

‘It’s Not a Protest, It’s a Process’: A Critical Analysis of State Power, Class Struggle, and the Occupy Movement

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Abstract

In September 2011, over 2000 people set up a protest camp in Zuccotti Park, New York, to contest the increasing inequality and social injustices, they argued to have been brought about by the few, at the expense of the many. This camp along with thousands of other camps worldwide, that would emerge thereafter, would come to be known as the Occupy movement. This thesis offers an examination of the Occupy movement by way of considering this phenomenon through a neo-Marxist framework, concerning, in particular the matter of class struggle. The research contained within, offers a series of elucidations regarding key theoretical and conceptual concerns, pertaining to matters of state power, in the context of the war of position in the advanced capitalist state and the neoliberal conjuncture. Presented within this specific depiction of the convoluted process that is class struggle, there is also a consideration of potential strategies for alliance. These strategies for alliance are by way of seeking to realise the making of a social class force of 'the people', on the terms of the exploited classes, that would bring with it, a material change within the state, and to that end, greater forms of equality and social justice.

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As a final note, the research itself explores and contains reference to the sometimes fraught relationship between academia-activism. Ultimately this thesis is dedicated to everyone who concerns themselves with challenging inequalities and the difficult task of addressing the crimes and harms of the powerful through the necessary appraisal and contestation of the actions of the exploiting classes at the expense of everyone else. Whether you are an academic, an activist, anyone in-between or outside those parameters this is dedicated to all those who seek social justice and positive change, whoever you are and wherever you may be - in solidarity.

To Ma Fletch, you're alright you la.

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Introduction

'In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and the oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, and once for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles'

Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* 1848.

'Right now, we are in a peak cycle. There's tremendous energy out there, directed against the state. It's not all focused, but it's there, and it's building. Maybe this will be sufficient to accomplish what we must accomplish over the fairly short run. We'll see, and we can certainly hope that this is the case. But perhaps not. We must be prepared to wage a long struggle. If this is the case then we'll probably see a different cycle, one in which the revolutionary energy of the people seems to have dispersed, run out of steam. But - and this is important—such cycles are deceptive. Things appear to be at low ebb, but actually what's happening is a period of regroupment, a period in which we step back and learn from the mistakes made during the preceding cycle. We educate ourselves from our experience, and we educate those around us. And all the while, we develop and perfect our core organization. Then the next time a peak cycle comes around, we are far readier than we were the last time

George L Jackson, *Remembering the Real Dragon- An Interview with George Jackson* May 16 and June 29, 1971

This thesis is concerned with critically examining the concepts of class struggle and state power, within the specific context of the neoliberal conjuncture in the advanced capitalist state, through an investigation of a contemporary social movement: the Occupy Movement. The reason for such an endeavour and framework for analysis is outlined forthwith, beginning with a brief history of the

development of the relationships between the key concepts of social movements, class struggle, and the state.

On Social Movements, Class Struggle, and the State

Despite their perennial nature the concept of social movement(s) itself is quite vague, bordering on the nebulous. The lack of consensus regarding the concept of, and what constitutes, a social movement has been confirmed in, for example, a study and assessment of the terms various usage and deployment (see: Diani, 1992). The first use of the term social movement, can be traced back to 1848 when it was used by Lorenz von Stein in the text *Socialist and Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution*. In this text, von Stein discussed social movements in the context of groups of people organising together to fight for social rights. Despite the inception of the term social movement being from the mid-19th century, the branch of study, as a foci, and a term for which scholarly thought could congregate, did not emerge in any formalised way until the late 1960s. The formalising of this type of study was, in part, as a consequence of the growth of a series of movements, particularly in the West in 1968, such as opposition to the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement (see: Halliwell and Witham, 2018). Early leaders in the formal scholarship of social movements, as a tangible course of study and branch of knowledge, particularly in terms of the consideration of the consequences of such movements, were that of Gamson (1975) Piven and Cloward (1979) and Schumaker (1975) (cited in: Uba and Romanos, 2016). During the period in-between there was vacillating engagement with the term, particularly in the post war period, and before the 1960's, where social movements were more commonly assigned other labels such as 'disruptive forces' or other similar variant terms (see: Touraine, 1985). However, despite becoming a substantial more concrete area of study in the 1960s and 1970s, according to Morris and Herring (1984: 2) 'no definition of social movement enjoys a scholarly consensus and there probably will never be such a definition because definitions inevitably reflect the

theoretical assumptions of the theorist [...] even scholars within the same "school" define movements differently depending on their particular theoretical formulation'. Although diverse in this sense, social movements are often identified by having some fundamental characteristics, as summarised by Gunvald and Nilsen (2009: 132 -133) being that of an 'organisation of multiple forms of materially grounded and locally generated skilled activity' and at the heart of the albeit varied definition of a social movements 'lies a conception of praxis [...] in relation to the making and unmaking of social structures', that is in turn 'capable of open-ended and constructive engagement'.

Whilst the birth of the term social movements may have come about in the mid-19th century and was thus cemented and reaffirmed back into academic language in the late 1960's, as an tangible areas of study, this field once again emerged with a marked sense of 'newness' in the 1980s. During the 1980s, the study of social movements developed into what became known as new social movement(s) or new social movement studies (see: Della Porta and Diani, 2006; Calhoun, 1993; Krinsky, 2013). New Social Movements (NSMs), sometimes in hindsight, refer to those social movements that occurred post 1960s, particularly in advanced capitalist states or countries. However, *new* does not mean that they were unprecedented (Steinmetz, 1994) but instead the term 'new' denotes a form of 'periodization' (ibid: 179), much like the terms modern or postmodern. Moreover, such terms of periodisation are not without boundary-based tensions or disagreements, in terms of where the line is drawn. During this period NSMs became a lexicon, and in turn an attempt at establishing a theoretical system of ideas, including, seeking to establish frameworks in the making of a concrete subject to study (Della Porta and Diani, 2006: vii).

The emergence of NSM studies also had specific points of concern, in particular, the seemingly new ways in which people were coming together to call for social

justice. Previously, before this time, the dominant discourses for matters of struggle, unrest and protest, tended to be more explicitly class based, in the sense of formalised workers unions in the period of industrial development. During this time, the preferred and most common framework for studying social movements was in class struggle terms, where class power was seen through a framework of formalised unionised struggle within industry. The 1960s onward marked a specific period in time where seemingly different other forms of struggle took centre stage - for example feminist movements contesting patriarchal and misogynist structures and institutions in society, civil rights movements contesting legacies of colonialism and racism emanating from that, and/or concerns about the environment that often took a humanist perspective. One of the key features of NSM studies was to examine these 'new' forms of political struggle that seemed to move away from discourses that were more explicitly couched as matters of class. For these reasons, as struggle ostensibly moved away from matters of class in explicit terms, studies in NSM sought to assess these 'new' forms of struggle that now outwardly appeared to be taking place on a different terrain. As argued by Buechler (1995) NSM studies arguably arose, in part, due to the perceived inadequacies of Marxism and class based struggle in the contemporary world of deindustrialisation and the subsequent diffusion of the materiality of class. As social movements' studies grew, there was, for a period, a steady decline in class as a focus (Della Porta, 2015: 11).

The period of growth and development in the study of NSM, which also coincided with a decline in Marxist analysis and considerations of class at the fore, was for a number of further reasons also. In the first instance, this was also due to the perceived general 'failure of Marx's prediction of a revolution emerging from the crisis of capitalism' (Della Porta, 2015: 36). However, the argued decline of Marxist class based analyses was in some respects based on the misconception that

Marxism and Neo-Marxism was explicitly concerned with economic redistribution alone (see: Buechler, 1995; Pichardo, 1997). In this period, where class had seemingly been infiltrated 'by a variety of antagonisms and social identities' (Carroll and Ratner, 1994: 4), it became thus important for a clear response from Marxist and Neo-Marxist theorists. This response required making it clear that Marxist concerns extended beyond that of mere economics and, in turn, required a re-examination of the role and materiality of class in these movements that seemingly expressed themselves through other means. As a result of the development of NSM studies much of the analysis of NSMs now sought to centre around other forms of identity or frameworks, over class based relations. The task for Marxist and neo-Marxist theorists became that of a robust reconsideration of the changing nature of class and its lack of material tangibility in the post-industrial period that was swiftly moving into the period of neoliberalisation. As argued by Skrentny (2002 cited in: Sallaz, 2010: 2) 'if trade unions have lost sway their place has been eclipsed by that of New Social Movements (NSM) organized not along class-lines but rather identities such as those relating to one's race, ethnicity or, gender'. Although class struggle and Marxism was, to an extent, falling out of favour as a preferred framework for analysis the changes in developments in advanced capitalist states made the matter of re-examining the role of class in protest and struggle all the more urgent. As explained by Clark *et al* (1993: 293 original emphasis) 'social class ha[d] declined in its ability to explain social and especially political processes. But it still live[d on]'. Nicos Poulantzas was one such example of a Neo-Marxist writer in this period that recognised that the work stemming from NSM could inform, update, expand, and address any one dimensional Marxism that was based in the economic sphere alone (see: Buechler: 1995). As stated by Carnoy and Castells (2011: 1) in *State, Power, Socialism*, Nicos Poulantzas' conceptualised a state that materializes and concentrates power across both economic and political arenas (see: chapter 2: 2.5).

Deciphering new forms of struggle and protest during the 1960s to present has raised many questions about the makeup, concerns, activities and approaches of social movements in their quest for social justice. Little (2014: 27) describes how in the combined processes of deindustrialisation, and the subsequent period of neoliberal development, what has been witnessed is a form of fracturing among the classes and an argued lack of coming together. Furthermore, in addition to what has already been said, there are various sticking points when it comes to the provocative relationship between NSMs forms of analysis and Marxist/Neo-Marxist forms of analysis. As stated by Gunvald Nilsen (2009: 109), 'Marxism is a body of theory that emanated from and was crafted for social movements. Yet, paradoxically, it does not contain a theory that specifically explains the emergence, character and development of social movements'. As a result, the rise in new social movement studies also saw a growth in psychological analyses of social movements. However, in contrast, Marxism has been credited with playing a major role in some of the shifts in the 1970's away from dominant 'psychological treatments' (Hetland and Goodwin, 2013: 84) and in bringing back more politicised frameworks and discussions into the field of new social movement studies.

NSM studies has a variety of analytical frameworks and tools at their disposal and has spawned analyses based in a variety of formats including Marxist, Weberian, collective behaviour, mass society, relative deprivation and resource mobilization (Morris and Herring, 1984). Some of the most popular frameworks for studying NSM however, such as those in the loosely defined schools which for Krinsky (2013: 105) are 'Collective Behaviour'; 'Resource Mobilisation', 'Political Process' and 'Dynamics of Contention' and 'New Social Movement theory', still remain substantially dominated by particular concerns. There is, by and large, a hefty preoccupation with particular patterns, mostly those related to micro level analyses

on camp (see: Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013b) and also, to an extent, a preoccupation with the role of new technologies such as social media (see: Croeser and Highfield, 2014; Adi, 2015; Beraldo and Galan–Paez, 2013). This has, to an extent, side-lined the politics and process of change and how to form a counterhegemonic movement i.e. a focus on organizational analysis. All of the aforementioned critique gave rise to the term post-Marxism in the 1990s (see: Adam, 1993; Steinmetz, 1994). However, Wilde (1990) contests the term post-Marxism, for whilst new forms of struggle may take place ‘outside’ of industry and formalised unions all new social movements in some respect, ‘express a range of demands which fundamentally threaten the economic and social relations which prevail in the world’ (Wilde, 1990: 56).

Whilst consideration of the micro should not be dismissed (Jasper, 2004 cited in: Krinsky, 2013: 103) there is an argument that a lot of NSMs preoccupation with these listed matters means there is a dearth within the literature of theoretically systematic analyses of macro political structures such as the state and capitalist systems. To an extent, the proliferation of interest in the micro politics within new social movement studies persists. This is evident with a plethora of research of this nature having been conducted on the Occupy movement itself. A large volume of the research on the Occupy movement has tended to focus on the role of technology and the practicalities of organisation (see: Agarwal *et al*, 2014; Mercea, 2013; Skinner, 2011; Thorsen *et al*, 2013). However, whilst the micro politics of NSM persists, at the same time there has been a call to reinstate class cleavage and capitalist dynamics (see: Della Porta, 2015; Kidd, 2015) into the study of new social movements once again.

As argued by Barker (2013: 47), ‘most academic scholarship does not attempt to link “movements” to “class struggle” or, indeed, to “revolution”’ (Barker, 2013: 47) however, whilst ‘new social movements pose a direct challenge to Marxist theories

on what should be their most secure terrain' (Steinmetz, 1994: 176) it is this challenge that perhaps has spurred neo-Marxist analyses on. Whilst there is some argued difficulty in broaching social movements from a Marxist perspective, not least because Marx and Engels themselves ever employed those terms directly (Barker, 2013), Marxist based analyses in the advanced capitalist are in reality, about far more than merely reaffirming 'institutional patterns of political and economic governance across wealthy Western countries' (Kitschelt *et al*, 1999). The result of this has been that 'even though new social movement theory is a critical reaction to classical Marxism, some new social movement theorists seek to update and revise conventional Marxist assumptions while others seek to displace and transcend them' (Buechler, 1995: 442). Although there remains some very real and tangible tensions, often it has been too much the case that in light of the direction of NSM studies, this has led to highly problematic extreme dismissals of social class and its relevance to the point of some claiming that Marxist class based analyses are 'nearly valueless' (Nisbet, 1959: 11). This is not only wholly unfair but misleading in terms of the actual positive relationship between NSM and Marxism that can be established. Hetland and Goodwin (2013) describe the strange way in which capitalism, despite spreading globally, seemed to be even further absent from the study of social movements in their development over the last few decades. This is a strange occurrence because as argued by Calhoun (1993: 391) class analysis has never only 'constitute[d] just one collective actor in a single social drama. There was mobilization over wages, to be sure, but also over women and children working, community life, the status of immigrants, education, access to public services, and so forth. Movement activity constantly overflowed the bounds of the label labor'. Furthermore, Marx himself saw social movements as inevitable, even normal, under capitalism and his interest lay in the dynamics of those that were a potential vehicle for dismantling the capitalist system (see: Morris and Herring, 1984). To posit this in another way, NSMs are

always to some extent wedded to the prevailing structural system that organises society. As described by Hetland and Goodwin (2013: 83) who use LGBT movements to explain how, at a first glance, an absence of capitalism from social movements discourse might on the surface seem 'relatively benign', but that such movements although they 'are not centrally concerned with economic, labour, workplace or other "materialist" issues', and that this may not be explicitly present in the name or language of movement, capitalism and its matter of concern has been significant to these causes in all sorts of ways (ibid). In addition, it is important to be mindful that new social movements, although often couched in other forms of discourse, still pose a threat to the ruling classes (Harvey, 2006) even if the class composition or identity of the counter hegemonic force is questionable. In summary, NSMs and Neo-Marxism have one vital thing in common: they challenge a truth and 'challenge mainstream reality' (Lofland, 2017: xii).

In turn, Marxism also owes something to new social movements, in what begins to emerge, in some respects, as a reciprocal relationship. For example, various feminist movements, have drawn attention to the blurring of the boundaries between the political and personal and private (Offe, 1985). Marxism also owes a lot to the knowledge production arising from new social movement studies such as those whose concern is regarding the environment. Environmental movements, as an example, have made huge contributions in establishing how 'the capitalist drive to accumulate is producing a real danger of ecological catastrophe' (Wilde, 1990: 67). Essentially, despite their differing discourses and framing, new social movements studies has still sought to examine the anti-institutional nature of these movements and their impact on institutions (see: Gladwin, 1994). If this is the case then in turn new social movements are always in some way wedded to the requirement to pay due attention to capitalism as the prevailing system.

Furthermore, regarding NSM studies, 'in order to mount their challenge to that "old" social movement [some] NSM theorists have exaggerated the extent to which it ever was a unified historical actor with a single narrative and a disciplining institutional structure. They have reified and hypostatized the labor movement, setting up the most simplistic Marxist accounts as their straw men' (Calhoun, 1993: 390 -391). As argued by Harvey (2006: 154) 'Neoliberalism has spawned a swathe of oppositional movements both within and outside of its compass. Many of these movements are radically different from the worker-based movements that dominated before 1980. I say "many" but not "all". Traditional worker-based movements are by no means dead even in the advanced capitalist countries where they have been much weakened by the neoliberal onslaught upon their power'. New social movements that have often been framed under other lens other than class have served a key purpose for class based struggle. As argued by Wilde (1990: 56) 'these movements challenge the agenda of 'old' politics which has been overwhelmingly concerned with a limited number of key indices in the management of the national economy'. As argued by Harvey (2006: 154) 'the effect of all these movements has been to shift the terrain of political organization away from traditional political parties and labour organizing into a less focused political dynamic of social action across the whole spectrum of civil society'. This is arguably not something that is instead of or to the detriment of class struggle analyses and examinations, but in their favour. And in the same way that cultural studies can't separate itself from it's 'external' forbearers (see: Hall, 1985 cited in: Grossberg, 1996) if it wishes to thrive neither can NSM disavow Marxism and vice versa. In summary, the challenge for Neo-Marxists studying new social movements has been set: to 'locate class analysis in areas where much social theory has tended to bury it' (Wilde, 1990: 57).

It is important, furthermore, to recognise the organising role of the state and its role

in diffusing class solidarity, remembering that, 'states are institutionally organized in ways that provide recognition for some identities and arenas for some conflicts and freeze others out. States themselves thus shape the orientations of NSMs as well as the field of social movements more generally' (Calhoun, 1993: 387). In summary, 'it is the range of powers that defines the relationship of the state to the social movements' and 'capitalism in its social and institutional forms is "the enemy," but in the current historical context the neoliberal state is the major locus of class struggle' (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2006: 88). What is clear is that 'Marxist theorists saw the need to reformulate their ideas' (Pichardo, 1997: 412) in acknowledgement of the contributions of NSM studies and other forms of analysis that do not have class and the state explicitly at the core of their discourse or frameworks.

