*pause\* Everybody has [unintelligible] what they can to participate. And that's one of the good things about occupy is because there's so much going on that people can put in the time and energy that they can afford. I have the privilege of not being married, not having kids. You know and I have a standard 9 to 5. I can afford to have best money. I can afford to buy medical supplies, jail support, food and water you know things like that. I was privileged in that I don't have these other responsibilities. There are other people who cannot come out to a two day because they have to go home and take care of their kids. By the time they go home and get the kids together, they can come out again because the today is over. They can't inform afford to invest you know financial support or whatever. There are people that are online that help push the stuff around. You know I was probably doing a lot of more social media than other people were but that was a part of it. But that was the level in which they had the ability and the comfort level to participate at. They're not the cornerstone obviously of the organization and the stuff that's going on however. They were certainly in the circles and they pushed, pushed things around, the propaganda that we were putting out. That was important.

Katie: Do you think that helped them feel part of the group? If they couldn't make it to the GA then they had -

P5: Yeah. We had discussions about you know we were live streaming GA's. There were times when I couldn't make it to the GA and I was watching the live stream and sending out messages through the chat. So you know there were a lot of people who participated that way. In Chicago we had a lot of discussion about okay you know are we going to open up GA's two online voting? Big stuff. How do you create a secure voting system? And we had people working on developing programs am that we ended up not going in that direction with. But there was definitely - and it took a lot a while to be recognized because a lot of people were very resentful of slacktivists, you know? If they really supported enough they would be coming out here. Like dude, you're a white guy who doesn't have kids isn't married and has a stable job and that's privilege. That's a privilege. And therefore you can't, your voices being heard at a higher intensity then you know other demographics and other economic situations and family situation.

You can't - my brother, you know he tried to be involved as you can, but he has a wife

who is taking care of her daughter and you know my niece was going at it sometimes and what not. So there was one - he wasn't a single parent which left him with more privilege to be able to go out and do these kind of things. And it took Chicago a while to get people to recognize that. Yeah, there is privilege to all of this. I mean even with - you know, lawyers. I mean there is one who is a single guy and he was also working two other jobs in his life to keep food on his table, and he would help with our cases. And you know another gentleman who's working on our cases; he's got family, he's got kids. He you know has been doing DUI defense for a really long time just to build the money to be able to support his family and send his kids to the schools that he wants to and to keep a roof over their head and food on the table. And to build up the resources the financial resources to fund our lawsuits. Brian ends up putting in more like time time with us and working on building on stuff and working on depositions and declarations and that kind of stuff than what Rick does. It then there's that privilege thing. Rick needs to work more to make sure that he's got money coming in than what Brian needs. there is a privilege to it: being single and without kids. So I don't know what others life is like too. some I think I like that's really interesting and boom and not really pay much attention. Or oh that looks funny [unintelligible]. for their own entertainment. and there are other people who are more limited because of what they have to work with and so that's going to be important to them. O it's how they can participate, so that it's really important to them. And a lot of it I think it's just missed. But as I said I think there is a range of activists. I think some is legit sums not. Some is vital some is not. But if they're sharing the message and keeping people connected, there engaged.

Katie: There are quite a few people who think that the Occupy movement is dead now. Like it's finished, everything.

P5: Because we're not focusing on mainstream media. Of course if it's not on mainstream media, then it doesn't exist. You know we - Chicago is still running. Occupy Chicago is still running, OWS is still running. Were still running. The windmill kind of runs out but you know we've got TV shows, we've got lawsuits, we've got press releases that still go out. And all those sorts of things. It's taken different forms. It's evolved. We've also got a lot of people that were involved in occupy who want to focus on specific issues. And Chicago so much of our focus was NATO for a long time obviously leading up to that and GAs when it was scheduled. But there are a lot of issues you know. When I started it was about creating an infrastructure that we need. How do we get this going? How do we get GAs running? How do we have you know 1000 people out here and not necessarily you know single pay healthcare. LGBTQ rights, money in politics, you know because they needed to be that infrastructure created. And then I got into the medic stuff and that became my hard-core focus. And then I moved here and seeing the houseless battle and going through raids like that. All of the stuff; that's personal, that's political. And that's where I put my time and energy. And I don't have the time to do 1000 issues at once. And so there has been a lot of

people, not really impressed. Not only here, not only on the mainland, but internationally that has found whatever their passion is with those issues and have gone on to create other issues and actions and have focused on those issues. But it stemmed from Occupy. I kind of think that the next generation have protests and have a voice with what they learned and they went out and used it as a result of Occupy. So they might not be involved in Occupy any more but they took our things and took them to issues and other focuses. Or they got bored because it was fun and exciting and sexy or not. But it still engages people. In Chicago we saw very definite chain reaction. We were supporting parents, students, and teachers that were taking over schools that the man was trying to shut down and so occupy accompanied them. The clients with mental health worries, taking over clinics. Would those things have happened without Occupy being around and reminding people that protest is good? Probably not.

You know we were involved with one where- \*laughs\* there is this factory that created Windows and when I was working with it nurses union before I started. They had their company- They came in and said this will be your last day of work. And you're getting paid for today but you're not getting paid anything residual after that and so clean out your drawers. And when I was in the nurses' union, the workers took it over. And the reason that it was being shut down was because the banks, the banks of something something, weren't extending the credit line. And so they couldn't afford the people. So that protest, and that work, and all the unions were getting in on it and supporting them. Then they went and got the bank to reopen the credit line and another company came in, took over the company and you know. restart it When I saw what was going on, I was getting laid off. It happened to be the same day. It was half a block away from where I was working. The new company did the same thing. Oh, we're shutting down end of the day, workers took it over. So I left them having been laid off to walking a couple of hundred feet and like, "Hey warrior friends." And we had live streamers, all the Occupy people, and the social media people and the LGBT. And everybody down there. It was all spread out to social media. Very rapidly while it was going on. And then it turned into a co-op that is living in thriving and ready to go. And that probably would have still happened if there hadn't been occupy, because they had all been through it before.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: And with the unions protests has been a really common tool and tactic. So that wasn't unusual having that support. But the thing with parents closing down schools. They didn't have support elsewhere. We got hundreds of occupied people out there. We had live streamers locked inside with them. We had ways that we were passing food and stuff into them through windows and areas that the police weren't watching. All this kind of stuff. Because I felt it empowered them to be able to utilize their voices. And this school take over and the clinic takeover wasn't Occupy. They were specific groups doing it. Were they fully supported in every possible way by Occupy? Yeah. We

weren't running media on it. You know we were helping connect media to them. But we weren't doing interviews; we weren't doing press releases. It wasn't in our thing. It was about their voices and not about the Occupy movement. But like I said we were there with every kind of support possible. It was able to be done because Occupy existed. And it wouldn't have happened without it.