As told by Della Porta (2015) the post-2008 period of austerity in the West has given rise to further compelling arguments to bring capitalism, and the various elements this might bring with it, robustly back into the frame of the study of new social movements. Moreover, in light of the many social movements that emerged globally in 2011, it argued by Hetland and Goodwin, (2013: 84) that 'it is time to bring capitalism back into social movement studies' through 'greater attention to causal mechanisms associated with the dynamics of global capitalism will undoubtedly improve the quality of much current social movement analysis' (ibid: 102). Rather than, 'focus exclusively on the short-term and proximate causes of collective action' (ibid: 102) analyses of social movements should be more finely attuned to the wider structural concerns of the contemporary neoliberal conjuncture (ibid). This includes attention to class and its relationship to the state. In previous years, a lack of explicit targeting of the state, through an absence of social movement discourse that explicitly discussed capitalism and class, has led to an assumption, in part, that the role of social movements is not targeting the state and

therefore beyond the state (Van Dyke *et al*, 2004). However, a lack of explicit targeting through discourse does not equate to impact, No matter how a new social movement identifies, 'the state will have to respond to social movements demands to avoid a legitimacy crisis. Some of these demands may not be easy to accommodate within the existing state institutions' (Carnoy and Castells, 2001: 16). Thus, where it has previously been seen, by some, as a case of inevitable incompatibility between Marxist analyses and new social movement studies instead what emerges is an inexorably inextricably interrelated set of fields.

Moving Forward in the Study of New Social Movements and Class Struggle

As argued by Krinsky (2013: 116), 'the task of Marxist theory is to generate insights across levels of analysis that lead us to directly confront the relations between the questions posed by existing movement theories'. The Occupy movement is one such recent social movement that offers suitable fare for this type of exploration. The reason for this is that the Occupy movement, although composite and by no means a static or reified object of study (see: chapter 1), was a movement that made no qualms about naming capitalism as the problem (see: chapter 1: 1.8) and discussed matters of class struggle at length (see: Chapter 2: 2.1).

The reason for studying the Occupy Movement is in part serendipitous in the sense that it was the major social movement of this particular conjuncture. During the period of study, the Occupy movement emerged as a key point of discussion at all conferences and meetings pertaining to protest, struggle, social movements and unrest. In particular, this led to a number of opportunities to form key contacts and relationships pertaining to this movement in particular (see for example chapter 3 3.32). In addition to this, the Occupy movement also brought with it a particular ontological break that was most pertinent to the convoluted history and relationship between new social movements and class struggle, through its provision of a

space for a discussion over the meaning of class, struggle, capitalism, and the state. As described by Angela Davis in 2016, in the text *Freedom is a Constant Struggle*, the Occupy movement, rather than dispense with notions of class, capitalism and the state in favour of terms, instead the movement opened up these key terms for discussion in the context of considering their meaning and being in contemporary forms of struggle. In 2011, the Occupy movement emerged as the latest instalment in the profound and complex history of social movements and class struggle. It was/is both simultaneously exemplary of the need to revisit capitalism, class struggle, and the notion of the state and, equally, a need to reassess such matters in the age of new social movements in the present conjuncture. The culminating paradox is that the study of new social movements is an area that is awash with extensive literature and ideas, but simultaneously, it is also an area where theoretical frameworks and ways of understanding could be developed further (Uba and Romanos, 2016). The following outlines what the reader of this thesis can expect to encounter at each stage of the thesis as this timely and necessary research unfolds.

Aims and Objectives

Aim

To critically analyse the concepts of class struggle and state power in the advanced capitalist state through an examination of the Occupy Movement.

Objectives

To critically draw on the historical body of literature regarding class struggle and (new) social movements to provide a context to the historical developments that foreground the Occupy Movement

To mobilise secondary literature, narrative and accounts emerging from the Occupy Movement in the West to offer a critical conceptualisation of the Occupy Movement

To critically unpack and mobilise the work of Nicos Poulantzas, alongside a body of Neo-Marxist literature, to provide a framework for examination that critically situates the Occupy movement as occurring in the advanced capitalist state: specifically within the monopoly finance capitalist stage of the neoliberal conjuncture

To provide a critical analysis of state responses towards the occupy movement by way of an analysis of primary data collected through interviews and ethnographic work, to explore manifestations of ideological and repression inculcation and its implication for the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture

To draw critical conclusions from this examination of the Occupy movement to provide a series of elucidations regarding the nature of the state, state power, and class struggle in the contemporary conjuncture.

On the Structure of this Thesis

Chapter 1 sets the context for the reader in terms of a review of the Occupy movement cogitating its nature, being and its conceptual parameters. It begins by recounting the origins of the Occupy movement, most notably, those that occurred in New York on 17th September 2011 but also some previously overlooked happenings before this best recognised date of inception. It then describes the growth of the Occupy movement and the many other Occupy camps that transpired around the world estimated to have developed in 950 – 1500 cities (Feigenbaum *et al* 2013; van Gelder, 2011a). It describes how the camps varied in both their conception date and longevity in terms of physical presence but also how despite a series of violent activities pertaining to their dismemberment this was by no means their ideological demise. Furthermore, chapter 1 then details the long list of grievances of the people of the Occupy movement. These ranged from increasing inequality, economic injustice, debt, and joblessness through to rising mass incarceration and a culture of war and violence (see: Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012; Colvin, 2011; Council of Elders, 2011; Foroohar, 2011; Kroll, 2011; Scherer, 2011; The Occupy Wall Street General Assembly, 2011). This litany of grievances was an open-ended list that was as fluid, growing, and complex as injustice and inequality itself. Furthermore, the chapter contains discussion pertaining to the significance of the chosen sites of occupation.

As the chapter continues, it also addresses the notion of the Occupy movement as an expression of anger and frustration that reached breaking point in the austerity years that followed the 2008 financial crisis. This includes its allusion to wide spread indignation that was also reflected in its preceding Spanish counterparts - the Indignados. To this end, the chapter also explores and discusses the relationship between other protests occurring at a similar time such as the Indignados and 'Arab Spring', together with an assessment of its relationship to movements of the past, such as the anti/alter globalisation movements of the

1990s. Moreover, chapter 1 unpacks the 'real democracy' narrative stemming from the Indignados and adopted by many persons within the Occupy movement. This includes its commitment to horizontalism and consensus based decision making, demarcating a clear challenge to the current rigged system and illusion of democracy as is the current condition in the West, which for many years, at best, has only offered a form of diluted capitalism as its 'alternative'.

While chapter 1 makes the necessary considerations regarding the local aspects of an argued global movement the chapter posits that a systematic review of the literature leads to an understanding that the overarching narrative and commonality amongst the movement is that of naming the problem of capitalism. Although the symptoms of capitalism may manifest differently at various local levels, and within different geographical spaces, leading to a variation in the specificity of their demands 'all have expressed similar outrage with the inequities of capitalism' (Writers for the 99%, 2011:5). To this end, the chapter concludes that in its totality the Occupy Movement can be understood as part of the class struggle under capitalist regimes. Whilst it is acknowledged that a class analysis is not the only vehicle at the disposal for those with an inclination to explore the movement in depth, it is no doubt the case that the movement was laced explicitly with plentiful class struggle narratives. The thesis employs a class narrative but equally ensures an understanding of the intersections of identity within, inclusive of a discussion regarding some camps being named 'reclaim' 'decolonize' and '(un)occupy' (Davis, 2011; Schrager Lang and Lang Levitsky, 2012) rather than the term 'Occupy' itself.

Furthermore, chapter 1 delineates that as much as there are substantial things to be known or astutely hypothesised about the Occupy movement; conceptually it remains important to recognise the movement as simultaneously open-ended and fluid. However, it argues that if there is one thing to glean from the movement, it is that amidst the complexity of its fluidity it retains a more constant feature of

positing itself as an ostensibly¹ counter-hegemonic movement. It is argued that even its harshest critics who sought to discredit the movement by claiming it did not know what it was for, although this claim is contested within the chapter, it was never once suggested that it did not know what it was against. One of the ways the movement sought to realise its counter-hegemonic narrative was through the rhetorically powerful and often quoted 'we are the 99 per cent' and/or '1 per cent Vs per cent' refrains. These ubiquitous mantras were symbolic of the Occupy movement's attempts to position itself as a counter-hegemonic movement, as the challenger of David to the unencumbered Goliath of capital. However, as argued by Colvin (2011: 64), 'it's a bit odd that the most popular Occupy Wall Street sign says, WE ARE THE 99%. The statement doesn't make accusations or demands. It just sits there, loaded with a narrative the viewer has to unpack'. The thesis departs from this point with a broad question regarding what the crevices of the relationship between the so-called 99per cent and the 1 per cent looks like in greater depth. And following on from this, what the Occupy movement might reveal about the nature of that relationship, and in turn what this might mean for our understanding of the state, state power, and class struggle.

This thesis predominately focusses on the Occupy Movement in the Western context both in terms of the secondary literature employed (deriving largely from the US and UK) and the sites of primary data collection (Occupy sites in Liverpool and London in the UK). Therefore, in chapter 2, titled 'The Advanced Capitalist

¹ In the first instance the author use the term 'ostensibly' as a pre-fix to the term counter hegemony in order to demonstrate that, much like it's adversary of the hegemonic project it is never complete. Thus it follows that counter-hegemony is a processual and itself neither fixed, nor perhaps most importantly not complete also. What is meant by this is that counter-hegemony is a matter of becoming as well as being, to borrow a phrase from Hall (1994) and is tied up in both its past, present and future. In the practical sense counter-hegemony is never whole and complete in the advanced capitalist state and can often exhibit non-counter hegemonic elements such as misogyny and patriarchy (for an example see: Downes et al, 2016). Henceforth, the author will use the term counter-hegemony without the prefix of the term ostensibly however, the reader should be mindful that in referring to counter-hegemony, they refer to a counter-hegemonic project that should not be reified and is neither whole nor complete.

State, the War of Position and Class Struggle in the Neoliberal Conjuncture: The Theoretical Landscape', what is outlined is the conceptual and theoretical parameters of the conditions under which the Occupy movement, in this context, took place. This is in effect a further scene setting exercise that lays the ground for the recognition of a number of important impacting factors, the first of these being the war of position and the advanced capitalist state. As the thesis focusses predominately on the factions of the Occupy movement based in the West, it is therefore noted that the particular context of this occurrence is in the advanced capitalist state and subsequently the war of position. In the first instance this chapter navigates the conceptual parameters of the advanced capitalist state that is described as having both 'constant' and 'in flux' features. In the case of the advanced capitalist state, it is situated as a state with visual perpetual crisis indicators. These include, but are not limited to, economic collapse and recession, austerity measures as a solution to privately accrued debts through financial misappropriation, the dismantling of the welfare state, perpetuating the myth of a self-regulating market, continued shifts towards debt-financing rather than real time increase in wages, the weakening of unions and the shift towards privatisation with a reliance on state intervention to rectify the mistakes of corporate bodies (see: Wolfe, 1983; Baccaro and Howell, 2011; Harvey, 2011; Streeck, 2011). Beyond these visible symptoms there is also, perhaps most importantly, a further set of complex systematics seeking to serve the role of an 'ideological unifier' (Green, 1993). In other words, not only is the advanced capitalist state one of inequality and crisis but it is one that simultaneously and perversely serves the role of garnering popular support from the exploited classes, for the agenda of capital. In the second instance, although the advanced capitalist state exhibits 'constants' it is argued to be equally 'in flux'. Thus, within the constants of the overarching features of the advanced capitalist state, there remains nuanced differences through the recognition of the institutional, temporal

and spatial differences of the manifestation of capitalism; described in one way as the 'pluralization of capitalism' (Peck and Theodore, 2007).

It is this description and conceptual understanding of the advanced capitalist state that gives rise to the second condition under which the thesis case study site sits; that of the war of position. The war of position, in the first instance, is perhaps best summarised as how, as a result of the ideological prowess of state apparatus in its current form under the organisation of the power bloc², that class struggle in this context emerges as a long entrenched struggle over the hearts and minds of the masses. This is a lengthy, complex and difficult struggle that, according to Gramsci, must be won first rather than a direct attempt to commandeer state apparatuses, which would only result in an argued fragile victory that could easily be reversed. In Gramscian terms, this long entrenched ideological struggle is termed the war of position, and the latter, regarding seeking to appropriate the means of the state, is termed the war of manoeuvre. As this chapter further details, it is also important for those seeking to make sense of the Occupy movement to not fall foul of any misappropriated measurements of 'success' against an illogical, if not nigh on impossible, direct war of manoeuvre. It is particularly important to recognise this and situate the case of the Occupy movement in the West within this war of position terrain, however the original war of position thesis from Gramsci is subject to reconsideration in the latter parts of the thesis.

Despite chapter 2, taking some initial conceptual cues of a Gramscian derivation the thesis then takes a Poulantzian turn to delineate the necessities pertaining to notions of class, class struggle, the making of social class force, and the state. It argues for the usefulness of Poulantzian theory as an overarching flexible framework, alongside drawing upon other propositions of various Marxists thinkers, and others, as Poulantzas also did himself. It is argued, that Poulantzas' offerings

² For a definition and discussion regarding the concept of the power bloc please see chapter 2 (2.53).

in terms of discussion pertaining to class, class struggle, and the state, exhibit a high level of theoretical systematicity whilst offering the necessary flexibility to reflect the fluidity of the conditions under which the Occupy movement occurred. The chapter continues by procuring a new reading of Poulantzas take on the state as *the specific material condensation of a relationship of social class forces*. Furthermore, this chapter reviews the work of Poulantzas once more in order to better understand the constitution of 'social class force'; something which is contested in the subsequent readings and efforts of others, to make the work pliable to new theoretical endeavours pertaining to the state and state power. Drawing predominately upon *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (CCC), whilst making the necessary cross reference points going backwards to *Political Power and Social Classes* (PPSC) and forwards to *State, Power, Socialism* (SPS), this chapter makes some preliminary assertions regarding the argued structural determination of classes in the neoliberal conjuncture of the advanced capitalist state, inclusive of considering where the notions of the 1 per cent and 99 per cent sit within this framework. It is from this departure point, that it is revealed to the reader that the main focus of the thesis is the translation of the structural determination class into class positions in the neoliberal conjuncture which, in turn, predicate the base and potential constitution of the making of social class force. At this stage this leaves the reader in situ to then continue the journey of untangling the amorphous of state power, and understandings of the workings of the exploiting classes, which becomes vital; for, in the words of Poulantzas (1974: 9), 'an essential component of revolutionary strategy consists in knowing the enemy well'.

Chapter 3 - 'Researching the Occupy Movement in the Advanced Capitalist State, War of Position and Class Struggle in the Neoliberal Conjuncture' - presents a further practical account of the processes concerned with the execution of the research. Underpinning this, in the first instance, is a consideration of the

relationship between academia and activism, a field fraught with anxiety and erroneous binaries that are argued to not exist in practice (Wright, 2009: 379; Grewcock, 2012: 113; Kasperek and Speer, 2013: 266). Working through the plethora of available literature, this chapter offers a summative review of the current writings on this matter, and offers an alternative conceptualisation of the academic-activist milieu, one that runs parallel with and sits within the wider theoretical framework for the thesis that is situated within struggle. In summary, it asks that the reader consider the relationship between 'academia' and 'activism' not as a conceptual binary construct but as complex and nebulous as the state itself. It argues that persons within the academy not be anointed with labels or degrees of academic or activist in a positivistic typology. Instead, it posits that persons within the academy exist within struggle, and therefore, that these persons engage in a set of practices within the academy, itself a site of struggle.

Together with the consideration of the wider structural conditions under which this research took place, this chapter then maps out the practicalities of carrying out the research. This includes, research design, data collection, issues arising in the 'real' pertaining to suspicion on camp in terms of concerns regarding undercover policing, negotiating interviews, the role of gatekeepers, the realities of the practice of ethics in this particular field, and adding thickness to interviews through multi-ethnographic place making. In summary the method, although comprehensive and supported with a robust set of considerations, presents itself as a necessarily open ended and disobedient process (much like the Occupy movement itself), and is ultimately described as a wide-ranging immersion in multifarious forms and sites of struggle.

Chapter 4 'The Organising Role of [the] State: 'Ideological Inculcation', Concessions and Contradictions', marks the first of two analytical chapters concerned with tracing the nuances of the translation of the structural

determination of class, into class positions in the conjuncture, as seen through the Occupy movement. It considers, in greater depth, the neoliberal conjuncture and subsequently what it means to 'actually exist in neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 349). Tracing the impacts of the years in which some young people 'came to think being a banker was sexy' (Taussig, 2013: 9) it considers the development of the neoliberal project from the 1980s onwards. In doing so, it posits a number of matters. Firstly, it considers the varying degrees of success in 'neoliberalising subjects' (MacLeavy, 2008) which range from internalisation and aspiration pertaining to neoliberal ideology, through to a recognition of the wide range of injustices it brings. It further considers the 'effect of isolation' (Poulantzas, 1968) that, in the context of increasingly insecure, precarious, and high unemployment rates, serves to limit the possibility of solidarity and action at the economic level. This however, does not necessarily equate to limiting desires for solidarity and organisation in ideological and political realms. This chapter subsequently considers the Occupy movement as a manifestation of such desires, and as indicative of a population that is a veritable 'tinderbox, ready to explode' (Monaghan and O'Flynn, 2012: 9), attributed in particular to the acutely callous austerity years that followed the 2008 financial crisis. For this reason, the chapter continues to trace the makeup of the Occupy movement, which includes the recognition of the role of students and graduates as the driving force behind the movement. This group of millennials were, in turn, joined by comrades of old, such as the neo-anarchists and members of the labour movement, who supported them through sharing their previous collective experience.

Chapter 4 continues by exploring events as they unfolded, after the founding of the Occupy movement. In particular, it places emphasis on the importance of embodied discussion with both the external public and amongst those internally, within the movement itself. It considers a range of matters including the

movement's distinctly pedagogic nature, and the trials and tribulations associated with an intrepid venture that sought to further the opportunities arising from the fractures in the crisis that, in turn, might give rise to meaningful change to redress social injustice. Moreover, this chapter discusses the difficulties in achieving a total extraction from the neoliberal mire and, as such, concludes that the organising and disorganising role of the state, results in ambiguous bodies, or entities, that can exhibit both Träger³ and counter- hegemonic qualities. This also underscores the importance of creating spaces for *process* which, although they may never sit entirely outside the state are, as far as possible, 'not mediated by commodities or mainstream political discourse' (Hoffman, 2011: np).

The second part of the analysis, chapter 5, is dedicated to exploring 'The Organising Role of [the] State: 'Repression Inculcation', Concessions, and Contradictions'. It is important to note that although necessarily separated for the prerequisite of the linearity associated with a written thesis, to discuss matters of ideology and repression 'inculcation' in this way, is not to distinguish state apparatus as either/or in their function, a matter which is further attended to within the conclusion. Chapter 5 begins with a critical depiction of repression, force, and violence as seen at the Occupy movement. It delineates the use of existing law combined with the foresight of the state in enacting new byelaws to affect the Occupy movement adversely. It further considers the manifestation of repression, force, and violence in the advanced capitalist state and the peculiarities of such acts that are both 'seen' and 'unseen', guaranteed and yet arbitrarily employed. Moreover, it discusses the particularities of acts of state repression, force, and violence in the neoliberal conjuncture and the role of private security functionaries that afford the state ways in which to further augment its powers and distance itself further from these acts.

³ See chapter 4 - 4.3 regarding the use of the word Träger in this context.

Furthermore, chapter 5 is dedicated to considering the role of the 'renegade' in matters of repression 'inculcation'. It does this by exploring the protective role played by Giles Fraser, the then Canon Chancellor of St Paul's Cathedral, at Occupy London Stock Exchange (LSX) which is attributed with Occupy LSX's longer physical presence, than its New York based counterpart. An examination of the 'renegade' provides the context for further discussion regarding the all-important question of alliances in the road to democratic socialism (Poulantzas, 1978).

To conclude, chapter 6 – 'Conclusion: Finding *Process* in Protest' - performs a holistic review, and reflection, that delivers a number of conclusory remarks. In the first instance, it reiterates that this examination is not to speak *for*, but to speak *of*, the Occupy movement and class struggle. In addition, it provides an important codicil to the original Gramscian conception of the war of position. This codicil calls for a new conceptualisation of the war of position - one that continues to acknowledge the long entrenched and processual nature of class struggle in the advanced capitalist state, without succumbing to ill-conceived and problematic binaries that are not reflective of the actualities of the state, and state power.

Moreover, chapter 6 provides a synopsis of the translation of the structural determination of class, into class positions in the neoliberal conjuncture, as seen through the Occupy movement. In doing so, this not only serves to illuminate this relationship, that was left unreconciled by Poulantzas (see: Jessop, 1985), but to also put forward potential new strategies for alliance in class struggle. The suggestions for strategies in alliance are premised upon the need to limit the state's ability to enact repression, force, and violence upon spaces of *process*, spaces that are required, due to the intrinsically processual nature of class struggle. It is vital that any alliances, utilised in order to form a social class force of 'the people', do not become subsumed through compromises, as has been the case in past endeavours (Ross, 1978). A requirement for successful revolutionary strategy is

the making of a social class force that transpires on the terms of the working classes themselves. In conclusion, this thesis argues that there is nothing inevitable about the processes that are critically analysed and discussed within, and in that sense everything remains, optimistically, in play. However, the translation of the structural determination of class to class positions in the conjuncture will always require, and should welcome, constant and systematic review. This review should be relevant to, inclusive of identifying and reflecting on, new expressions and formations of the many aspects of the processes of class struggle, that are as fluid as much as they are constant, in their various spatial and temporal arrangements.

'So here's my recommendation for the mainstream media: The next time you write an "Occupy is dead" story – and you will, because the movement, or a version of it, is not going anywhere – please fulfil your responsibility as a journalist and include the fact that coordinated, weaponised, and sanctioned state repression greets Occupiers every single place they go'

(Dan Kaplan, Occupy Wall Street).

The quotes that appear in boxes within Chapter 1 are both pertinent to the content but are also a homage to the many signs and messages displayed at Occupy globally.

Chapter 1: The Occupy Movement

1.1 Introducing the Occupy Movement

'Are you ready for a Tahrir moment? On Sept 17, flood into lower Manhattan, set up tents, kitchens, peaceful barricades and occupy Wall Street'

(Adbusters, 2011: np).

On 17th September 2011, in what Butler (2011a: 193) described as an 'unprecedented display of popular will', approximately 200 people in the first instance (Rawlings, 2011) growing to up to 2000 by some estimates (Schneider, 2011 cited in Davenport, 2011:87), took to the streets of New York to undertake an occupation of 'public' space that would come to be known as Occupy Wall Street (OWS). The act was prompted by a call to action from the Canadian based culture jammers⁴, Adbusters and derived from author Justine Tunney's blog post that asked 'Are you ready for a Tahrir moment?' (Adbusters, 2011: np). Displaced by state and corporate authorities from their original intended site of occupation directly on Wall Street, the protestors took to the quasi-public space in nearby Zuccotti Park to set up camp and begin the occupation, whose physical presence would last until its violent removal by New York state and corporate officials almost two months later on 15th November 2011. According to Kroll (2011: 19), 'no one anticipated [in excess of] a month long protest emerging out of the events of September 17'.

Despite the seemingly spontaneous well-received response to the call to action from the Canadian based culture jammers, there is, however, a more of nuanced history to the origins of the movement in those early days of inception. September

⁴ Culture Jammers/Culture Jamming, which may also be referred to as guerrilla communication, subvertising and/or brandalism, is a form of protest against mass consumerism with a particular focus on the harms caused by multinational corporations. It involves the subverting of mass advertising most commonly through the production of mock or spoof advertisements that are a parody of the original advert

2011, and the 'official' occupation of Wall Street, was not the first of its style attempted that year. Inspired by the *bravura* of activities taking place across the world in key symbolic locations, the first recorded action in New York that year, came from a group named the Occupation Empire State Rebellion who attempted to occupy Zuccotti Park on 14th June 2011, three months before OWS. However, their call to action was responded to by just four people (Bennett, 2011 cited in Davenport, 2011: 87). In addition to this, in August of that year a group of around thirty people met at 16 Beaver Street, New York, which led to the formation of the New York City General Assembly (NYCGA), to discuss a similar occupation manoeuvre at the bronze bull statue on Wall Street.

The NYCGA were seeking to protest against the continued and increasing implementation of budget cuts and austerity measures within the city (Graeber, 2011a; Kroll, 2011). Included within this group were two key figures, Begonia, an artist and teacher at the Harlem School of Arts, and Luis, a Professor of Spanish literature and cultural studies at University of Pennsylvania (Moreno-Caballud and Sitrin, 2012; Scrivener, 2011), both of whom had brought their experiences from occupations in Spain and were the ones who suggested replicating the General Assembly (GA)⁵ format derived from the Indignados⁶ as well as the occupation style set-up itself (Kroll, 2011). This August effort, which this time was inclusive of testing out the GA method of organising and acting, was met with a lukewarm

⁵ The General Assembly (GA) was a regular forum open to all who wished to participate in the movement and was the primary consensus based decision making body of the Occupy movement.

⁶ The Indignados (literal translation 'The Indignants') began with a mass rally in Madrid on 15th May 2011. Following on from the initial activity, people all over Spain began camping out in the squares and plazas of major cities and towns across Spain. It is estimated that in 2011 alone, a total of 21,000 Indignados driven protests took place in Spain (see: AFP, 2016). In Spain itself the movement is often referred to as 15-M (May 15 Movement) due to its origins, and gave rise to the new Podemos political party in 2014 which received 21% of the vote in Spain's 2016 national election (BBC, 2016). Referred to, by some, as a precedent to Occupy Wall Street (Castañeda, 2012) the movement had a strong anti-austerity focus, tapping into existing networks and movements such as Democracia Real YA (Real Democracy NOW) or Juventud Sin Futuro (Youth Without a Future). It was argued that the movement 'was born out of anger at the influence of powerful financial institutions over policy-making, and the impact of Spain's deepest economic crisis in decades' (Rainsford, 2011).

response in terms of actualised bodies on the streets. However, the remnants of the smaller, attempted, earlier occupations were left simmering and there remained a cohort of diverse activists in New York who 'itched for another occupation' (ibid: 17). This assorted group of activists was comprised of a creative mix of varied experience with a profound international spirit and 'that international spirit would galvanize Occupy Wall Street' (ibid). As further argued by Kroll (2011: 19), 'if Adbusters provided the inspiration, the New York City General Assembly (NYCGA) and other community groups provided the ground game that made Occupy Wall Street a reality'.

Within weeks of the September 17th 2011 occupation of Zuccotti Park, the movement would spread to nearly every continent (Harcourt, 2013; Writers for the 99%, 2011). An analysis of social media sign up data suggested that 'the Occupy Wall Street movement doubled in size, on average, every three days through its first month' (Scherer, 2011: 6). Over the course of the following months, and in many cases within weeks, the occupation style of action would also occur in between 950 -1500 cities worldwide (Feigenbaum *et al* 2013; van Gelder, 2011a) including but not exclusively Anchorage, Albuquerque, Buenos Aires, Cape Town, Fairbanks, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Johannesburg, Knoxville, Los Angeles, Madrid, Manila, Sydney, Tokyo, Toledo and Ulan Bator (van Gelder, 2011a; Feigenbaum *et al* 2013; Scherer, 2011; Worth, 2013). Kroll (2011: 21) describes the moment that the Occupy movement went 'truly global' as the October 15th day of action when, 'in 951 cities in eighty-two countries around the world, people [were] marching under the banner of "October 15"' (see: figure 1.1). By October 2011, the second month of the occupation, 'more than half of those polled said they had heard of Occupy Wall Street' (Scherer, 2011: 10)⁷. With such an extensive presence in hundreds of cities

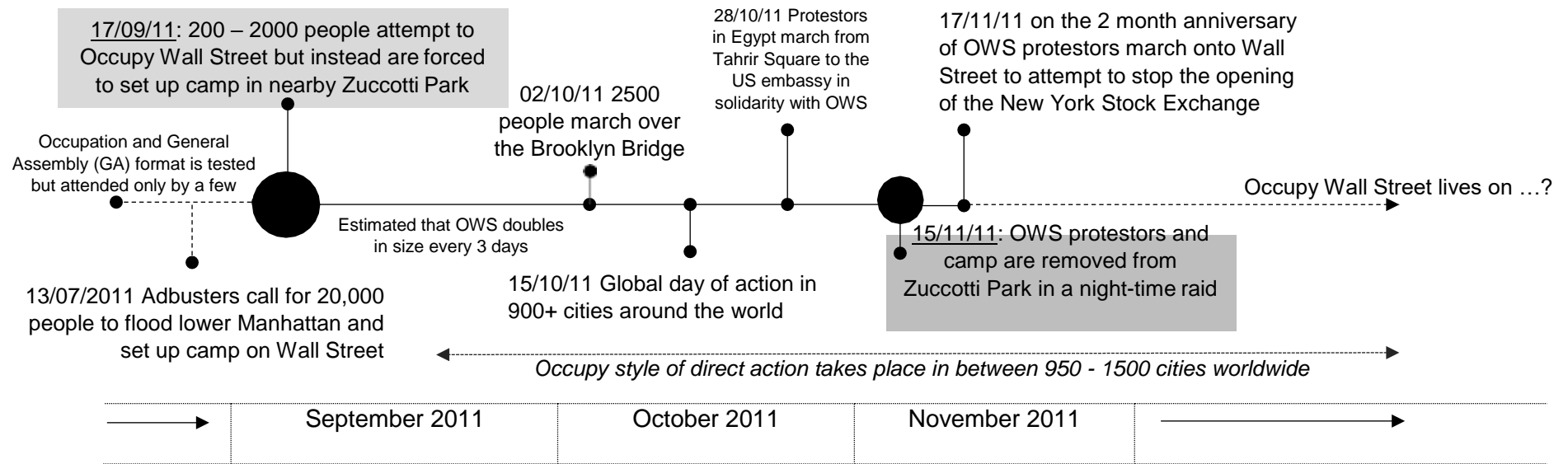
⁷ The passages contained within detail the scope and range of the protests geographical which in turn give some indication of size on the ground. However, it is noted that 'in the digital age, the size of a protest is no longer a reliable indicator of a movement's strength [...] a protest does not have power just because many people get together in one place. Rather, a protest has power insofar as it signals the underlying capacity of the forces it represents'

worldwide, it would be impossible to recount the intricate details of all events pertaining to every Occupy camp that was in existence during this period, nor is such an endeavour strictly necessary. Having said this, however, for functionary purposes figure 1.1 provides a brief visual aid to accompany this chapter and depicts some of the key events occurring at in the two 'main' Occupy sites (in the Western context), which form the main secondary literature and primary data collection sites of investigation for the thesis.

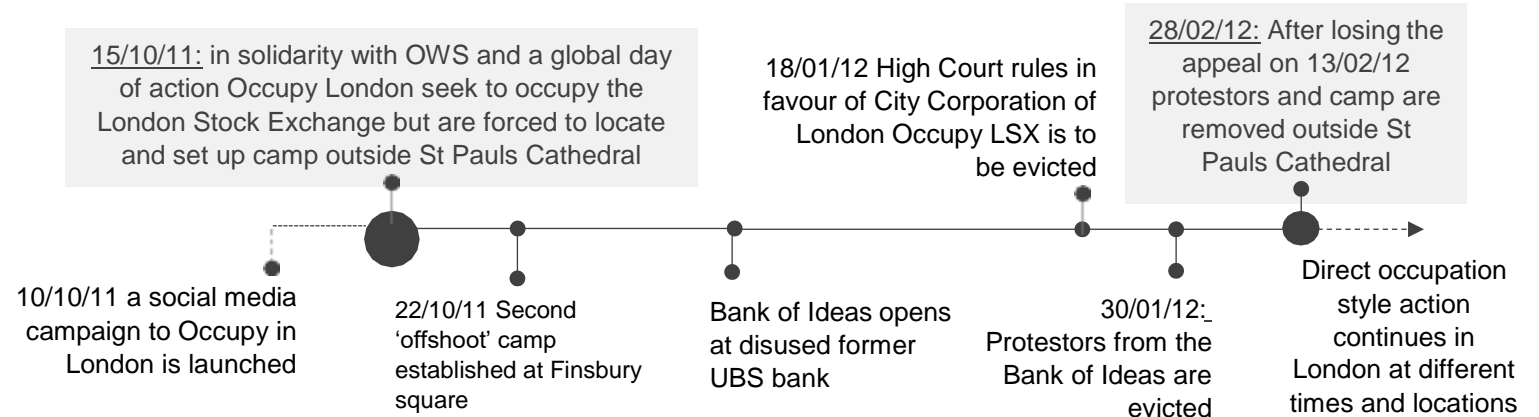
(Tufekci, 2017: np). This was demonstrated when camps were physically removed, as stated by Schultz (cited in: Jamieson, 2016: np) 'I'm still occupying [...] it never ended for most of us'.

Figure 1.1 Occupy Wall Street and Occupy London Stock Exchange timeline of key events

Occupy Wall Street (OWS) [below]



Occupy London Stock Exchange (Occupy LSX) [above]



1.2 On Multiple and Extensive Grievances

‘Our partial joblessness and alienating democratic system may be very real, our reasons for congregating concrete, but the precise causes of our distress are far off, the specific solutions perhaps further’

(Schmitt *et al*, 2011: 6).

The seemingly spontaneous ‘out of nowhere like a virgin birth’ (Schnell, 2011: 4 cited in Davenport, 2011: 87) appearance of the Occupy movement has complex origins situated in the chaotic post-2008 financial crisis environment and in 2011, the so-called year of direct action. Gaining a comprehensive grasp on the reasons for the movement’s inception is not altogether an easy task because, as argued by van Gelder (2011a: 4), as a result of a system so inexhaustibly broken, the reasons for the emergence of the Occupy movement are so extensive that ‘it is dizzying to try and name them all’. However, in turning to the many emerging narratives from, and about, the movement we can begin to piece together a preliminary understanding, and list of reasons, as to why the occupations came to be. These include, but are not limited to: the lie of the American dream⁸, inadequate healthcare, lack of upward mobility/falling social mobility, increasing inequality, economic injustice, the reckless action of the banking and finance industry, joblessness, multinational corporations, growing debt, the decline of the social safety net, rising mass incarceration, a culture of war and violence, increasing influence of the wealthy, and corrupt politicians (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012; Colvin, 2011; Council of Elders, 2011; Foroohar, 2011; Kroll, 2011; Scherer, 2011). The ‘official’ list of a broad range of grievances (Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013) are further summarised and can be found in the Declaration of the Occupation of New York City (The Occupy Wall Street General Assembly, 2011) and closely

⁸ Roth (2011: 25) in their piece titled Letters of Resignation from the American Dream describes and explores the many stories of American people as found on the “We are the 99 per cent” Tumblr. They tell of how it demonstrates an amassed population of formerly educated persons laden with debt ‘clinging precariously to an idea of middle-classness that seems more and more to be a chimera of the past’.

correspond to those listed here. To further highlight the wide- ranging issues arising, this list also plays host to a footnoted disclaimer that the grievances listed, even in the more formalised document (see appendix A) stemming directly from the movement itself, are not all inclusive.

Corporate media outlets were quick to comment on the grievances expressed and perhaps even more so keen to suggest that the movement lacked clear and coherent demands (see: McKinley, 2011; McVeigh, 2011a; Ostroy, 2011), something both Occupy and various commentators have contested (see: Jacobs, 2011; Weissman, 2011). The Occupy movement had many desires and demands in terms of moving forward, such as wishing ‘to restore government to citizen control, to regulate finance for the common good, and to get the banks out of the business of buying legislators and influencing law’ (Schmitt *et al*, 2011: 3). Similarly, the movement called for collective liberation, imposing new taxes on financial transactions, opportunity equality (Scherer, 2011: 6), ‘the right to food, shelter and employment’ (Butler, 2011a: 193) and overwhelmingly the need to address ‘economies rigged to benefit a wealthy few at the expense of everyone else’ (Kroll, 2011: 21). As stated by Livingston (2011: 35), ‘Occupy Wall Street has never suffered from a lack of rationale plans and proposals, as some allege. Here’s some for you: progressive taxes, financial regulation, healthcare, jobs, socialism. Take your pick. I have more’. Equally, despite some clear overarching demands, the movement maintained an openness to exploring alternative futures and possibilities. For Sitrin (2011: 9), ‘new structures are constantly being explored, so that we may create the most open, participatory, and democratic space possible. We all strive to embody the alternative we wish to see in our day-to-day relationships’.