Katie: And you think that network still exist now.

P5: I think people have moved on to a lot of different things. And there have been a lot of actually. I know a lot of people who moved to other occupiers during occupy. And stuff so the dynamic has changed. It's not as exciting and stuff and not getting the extreme attention and stuff. So, much of the people who used to go to GA's when it first started aren't going to GA's anymore. But it doesn't mean they're not connected online, it doesn't mean they don't throw support in on occasion when it's an issue they're passionate about. And people have lives to live. I was you know - and had been up 'til they broke up our camp. My whole life you know was that. I moved here and my job fell through. I needed a new job. Everything so much was occupied. I was living down in Thomas Square. It was my life. And that gets exhausting. It burns you out. I already showed up with post traumatic stress stuff going on because of NATO to then having more cops showing up and stealing stuff from me and stealing stuff from the whole houseless population, who have nothing. When I lost the job, I went from sitting at the camp and me and my friend are going to get an apartment to oh shit I'm actually really houseless. There aren't options. I'm stuck. My only alternative was to get a plane ticket home and go home to my mom in Iowa you know. You know with a bunch of family that I want nothing to do with. So you know it was running through that mental process and coming to terms with that. And getting burnt out, you know. There was a lot going on and there were a lot of people were tired before I showed up. And wanted to work on other things or go back to their apartments or houses or whatever.

It's hard trying to find a job in Honolulu on the streets. And it's really hard to find a job when you're the face on TV all the time, and being recognized for it. So you know and I knew that there was that trade-off. I knew that stepping out for the houseless families, doing things like dying my hair and stuff to be like that visual representation that it was going to have that effect. I was willing to do that. But then I don't have kids I'm not married you know but yeah I burnt out and burnt out and burnt out. It was - Thomas saved me at one point. You know, he said, "Take my apartment as long as you need." I chilled there at his home for a week just recovering and working on lawsuit stuff. But you know lawsuits are very intensive and an amicus brief involves a lot of work. Because you know we have two lawyers, we don't have a bunch of other people, we don't have a lot of resources. And so you know I was the one going through way video after raid video after raid video after raid video and finding the time points that were really important. And seeing you know the major violations which was very draining in and of itself. To relive and recycle all that and to wade through. Especially since a lot of

my PTSD with the NATO stuff, watching videos of any kind is intense for me because of my experience on the day of the NATO protests. I saw everything like people got – most people on the ground it got in their faces – and on their faces. I got all of their stuff on my visual. In addition to running out and getting patience and you know all the stuff that went with that. In general city videos are the major trigger for me. It's the last thing I want to do you know.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: so people definitely burnout. I burned out and come back and burned out and come back and burned out and come back and burned out and burned out burned out.

Katie: yeah.

P5: You know it happens. You get burnt out. It's exhausting work. And when you've got to pay her rent, put food on your table and all these things. You gotta balance your time.

Katie: Can you call on your other occupiers? Or other members in your network for support at all?

P5: I've been here two years and besides the local five training that was for five weeks, I haven't had a job. I am massively jobhunting. I fully expect I'll be getting a job offer next week in the place that I just interviewed with. But it's part-time and it's nine bucks an hour. I worked tons of jobs in Chicago and I got mad skills. I could easily – like my value set it's like 22, 24 an hour and I'm only working part-time work, you know because the job situation is so shitty. And you know, it's an issue of being committed; people want to know – you have to be here for the first year before people believe that you're not just going to get some money and then leave. Back to the mainland or wherever, because it's so transient. Yeah I've had people who had to pay my phone bill and you know and grab food when I needed it or sometimes just taking out to dinner because I needed a break and something that wasn't out of a can.

You know like Thomas. When I burnt out and we were going through the criminal power changing action, like I was working through the lawsuits; I was on the streets; I had just gotten through with Harry \*pause\* after eight months of working to get him off the streets, {unintelligible] I was so burnt out and went through such a mental breakdown that having been a place to stay and it was a tiny little studio and he was such a good friend and he paid for it, you know. I wasn't paying the rent on it or utilities or anything. Um, I would help with EBT and cleaning that sort of thing but I absolutely have 'ohana here. And my mom and grandmum came to vacation in Hawaii in February and did Maui and Big Island and we were supposed to do Kauai but my mom didn't – she didn't realize that when she made reservations it wasn't on Kauai it was here.

Katie: laughs

P5: . . . and we were all like, "Aw man, of all the islands . . . \*groans\*" But you know I got to bring my mom down to Food Not Bombs on Sunday and she got to meet these people who helped support me and helped, you know, loan me money, and Lord knows as soon as I get this job I know I'll be working on – be working on paying these people back. But yet I had people had me money and had to be food and clothes and shoes and all that. Yeah without all that I would've been gone a long time ago and those lawsuits would be calling. Those lawsuits are why I'm here and I've been doing so much for them. I've made sacrifice for them and hopefully they'll be done and then we'll actually have some type of change. All that's being done right now is creating harsher law, harsher raid law, but that's what they want to sic the suits on. One step forward, 10 steps back. Hopefully they'll be the point where we can take those 12 steps forward. \*sigh\*

Katie: Do you think you could extend the connection even more so? Because I've been talking to some people international...

P5: Awesome.

Katie: ...people in Poland, in England and stuff like that. And I was just wondering if you, if something here triggered something in New York or in Florida or something or you know Australia or something, would you be able to like Facebook somebody and be like, "Hey Occupy Sydney I'm going to be there..."

P5: Oh absolutely. Yes I did that when I was heading up to New York. I got my sister in New Jersey just across the river from Manhattan. So when I was heading up there for holidays I would connect up with people that I knew from the original connections. And I got even more connections and some came to the NATO Chicago protests so I got to see them again. We, we do that a lot. A lot of stuff is focused on – like you see a lot of criminal justice stuff going on about jails and stuff going on people getting arrested trials actually happening so you get jail support actions. Oh you know given an event notice of you know protests or what action in New York I'll repost that because I know I have friends who are from New York and they can maybe they can see it. When you go to traveling That was the great thing about occupy especially in its heyday. You could go to any occupy and you family. Like we had people showing up in Chicago from everywhere and I was like you needed you have a place to stay tonight up of oh let's find your place. It was instantaneous. You know an instantaneous sharing of resources. Without a set second thought. And when I traveled absolutely I utilized that.