1.3 On Anger and Frustration

I'm So Angry I Made a Sign

(Occupy Wall Street Poster).

As the effects of the 2008 financial crisis continued to take its toll with the private debt bubble being continually and unremittingly transferred to the public realm through ever deepening austerity cuts, by the year 2011, the Occupy based events, particularly in the context of the West, might be viewed as a breaking or tipping point of anger and frustration at what had happened and was continuing to happen. As noted by Chomsky (2012: 54), 'the population is angry, frustrated, bitter and for good reasons'. Barbagallo and Beuret (2011: 46) even went so far as to describe the Occupy movement as being evocative of a 'mass surplus'⁹ of bodies living without a future'. The reverberations of dissatisfaction regarding the injustice of the '1 per cent' escaping seemingly unscathed whilst the '99 per cent' paid the price¹⁰, were perhaps being expressed using Occupy as a host and setting for those feelings. As argued by Cowen and de Rugy (2012: 411), 'perhaps most of all, they [Occupy] are unhappy that those they consider responsible for the financial crisis have paid no price for the damage they inflicted'. With mass swathes of the population feeling the effects of a crisis they did not cause, combined with their voices being simultaneously and systematically ignored, those who had been dropped into the post 2008 *oubliette* of capitalism were ostensibly seizing an opportunity to say 'we are here! Recognise us?' (Tarrow, 2011: np). For some, such as Fischer (2011: np), the movement was evocative of the 1976 film, *Network*, where 'a television news anchor man [sic] reaches breaking point and yells out live on the air, "I'm as mad as hell, and I'm not going to take this anymore!" He gets thousands,

⁹ The 'mass surplus' denoted to by Barbagallo and Beuret (2011: 46) refers to the large presence of working class persons who are either without employment and/or laden with debt, that remain part of the working class as a 'reserve army' (D'Amato, 2014: 1), the continued pacification of this group is integral to the continuation of the neoliberal project.

¹⁰ The 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent was a phrase used by the Occupy movement to denote the increasing concentration of wealth by the few at the expense of the many. For other connotations pertaining to this adage see Chapter 2.

maybe millions, of Americans to open their windows and yell the same phrase into the streets below'. With 'occupy rage' and 'widespread indignation' being frequently referred to (Colvin, 2011: np; Ruggiero: 2012: 11) it was argued by Žižek (2012: 83) that 'the Wall Street protests were thus a beginning, and no doubt one always has to begin this way, with a formal gesture of rejection'.

1.4 On Reclaiming Space and Place

'Occupy Wall Street, as many have noted, isn't just a protest, it's a reclamation of public space, a new commons for people who feel left out and left behind by the current system'

(Jaffe, 2011: 255).

Mitchell (2013: 101: original emphasis) has argued that the iconic moments of the occupation 'are not those of *face* but *space* [that being] the figure of occupation itself'. The physical occupation of space and the symbolism of assorted locations worldwide was quickly revealed as highly significant to the movement. In the context of OWS, and other major cities such as Occupy London Stock Exchange (Occupy LSX), which began a month after OWS, the spaces occupied, or attempted occupations, being mindful that due to private land ownership these occupations were forced to the peripheries of their namesake locations, highlighted the finance and banking industry as central to the problem(s) generated by the crisis (Dias, 2011). The visibility of the occupations in meaningful and significant locations was vital, offering what Graeber (2011b: 38) described as 'visible alternatives [that] shatter the sense of inevitability' of the current conditions, created in part, by the institutions that resided there. Occupy camps were not merely sites of protest, anger, rage, and indignation alone but examples of alternative functioning spaces providing a series of vital services that had been stripped back through austerity. As described by Jaffe (2011: 254) writing from OWS, 'free healthcare, a sanitation team, a public library, solar power and free childcare are just a few of the services the Occupy Wall Street protestors are providing'. Ultimately as

argued by Gupta (2011, cited in *ibid*: 255) 'the mere presence itself became almost the politics of it'.

Figure 1.4 Occupy London Stock Exchange (Occupy LSX)

Occupy London Stock Exchange (Occupy LSX) followed in the month after the start of Occupy Wall Street when on 10th October 2011 a social media campaign to occupy in London was launched. As part of the 15th October Global Day of Action approximately 200 – 300 people gathered outside the London Stock Exchange to demand social justice and to hold the powerful to account for the inequalities they had caused (see: occupylondon.org.uk). Much like Occupy Wall Street, the crowd were banned from setting up within the financial district of London and thus instead set up camp outside the nearby St Paul's Cathedral. The camp of up to 170 tents remained there until the protestors' forcible eviction on 28th February 2012 when the High Court ruled in favour of the City Corporation of London and refused an appeal by members of the movement to remain (BBC, 2012a). A second smaller Occupy camp at Finsbury Square London, which had begun in the latter part of October 2011, lasted longer with their eviction and similar appeal refusal taking place on the 14th June 2012 (BBC, 2012b). In the years that followed, Occupy remerged in newer forms at various intervals such as Occupy Faith, Occupy Democracy, and Occupy Media. However, they were unable to sustain these camps for little longer than a week at a time. The interviews for the research included participants who had partaken in the original Occupy LSX alongside interviews with those present at Occupy Democracy. Alongside the interviews ethnographic work took place at various forms of camps and events associated with Occupy Faith, Occupy Democracy and Occupy Media (see: chapter 3 - Method in the Advanced Capitalist State, War of Position and Class Struggle in the Neoliberal Conjuncture).

In a similar vein, the importance of space, and who gets to fill it with meaning (Harvey, 2012), and the 'ownership' of space, was alluded to further by Minton (2011) who argued that even after, for example, Occupy London Stock Exchange (Occupy LSX) lost its battle with the City Corporation of London, and was evicted in February 2012, it had still set in motion a war over public space. Worth (2013: 40) also notes that the movement was, in essence, 'artistic forms of expressing protest coupled with the commitment to occupy and reclaim urban space'. The reclaim theme continued with a

call from Dean (2011: 92) that delineated the right to public space further by emphasising shared ownership. He demanded ‘occupy everything because it is already ours in common’. In addition to this, the source of the 2008 crisis meant that housing and homes also featured heavily as a central discussion point and were present in a lot of the direct action by various Occupy groups. Ruggiero (2012: 12)¹¹ notes that there was ‘relentless and increasingly creative actions in hundreds of cities, including occupying foreclosed homes and disrupting auctions where peoples’ stolen homes [were] sold off to the highest bidder’.

1.5 On Nuance and Class Difference: from the Local to the Global

‘Occupy is serving as an open-source template for dissent, a transparent and adaptable playbook for organizing global movements with diverse aims and values [...] attracting widespread local and international solidarity’

(Perlin, 2015: np).

The Occupy camps occurring globally were described as being ‘interdependent’ (Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013: 39) connected by the interoccupy.org online network (Ruggiero, 2012) taking cues from, and being inspired by each other. In an attempt to describe the interconnectedness and global nature of the movement, Halverson (2012: 279) states that ‘a global Occupy Movement, if we can call it that, is a patchwork of experiences and imaginations taking place in the minds and actions of individuals and the collections of individuals worldwide’. In reference to the global implications of the harmful actions of the financial institutions of Wall Street, Taussig (2013: 3) reflected on the importance of one of the key signs on display at OWS which stated ‘Wall St is everywhere therefore we have to occupy everywhere’.

¹¹ Although Ruggiero (2012) does not refer directly to the Platform for the Mortgage-Affected (PAH) movement emanating from Spain this once again shows synergies with OWS’s Spanish comrades whom also had anti-eviction campaigns at the heart of their endeavours (see for example: Berglund, 2017).

However, while different Occupy camps had much in common in terms of naming their adversaries through emblematic location choices, there were various gradations to the overarching international movement. The Occupy movement may best be described as a *glocal* phenomenon with global ties that bind but also contained key local specificities. Located within the overarching 1 per cent and 99 per cent narrative, which are 'not literal numbers, but the right picture'¹², (Chomsky, 2012: 34), there were nuanced peculiarities pertaining to the way in which hegemonic forces played out, and what particular issues manifested themselves at a localised level. For example, there were variant central concerns at different Occupy camps in different states within the US. In the case of Occupy Oakland, much of their protest was with regards to the number of deaths of black and minority ethnic persons at the hands of the police and criminal justice system, illustrated by the camp renaming the square which they occupied as the Oscar Grant¹³ Plaza (Taylor, 2011: 135).

In other camps such as Occupy LA and Occupy El Paso, much of their direct action hinged upon issues related to the increasing numbers of homeless people and focussed heavily on the 'fight against gentrification and the criminalization of poverty' (Dellacioppa *et al*, 2013: 304; Smith *et al*, 2012). In Atlanta, occupiers were keen to reflect on local histories situating the 1 per cent and 99 per cent discourse in the context of the state's colonial legacy. As described by Li (2011: 125), speaking about the state's capital, 'Georgia's government was created for and by plantation farmers, the original one per cent, running the antebellum corporations [...] in Georgia, [...]

¹² This thesis argues that '1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent' is useful in symbolically situating the Occupy Movement as counterhegemonic (in opposition to the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital). However it is less useful in terms of the complex realities of the structural determination of class. See Chapter 2 (2.53) for further details.

¹³ Oscar Grant was a 22 year old unarmed African American man shot and killed by police at a subway station in Oakland on 1st January 2009. The police officer who fatally shot Oscar Grant, whilst he was restrained face down on the platform, was charged with second degree murder but found guilty of involuntary manslaughter. He was subsequently sentenced to 2-4 years imprisonment and released after 12 months in custody (McAskill, 2010).

there is nothing subtle about the relationship between race, corporations and the government'. Similarly, at an international level, Perlin (2015: np) described Occupy Gezi and Occupy Hong Kong as 'fiercely local mass movements [that] are tapping into, and extending, a new global language of protest'. Elsewhere, many camps or camp participants rejected the explicit 'Occupy' label in favour of names such as 'reclaim', 'decolonize' and '(un) Occupy' (Davis 2011; Schrager Lang and Lang/Levitsky, 2012) feeling that this better reflected opposition to various forms of colonial practices both 'old' and 'new'.

Issues regarding diversity and how people with different identities experienced various inequalities and injustices of capitalism were prominent within the first and 'main' camp at OWS. The first draft of the official declaration of the occupation of New York City included the line 'we who were formally divided by race, class and gender' and was blocked and ultimately removed from the final declaration (Maharawal, 2011: 37-38) by minority group participants who argued that this erased relative privilege, and class difference, within the wider 99 per cent population. As stated by King (2011: 2), it is arguably the case that 'the language of the 99 per cent tends to lump people in a way that erases relative class privilege as well as gender and race inequalities'. The need to delve deeper, and give greater consideration to the gradations of inequality, was apparent at OWS, and other camps too, such as Occupy Baltimore which were required to address gendered inequalities after the gendered violence which occurred there (Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013: 216; Occupy Wall Street Safer Spaces Working Group, 2011). As highlighted by Butler (2011a: 193) the movement was complex and whilst economic justice was at the fore it was also very much about in-depth consideration of and addressing substantial and complex social inequalities.

1.6 On Democracy

‘We know that democracy is not just about having a vote every four, now five years. It is about having the power to make your voice heard. We know that a government that answers to profit before people is no democracy’

(Occupy Democracy UK, 2014: np).

Amidst the more overtly visible and prominent economic injustice rhetoric of the 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent, another central aspect of concern for the Occupy movement was that of the concept of *democracy*. Expressions of dissatisfaction with electoral politics as they currently stood in the West, and fatigue with current political parties, were rife (Crowley, 2011) with Hardt and Negri (2011: np) stating that all the various Occupy protests were united by ‘the need for a new democratic constituent process’. In an era of spurious democratic process in the West, due to all political party options nearly always favouring exploiting class interests, and characterised by a continued shift away from ‘real’ left politics, Occupy can be described as an attempt to radically depart from those current political restrictions while moving ‘towards a politics that occupies a space far distant from the centre’ (500 Hammers, 2011: 19). The set-up and style of the occupations day to day activities was redolent of attempts at real democratic process; such as the frequent GA’s and commitment to seeking horizontal, non-hierarchal social relationships (Sitrin, 2012b). Kaufmann (2011: 47) outlines how ‘from the start, Occupy Wall Street has embraced consensus decision making’ with the GA process being a key feature (Scherer, 2011). As a result, what emerged was ‘a new grammar of politics [where] no individual has [had] the authorial voice to represent the movement or make demands on its behalf’ (Harcourt, 2013: 53). Escaping old ways was not without its issues with some referring to the continued presence of ‘a designated press spokesman (sic)’ (Tharoor, 2011: 27) but even with the occasional ‘spokesperson’ designation the format remained dedicated to attempting to break with ‘past hierarchal ways of relating’ (Sitrin 2012a: 85).

The spaces of the GA meant that listening, and creating educational spaces for learning from each other, always featured either centrally or explicitly (Zahedi, 2012). This openness and an attempt at a *real* democracy format was key to the movement (Ruggiero, 2012: 15) with Sitrin (2011: 8) adding that ‘most of us believe that what is most important is to open space for conversations – for democracy – real, direct, and participatory’. With direct and/or attempted reclaiming of democracy, consensus-based decision-making, inclusiveness and transparency featured comprehensively in the movement’s discourse (Sitrin, 2012a: 86; Taussig, 2012; Writers for the 99%, 2011:2). The Council of Elders (2011: 56) further elaborate that they were ‘convinced that Occupy Wall Street is a continuation, a deepening and expansion of the determination of the diverse peoples of our nation to transform our country into a more democratic, just and compassionate society’. One of the offshoot legacy groups of the original London based Occupy LSX movement was the newer entitled Occupy Democracy, which began in 2014 and has taken various different forms of direct occupation style action henceforth, once again in symbolically relevant locations e.g. outside Parliament in London.

1.7 On Connections with the Past and Present

‘You lit yourself on fire on December 17, 2010, exactly nine months before Occupy Wall Street Began. Your death 2 weeks later would be the beginning of so much’

(Solnit, 2011a: 77).

The Occupy movement was not alone in its call for real democracy. At the heart of the 2011 direct action movements in Spain, the Indignados frequently called for ‘Democracia Real YA!’ (Real Democracy now!) as one of their main protest headlines. As noted previously the Occupy movement in the US, and beyond, was heavily influenced by and included direct involvement from, those in the preceding occupation style

movements in Spain, which began on May 15th 2011. The similarities and solidarities between Occupy and other direct action of the same year do not begin and end with the democracy theme alone. Both van Gelder (2011a) and Douzinas (2013) credit the movements in Spain, and other European countries, most noticeably Greece and Italy, as inspiring Occupy which resulted in their intimating their European counterparts. As argued by Feigenbaum *et al* (2013a : 38), 'Occupy campers inherited experiences and camp-planning practices directly from the Indignados movement in Spain' which, in turn, were motivated by, and took their cues from, actions that took place much further back in time including Climate Change Camps, The Zapatistas, The Argentinian uprising¹⁴ and various counter-summits (*ibid*). The overarching indignation (Rawlings, 2011) exhibited by all the aforementioned occupations was also a key part of the ties that bound them together. Equally, the comradeship shown between different movements in 2011 extended beyond Europe and into the context of the Arab Spring⁸. Galvanised and inspired by the Arab Spring (Brown, 2011; van Gelder, 2011a), Kennedy (2011: np) described how 'Egyptian activists in particular have connected with Occupy Wall Street physically and symbolically'. In a physical sense, in 2011 OWS sent \$29,000 to those protesting in Egypt and they received a response expressing their solidarity in a shared struggle (Comrades from Cairo, 2011: 71). In symbolic terms, the published narratives regarding the Occupy movement are littered with solidarity references to their Arab Spring equivalents for example by Solnit (2011a), a freelance writer, feminist, artist, and activist regarding matters of place, politics and identity, who wrote a poetic open letter to the late Mohammed Bouazizi, the man from Tunisia who set fire to himself in 2010 in an act of despair, desperation and ultimately protest, 9 months before the Wall Street occupation.

¹⁴ Feigenbaum *et al* (2013a: 38) refer to the Argentinian uprising in the context of a wider discussion regarding alter-globalisation and environmental movements. It is therefore assumed they are referring to the period of marked unrest in Argentina from 1999–2002 calling for numerous persons in power to be evicted from their positions to the cry of 'que se vayan todos!' which in English means 'Throw them all out!' (see: Lewis, 2002; Burbach, 2007).

It is also important to make some distinctions between Western-based movements such as Occupy (Douzinas, 2013) and others further afield. In the first instance, Mitchell (2013: 95) delineates how the movements in the West were much smaller in numbers than, for example, the occupations in Tahrir, Egypt. Further differentiating qualities were outlined by Chomsky (2012: 58) who noted that 'one striking difference between the Egyptian and Tunisian uprisings and the Occupy movement is that, in the North African case, the labor movement was right at the center of it [...] that's quite different here. The labor movement has been decimated. Part of the task to be carried out is to revitalise it'. To advance this further, and reflective of the West's deep entrenchment in the ideological struggle of the war of position (see: chapter 2). For Fischer (2011: np) 'some have likened Occupy to the Arab Spring. That analogy suggests that Occupy will get the US military to turn on Washington and displace the federal government. Not too likely'. Equally, repressive force in the West often takes on more subtle forms with this nuanced difference alluded to in terms of how those at Occupy would have less concerns than their Egyptian equivalents regarding being 'disappeared' by military forces (Robertshaw *et al*, 2011: 56). However, developing the argument further Harcourt (2013: 68), argues that 'it almost feels as if the Occupy movement had it harder than even the Arab Spring revolutions [...] they [Arab Spring] have stared down a far more violent and oppressive adversary than anyone else. But they had one. They had an identifiable adversary [...] that they could target and topple'.

Aside from the more contemporary and other, often parallel running movements from 2011 onwards, there were multifarious commonalities between Occupy and movements of the past. Allusion to the cases of the key resistance movements of the 1990s can be found in many parts of the emergent Occupy movement literature which was also concerned with reflecting discourses from these movements (Kaufmann, 2011; Worth, 2013). Sitrin (2012a: 85) argues that much like the Zapatistas, Occupy 'rather than making demands on institutional power, created dozens of autonomous

communities'. Reflecting on the legacy of the devastating impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on Mexico in the 1990s, which gave rise to the Zapatista movement, the jóvenes en Resistencia alternative (2011: 64), in a letter to OWS, said that 'we don't need to remind you of the deep connections between Wall Street, Gringo Capitalism and our Mexican Misery'. Many of the other protest and resistance movements of the 1990s that were also referred to, were those that might be best captured and understood under the banner of the anti/alter globalisation movement. The Occupy movement included prominent key figures from the anti/alter globalisation movement perhaps, most noticeably, anti-globalisation 'veteran' David Graeber (Tharoor, 2011: 30). Graeber, himself, further added that the Occupy movement had many commonalities with movements of the past due to his views that some of the key sentiments which underpinned the Occupy movement were fundamentally 'anarchist principles' (Graeber, 2012: 141). Taylor and Grief (2011: 20) add that the focus on economic (in)justice at OWS was 'a criticism that goes back to the Seattle WTO protest (and maybe beyond)'. Scherer (2011) and Solnit (2011b) also described Occupy Wall Street as having similar practices, such as the recognition of the importance of influence on the streets, to those seen in Seattle in 1999, alongside the consensus style of action that was apparent during the 1990 Earth Day which itself sought to shut down Wall Street (Kaufmann, 2011). Occupy was also likened to the World Forum in terms of its ability to open up space in both the 'global north' and 'global south' (Halvorsen, 2012) while Sitrin (2011; 2012a) also saw many parallels with the Argentinian uprisings in 2001.

Occupy was also inspired by a wide variety of other protest and resistance movements and was often viewed as being 'in the tradition of the civil rights movement' (Gresham, 2012: 278) inclusive of abolitionist, suffragist, immigrant justice and gay rights activism (Council of Elders, 2011; Gresham, 2012). It also emulated other movements through its creation of drumming circles, a native America practice reflective of the spirit of anti-

colonialism, which was also often seen at eco-anarchist, radical feminist, and black pride events (Grief, 2011). Sitrin (2012a: 87) acknowledges the newness felt and expressed by many people involved in the movement but equally recognises the key relationships to movements 'past' citing in addition to those already mentioned the radical feminist and anti-nuclear movements. Despite Chomsky's (2012) reservations about the decimation of the labour movement in terms of their comparative involvement in the Arab Spring, the Occupy movement's civil disobedience efforts were likened to, and seen as being inspired by various labour union movements of the past, such as the actions pertaining to the 'sit down strike' (Saval, 2011: 112). Others have also likened Occupy's action as being reminiscent of protest movements much further back in history including the Populist Farmers revolt in the 1800s (Linzey and Reifman, 2011) and with some even reciting resonating words derived from as far back as 1776 (Paine, 2011). In many respects, the Occupy movement occupied a peculiar space, transcending classical notions of place and encompassing all manner of resistance styles both past and present. For Feigenbaum *et al* (2013a: 38), Occupy fell 'between the rigorously planned encampments of Resurrection City and Horizone [and] the more contingent origins of encampments found in Greenham and Tahrir'. And whether old or new, one unifying feature of all these movements appeared to be that of hope (Graeber, 2011b). As argued by Gresham (2012: 279), Occupy is 'reminding us of the hard-fought achievements of our past while giving us hope for the future'. On Naming Capitalism as the Problem

'Decades drift away. Decades of Fox News and Goldman Sachs. Decades of gutting what was left of the social contract. Decades in which kids came to think being a banker was sexy. When that happens, you *know* it's all over – or about to explode, as once again history throws a curveball'

(Taussig, 2013: 9, original emphasis).

For Chomsky (2012: 45), 'in many ways the most exciting aspect of the Occupy movement is the construction of the associations, bonds, linkages and networks that are taking place all over – whether it is a collaborative kitchen or something else'. With the emergence of Occupy tactics and rhetoric manifesting themselves in so many incongruent places (Mitchell, 2013: 94), Dean (2011: 91) argued that Occupy was 'forcing collectivity over individualism'. This led to an argument that part of the reason why the Occupy movement encompassed so many different previous movements, that often had specific factional themes, was that it was able to foster a new collectivity that was essentially a return to class struggle¹⁵ due to "'capitalism' [...] now clearly re-emerging as the name of the problem' (Žižek, 2012: 77). In her address to OWS, Klein (2011b: 46) highlights how Occupy was different in its efforts to name structural issues, and the capitalist system as a whole, rather than just targeting one part of the system such as the example of the World Trade Organisation, as was the case in Seattle in 1999. Chomsky (2012 cited in Ruggiero, 2012: 9) best described Occupy as 'the first major public response to thirty years of class war'. To illustrate this further, one of the first published collections of stories from The Writers for the 99% (2011: 5) state that 'although the protests in disparate nations have taken place under different forms of government and have varied in the specificity of their demands, all have expressed similar outrage with the inequities of unfettered global capitalism'. In naming global capitalism as its principal adversary, this has, in some ways, seen a return to collective class based struggle, inclusive of 'the creation of cooperative communities – something very much lacking in an atomized, disintegrated society' (Chomsky, 2012: 57). And despite the previous criticisms regarding the erasing of relative privilege, which was acknowledged by the movement, the 99 per cent rhetoric 'erases the multiplicity of

¹⁵ The phrase 'a return to class struggle' is employed by both the author, and by others, not to infer that there was a period in time where the class struggle ceased to exist but that, instead, in previous years it had fallen out of favour with some, both thinkers and movements alike, as a framework for understanding movements and a way in which to realise the interests of the people. For example, due the decline in numbers of the industrial workforce writers such as Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, and André Gorz have viewed class struggle as limiting in contemporary forms of capitalism. However, the counter argument is that such views forget that capitalism 'depends upon a "reserve army" of the unemployed in order to discipline the [working] class as a whole' (D'Amato, 2014) thus rendering class struggle consistently relevant.

individuated, partial, and divided interests that [can] fragment and weaken the people' (Dean, 2011: 88). This led to a greater recognition of the crisis as, 'a crisis of the very relationship between labour and capital' (Barbagallo and Beuret, 2011: 51). The move back towards class struggle that hinges on naming capitalism as the key adversary is not without its problems and is by no means a 'fix all' solution for organisational practice. Saval (2011: 114) was critical about the movement lacking a clear name that speaks in comparison to, for example, the civil rights movement or the anti-war movement.

1.8 On Disobedience, Fluidity, and Process

'Most participants in, and observers of, the Occupy movement in the US agree that its "first phase" [is] the seizure and occupation of public space for use as a base for political action, experimentation, discussion and organisation'

(Wright and Stern-Weiner, 2012: np online).

Despite the fact that the Occupy movement depicted a return to class struggle, seeking to make orthodox claims regarding the Occupy movement remains incredibly difficult, if not somewhat undesirable, due to its spontaneous and ever transforming nature (Scherer, 2011; Wright and Stern-Weiner, 2012). Described by Ruggiero (2012: 15) as 'an evolving public insurgency' it becomes apparent that this is not by accident, as Occupy sought consciously to avoid complying with common attempts to 'squeeze social movements into a mechanistic and linear framework' (The Free Association, 2011: 24). As a result it deliberately 'ambiguated itself [...] in order to resist being pinned down, identified, or dismissed' (Harcourt, 2013: 48). The fluid, diverse, heterogeneous and multidimensional nature of the movement (Ateş 2012: 2; Mitchell *et al*, 2013: vi; Roth, 2011: 25) defied generalisation (Mitchell *et al*, 2013: xiii) and this was indicative of the 'range of people from many walks of life [with] many concerns involved in the Occupy movement' (Chomsky, 2012: 54). Recurring camp practices such as the

human microphone¹⁶ were figurative of the diversity of persons present and were viewed by Taussig (2013: 34) as symbolising a 'channel [that] is open to all sounds. Everyone can have a shot. If anything is emblematic of the movement, this is it'. For anyone seeking an in-depth exploration of the diversity of the '99 per cent' one can turn to and peruse the 99 per cent open blog online which captured hundreds of diverse stories (Roth, 2011). In many respects, there was a hugely experimental element to the movement with people exploring ways in which to 'draw the dots, [and] connect their causes with those of other worlds' (Tharoor, 2011: 33) through the vehicle of Occupy which was ultimately described by van Gelder (2011a: 8) as 'twenty-four-hour-a-day experiments in egalitarian living'.

1.9 On Not Being Able to Evict an Idea

'The genie is out of the bottle. People will no longer accept the systematic transfer of wealth and power from the 99% to the 1%'

(van Gelder, 2011b: 84).

After nearly two months of occupation, on the night of November 15th 2011, the OWS camp was 'finally and spectacularly smashed [...] with riot police beating up protestors and journalists alike, and the night sky humming with police helicopters' (Taussig, 2013: 20). For critics, OWS was 'an ephemeral protest that will die out soon enough' (Ateş, 2012: np). Whilst its English capital city counterpart survived a little while longer, with its final dismantlement in February 2012, slowly but surely camps across the world were dismantled one by one with only a few surviving and often in new formats organised afresh after the original disassembling. However, the physical demise of OWS, Occupy LSX and many other Occupy movements was by no means indicative of a imaginative demise, as stated by many Occupiers on the signs they carried 'you can't

¹⁶ Due to sound amplifying equipment being banned, Occupy camps created the human microphone, a means of echoing, using their own voices, the words of the speaker so everyone could hear.

evict an idea' (Smucker *et al*, 2011: np). In the aftermath of the OWS eviction the Occupy movement showed resilience with action spanning from the immediate day after through to when Taussig (2013: 21) speaks of seeing many people from Occupy Wall Street at the New York May Day march in 2012 indicating the transfer of political action into new avenues. In 2014, over a year after its 2012 eviction from outside St Pauls Cathedral, Occupy LSX regrouped to form Occupy Democracy (Occupy Democracy, 2014) showing Occupy, once again, to be a series of 'complex adaptive systems, the disequilibrium-learning-feedback cycle in organizations at the local level creat[ing] a kind of perpetual novelty' (Plowman and Duchon, 2008 cited in Davenport, 2011: 91). The new camps sustained the use of the GA format, inclusive of its distinctive sign language, and continued to introduce their attempted non-hierarchical processes to wider audiences (Chadeyane Appel, 2011: 112). As the state moved in to destroy the physical camps, it was now time to move from occupying Wall Street to 'preoccupying' Wall Street (Weschler, 2012).

For many, the real legacy of Occupy was that it punctured the normality (The Free Association, 2011: 27) and the banality of the capitalist crisis giving rise to what was described by Nader (2011: 75) in the following terms; 'the campers and the marchers are discovering that they have power – the crucial first stage of liberation from growing up powerless and under corporate domination – the two go together – into a process of self-realization'. For Kaufmann (2011: 49), 'Occupy Wall Street has opened up for questioning so much that was previously taken as given', giving rise to a political awakening (Harcourt, 2013: 64) with the camp being not just a place where people became active but where they 'activated' their politics (Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013a: 52). For Harvey (2012: 116), Occupy Wall Street meant leaving 'behind the sense that the global urban network is replete with political possibilities that remain untapped by progressive moments' and ultimately the possible emergence of a 'new democratic politics' (Douzinas, 2013: 9). According to van Gelder (2011a: 11), Occupy 'has fundamentally altered the national conversation' and its legacy remains indicative of

the 'popular Occupy mantra: "this is a process not a protest"' (Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013a: 40). And whilst there was a reluctance to make predictions about the future of this process (Mitchell *et al*, 2013) the ideological struggle in particular persisted as evidenced by an anonymous member of the Occupy movement whom stated to Noam Chomsky at a 2012 open forum (see: Chomsky, 2012: 69) that one of the main goals of the movement was to 'Occupy the mainstream and transition from the tents [...] into the hearts and minds of the masses'. The 'Occupy Wall Street movement no longer occupies Wall Street, but the issue of class conflict has captured a growing share of the national consciousness' (Pew Research Center, 2012 cited in Chomsky, 2012: 71).

1.10 On Counter-Hegemony

'We use our magic to thwart their magic. They have pepper spray. We have burning sage. They prohibit microphones. We have the people's microphone. They prohibit tents. We improvise tents that are not tents but what nomads used before North Face [...] each day, each week, sees another deterritorialization of their reterritorializations'

(Taussig, 2013: 30 - 31).

As demarcated in the preceding dialogue, identifying any static or stoical conceptual parameters for the Occupy movement is fraught with apprehensions if not impossibilities. As previously referred to, it is arguably an undesirable aspiration in many contexts given that firstly, the movement itself has intentionally avoided categorisation to, in turn, evade forms of abjuration (Harcourt, 2013) and, although not explicitly stated until this point, its contingent adversary of monopoly capital and accumulation of wealth through advancing capitalism is itself neither stagnant nor immobile. However, the most contiguous form of constant one can glean, for academic theorising purposes, is that of the movements perceived counter- hegemonic nature by those internal and external to the movement alike. Even the Occupy movements' most libellous antagonists critiqued them on the grounds of not knowing what they were for, not for not knowing what they were against.

Whether it was intentional, or not, from the very beginning the Occupy movement situated itself as the protagonist (Tagonist, 2011: 101) and was rife with 'antagonistic politics against the status quo' (Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013a: 230). The antagonism of the movement (ibid: 178) was something that, according to Tagonist (2011), the occupiers took pleasure in. It is important also to be heedful that 'Occupy is at heart a military term' (Rawlings, 2011: 13) and when considered in line with what has previously been described about the movement, this was a counter-military style of occupation, challenging the capitalist hegemonic occupation(s) that were consuming so many parts of the world. OWS was also the counter-shock to the shock of the crisis of capitalism. Taussig (2013:34) describes the variations in the types of jolting feelings: 'The shock of the system imploding (depression/recession) is one of the[se] shocks. The shock of mounting a challenge (OWS) is quite another'. Gandel (2011:34) argues that we are in 'a society in which we're used to taking direction from presidents and CEOs, captains and quarterbacks' and, in stark contrast, the Occupy movement emerged radiant in its divergent and permit-less defiance. It was not just at the inception point but throughout the process that the movement maintained its contrasting position. For example, the movement created its own media outlets that lay in glaring divergence to corporate media outlets who arrived late, in any case, and 'offered superficial, often derogatory coverage' (Goodman and Moynihan, 2012: 257). Klein (2011b, 48) adds to this by praising OWS for their action that did not fit the mould or expectations of a world dominated by twitter notifications of 160 characters or less and argued that Occupiers should not worry 'whether we can fit our dreams for a better world into a media sound bite' (ibid).

Furthermore, Harcourt (2013: 45) notes the intrinsic dissenting, disobedient nature of the movement and how, 'never once did they [Occupy] ask for permission. Never once did they try to convince the gatekeeper, to cajole authority, to negotiate, to bribe, to seek permission'. One prominent feature of the Occupy movement, was that of its

commitment to 'nonviolent civil disobedience' (OWS General Assembly, 2011: 25). From the perspective of those involved in the various occupations, having 'non-violent direct action as its primary weapon' (Ruggiero, 2012: 15) was important in order to distinguish themselves, as at odds with the violence of public state agents and private security guards. Vitale (2011: 75) illustrates the scene: 'Occupy Wall Street's defiant style of nonviolent protest has consistently clashed with the NYPD's obsession with order and maintenance policing'. Ever desiring to situate themselves in contrast to their foe, Solnit (2011b: 147) reiterates; 'so we're not violent; we're not like them in crucial ways' contributing once more to the narrative that situates Occupy as a counter-hegemonic nemesis (Harvey, 2012) to hegemonic capitalist forces. Furthermore, the movement, in its yearning to have a value far removed from the qualities of its adversaries, adopted different strategies to its foe. As Taussig (2013:39) notes, the 'manifest in outrage transformed automatically into humour and play, and likewise by the NYPD in its growl, pepper spray, and medieval riot gear'. In some cases, however, it seemed ill fitting to describe the Occupy movement's actions as a form of civil disobedience alone. Harcourt (2013: 46) felt the term *political disobedience* best described the Occupy movement's counter-hegemonic strategy when he states: 'I would say that Occupy Wall Street initiated a new form of "political disobedience"' - a type of *political* as opposed to *civil* disobedience that fundamentally rejects the ideological landscape that has dominated our collective imagination' (ibid: original emphasis). For all of these reasons the Occupy movement was arguably seen as the antithesis: the David to the unencumbered Goliath, of capitalism. It is from this point where the thesis makes its departure and ventures to consider in greater depth what it means to be counter-hegemonic in these current times and conditions. The thesis mobilises the Occupy movement, arguably the most contemporary example of a counter-hegemonic movement and foe, to the hegemonic forces of the advanced capitalist state, in the West, as a vehicle for critical discussion and exploration. As demonstrated by a number of writers (see for example: Colvin, 2011; Chomsky, 2012)

the 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent is not factual in its economic calculations but acts as a powerful well-prosed sentiment inferring the us Vs them distinction between monopoly capital and 'everyone else'. Taylor (2013: 742) exercises further caution with regards to the 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent discourse stating that whilst 'rhetorically powerful, the slogan's elegant simplicity conceals as much as it reveals'. It is the nuances of what it conceals and what the crevices of this relationship might contribute towards our understanding of the state, power and class struggle that is the concern of this thesis. This thesis now moves on to trace the theoretical landscape of the research pertaining to its framework for analysis, namely that of the advanced capitalist state, the war of position and class struggle in the neoliberal conjuncture.

'It's a bit odd that the most popular Occupy Wall Street sign says, WE ARE THE 99%. The statement doesn't make accusations or demands. It just sits there, loaded with a narrative that the viewer has to unpack'

(Colvin 2011: 64).

Chapter 2: The Advanced Capitalist State, the War of Position and Class Struggle in the Neoliberal Conjuncture: The Theoretical Landscape

2.1 On what *Occupies* this Thesis

‘9 out of 10 PhDs agree Marx was right!’

(Protest sign at OWS cited in Writers for the 99%, 2011: 51).