It was a culture shock coming here because on the mainland Occupy has – you know here my checks really haven't been done. And you know, some of those cultural things that are very Occupy-esque doesn't exist in deOccupy Honolulu. And so I had and occupy culture shock because when I was in Chicago and I traveled to all the places on the mainland that same culture was everywhere . . .

Katie: Mmhmm.



P5: . . . and so I felt like home. And I thought it would be the same case here and it wasn't. But you know - So my friend Andy decided to come out here together and he came out here early his brother was out here so there was arty connections. And one of my burlesque babies went to the Big Island a year before I moved here so you know I had you know a little bit of 'ohana regardless. But yeah it was a very different culture here. As is everything here. It's a very different culture here versus the mainland. Being in illegally occupied sovereign nation will do that to you. \*coughs\* A lot of Asian influence which is very conservative and not direct. And I'm a loudmouth from Chicago that was - and you know still am.

But I've been here long enough to see other people from the mainland come here and get their agro end. They're not angry or anything just it's how the mainland big-city works. It's the culture. Running into people and taking their cell phones away. "Man, you got a chill out." It's like, oh God, that's how bad I used to be. \*laughs\* I'm reaching that place now where I'm shifting my own self and I'm saying different things and I don't feel as \*pause\* intense \*pause\* in my behavior and reactions and how I spoke to people now as I was in Chicago with a different culture.

So yeah Hawaii is a unique - I think if I were to even to go to Europe it would probably have the same Occupy culture, at least back when everything was really strong you know. But even now you know trying to contact [unintelligible - 11?] "Hey I'm coming into town. Is anybody that can put me up?" I'm sure that would still be out there and are totally take advantage of that.

Katie: Hmm.

P5: In a heartbeat. Hope the rest of the world is still going.

Katie: it seems to be and very different issues. Every person that I talk to their focused in on something different.

P5: Good good. That's the great thing about Occupy it was the here's the main issue and come talk about all of the consequences that there are. So people were able to bring their issues there and grab onto issues. And then take that and focus in on it. And that's amazing. People talk about how occupy failed and occupy may not have like you know gotten stuff reversed but it reminded people of free speech. And you know the influence of politics and money and corporations and all of that. But you got a believe that people know things words like austerity now. And people know occupy everybody knows that everybody knows about stuff related to that. So there has been a larger cultural mainstream influence and a lot of bigots rolling of eyes but so did all of the hippies and civil rights movements. Throughout history that's common. But it's definitely something that had a significant impact on the mainstream and that will be in books.

My brother one of his jobs right now he's a professor, a part-time professor professor of archaeology and they now have him - he got to develop the course - on social injustice

movements. So like jobs are being created; there are classes are being taught, based on occupy. And on the models we used. And the good and the bad, stuff that we were and the [unintelligible] that happened with that - in addition to people finding their issues and taking that out of Occupy and bringing in their own things and working with groups were already doing it.

Chicago, we got to help focus light on a lot of issues and a lot of groups because when we were taking on groups and actions we weren't just doing Occupy, we involving all of the local groups that we could into it and a lot of it was, "Hey, media come over here. Look over here. We're directing you here now." So there were smaller groups that didn't have such recognition and issues that didn't get mainstream coverage that got it because we were able to reflect that light and that's it. To where it needed to be. Like I said I got to watch kids parents and teachers take over schools. Workers take over factories and clients take over mental health facilities.

Occupy has had a big impact. It may not have been the one that everybody wanted and wanted instantly. You know, Jesse Jackson has this in no rainbow of blah blah blah and their headquarters are in Chicago and he's got to hate - he has an international roundtable discussion show every week. I was a panelist on it three or four times. And it was amazing how many people work at that level and if I wasn't, then I certainly came to that level. Everyone, everybody wants a piece of that.

Everybody realized that being connected to Occupy was - like even local five you know. When the position wasn't any longer available, Eric Gill and Cade sent me down for an hour and a half discussion - and it was really funny because when I came to them and you know I was involved in Occupy and I wasn't staying at any home, I got to use their showers. You know, they've got showers there at the offices, so you know I got to have a hot shower on the days that I worked. It was a big deal! So much better than the bathroom cold showers everywhere else. But they would they showed me off like I was a total show pony to the members and you know I was working and "oh this is Kathy blah blah blah she's down at Occupy, Thomas Sq." like totally out loud and proclaiming my status which was never discussed. From the get-go that's how it was and every meeting where there was membership I was highlighted. I was brought up and you know asked to talk about whatever.

And so there was an open discussion kind of about where politics were. And when the job wasn't there anymore, I got sat down and a lot of the discussion was, "Anarchy will never work; communism is the only way." And you know, I'm an anarchist but I'm also union supporter. But communism was about worker control over management. And anarchy is about people, equality throughout, it's not about power of one group over another ever. So there was some you know some ideological differences. Practically I'm anarchist, Marx, you know. Just like any other concept you know democracy, representative democracy, you know communism, when you get into it, on a larger scale, more power and control than there ever should be.

When we sat down, you know "anarchy will never work and here's why communism is the best and occupy is never going to work because of these issues. But we really want you to be the face, you know. So coming up we're going to have some strikes going on and we'd love to have the tents out there." And there was this whole discussion: we're sorry the job's no longer there followed up with your ideals are fucked up, ours are right, what you're doing is never going to work, but we know that you're you're going to be great media so we want to use you. Which I walked out of and said, "yeah, sure I'll come back and volunteer."

Yeah, anytime the director contacted me I told them I wanted nothing to do with it. Personally because it was such a shock and it took me a while to absorb what had just happened. Because I went from being the show pony to being everything you're doing is wrong. But we want to use you anyway. We want to make you our tool.

And man I sit here and I look at the work that we have done on the houseless movement and how much media has been generated and how it has gone from being the side issue to being one of the main issues that politicians are dealing with. You know, where the mayor's office is happy to give quotes; where city Council people are being asked to come in for meetings; you know being told soundbites by Kimberly Pryor. \*laughs\* Kimberly is one of my references on my resume. Not that she likes me very much because I called her out for not helping out when we reached out for help because she's involved with IHS and the shelters and and she did nothing. She blew us off and so did Anderson um.