Chapter 1 introduced the Occupy movement, outlining the key facets of a complex phenomenon. In summary, although it is arguably neither possible nor desirable, to establish a formalised set of fixed conceptual parameters around the movement, a number of key rudiments were ascertained. Firstly, emanating from the movement were an extensive, long and open ended list of grievances: a list that was held together in concord by naming capitalism as the problem whilst simultaneously bearing testimony that these global grievances, associated with the hegemony of capital, also manifest diversely at local levels and, all the more multifariously, depending on composite identity experiences and issues pertaining to relative privilege. Within the broader, wide-ranging list of grievances (For the Official Declaration of the Occupation of New York City please see Appendix A), a few further modicums of thematic reoccurrence could also be gleaned: that people severely objected to the lack of any real democracy, that the physical occupation and subsequent reclaiming of place and space were highly and symbolically pertinent, and that there were clear and widespread expressions of anger, rage and dissatisfaction. Lastly, although fiercely keen to demarcate its open ended nature as a movement of continual process, it was established that the most agreed aspect, even by those most critical of the movement, was that the Occupy movement had a clear position of counter- hegemony.

In addition to this, and inextricably related to naming capitalism as the problem, was the notion of class struggle, with a multitude of cases explicitly citing Occupy as engaged in class struggle (see for example: Occupy The Crisis, 2011; Occupy The Crisis 2012; Buhle and Buhle, 2011; Campbell, 2011; Chomsky, 2012 cited in Ruggiero, 2012; Dean, 2012; Harvey, 2015; League for the Revolutionary Party, 2012; Liberation Staff, 2011; One Way Street, 2011; OSBORNMR, 2016; Sutherland, 2014; Trudell, 2012). At Occupy Boston, Brendan Curran (2012 cited in Rieger and Pui-lan, 2012) recalls the scene: 'It astonished me when I got to Boston Common, and witnessed thousands of people waving red and black flags, carrying signs that called for class struggle'. The return to class struggle discussions is captivating for all these reasons and, in addition, a poll by the Pew Research Centre (2012 cited in Weinger, 2012: np) found that 'two-thirds of Americans said they think there are "very strong" or "strong" class conflicts in society', which was a 19% increase from 2009, before the Occupy movement emerged. In a further study by Fuchs (2014), in their survey of 373 persons, which asked respondents 'which of the following sentences describe in your opinion the Occupy movement best?' 47.7% chose the statement: 'The Occupy movement was a class struggle movement'. An analytical position pertaining to class is therefore compelling, with Marxist and conflict theories even being explicitly referred to as a highly useful tool for examining the movement (Cole, 2017). Alongside explicit references to class struggle, there were also more subtle indications of the relationship between class struggle and the Occupy movement. As argued by Lawler (2011: np), the Occupy movement was reminiscent of the concept of *refusal to work*, a term derived from Negri (2005), and stated that there was a, 'refusal of capital's demand that all moments of life and pieces of the natural world be alienated and made productive rather than enjoyed in and for themselves. This demand is the essence of austerity—work more, have less. Be less. For Negri, refusing it is the essence of the working-class struggle under capitalism'. The austerity-class struggle relationship was present elsewhere too, with Goldner (2012) describing the period of austerity as

demarcating a return to class struggle, at a time when 'capital and the state try to explain that they can no longer afford us' (Barbagallo and Beuret, 2011:47). Within this timeframe many other commentators spoke of a possible marked 'newness' to the class struggle (Piette, 2012; Jones, 2012), a 'newness' that is both seemly and primed for examination.

Although this highly heterogeneous movement was admittedly not exclusively about class war for all concerned, it is argued that how persons at Occupy self-identified does not necessarily strictly correspond to some of the realities of the moment. As posted by Occupy Los Angeles on social media in 2013, quoting Draper (1978: 43):

'To engage in class struggle it is not necessary to 'believe in' the class struggle any more than it is necessary to believe in Newton in order to fall from an airplane [...] the working class moves toward class struggle insofar as capitalism fails to satisfy its economic and social needs for aspirations, not insofar as it is told about struggle by Marxists. There is no evidence that workers like to struggle any more than anyone else; the evidence is that capitalism compels and accustoms them to do so'.

In addition it was also argued by Feigenbaum *et al* (2013a: 231) that the protestors of variant occupy style endeavours from 2011 onwards, were unable to ignore class in the everyday interactions on camp, even if more structural issues pertaining to class struggle were not always favoured as the predominant form of self-identification. And even for those less wanting to frame elements of the Occupy movement within the class struggle milieu, it was argued that, at minimum, it had raised questions about the class struggle today (Laurits, 2017).

To this end this thesis presents a neo-Marxist theoretical framework for its analytical endeavours. It is supported by a strong rationale for such a choice, but equally, in doing so, it acknowledges that this is unavoidably a partial reflection of a convoluted movement as a whole. What this means is, to be rightly consciousness of the inherent 'strengths' and 'limitations' of taking such a theoretical position. It's 'limitations' lie in the inherent risk of exasperating the argued continued marginalisation of intersectional

identities and concerns, both within, and beyond, class. For example as stated by Dominick (2011: np) 'the problem is that many leftist intellectuals insist oppressions such as sexism and racism are secondary to classism¹⁷: the exploitation, alienation, and subjugation of labor. The Occupy movement is fertile ground for this ignorance, and I'm glad that it's being challenged in many quarters'. However, to take a neo-Marxist theoretical framework, such as the one outlined here, is not to push the class agenda in a hierarchal sense but, in the spirit of the movement, to offer a strand of meaningful analytical thought and to seek to further the possibilities of action, for both Occupy and class struggle.

In contrast to the 'limitations' of a neo-Marxist framework there are clear strengths in this approach. One of its primary strengths lies in being able to develop areas that have yet to be explored thoroughly. As argued by Nangwaya (2011: np), writing from Occupy Oakland, 'too often, progressive voices converse euphemistically about the struggle to contain or defeat the economic and social policies of neoliberalism, but they tend to divorce that critique from the actual system (capitalism) that is generating economic and social inequalities and exploitation. If we are afraid of naming this particular infrastructure of oppression, how are we going to educate, mobilize, and organize people to challenge capitalism?'. Constructing a theoretical framework for analysis, for a movement that is open ended, fluid, and heterogeneous in nature, is exceedingly difficult terrain to navigate. In summary this framework is one of many

¹⁷ Classism is used in a direct quote from the author and based on a reading of the wider work infers discrimination of people based on socio-economic background. According to Barker (2013: 48) 'the 'class struggle' occurs not only between movements and their antagonists, but also within them: their ideas, forms of organisation and repertoires of contention are all within their opponents' 'strategic sights'. Matters of class, alongside race and gender, can 'shape everyday associations and disassociations [and] meeting discussion or the division of cooking tasks' (Alcadipani and Hassard, 2010: 429 cited in Feigenbaum et al, 2013: 19). Whilst the materiality of class on camp is arguably not incredibly easy to ascertain for Feigenbaum et al (2013: 231) the main issues pertaining to class interactions on camp centred around matters of care, in terms of who required care and who delivered that, and labour activities. This includes tasks associated with the camp kitchen, shelter and alcohol policies (see chapters 4 and 5). In summary class dynamics on camp were largely discernible through different 'orientations to camp life' (ibid: 2013) and various motivations and abilities to take part e.g. those living on camp full time through a relative privilege that gave them a choice to do so Vs those who were unemployed sometimes to the extent of requiring shelter at the camp.

available lens to utilise for analysis. At Occupy nobody spoke for the movement, only for themselves from within the movement¹⁸ (Gautney, 2011: Taylor and Resnick, 2011). To this end this thesis seeks to be clear that it speaks *of* Occupy and the class struggle, rather than *for* Occupy and the class struggle.

Having established as much as is both possible and necessary about the Occupy movement itself, inclusive of the rationale underpinning the approach to the theoretical framework, attention now turns to matters regarding wider structural conditions, which form the theoretical framework for the thesis. Although the Occupy movement had both a tangible and abstract presence globally, the focus of this thesis lies primarily on the Occupy movement in a Western context. Together, the primary data collection, derived from sites in the UK, and published works, narratives and accounts about the movement, derived overwhelmingly from the US, locates the lens of analytical scrutiny specifically in the context of the Western experience. Such empirical and literary derivation predicates a requirement to engage meaningfully with concepts pertaining to such a locale, in this case: the advanced capitalist state and the war of position, in the neoliberal conjuncture. This chapter is concerned with initially problematising these three key areas that underpin the thesis, inclusive of some preliminary discussion regarding their possible relationship with the Occupy movement and class struggle. Like the Occupy movement itself, these concepts are not immobile but, instead, have many open ended elements as well as being subject to (re)interpretation and reconfiguration. As a result they are presented as having both 'constant' features alongside more variable 'in flux' components.

¹⁸ When both formally interviewing and in general discussion with persons at different Occupy sites, in every instance it was made clear, and was important to each person, that these were their thoughts and experiences and not those of the movement as a whole.

2.2 The Advanced Capitalist State

With both the primary data and published narratives deriving predominantly from the US and UK, the most marked commonality established is that both can be understood as examples of advanced capitalist states. The advanced capitalist state denotes a particular period within the development of capitalism and, in its simplest form, refers to the presence and development of capitalism over a prolonged period of time. Advanced capitalist states can be argued to contain both a series of firmer, less wavering constant features in conjunction with a succession of more unsolidified elements understood as being 'in flux'.

2.21 As 'Constant'

Firstly, in turning attention to the more 'constant' features of the advanced capitalist state, a set of visible symptoms can be identified that are indicative of this condition. These symptoms are readily accessible and highly visible (to both the trained and untrained eye) and include, but are not limited to, economic collapse and recession, austerity measures as solutions to privately accrued debts through financial misappropriation, the dismantling of the welfare state, the myth of a self-regulating market, continued shifts towards debt-financing rather than real time increase in wages and the weakening of unions (Wolfe, 1983; Baccaro and Howell, 2011; Harvey, 2011; Streeck, 2011). All the aforementioned issues ultimately lead to, or are symptomatic of, the accumulation of capital by even fewer members of the exploiting classes, predominantly the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital (see: 2.53), at the expense of various persons within the exploited classes. All these features are best encapsulated as *crisis* indicators. Crisis emerges as one of the key defining features of the advanced capitalist state and when speaking of crisis, it is to speak, in particular, of a state of *perpetual* crisis (Wolfe, 1983; Hay, 1999; Peck, 2010) which in turn makes 'disequilibrium and instability the rule rather than the exception' (Streeck, 2011: 5).

Secondly, underpinning the more readily visible advanced capitalist state indicators are another set of important features. These aspects are often far less visible and are, instead, a series of stealth-like and complex systematics that give rise to a state with extensive hegemonic ideological prowess. According to Green (1993: 175), the distinct peculiarity of advanced capitalism lies in, a 'capitalist state [that] is premised upon a realm of civil society which endows all citizens with equal legal subject-hood, and obscures and mediates the reality of bourgeois political economic domination'. Thus the inequality and injustice that the *base* system predicates is also enveloped in an illusionary equality of opportunity rhetoric exacted through a series of increasingly complex intermediaries within the *superstructure*¹⁹. The institutions within civil society are referred to complex intermediaries to denote their true relationship to the state and its organising role. Intuition sites pertaining to the media, education, family and health, for example, are structures, which pose as a site of relative freedom, and somewhat separate from the state when in fact they are, often surreptitiously, tied up in the organising role of the state. For example, 'in liberal ideology, civil society is viewed as a nongovernmental realm of freedom whereas, for Gramsci, civil society is a realm of hegemony' (Buttigieg 1995, cited in Green, 2002: 7). These intermediaries serve to act as an 'ideological unifier' (Green, 1993: 184) that seeks to posit capitalism as the only possible reality and, in turn, seeks support for that system. All of this serves to sustain, maintain and reproduce this state of inequality all the while obtaining support for a dysfunctional, but purported by the power bloc and others, as a functional, 'meritocracy'. It is in this 'meritocracy', where the success of some is purported to then cause a trickle-down effect through reinvestment, what is omitted is that those who accumulate wealth can choose what and how to reinvest, in order to achieve further capital gains (Harvey, 2011).

¹⁹ The Marxist terminology of 'base' and 'superstructure' are loosely invoked here pertaining to the task of describing the characteristics of the advanced capitalist state. For Poulantzas (1978) when seeking to consider production processes under capitalism, in the context of a theory of the state, to make such a distinction is problematic. For Poulantzas (1978: 15) 'this conception is [...] grounded on a representation of an economic space intrinsically capable of reproducing itself'. For Poulantzas the political and ideological are inextricably tied up in the economic (see: 2.53).

McHugh (2013: 2) describes the particular workings of ideology within the advanced capitalist state as a 'fierce ideological blitz'. According to Green (1993: 181), this ideological blitz is 'the peculiarity of advanced capitalism [with] its aggressive and incessant rearrangement of the social landscape "in its own image"'. This sentiment is felt in other works also, for example, the work of Fisher (2009: 8) who describes a form of *capitalist realism* whereby, 'capitalism seemingly occupies the horizon of the thinkable'. Furthermore, Albert (1993: 5 cited in Peck and Theodore, 2007: 734) argues that 'devoid of external challengers capitalism now has no mirror in which to examine itself, no alter ego against which to measure its performance'. There are some dangers in positing the advanced capitalist state as being completely wanting of challengers, and the Occupy movement is one such argued potential challenger to the hegemonic forces of the power bloc in the advanced capitalist state, seeking to rupture such attempted ideological unification.

2.22 In 'Flux'

Within the parameters of the reasoned 'constants' there are also a number of variables contained within the advanced capitalist state which require problematising accordingly. This includes the complexities of the contemporary advanced capitalist state which, despite having a series of identifiable baseline and overarching characteristics, is by no means static. The nature of the advanced capitalist state is that of a fluid and shape-shifting phenomenon that manifests itself differently in a variety of diverse temporal and spatial arrangements. To acknowledge the overarching hegemonic, unifying attempts within the advanced capitalist state is not to omit to recognise that there are spatial and temporal variations in its manifestation. The characteristics of the advanced capitalist state as alluded to earlier 'differ [...] in institutional form' (Baccaro and Howell, 2011: 550) and 'crisis' remains as 'illusive and imprecise' as the state itself (Hay, 1999: 317). The 'institutional variability among advanced capitalist economies' (Peck and Theodore, 2007: 765) gives rise to an advanced capitalist state where, on the one hand, there is a seemingly unified effort by the power bloc for hegemonic dominance but

on the other hand it is 'an amorphous complex of agencies with ill-defined boundaries, performing a variety of not very distinctive functions' (Schmitter, 1985, 33 cited in Hay, 1999: 320). Harvey (1989: 92) illustrates the importance of examining such spatial variations when describing how 'the trend towards local agreements is marked in many advanced capitalist countries over the past two decades'. The dynamic nature of the ever moving target of the advanced capitalist state (Hay, 1999, Coleman *et al*, 2005) is clearly inscribed within the resistance movements themselves that emerged from 2011 onwards (see: chapter 1). As argued by Peck and Theodore (2007: 732) 'this pluralization of capitalism, pregnant with theoretical and political implications [is] typically classified under the varieties of capitalism rubric'. A successful analytical engagement with a conceptualisation of the advanced capitalist state requires recognition of both its more constant leitmotifs as well as its diverse mutability.

2.3 The War of Position

The second element of the theoretical framework is to argue that once Occupy is positioned as the site of investigation within the advanced capitalist state with all the aforementioned topographies, both 'constant' and 'in flux', this gives rise to another important concept; the war of position. The advanced capitalist state and the war of position present themselves hand in hand. As captured by White (2012: 1):

'The war of position is what happens in advanced western democracies. It is a struggle fought over many years within the superstructure, in which meanings and values become the object of the struggle. The ruling groups (capitalists) within these societies, understanding that there will be struggle against their rule, and have developed a tightly woven network of practices, institutions and meanings which guard against any internal disintegration'.

The war of position is therefore a form of entrenched ideological struggle, where a war over hearts and minds must first be won rather than an immediate quest to commandeer the state apparatus²⁰. The war of position can thus be described as a *long* process where cultural and ideological struggle within civil society is central. This is in contrast to, or perhaps more aptly described as, preceding the war of manoeuvre; the 'end goal' of open conflict between classes (McHugh, 2013) and the commandeering of the coercive apparatus of the state resulting in a permanent revolution. It is argued by Gramsci that to exact a war of manoeuvre without first winning over the hearts and minds of the masses would likely present only a fragile victory, susceptible to reversion almost immediately thereafter (ibid). Therefore a war of position is not only a reality but a necessity, as argued by Cox (1999: 16) in the context of the advanced capitalist state, 'to win a state by a war of manoeuvre would constitute a fragile victory, likely to succumb to entrenched forces of a recalcitrant civil society'. Moreover, in the Prison Notebooks Gramsci makes specific reference to the condition of 'advanced capitalist societies [that] possess political and ideological resources which make necessary a transition from war of manoeuvre to a long war of position' (Forgacs, 1998: 223; also see: Brittain, 2008: 75). It is therefore deducible that struggle in the advanced capitalist state consists of a slow and often hidden conflict which, in turn, is in need of greater inspection and unpacking within the context of the long term war of position (Cox, 1999; McHugh, 2013; White, 2012). To be clear, what gives rise to the war of position is a more fully developed 'civil society'²¹ where there is a need to address and resist dominant ideology and culture rather than a lightning quick physical assault on the state apparatus (Egan, 2015). This is expressed by Gramsci (Q 7, §16; SPN, p. 238;

²⁰ At this stage in the thesis the war of position is presented in Gramscian terms however, the latter parts of the thesis reassess some of the assertions within this particular conception of the war of position (see: Chapter 6: 6.3).

²¹ The term civil society is employed here as this is the terminology employed by Gramsci in his writings on the war of position however, in this thesis such 'civil society' matters are framed under the overarching banner of the states organising role through ideological 'inculcation' (and concession and contradictions). Therefore to express what gives rise to the war of position in the appropriate language of the overarching theoretical framework derived from Poulantzas, then the conditions giving rise to the war of position is the acute development of the state's organising role through repression 'inculcation' inclusive of the concessions and contradictions inherent in that organising role.

written in November–December 1930 cited in: Thomas, 2011: 198) when he states that ‘in the East, the State was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relationship between State and civil society’.

Furthermore, it is important to identify and give due recognition to an analytical terrain set in the war of position, as this was far from always recognised by other researchers and thinkers seeking to make sense of the Occupy Movement. It is not uncommon when examining resistance movements in advanced capitalist societies for the analytical lenses employed to seek to make statements or findings pertaining to a measurement of ‘success’. The notion of ‘success’ in these instances often appears to be based upon the actualisation of a successful war of manoeuvre and a permanent revolution. Such types of analysis are arguably a hugely premature leap into the *war of manoeuvre* terrain before necessarily completing analysis at the *war of position* level. The tendency to declare new protest movements as successful or unsuccessful, against a benchmark of the *permanent revolution* before the necessary due consideration of its activity within the war of position, is at best unhelpful and at worst detrimental to the counter-hegemonic cause. Gramsci employed the concept of the *passive revolution* to denote exactly this problem arguing that the passive revolution is ‘concentrated, difficult and requires exceptional qualities of patience and inventiveness’ (Gramsci, 1948: 238 cited in Ransome, 1992: 146) not only in the actualities of struggle but in analytical endeavours also.

The Occupy movement was no exception to often falling foul of misplaced analyses of ‘success’, gauged inappropriately against a war of manoeuvre. To bring some indicative examples forward, there are various references to ‘failure’ in the work of Gude (2012), Žižek, (2012: 78) and Mitchell (2013: 97) who states uncritically that ‘I think we would have to admit that OWS falls somewhat short of a being a revolution [...] the crucial feature of regime change is not even in question’. In addition to this

commentary from Žižek (2012: 78) included disparagement of Occupy and their apparent expression of 'revolt without revolution' and with Fischer (2011: np) referring to the Network-esq showing of anger and frustration as feeling good but changing very little. It is argued that one might be wise to eschew or rephrase such commentary in order to acknowledge the context under which Occupy occurred. This equally plays into the hands of the approach of persons within the exploiting classes, actualised largely through corporate media outlets, who have been quick to dismiss the movement, and as argued by Resnick *et al* (2011: 45), by continuing to 'ask hungrily "what's next?". Occupy can and has been dismissed in some cases, worryingly inclusive of some of those within and supportive of the movement, as having changed at worst nothing and at best very little. What characterises these responses is an impatience and desire for quicker tangible change something which is not characteristic of a war of position in the west as described by Gramsci (SPN, p110 cited in Ransome, 1992: 148): 'The concentrated or instantaneous form [i.e. frontal attack] was rendered impossible by the military technique of the time – but only partially so; in other words the impossibility existed [for direct frontal attack] in so far as that concentrated and instantaneous form was not preceded by long ideological and political preparation, organically devised in advance to re-awaken popular passions and enable them to be concentrated and brought simultaneously to detonation point'.

This is once again reflective of an unsuitable and ultimately unhelpful benchmarking against the notion of the war of manoeuvre and the permanent revolution, rather than showing an appreciation for the conditions of the advanced capitalist state and the subsequent complex onerous processes of the war of position. For further analysis and reflections on the war of position see Chapter 6 (6.3).

On the other hand, there were various narratives and commentators to be found from within and outside the Occupy movement which did recognise the crucial conditions of the war of position, even if the significance of this condition still remains analytically

underdeveloped. In chapter 1 Fischer (2011: np) recognised that ‘some have likened Occupy to the Arab Spring. That analogy suggests that Occupy will get the US military to turn on Washington and displace the federal government. Not too likely’. Furthermore, as reported in chapter 1, a number of characteristics of the Occupy movement made clear the war of position characteristics inherent in the movement (see: Chomsky, 2012: 58). In addition to this there were also a series of commentaries that inferred recognition of a war of position, such as that from Sitrin (2012a: 93), a key member of the OWS movement, who states that ‘we walk slowly since we are going far’ and Caleb Sams (2014) who discusses the role Occupy played in challenging ‘common sense’²². Furthermore, the Occupy movement according to many commentators is also viewed as a distinctly grassroots movement (see: Writers for the 99%). Meek (2011:171) although speaking with regards to the specifics of the Brazilian landless workers movement, posits that movements ‘that seek to build alternatives from the grassroots – is exemplary of Gramsci’s war of position’. Alongside those that more delicately inferred acknowledgement of the war of position, there were also a series of more direct observations that make greater explicit reference. Caleb Sams (2014: 15) describes how, in the Occupy movement’s very declaration composed at OWS, and adopted by the wider Occupy movement, that this ‘sets the stage for its war of position’. In addition to this Ciccariello-Maher (2012: 2), reporting from Occupy Oakland, also recognised the explicit context of a war of position when speaking of a baleful strategy by Oakland Police and how this was resultantly felt as the ‘sinister war of position continu[ing] unabated’.

Much like the advanced capitalist state itself, the war of position exhibits not only ‘constant’ features but many matters that are ‘in flux’ also. The inference or explicit reference to a war of position within the advanced capitalist state is to be further reminded of the key spatial and temporal variations present, particularly in terms of

²² Common sense in Gramscian terms denotes the entrenchment of certain hegemonic values that maintain the status quo to the point where they become the ‘norm’.

ebbs and flows in an entrenched war of position struggle. Gude (2012: 2) describes Occupy as, an ‘amorphous, highly decentralized movement that, after a miraculous flourish in its embryonic stages, tapered off’. As argued by Cox (1999: 16) a ‘passive revolution can also take the form of a stalled war of position strategy which is strong enough to provoke opposition but not strong enough to overcome it’. This is reminiscent of the work of Arrighi *et al* (1989: 29) who highlights how in a war of position ‘opposition is permanent, but for the most part latent. The oppressed are too weak – politically, economically, and ideologically – to manifest their opposition constantly’.

Having argued the point regarding the conditions of the advanced capitalist state and ergo the war of position that underpin and formulate two conceptual constants within the theoretical framework for the thesis, it is important to note that Gramsci as a theorist was not particularly favoured by many within the Occupy movement as a framework for analysis. As argued by Rehmann (2013) a Gramscian analysis of the Occupy movement was contested by various parties including David Graeber who participated in and wrote extensively on the movement. According to Rehmann (2013: 1) those that argued that a Gramscian analytical approach would be problematic did so on the basis that the horizontalist ‘no leaders’ approach ‘clashes with Gramsci’s description of leadership in terms of educating “organic intellectuals”²³’. However, Rehmann (2013: 2) challenges this argued preclusion explaining that excluding Gramscian based analyses on the basis of an unease with the Occupy movements horizontalist modus operandi falls foul of the a ‘rigid dichotomy of “anarchism versus Marxism” [which] is superficial and outdated’. As Rehmann (2013: 2) continues, ‘a social analysis that looks at what people are actually doing (not just what they are saying) shows immediately that what in fact was done by a supposedly “leaderless” movement was to educate good organizers, new “organic intellectuals,” who can be described using Gramsci’s concept of “leadership” as opposed to “domination,” i.e. in a

²³ Organic intellectuals in Gramscian terms denotes a group of elite persons that might act for the working class in challenging hegemony.

nonhierarchical sense of building processes of consensus'. Furthermore, as argued by Green (2015: 14), 'even though Occupy Wall Street's (OWS) philosophy of organizing a "leaderless movement" clashes with Gramsci's idea of a political party uniting and leading an alliances of classes and groups in the transformation of society, elements of OWS resemble a Gramscian movement in the struggle for hegemony'. As a result, and in recognition of these tensions, the remaining sections of this chapter, and others at various intervals, return to critically discuss further specificities of the role of Gramscian theory in this thesis.

The role of the intellectual is something which has been considered by various Marxist and Neo-Marxist thinkers however, it is widely accepted that 'Gramsci is the Marxist theorist par excellence' of matters pertaining to the notion of the intellectual (Thomas, 2011: 407). It is argued that intellectuals within different social classes play an important role in struggle (see: Thomas, 2011: 137). The theme of the intellectual runs throughout various elements of Gramsci's work, most notably in the Prison Notebooks, and is thought to have done so due to his involvement with L'Ordine Nuovo, a weekly newspaper in Turin in the 1910s, which was in many ways 'a paradigmatic experiment of young intellectuals who sought to redefine their relationship with the working class in active, pedagogical terms—a relationship in which they were more often the "educated" than the "educator"' (Thomas, 2011: 408).

For Gramsci (Q 8, §204; Q 11, §12; SPN, p. 323 cited in Thomas, 2011: 411) because 'all men are philosophers [so it follows that] all men are intellectuals'. However, he further goes on to say that 'not all men have the function of the intellectuals in society' (Q 12, §1; SPN, p. 9 cited in *ibid*) i.e. not all men [sic] are commissioned with the task of being an intellectual and/or not all choose to do so with purpose. For Gramsci, in terms of mobilised commissioned intellectuals he uses the terms traditional and organic intellectuals to make an important distinction in the different functions intellectuals play in society.

For Gramsci the traditional intellectual 'could be "immanent" to the life of the people only by means of the institutions of a transcendent state, which claimed to organise society from within, but only on condition of being above it. They could not progress to that integration within the life of the people that Gramsci signalled as the passage from "knowing [sapere] to understanding [comprendere] to feeling [sentire]" and, crucially, "vice versa, from feeling to understanding to knowing" Q 11, §67; SPN, p. 418' (Thomas, 2011: 346). What is meant by this is that although it should be noted that the traditional intellectual would often seek to posit themselves as independent from the dominant social group (see: Gramsci, Q 12, §1; SPN, p. 7 cited in Thomas, 2011: 418) the reality of their practice is revealed when considering their ways of philosophising. For Gramsci (Q 4, §72 cited in Thomas, 2011: 418), 'the traditional type of intellectual: the literary man, the philosopher, the poet. From this derives the vulgar journalist, who regards himself to be a literary man, philosopher, poet, believes himself to be the 'true' intellectual. [. . .] The lawyer, the professional, are the current types of intellectual, who believe themselves to be invested with great social dignity: their mode of being is "eloquence" as the mover of emotions'. Organic intellectuals in contrast are tasked with 'creating a new culture does not only mean making one's own individual "original" discoveries. It also, and most particularly, means to diffuse critically already discovered truths, to "socialise" them, as it were, and even to make them become the basis of vital actions, an element of co-ordination and intellectual and moral order' (Q11, §12; SPN, p. 325 cited in Thomas, 2011: 376).

There are of course some blurred boundaries between the realities of the positions occupied by organic intellectuals and traditional intellectuals in practice. Although for Gramsci the placement of an intellectual within political society institutions might indicate a particular leaning towards the dominant social class, and hence traditional intellectuals are often absorbed becoming functionaries for the power bloc, equally, intellectuals that might seem to have a preclusion towards being a traditional

intellectual by their official position can assume the role of an organic intellectual that takes up the cause of their philosophising for working class counter-hegemonic activity. Such is the case in some instances of scholars in the academy (see chapter 3 for a further unpacking of matters related to this). The key factor in the determination of a traditional or organic intellectual is the 'specific form of intellectual activity' (Thomas, 2011: 418) and who that works for and against.

Furthermore, as argued by Thomas (2011: 417), 'Gramsci explicitly rejected a theory according to which intellectuals form an homogeneous social group distinct from social classes, or even an independent class' (Thomas, 2011: 415) instead it thus follows that intellectuals are embedded within and across classes. In the context of this thesis the researcher is both within and for philosophising for the working classes and their counterhegemonic efforts against the capitalist accumulation of wealth. The organic intellectual can thus develop a new form of intellectual and as further stated by Gramsci (Q12, §3; SPN, cited in: Thomas, 2011: 417), 'the mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, exterior and momentary mover of affections and passions, but in joining in actively in practical life, as constructor, organiser, "permanently active persuader" [but not] not pure orator'. The author draws from the qualities and activities of the new intellectual that is described by Gramsci through the methodological approach taken in this research, through interviewing and ethnographic practice that is actively engaged in a wider process of knowledge production to support counter-hegemonic activity (see chapter 3).

The limits placed on the involvement the Gramscian notion of intellectuals for this thesis however, lies in two ill-fitting aspects within this conceptualisation. Firstly, as delineated in chapter 2 (2.3) the role of the new intellectual for the working class counterhegemonic project was posited not as a 'horizontal relation between intellectuals across classes, [instead] Gramsci proposed a vertical organisation of intellectuals of varying ability and efficacy within classes, according to the previously quoted metaphor drawn from the ranks of military officers' (Thomas, 2011: 415). This

conceptualisation sits awkwardly with the Occupy movements commitment to engage with anarchist inspired horizontalist engagement and development. Secondly, within this conception Gramsci also discusses the role of the new intellectual for a working class counterhegemonic project that specifically has in mind an end goal of a working class political party that would bring about change²⁴ (see: Thomas, 2011: 118 for further discussion of this) which is not necessarily the goal of the Occupy movement which has an open-ended approach (see chapter 1: 1.9).

2.4 The Neoliberal Conjuncture

In order to further refine the conditions under which the Occupy movement took place attention now turns to the concept of the conjuncture, most specifically in this case - the neoliberal conjuncture. The foci on particular conjunctures has been pertinent and central to the work of, not only key neo-Marxist thinkers such as Gramsci or Poulantzas, from which various theoretical matters examined in this thesis are derived from, but also for various others, such as Lefebvre, on matters of the state (Brenner, 2001). As argued by Jessop (2012: 1), 'conjunctural analysis is useful in many fields but has special theoretical and practical significance for critical political economy and left strategy' and there are various convincing rationale for such a framework for analysis to be induced, within the wider context of the advanced capitalist state and war of position.

There is no linear minimum or maximum time period associated with the notion of conjuncture (Clarke, 2014), a conjuncture is instead 'a period during which the different social, political, economic and ideological contradictions that are at work in society come together to give it a specific and distinctive shape' (Hall and Massey, 2010: 57).

In this particular case the conjuncture referred to, and under examination,

²⁴ It is for this reason that this thesis employs an overarching Poulantzian framework that considers the structural determination of class and their translation into class positions in the conjuncture that is more open to a variety of outcomes for counterhegemonic action, as opposed to the explicit end goal of the formation of a counterhegemonic political party. ally discuss further specificities of the role of Gramscian theory in this thesis.

within the wider notion of the advanced capitalist state and war of position terrain, is that of neoliberalism - or the neoliberal project. Although the term technically originated in the 1930s, neoliberalism is a term that characterises, broadly speaking, the time period from the 1980s onwards (Thorsen, 2010). When referring to the highly ubiquitous term of neoliberalism (ibid), we are referring to a particularly tangible²⁵ political project, beginning in the 1980s, in the advanced capitalist state, however, with far wider reaching consequences beyond that of the immediacy of the 'West' alone. The neoliberal project is one that is characterised by a set of political endeavours and processes that can be surmised as: *accumulation by dispossession*, achieved through the mass privatisation and commodification of publically shared land, property and services; financialisation in terms of the use of debt, credit, inflation, fraud, stock manipulation; and the creation, management and manipulation of crisis, that further redistributes wealth from the poor to the rich (see: Harvey, 2005: 160-165). Neoliberalism is summated by Martinez and Garcia (1996) as a project seeking to 'liberate' and deregulate markets to create freer trade internationally, inclusive of the erosion or elimination of workers' rights, premised on a flawed notion of 'trickle down' effect economics that, in reality, sees the wealthy get wealthier and the poor, poorer. They go on to describe how there are heavy cuts to public services which are, in essence, a reduction in spending pertaining to the poorer people in society and their needs. Simultaneously this plays out alongside a shift towards privatisation and the selling of services for the public good to corporate entities, to elicit profit to the point of often even eliminating the very notion of public good itself (ibid).

Increasing shifts towards privatisation and the transfer of public institutions that work for the public good, such as health and education, to private firms for capital gains were as yet an unmentioned contemporary feature of the advanced capitalist state. This is felt most pertinently in the neoliberal conjuncture. Within this field of privatisation is an

²⁵ It is noteworthy to add that the notion of neoliberalism was widely denied as actually existing, by important bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), until as recently as 2017 (Metcalf, 2017), adding to it, and the advanced capitalist state's, mystifying properties and characterisations.

increase in homogeneity and monopoly of industry (Habermas, 1975; Brenner, 2001; Baccaro and Howell, 2011) which in turn ‘transfer[s] ever more regulatory matters to the firm level’ (Baccaro and Howell, 2011: 550). At the same time the neoliberal conjuncture within the advanced capitalist state is paradoxically also characterised as having a reliance on state intervention to ‘rectify’ economic crisis (Habermas, 1975). However, despite recognition of the role of the corporate sector this thesis subscribes to understanding this shift, not in the sense of the retreat or erosion of the state but, as conceptualised by Tombs and Whyte (2003: 105) when they describe that ‘the increasing social and economic power of corporations may not be at the expense of, but may actually augment, the power of particular national and local states’. The work remains focussed on the advanced capitalist state, albeit with the necessary exploration of the nuances of the state-corporate relationship, in the neoliberal conjuncture, which arguably can and often does play out differently in various locales and scenarios. However, it also argues that they both ultimately sit within the same ideological plain in relation to capital and more pertinently the capitalist accumulation of wealth by even fewer members of the exploiting classes. In the latter analytical chapters the neoliberal conjuncture, and in particular the role of the corporation, becomes not only pertinent in the context of the advanced capitalist state and the war of position holistically speaking, but also highly relevant in terms of the way in which matters of repression, force and violence manifest (see: chapter 5).

As argued by Clarke (2014: 120), ‘the work of doing conjunctural analysis [is] political in the sense that it was designed to reveal the possibilities and resources for progressive action’, although they are also mindful that this is a task ‘easier said than done’ (ibid). According to Jessop (2012:1), ‘the pursuit of politics as ‘the art of the possible’ depends heavily on correct conjunctural analysis and is practised by most successful political forces’. For these reasons, within this thesis, whilst there is reference to the neoliberal conjuncture as a whole, the research also refers to *sub- conjunctural*

moments, within the wider time period, that denote particular points of fracture in the wider conjuncture, derived from the neoliberal projects own contradictions. Recognition of these *sub-conjunctural moments* is of vital importance because, for example, ‘any lesson that you could have drawn back in the first three months of 2015 would already be irrelevant today without taking the different conjunctures into account’ (Jessop, 2016: 318 cited in Flohr and Harrison, 2016:318). The *sub-conjunctural moment* offers the means to look reflexively, both forward and back, across the wider neoliberal conjuncture.