But \*pause\* um, man it is - it has been one hell of the fight. You know, but stuff I think it has worked and stuff that nobody has expected and influence that nobody thought about - and it wasn't our goal to, you know, take over health clinics and stuff or have other people do that. No, the goal was money in politics. But what happened was this amazing domino effect that I don't think anybody could have predicted and gets no recognition. None. And I'm glad to know that it has happened regardless of what has been reported on in any sort of media and people are on the ground doing actions and being involved, like, in the levels that they're comfortable and the issues that they want to do. There are a lot of people who became activists out of Occupy who never were beforehand. There was something strange. It's always going to be part of those people's lives and I think that's really cool. Really cool. That's amazing. \*laughs\*

Katie: Well thank you. We've gone through all of my questions here

P5: right on

Katie: We've covered everything pretty much what I've been looking for. Thank you very much

P5: Oh yeah no worries. Are people facing the same kind of ripple stuff going on elsewhere with the people that you're talking to? Or has it just been my experience.

Katie: No, it has been just there seemed to be a couple of themes coming out about the influence of the occupy movement and those have been granted there's a bias because these are the people that are willing to be involved willing to talk to me and are involved with it as-

P5: They've got a longer range picture of it to.

Katie: Yeah. Definitely more active in all sorts of senses of the word. So they do have a unique perspective on it then what might be considered the average Occupier, the average protester. But a lot of them, every single person that I've talked to you know when I say Occupy instead they go, "Pffft, they don't know what they're talking about." No one you know, it's touched so many people because . . .

P5: It was a flashpoint. It was a huge flashpoint. There were a lot of flashpoints. Don't eat the carpet. You saw it with - Chicago kicked off well of WS kicked off and Chicago started six days later. But Trevon Martin was going on at that time and that was one of the first major protests of Occupy Chicago. Because it was right in that moment. There's these flashpoints in history that happen and um. Flashpoints are exactly that: they are flashpoints and there's the stuff that comes after.

You know when I was on with Jesse Jackson he had kind of asked me a question about basically why this was a movement[unintelligible] And we were getting all the questions from the media, reporter demands, and everything was we need to know now. Oh no, it's going to take some time. And my response to Jesse was when he was pushing me I was like how long did it take the civil rights movement to really kick off. He said, about 10 years. Yeah, we're four months in. \*laughs\* Oh I shut him down on that really rapidly but it was - there is a reality that this stuff takes time and you know even the civil rights movement leading up to um you know the bus boycotts, and, and why am I blanking on her name. The black librarian who got arrested on the bus...

Katie: Rosa Parks.

P5: Rosa, thank you. She wasn't the first one that got arrested. In Nanawa Falls, there was a 15-year-old pregnant single woman who they were talking about having it focused around her and they were opting to wait and not making her the focal point. Rosa Parks we've been taught was just this lady who was tired and you know just needed to sit. Oh no she was absolutely involved and that was absolutely a direct action. It was planned to kick off the bus boycott. We've been taught that it was this but in reality it was a whole different thing. The only reason why I know this is because of had enough conversations with Jesse Jackson you know.

There's some flashpoints like Treyvon that come out of nowhere. But we saw pause so much flash points connected to occupy and occupy and not really amplified it. Police brutality really became a major issue and especially within the black community. In Chicago I mean that's a huge thing but we were running protests of stuff talking to kids and people everywhere. They were having in addition to you know there was stuff

going on everywhere. You know there was an off-duty cop that basically was annoyed with kids being too loud and came out and killed one of them you know. In a neighborhood. And that absolutely raged up communities not just Occupy Chicago. But like places outside and a lot of neighborhood groups that were in those areas and there were major protests in front of this guy's house. And that guy, you know, ended up getting brought up on charges.

Had there not been those protests and that occupation, that probably wouldn't have happened. Especially in Chicago. And you know because Occupy had been around and people were comfortable using their voices and that support was there, that happened. You know, you know, and in Chicago we were doing protests for police brutality; they were happening everywhere across the country. Not just locally. Which then highlighted those things and got taken up in national mainstream media. Which helped you know so that - \*pause\*

I wish I could figure out the formula of the flashpoint. Like Trevon Martin and how it's such timing. You know, there's so many people on death row and being executed. And I was all about the death penalty before occupy. And now I'm just anti-jail system and you know justice system. You know the chain gang action where you chain yourself down inside a pallet. Or inside a tent to a pallet and to each other. The three of us - you know the guy that I was involved with went to the mainland so he hasn't gone through any of it. But that doesn't matter you know we're here.

The trial is so fucked up because we've done a movement to dismiss based on the First Amendment. But in order to prove that prove that you've tried every other protest style before it led to that. In court we were not allowed to talk about anything that had led up to it to prove those criteria so we were denied the dismissal based on our submission. The judge did it in a way that gave us grounds for appeal. And I think that he actually said that so I think he was giving us rope knowing where this was going. We all knew where this was going. So we were left with two defenses that we were allowed which was necessity which was basically protecting the greater good, and protection of property. We were totally prosecuted on free speech stuff. You know I was getting called a professional protester and radical protester all things inflammatory you know whatever. I'm up on the stand being called this while simultaneously you know, our lawyers are objecting and I'm sitting here you know with my radical hair. \*chuckles\*

But my part in all that like I had three different public defenders. My - or guess technically four by the end of it - one was just quick through the initial - One that was actually working our case but you know she got transferred and was working felonies. And she wanted to stick with the case primarily because she really hated Tricia Markhour, who was the Head of Housing when the incident happened who lost her job as a result of the lawsuit. But used to be a prosecutor and she was really hated by the public defender's office.

Katie: Oh. Hmmm.

P5: Yeah where somebody's personally motivated to kick somebody's ass, then yeah great. Well done and, you know, she's awesome. And you know, she was allowed to keep a couple cases going at her new job but our court days conflicted and she was ordered to let ours, let ours go and transfer it over. And then she worked really hard to get two people involved with the case. And one of them - my main public defender, Kona, gave her - he had just gone through an issue for the previous like, month where they had a major mold in the house. And he had to get his family out of the house and everything had to get cleaned. And he was off work for while dealing this. And I met with him for all of an hour before going in and we did a motion to delay out so we would have time to work on anything, work different defenses and do different motions because everything's based on a timeline. And Melinda had just done the free speech stuff; he wanted to take different angles and throw in some other motions to try to get it dismissed before going to trial. I had seen him all of an hour. There was no way to do that. We went in and were denied. So we started trial the next day.

Then they brought in Pam, who is also a public defender. We also had - Blade got his lawyer. And we had three different paralegal assistants working solely - well I'm sure they had other cases but they were focused on this case. So we had between the two of us three lawyers and three assistants helping us from the public defender's office. And Pam - her entire job? -was not about my defense, it was about setting up for an appeal. So she objected repeatedly to everything that she absolutely could.

And this judge would just get up in these lawyers faces like, "Don't talk to me like I'm a child." He was an asshole. Basically he was crazy, crazy old white dude who had really extreme - There was one court time we went in and you know we watched him. One guy came in and asked for a change of funds for a higher fine - or no a reduction of fine for service, because he had a newborn baby and he couldn't afford it. And the judge is like, "Nope. And because you asked I'm going to double your fine from \$2000 to \$4000." And hauled him off to jail and wouldn't let him say goodbye to his wife and kids. Harsh judge. He's been transferred through various courts. I've been in those rooms and watched every lawyer on both sides fit with that face that you've got on right now not knowing what to say to the sky. And Pam was just in his face never back down. But her entire role was just that. Like anything that you could get on record multiple times that he was doing bad rulings on. So yes I should've had a continuous raid, but there just wasn't enough time, you know? In addition to free speech stuff.

But the crazy thing out of all of that? So we had two defenses: necessity and defense of property. And then jury instruction came down. I didn't know that this really happened. I figured that there were just standard jury instructions, right? And there are. But apparently you can get special jury instructions. You gotta go in and get special jury instructions for what's going to happen and you give them to the jury. So, the state got jury instruction uh, basically saying that - I don't know the exact wording off my head

anymore but - basically saying like, even if what the government is doing is illegal, it does not uh give you the right to protest it. It like- obstruction of government operations, you can still be found guilty on even if what the government was doing was illegal.

Like, first off, that is so screwed up.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: And that jury instruction is the primary reason why me and Blade as well as Midori, who was sentenced for a different action. She had gotten permission to film inside the taped-off area during a raid and she was told to leave. And she refused to leave, because she had permission. And she was found guilty of obstruction of government operations and assigned to 30 days in OCCC. Um, luckily our lawyers got us set up so we could pay bail and they gave us an \$11,000 bail, which is the equivalency of a class-3 felony or misdemeanor. Right?

Katie: Mmm.

P5: Um, during the trial, we - their PR guy, Jesse, Jesse Vansomething-or-other, Jesse VanDouchebag, which is what I call him, along with the Head of DFM, the head of DFM came down to watch the process evaluation. During work hours. Like you know, we had mainstream TV in there, we had like- it was a decent size thing.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, then we got our submitting of the standard jury instructions dealing with necessity and here comes the here comes the [unintelligible] and we were denied. So they denied our motion for defense based on free speech. A lot of us, you know, have our defense based on necessity and defense of property, but the jury was not allowed to take that into consideration. They were given instructions that would not allow them to find us not guilty based on those things.

There was no option to find us not guilty based on those jury instructions. And you better believe that was political as hell. Anyway. Um, we didn't expect to be bailed out. That was not the plan. Um, when it came down to it, there were a couple of factors that like, made that be the decision. Um, one was none of us going, right? So, we wouldn't spend a single night in OCCC. Actually anything that's not Cook County is like pfft. \*laughs\* Cook County, that's a scary, scary place to be. OCCC is high school, you know?

Katie: Mmmm.

P5: But, it's freaking his mom out. And so she really wanted to pay his bail. And we had an agreement that if one of us is being bailed out, then both of us were being bailed out. Or both were staying. And that was our solidarity going in. \*deep breath\* The second thing is so many people were burnt out from going and already being in jail. And I had

done a little time with Midori in OCCC before I got bailed out. People would write messages all over my body with Sharpie. I refused to shower until I got to see her. And with the uniform you know that they gave you, I couldn't show her. But when I was being bailed out, I got to go back and get dressed and I was totally showing off the writings on my leg and getting in trouble for it. Um, the great thing about having been in a good head space before going in was seeing everything in a very positive light, being respectful. It had gotten around why I was in there, and even if I had done the 45 days I would have probably been okay, if I had kept my nose out of their face. 'Cause that's just what it's like there anyway.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, so Blade's mom freaking out. Literally, already in jail. The trial's going through. Everybody in deOccupy was so exhausted and burnt out and the concept of them continuing jail support, and media, and all this stuff while we're in jail was just kinda too much. And there were some people freaking out more than others and freaking other people out. Or putting way too much weight and it was getting too intense. And in addition to that, both my public defenders and the lawyers from the lawsuit were like, "Do you really need a trial here? You need our help." Um, so when it came down to it, there were the factors that led to us getting bailed out. We didn't expect to be bailed out. It was a surprise to us both. It was like, "What?! Are you kidding me? Where'd you get the money?" So it definitely wasn't a decision agreed on before going it. It was a smart decision and um, in that in that the people who made the decision took in all the factors. And afterwards, understand that I was pissed. I'm just like, at least leave me until Midori comes out. I want to like, there was a weird mindset: I'm comfortable with the concept of going to jail for the rest - and in my defense speech, and you know this is what they broadcast before they count the vote.

My dad had a few things- My dad was invoked a lot in the trial. Um, we had just passed the five-year anniversary of his death. Anyway, um, he was invoked a lot. And Kona did that very much under duress. Um, and uh, in my little spiel before sentencing, you know I was talking about how he taught me to protect people, and protect people's rights, and this and that and like, Midori is pono, Kona is pono, and deOccupy Honolulu is pono. And that's the clip that they uploaded in mainstream media and reported in the papers. And as I was being escorted out, the guard that was taking me out was like, "You know what your nickname is in here?" "I've only been here, like, 18 hours." \*laughs\* "Um, we're calling you guys the 'pono kids!'."

Katie: Aw.

P5: Right?! So cool. So like even the [unintelligible] there were aware of it. Even though Blade was in there for longer than I was, because he had an asshole guard who was power-tripping. Um, that kept him locked in the waiting room for an extra five hours or whatever. And his parents were freaking out. And I'm sitting here getting all amped up



'cause I want you know my partner out like you know. So yeah, the justice system, man. Like it is so fucked up. And having watched the NATO, you know the NATO 5 and the NATO 3. You get to see the information out. You get to see those people that I knew. That was very close. And I knew how screwed up their court stuff was. And I knew how screwed up my court stuff was. Knowing that every other court system with any Occupier is just as screwed up. So you know I went from believing in the death penalty to the entire court system needs to be brought down. \*laughs\* No better teacher than the system. The system taught us well.

So, I'm working on my appeal. Midori's working on her appeal, because she got the same jury instructions as well. The special jury instruction. And we're not going to let that stand as precedent against our protest actions. There's no way. So we're absolutely going to keep going because of that. Like, none of us have issues about doing time. We believe in what we do.

Katie: Yeah.

P5: Um, do I want to go to OCCC? No. But, am I willing to? Did I believe in what I did? Absolutely. Um, am I going to let this precedent be set? Absolutely not. Absolutely not. And neither is Blade. And neither is Midori. So we're all appealing. Yay.

Katie: Good luck. I do hope so, considering . . .

P5: I have no doubt. Um, you know, I've got an easier case than Blade does, because I had the last minute. You know, defense attorneys. I was also having panic attacks really bad, and the judge was sitting here and like we have to wait and the jury was stuck, because I was uncontrollably hyperventilating and you know all this stuff. And the judge is sitting here, talking about how basically bullshit, and speaking down to- and I was freaking out; I mean PTSD pretty bad. I'm in therapy for it. I've been on medication for it. You know? And all of that stuff goes into the process of like how that should have been handled, what went wrong, and stuff like that. So having a panic attack on the stand like you know prosecutor is going at me, "One second she was crying and now she's not crying." I was like, "We took a recess for an hour, and I took my anti-anxiety meds, and I had some water and something to eat. Those things help a panic attack, you freaking moron."

Katie: \*chuckles\*

P5: But like all of that was brought into play within the trial itself. Which means it's appeal basis. And all of that stuff is violations. So yeah. I have no doubt. The only thing is that we don't have to retrial or anything. The public defender's has a group that does nothing but appeals. They are the nerdiest, like know every little bit of every little law according. They do nothing but study. And the appeals process is basically here are all the things that the judge did that was in violation, and here's all the precedent for it. It's not really them submitting legal stuff. There's not . . .

Katie: It's just the paperwork part of it?

P5: Yeah, yeah. And there's obviously going to be an appeal hearing or whatever, but it's not going to be like a huge trial type of situation.

Katie: Mmmhmm.

P5: And the events, all the facts of the case don't even matter. The appeal is based purely on the types of rulings that came down and the violation. If you're in violation, then it gets tossed. There's a laundry list of things so we'll win it easily.

Katie: Oh well, that's good.

P5: Yeah, and it's nice to know there's a domino effect in other Occupys. I mean, I know my own experience, but it's good to hear it's going around.

## Appendix G

### Interview with Participant 6

*May 23, 2014 Initial response to e-mail inquiry*

1. Yes, I do identify myself as a member of the Occupy Movement, as well as what has become a broader and more inclusive activist movement that we often refer to as the Occupy, Anon, and Truth & Freedom Movement. I think of myself as a member of the movement because it stands for some of the best reforms desired and required by a large majority of truly patriotic and fair-minded Americans, who wish to see our government return to a system of, by, and for the people (i.e.: the "99%").
2. The Occupy Movement, and the evolved inclusiveness mentioned above, is very important, in my humble opinion. And, I believe also that other associated global movements are very important and even essential to the proper development of our world and our species.
3. I see the role of social media, such as Facebook, as very crucial to our movement. There has never before, in the history of mankind been such an organizing tool for political cohesiveness, activism, and the appreciation of wholistic Oneness.
4. I personally use social media to create groups to support and better serve the needs of other members and all people in general. We have groups dedicated and devoted to such topics as FOIA submission, Democracy Resources, Global Networking, the Army (enlistment of new members), "hub" or Occupy Central groups, Whistleblower support groups devoted to the uncovering of corruption and abuse in government, and even groups to share the appreciation of the quality of love as a glue that holds together our huge diversity of people that each bring their own unique talents to the reform effort.
5. Many others in the Occupy Movement are doing the same as described above. They are finding areas of online and offline need that help us to fulfill our common purpose and goals, which then in turn helps to combat the greed and other negative aspects of our corporate, self-interest, and money-dominated society.

Most people in the Occupy Movement simply want what is right and fair for ALL the people (not just a select or elite few) to be adopted by our political process, our government, and its affiliated agencies.

*May 24, 2014 My response*

Hello Curtis,

Thank you for your responses. They're very interesting. A few follow-ups:

1. How much time do you think you spend in face-to-face interactions around Occupy as compared to online interactions?
2. Does your family and/or friends support you as an "Occupier" or identify as "Occupiers" themselves? Do you think that influences you?
  - a. What about media representation of Occupy? How does that affect you as an Occupier?
3. You said that Occupy is a global movement. Have you interacted with Occupy groups outside of the USA? What has that been like?
4. Are you familiar with the term 'slacktivism' (the idea that people can click 'like' or watch a YouTube video or sign an online petition and not engage in "on the streets" actions and feel as though they've fulfilled their activism 'quota')? What do you think about it?
5. Finally, some say that the Occupy Movement is dead, what would you say to them?

If you know of some people who would be interested in answering my questions, please either pass my e-mail to them or their e-mail to me, and I will get in touch with them. As I said before, I would prefer phone/Skype interviews to written. But, I would love to get into contact with as many people as possible.

Thank you so much. I look forward to hearing from you again. Aloha!

*June 4, 2014*  
Kathryn,

1. Personally, I spend almost all my activist / Occupy time with online support projects and action / news dissemination, which reflects my elder status and some medical issues.
2. Yes, my wife supports my work and we often discuss reform ideas and the "right and wrong" of government, political and social policies, issues and moral viewpoints. This personal discussion, as well as online group discussions, often helps to identify important issues and possible forms of support or even potentially viable solutions. Obviously some people (the 1%?) are totally closed-minded, narrow-minded, unreasonable, amoral, non-compassionate, and uncaring, or who like the slave owners of old, have a vested monetary self-interest in not changing anything for the better. They callously and foolishly deny the importance of uncorrupted politics, government in service to the people, and even disregard other things such as scientific opinion concerning climate change.

That's their right, of course, but unlike the example of the civil war, we hope that

inevitable change can be brought about peacefully, with the least amount of disruption or damage to life, property and limb, but that would appear to depend on the amount of resistance to healthy change that is encountered.

a. Before I became involved with the Occupy Movement and activism in general, I was under the impression that allegations about such things as mainstream media / FOX news bias, climate change, and NSA communications (warrantless) spying in violation of privacy rights, were nothing more than wild, unsubstantiated, conspiracy theories. Now, most fair-minded, concerned, and clear-thinking citizens have become aware through casual observation, scientific studies, as well as the revelations of such notable whistleblowers as Edward Snowden, that there is significant truth in these and some other such allegations.

3. Yes, I/we interact with global Occupy groups on a daily basis. the Occupy Movement (designated as a peaceful movement) in various forms such as the Occupy, Anonymous, 99%, and Truth & Freedom Movement has gradually become a global revolution. In fact, the efforts to unify those global efforts and determine common reform goals and actions is underway as we speak. That is one purpose of our "**OCCUPY GLOBAL NETWORK**", as well as many other similar connected networks. A search on Facebook reveals many global Occupy groups such as Occupy Ukraine, Occupy Syria, Occupy Russia, Occupy Canada, Occupy Hong Kong, Occupy Australia, Occupy Sydney, Occupy London, Occupy China, and [hundreds of other Occupy city names](#).

It would appear that the time is right for wholistic thinking, global viewpoints and global unity of good and caring people; to help offset and overcome the greed, arrogance and monetary self-interest that has pervaded, corrupted, and infected our society, governments, climate and our world in general. We should make timely and proper reform changes, if not because they are right, if not for ourselves, then for our children, and for their children, and for their children's children.

4. No, I have personally never heard the term "slacktivism". I've heard of "activism" and "hacktivism", but not "slacktivism".

I would never dream of disparaging or presume to prejudge the contributions of other activists by belittling their efforts. Activism is an unpaid, volunteer endeavor that should by definition be something the people involved wish to contribute. Some people write or sing protest songs, some people are artists who make signs, some people like to organize, some like to file FOIA requests, some like to take abuses of authority to court, some like to be publishers of important information and breaking news.

Each person is a unique individual, and therefore each person contributes to the vast diversity of activism in their own way. This allows for a strong, diverse base when

unified as one. Every army or organization must have logistical and support staff as well as those who physically "take it to the streets".

5. Let's consider the definition of the word "dead".:

**dead** | ded |

**adjective**

**1 no longer alive.**

- **having or displaying no emotion, sympathy, or sensitivity.**
- **no longer current, relevant, or important.**
- **devoid of living things.**

**Expired, departed, gone, no more, lost, perished, fallen, slain, slaughtered, killed, murdered, lifeless, extinct, deceased.**

Doesn't sound like the Occupy Movement to me!

We are very much alive... We exhibit strong emotion, sympathy and sensitivity. We are *very* current, relevant and important (see our [Edward Snowden](#), [Elizabeth Warren](#), [Occupy Central](#), and [Occupy Syria](#) groups), in fact, almost all of our groups (with a few exceptions) deal with current, timely, organizational, and/or actionable issues. We support the people. If the people wish to peacefully exercise their constitutional right to freedom of assembly and free speech and/or protest something online, via petition, via FOIA, via the courts, or via the streets, we support them. Would a union be considered "dead" merely because their members were not actively picketing at any given time? - Hardly. - There are obviously many other ways to contribute and to be active.

Thanks for your interest and for your survey. I/we hope to see you continue to participate in the global revolution for democratic reforms, freedom and a better world, in one form or another. Some of us fear for the very survival of our species if we cannot reverse the adverse effects on ourselves and on our world... There is a lot of work to do...

*"Let it not be said that we did nothing."*

## Appendix H

### Online Survey Instrument

#### Collective Identity, Social Media, and the Occupy Wall Street Movement

1. Do you use the Internet?  Yes  No
2. If yes, how much time did you spend using the Internet yesterday specifically for Occupy Wall Street Movement-related activities?
  - Less than 15 minutes
  - 15 minutes to less than a half-hour
  - Half-hour or more but less than 1 hour
  - About an hour
  - More than 1 hour but less than 2 hours
  - 2 hours or more but less than 3 hours
  - 3 hours or more but less than 4 hours
  - 4 hours or more
3. On a typical day one year ago, how much time did you spend using the Internet specifically for Occupy Wall Street Movement-related activities?
  - Less than 15 minutes
  - 15 minutes to less than a half-hour
  - Half-hour or more but less than 1 hour
  - About an hour
  - More than 1 hour but less than 2 hours
  - 2 hours or more but less than 3 hours
  - 3 hours or more but less than 4 hours
  - 4 hours or more
4. About how many hours per week do you spend in activities related to the Occupy Wall Street Movement, online and offline? About \_\_\_\_ hours online About \_\_\_\_ hours offline
5. In the past 30 days, have you
  - a. taken a leadership role?
  - b. attended a general assembly meeting?
  - c. attended an event linked exclusively to the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
  - d. attended an event sponsored primarily by another group affiliated with the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
  - e. contributed money or goods to the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
  - f. spent time at an Occupy camp?
  - g. stayed overnight at an Occupy camp?
6. In the past 30 days, did you
  - a. contribute on an Occupy Wall Street Movement online message board or forum?
  - b. send or receive e-mail with members of the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
  - c. visit the national Occupy Wall Street Movement website?
  - d. visit the deOccupy Honolulu website?
  - e. read e-mail updates, reminders, or newsletter of the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
  - f. post news about the Occupy Wall Street Movement on a social networking site?
  - g. read updates or messages on a social networking site?
  - h. post news about the Occupy Wall Street Movement on a microblogging site?
  - i. read updates and posts about the Occupy Wall Street Movement on a microblogging site?
  - j. send and receive text messages with members of the Occupy Wall Street Movement?

- k. use the Internet or e-mail to invite someone to join the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
7. During a typical month, one year ago, did you
- contribute on an Occupy Wall Street Movement online message board or forum?
  - send or receive e-mail with members of the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
  - visit the national Occupy Wall Street Movement website?
  - visit the deOccupy Honolulu website?
  - read e-mail updates, reminders, or newsletter of the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
  - post news about the Occupy Wall Street Movement on a social networking site?
  - read updates or messages on a social networking site?
  - post news about the Occupy Wall Street Movement on a microblogging site?
  - read updates and posts about the Occupy Wall Street Movement on a microblogging site?
  - send and receive text messages with members of the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
  - use the Internet or e-mail to invite someone to join the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
8. Were you invited over the Internet to join the Occupy Wall Street Movement?    ° Yes    ° No
9. Currently, for activities related to the Occupy Wall Street Movement, about how often do you use the following:

	Several times a day	About once a day	3-5 days a week	1-2 days a week	Every few weeks	Less often	Never
E-mail	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social networking sites (Facebook or Google)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Microblogging sites (Twitter)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image blogging sites (Tumblr or Pinterest)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Video networking sites (YouTube or Vimeo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your cell phone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Instant messaging services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Weblog	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Discussion boards or forums	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



10. One year ago, for activities related to the Occupy Wall Street Movement, about how often did you use the following:

	Several times a day	About once a day	3-5 days a week	1-2 days a week	Every few weeks	Less often	Never
E-mail	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social networking sites (Facebook or Google)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Microblogging sites (Twitter)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image blogging sites (Tumblr or Pinterest)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Video networking sites (YouTube or Vimeo)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your cell phone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Instant messaging services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Weblog	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Discussion boards or forums	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. Overall, do social media have a major impact, a minor impact, or no impact at all on the Occupy Wall Street Movement's ability to

	NO impact	MINOR impact	MAJOR impact
Recruit new members	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Impact local communities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Impact society at large	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Communicate with members	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Find people to take leadership roles	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Organize activities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Draw attention to an issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Connect with other groups	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. In the past 12 months, did social media play a major role, minor role, or no role at all if the Occupy Wall Street Movement accomplished the following activities?

	NO role	MINOR role	MAJOR role	Did not accomplish
Solved a difficult problem or achieved change in your <i>local community</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Solved a difficult problem or achieved change in <i>society at large</i>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Provided financial support or assistance to someone in need	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Provided emotional support to someone in need	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Raised money for a specific cause	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gotten a candidate elected to a public office	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Raised awareness about an important social issue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. Would you say each of the following choices makes it possible for *you* to spend more time participating, less time participating, or has no impact on your participation in the Occupy Wall Street Movement?

	MORE time	LESS time	NO impact
E-mail	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social networking sites (Facebook, Google+)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Microblogging sites (Twitter)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image blogging sites (Tumblr or Pinterest)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Video networking sites	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your cell phone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Instant messaging services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Weblog	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Discussion or message boards	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. Would you say each of the following choices makes it possible for *people in general* to spend more time participating, less time participating, or has no impact on your participation in the Occupy Wall Street Movement?

	MORE time	LESS time	NO impact
E-mail	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social networking sites (Facebook, Google+)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Microblogging sites (Twitter)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Image blogging sites (Tumblr or Pinterest)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Video networking sites	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your cell phone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Instant messaging services	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Weblog	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Discussion or message boards	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

For this section, indicate how you feel about the following statements using the scale provided:

- 1 = Strongly Disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly Disagree

- 15. I am a member of the Occupy Wall Street Movement.
- 16. I consider myself an Occupier.
- 17. If asked if I belong with the Occupy Wall Street Movement, I would say "yes".
- 18. I perceive myself to be similar to other Occupiers.
- 19. I am a typical member of the Occupy Wall Street Movement
- 20. I have attitudes, traits, features, and behaviors that are normal for an Occupier.
- 21. I represent a typical Occupier.
- 22. I feel as though I belong in the Occupy Wall Street Movement.
- 23. When I think of other Occupiers, I predominately think good thoughts.
- 24. My friends/family view Occupiers positively.
- 25. I define myself as an Occupier.
- 26. Being an Occupier is the most significant dimension of me.
- 27. Above everything else in the world, being an Occupier is the most important to me.

- 28.I enjoy interacting with other Occupiers.
- 29.When I have a problem, I will call another Occupier first for advice.
- 30.On the weekends, I would prefer to associate with other Occupiers.
- 31.I have a general understanding of the history of the Occupy Wall Street Movement.
- 32.I understand Occupiers' place in society.

If you would like to be involved further in this study, please provide your e-mail address below and the researcher will contact you to ask a few more, in-depth questions. (Please remember: you are under no obligation to provide this information).

E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you so much for your time and participation!

END OF SURVEY

Appendix I  
Interview Guide

1. Do you identify as a member of the Occupy Wall Street Movement? If so, why do you think you are an "Occupier" (prompt, if they are at a loss: activities, friends, family, "the cause", others' idea of you)?
2. How important is the Occupy Wall Street Movement to you?
3. What do you see as the role of social media in the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
4. How have you personally used social media in the Occupy Wall Street Movement?
5. What do you think of how others are using social media in the Occupy Wall Street Movement?



Appendix J  
Consent Form  
University of Hawai'i at Manoa  
Communication Department

Consent to Participate in Research Project  
**Collective Identity, Social Media, and the Occupy Movement**

You are being asked to participate in a survey that will assist me in collecting data to complete a research project as part of the requirements of my Master's degree program at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. The interview will be about your Internet and social media use as well as your feelings towards yourself, others and the Occupy Movement (also known as Occupy Wall Street).

**Project Description**

The purpose of this study is to examine participants' identification with a social movement in relation to their use of social media with that movement. If you participate, I will speak with you over the phone or through an Internet-based calling service, such as Skype, at a time convenient for you. The interview will take 30-60 minutes. Only you and I will be present during the interview. I will audio-record the interview so that I can later transcribe it and analyze the responses. If you do not consent to being audio-recording but would still like to participate in the project, please note that in your response and I will take written notes instead.

**Benefits and Risks**

There will be no direct benefits to you from participating in this study. The results of this project will facilitate research to contribute to a better understanding of the behaviors of modern social movement participants. I foresee minimal risk to you in participating in this project. You may become stressed or uncomfortable answering any of the interview questions or discussing topics with me during the interview. If you do become stressed or uncomfortable, we can skip the question or take a break. You can also stop the interview or withdraw from the project altogether.

**Confidentiality and Privacy**

I will keep all information in a safe place. Only my University of Hawaii advisor and I will have access to the information. Other agencies that have legal permission have the right to review research records. The University of Hawaii Human Studies Program has the right to review research records for this study. After I transcribe the interview, I will erase or destroy the audio-recordings. When I report the results of my research, I will not use your name. I will not use any other personal identifying information that can identify you. I will use pseudonyms and report my findings in a way that protects your privacy and confidentiality to the extent allowed by law.

**Voluntary Participation**

Participation in this interview is completely voluntary and you may stop participation at any time. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits whether you choose to participate or to not participate. If you do consent to participate, you can withdraw this consent without prejudice, penalty, or loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled.

**Questions**

If you have further questions or concerns about this survey, you can contact me at [kranney@hawaii.edu](mailto:kranney@hawaii.edu), or my faculty advisor, Dr. Jenifer Winter at [jwinter@hawaii.edu](mailto:jwinter@hawaii.edu). You may also contact the University of Hawaii Human Studies Program at (808) 956-5007 or at [uhirb@hawaii.edu](mailto:uhirb@hawaii.edu), if you have questions about your rights as a research participant.

If you consent to participate in this project, please e-mail me indicating your willingness to do so with the following phrase:

*I have read and understand the information provided to me about being in the research project Collective Identity, Social Media, and the Occupy Movement. This e-mail indicates that I agree to participate in this research project.*

Please retain a copy of this consent for future reference.

Thank you for your time!

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