Further to this, conjunctural analysis also compliments both academic and activist endeavours (see: chapter 3) for, as argued by Clarke (2008: 125), ‘an attempt at “conjunctural analysis”, [is to try] to identify the multiple forces, tendencies, [and] pressures in play in a historical moment and to identify how the balance of forces is being worked on, shaped, directed in the search for a “solution” and a “way forward”’. It also, reflects the open ended nature of the Occupy movement in terms of ‘the structural character of the current conjuncture [where it is] not predetermined what the outcome will be, or what will happen’ (Hall and Massey, 2010: 58). Any given conjuncture is ‘constantly changing’ (Jessop, 2016: 319 cited in Flohr and Harrison, 2016:319) much like the advanced capitalist state itself. Conjunctural analysis speaks to the Occupy movement further, in terms of its description by Hall and Massey (2010: 59): ‘the definition of a conjunctural crisis is when these ‘relatively autonomous’ sites – which have different origins, are driven by different contradictions, and develop according to their own temporalities - are nevertheless “convened” or condensed in the same moment. Then there is crisis, a break, a “ruptural fusion”’. This description not only marries up to the heterogeneous nature of the Occupy movement but parallels analytical matters under discussion in chapter 4 regarding the contradictions in the crisis, and moments of rupture, that led to the emergence of the movement itself. Furthermore, usefully, in the context of the Occupy movement, the conjuncture also

presents a means of establishing a relationship between the local and the global through a characteristic (Jessop, 2016 cited in Flohr and Harrison, 2016) albeit with continued recognition of the differences within these diverse spatial arrangements.

Having established the wider context of the advanced capitalist state and war of position, within the neoliberal conjuncture, the next section delineates the utilisation of Poulantzian theory regarding, more specifically, class struggle and the state. For some time after his major publications in the 1960s and 1970s, Poulantzian thought became side-lined and he was arguably less favoured as a neo-Marxist theorist. However, it was 'as the victory of neoliberalism [...] secured its grasp on world capitalism' that his work saw a subsequent partial 'rediscovery' thereafter (Parisot, 2013: np). This thesis seeks to emulate such a rediscovery inclusive of a new reading on Poulantzas' take on the state, and to offer an insight into the, as yet, unreconciled relationship, or journey, from the structural determination of class to class positions in the conjuncture (Jessop, 1985).

2.5 On the Structural Determination of Class, Class Positions in the Class Struggle, The Poulantzian *Conjuncture* and the making of Social Class Force

2.51 The Poulantzian *Conjuncture*²⁶

Whilst the research contained in this thesis, in the first instance, is firmly set in largely Gramscian derived understandings of the war of position in the advanced capitalist state, the departure point for further analytical development now takes a distinctly *Poulantzian* turn. There is a strong rationale for such a turn as essentially this stays on course with chronologically comprehensive developments in neo-Marxist theoretical thinking. To turn to Poulantzas at this stage is by no means to leave behind Gramsci or

²⁶ In 2011 Peter Thomas wrote *The Gramscian Moment: Philosophy, Hegemony and Marxism*. The term 'Gramscian Moment' is presumed to be a play-on homage to Gramsci's work on 'the unity of moments'. This subtitle is not to infer a Poulantzian conjuncture in the literal sense, but instead, to refer to the authors own moment within the research, pertaining to the inclusion and development of Poulantzian theory in the research context.

any other Marxist theoretical forerunners. Poulantzas, himself, was heavily inspired by different Marxists, and other harbingers, utilising progressive analyses from various points in time, to form his own analyses of the central concepts under scrutiny here. In particular, Poulantzas himself makes cumulative philosophising attempts regarding the next important theoretical concepts to attend with: class and class struggle, and their inextricable relationship with the omnipresent notion of the state.

The variant works of Poulantzas are particularly useful in picking up the Neo-Marxist mantle inclusive of an exploration of the possible associated portents contained within, should one subscribe too heavily or use these frameworks in immobile theoretical orthodoxy. In the early stages of *Political Power and Social Classes* Poulantzas (1968: 19) sets out stall regarding such matters:

‘It must first be stated, as a general remark, that these authors [Marx, Engels, Lenin and Gramsci] did not specifically discuss the region of the political at the level of theoretical *systematicity*. In other words, since they were occupied in the direct exercise of their own political practice, they did not explicitly deal with its theory in the strong sense of the word. What in fact can be found in their works is either (i) a well-ordered body of concepts in the “practical state”, i.e. concepts present in the discourse and destined, through their function, to be a direct guide to political practice in a concrete conjuncture, yet not theoretically elaborated; or (ii) *elements* of theoretical knowledge of political practice and of the superstructure of the state, i.e. concepts elaborated but not inserted in a systematic theoretical discourse; or (iii) an *implicit* conception of the political in general in the Marxist problematic, a conception which rigorously underpins the production of these concepts, but which involves certain risks which beset all thought which is not contemporaneous with itself and therefore cannot be systematically explicit in its principles’ (original emphasis).

Here Poulantzas means no harm or disrespect to the revelatory disclosures contained within these authors’ works but instead this is rather to acknowledge the limitations of their theoretical exactitude, with particular reference to their strained evolution under certain conditions²⁷, particularly those of pressing political action and activism at the

²⁷ For an example discussion regarding Poulantzas’ engagement with Gramsci in the context of the war of position and war of manoeuvre see: 6.3 Process and the War of Position and War of Manoeuvre: A codicil

time (see: chapter 3 for an expansion on these problems as realised in this work). As a result, Poulantzas takes up the position of *borrowing* and working with these ‘well ordered’ concepts from his predecessors, a stylistic cue that this thesis also employs, for reformulation within his renewed and arguably more theoretically robust analyses.

It is noteworthy to mention that whilst there are some objectionable stances to certain Gramscian based analyses of the Occupy movement there are arguably none that can be gleaned when it comes to Poulantzas. This is undoubtedly due to the sheer general absence of Poulantzas as a favoured or utilised theorist in such matters. In seeking out Poulantzian discourses pertaining to the Occupy movement one becomes unstuck, with only a small selection of either partial analyses pertaining to one aspect of his work through to almost gratuitous mentions (see: Brand, 2012; Decreus *et al*, 2014; Morgan, 2014; Solty, 2013). Particularly absent in any of these efforts is any robust engagement with Poulantzas theoretical work on the State.

2.52 Poulantzas and [the²⁸] State

The advanced capitalist state, is of great significance in terms of the conditions under which everything pertaining to this thesis took place. Whilst maintaining both ‘constant’ and ‘in flux’ aspects that have already been delineated, a further theoretical unpacking of [the] advanced capitalist state is required. It is also argued that it is necessary to have a commitment to bring the state back in as a critical site of investigation (Coleman *et al*, 2005; Evans *et al*, 1985; Gough, 1975; Tombs and Whyte, 2003). It is applicable here to turn to the work of Poulantzas who arguably offers the most cumulative neo-Marxist theoretical *systematicity* of [the] State that is sought. This is not to lose sight of the aforementioned war of position in the advanced capitalist state discourse but rather to delve deeper into the theoretical miniature regarding the notion of ‘the state’ found

²⁸ From this point forward the use of ‘[the]’ before the word ‘state’ is purposeful in order to play down any possible objectification (as thing, object, or instrument) or reification of [the] state (as static and immobile) which is particularly pertinent in the work of Poulantzas and my own theoretical amalgamative workings regarding [the] state.

within these overarching or underpinning topographies. Although, arguably true that a greater theoretical *systematicity* can be found in the theoretical work of Poulantzas, the interpretation and use of his work by others is still awash with some uncertainties and ambiguities. However, before commenting on these matters, what is known in more certain and secure terms is that there is a clear rejection of any theorisation of [the] state as tangible object or instrument. As argued by Poulantzas (1978: 119) ‘the State [...] is not itself an essence: neither the subject of history nor a mere instrument-object of the dominant class’. To make a preliminary expansion at this stage, what is being clearly demarcated, is that the state is not an object in itself that governs instead ‘it is rather the class struggle at all its levels which governs the apparatuses’ (Poulantzas, 1974: 28).

The rationale for a theoretical framework derived from Poulantzas is multifold. In the first instance, employing the work of Poulantzas means not to ignore other theorists for the influences and the people whose work he considered is extensive and includes, but are not limited to, Luhmann, Gramsci, Lenin, Marx, Althusser, Satre, Hans Kelsen, Heidelberg (see: Jessop, 1991; Jenkins, 2014). Instead employing Poulantzas critically, is to employ and take into consideration a broad range of perspectives. However, Poulantzas, in the main part, is chosen for his recentring of [the] state within the context of class struggle analysis and as stated by Jessop (1991: 75) he was a ‘major contributor to the neo-Marxist rediscovery of the state’ during a period where much analytical consideration was being derived from new social movements literature. Poulantzas was part of a group of people in the 1970s who maintained an interest in the state within capitalist societies when NSM studies meant that the relationship between the state and social movements was ‘thin on the ground’ (Wainwright, 2002: np). As argued by Gallas (2014: 234), ‘Poulantzas provides a coherent conceptualisation of class and state power: state power never exists on its own, that is, in separation from class power; nevertheless, the mode of operation of state apparatuses has independent effects on class relations and the strategies of class

actors'. Furthermore, as part of this, the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture is an overwhelming neglected relationship in analyses of class struggle, ripe for rediscovery. His work also extensively covers the potential for class alliances, not least because, Poulantzas himself had various activist credentials and 'made various practical interventions to advance the cause of the international socialist movement' (Jessop, 1991: 78). There is also an open-ended nature to the work of Poulantzas, which in turn, has synergy with the Occupy movement's character as delineated in chapter 1. As stated by Jessop (1991: 76) Poulantzas' work has an 'authoritative character [that] is ambivalent: one can infer from such a theory what must be achieved, but no longer how to achieve it. Such an approach is useful because it helps us to identify problems in Poulantzas's work while at the same time treating it as a crucial source for a continuous theoretical tradition on the nature of the state, social classes, and political mobilization in modern capitalism'. Moreover, Poulantzas has relevance to the 'unique political and economic structures found under neoliberalism and post-industrial capitalism' (Jenkins, 2014: 1) therefore making his work highly pertinent to the conjuncture of interest for this thesis. In conclusion, Poulantzas offers the most comprehensive non-reified vision of [the] state developed within the early stages of the broader contemporary conjuncture of analytical interest. It is therefore timely to bring [the] state, class struggle and conjunctural analysis back in and thus timely to bring back in Poulantzas

In Poulantzas' final major work *State, Power, Socialism (SPS)* (1978) he begins to develop a new conceptualisation of [the] State. This is expressed as an incomplete conceptualisation of [the] State for a number of reasons. Firstly, although there is recognition of the open ended narrative on [the] State stemming from this work, there is equally often an overly ambitious inference that a fully theorised conceptualisation of [the] State is present. For example, in the preface to *SPS* written by Stuart Hall (1980: xiii), Hall claims that for Poulantzas 'the State must be conceived as a "condensation of the relations of [class] forces"'. This is both true and inaccurate, for Poulantzas never

uses this exact expression and set of words in that order, even if Hall seemingly denotes the phrase in quotation marks, as if directly quoted or ably gleaned from the text. To recognise this is not an exercise in pedanticism but an appreciation of vital importance, for although highly revealing in its lengthy nuanced narrative about how to conceive of [the] State, there is no final or consistent theory of [the] State given, in explicit terms. In fact, in the thirty direct attempts to denote a theory of [the] State anew by Poulantzas in *SPS*, there are often quite unruly differences in Poulantzas' claims. A careful reading of these variant attempts that Poulantzas makes at several intervals in *SPS*, reveals the denotation and interpretation by Hall (1980) of Poulantzas' exaction of [the] State as described as being that of a mere 'condensation of the [relations] of class forces', omits to recognise a number of aspects. Firstly, the *materiality* of this relationship and secondly the lack of reconciliation found within Poulantzas notions of particular aspects of *class* in practice, in this context. Taking *materiality* as the first omitted concept it is noted that Poulantzas (1978: 129) clearly states that 'the state is not purely a relationship, or the condensation of a relationship; it is the *specific material condensation* of a relationship of forces among class and class fractions' (original emphasis). Whilst it can be said that Poulantzas does often make reference to the condensation of class forces without specific mention of materiality, he, arguably, does so as shorthand having made it very clear here that it is in fact the *specific material condensation* of this relationship of forces that feed into his theorisation of [the] State. Secondly, what this quote also reveals is the ambiguities found in the notion of class within Poulantzas' theoretical conceptualisation of [the] State in *SPS*, specifically. In the aforementioned quote Poulantzas makes a distinction between class and class fractions, he also does this in another five cases²⁹. However, in another ten cases³⁰ he refers to class as 'whole' within his conceptualisation of [the] State, leaving the reader unsure as to the importance of this distinction, or lack of therein, between class

²⁹ See: *SPS*, 1978: 92; 129; 132; 140; 144.

³⁰ See: *SPS*, 1978: 73; 84; 92; 116; 119; 130; 140; 192; 257

and class fractions. To complicate matters further in another thirty plus cases³¹ Poulantzas refers to a more general ‘relationship of forces’, devoid of class through the written word. This latter finding however, could be read as a form of shorthand, much like Gramsci often referred to the State as shorthand for Political Society, and we might posit the most likely scenario here, is that due to the clarity ascertained elsewhere on the *specific material condensation*, the reader would recognise class in this context as given. Unlike the ‘final reading’ taken by Stuart Hall, this thesis takes the departure point that the State be conceived of as: ***the specific material condensation of a relationship of social class forces***. This phrasing is not directly quotable from the work of Poulantzas but it is still quite deliberate in its articulation and derived from a cumulative reading of all the nuanced aspects hypothesised by Poulantzas in SPS regarding his theoretical postulation of [the] State.

If a cumulative reading of the work of SPS posits [the] State as ***the specific material condensation of a relationship of social class forces***, then this leads to the next and further vitally unreconciled notion within Poulantzas’ theory of [the] State in SPS: that of *force*. The notion of *force* in the work of Poulantzas remains one of the most unearthed stones within SPS or indeed in many of his other works³². In fact Poulantzas never really explains what he means by *force* theoretically speaking in SPS, especially in the assumed and needed specific context here of *social class force*. The very first mention of force in SPS, beyond that of productive forces related to the means of production or brute force pertaining to state actors, which is how the notion of force is most often in use in this work, is within an attempted preliminary conceptualisation of [the] State, and in that instance, and many others to follow, it is left distinctly unpacked

³¹ See: SPS, 1978: 115; 116; 118; 128; 130; 133; 134; 136; 137; 140; 141; 143; 144; 146; 147; 148; 151; 152; 153; 158; 159; 185; 195; 204; 219; 245; 258; 259; 260.

³² Whilst the notion of force is technically highly present in for example *Political Power and Social Classes* (1968), omitting *Fascism and Dictatorship* (1970) which is of an albeit related but tangentially differential tack, the references to force are by and large of little theoretical value. Instead the term is mostly employed in the actual in terms of relations of production through history or brute force enacted by state actors. Force is equally assumed here as it is in SPS. The exception to the rule is *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (1974) which is discussed in section 2.53.

(see: Poulantzas, 1978: 73).

2.53 On Class, Class Struggle and the making of *Social Class Force* ... and [the] State

As force remains vitally important to understanding a theory of [the] State derived from Poulantzas, whilst also being highly theoretically ambiguous, it is necessary to turn to some of Poulantzas earlier in-depth work on *class* to try and decipher and find a route towards a potential theoretical understanding of *force*. The rationale for this is because it is precisely in and around the idea of class where the notion of force resides, given that within the particular theory of [the] State it is in fact referring specifically to *social class force*. Therefore a concrete grasp on *class* within the work of Poulantzas may thus go some way to facilitate or posit an argued preliminary understanding of *social class force*. As already outlined, Poulantzas' final major work *State, Power, Socialism* offers limited insight into the notion force and its relationship to social classes so for this task it is a requirement to return to his earlier body of work, most notably *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (1974).

In the first instance regarding turning attention to matters of class, what is required is the appropriate operational terminology to denote various forms of class and class formations. This thesis employs a set of class related terminology derived from Poulantzas but which also situates amongst it, the Occupy movements rhetoric of the '1 per cent Vs 99 per cent'. To begin with Poulantzas outlines class in terms of class *situation* in its most abstract form:

'If we confine ourselves to modes of production alone, we find that each of them involves two classes present in their full economic, political and ideological determination - the exploiting class, which is politically and ideologically dominant, and the exploited class, which is politically and ideologically dominated: masters and slaves in the slave mode of production, lords and serfs in the feudal mode of production, bourgeois and workers in the capitalist mode of production' (Poulantzas, 1974: 19).

However, class *situation*, i.e. classes in the abstract are, however, exactly that - an abstraction of the argued *should be* nature of the classes under an isolated scenario of the economic state of affairs within production processes under capitalism. However, no such abstraction or isolation could or does truly exist³³ for, as explained by Poulantzas (1974), we are required to consider the *structural determination of classes* as a whole, which alongside the economic includes the political and ideological, which in turn are themselves inextricably linked and tied up in, rather than separate from, economic production processes under capitalism:

‘social class is defined by its place in the ensemble of social practices i.e. by its place in the social division of labour as a whole. This includes political and ideological relations. Social class, in this sense, is a concept which denotes the effects of the structure within the social division of labour (social relations and social practices). This place corresponds to what I shall refer to as the structural determination of class, i.e. to the determination of class practices and determination by the structure – by the relations of production, and by the places of political and ideological domination/subordination. Classes only exist in the class struggle’ (Poulantzas, 1974: 14).

What is now required is an understanding of where the 1% and 99% category discourse sits in the context of the materiality and reality of class under the conditions which have just been outlined. A more thorough and serious discussion regarding class composition in the current neoliberal conjuncture within the advanced capitalist state now follows

³³ ‘There are no social classes prior to their opposition in struggle: they are not posed “in themselves” in the relations of production only to enter into struggle (become classes “for themselves”) afterwards and elsewhere’ (Poulantzas., 1978: 27).

Figure 2.53a The Structural Determination of Class in the Advanced Capitalist State in the context of the Neoliberal conjuncture

Bourgeoisie	Monopoly Capital <i>Hegemonic fraction</i>	'The 1%'	Exploiting Classes (Dominant Classes) <i>(from which the Power Bloc is formed see figure 2.53b)</i>
	Non-Monopoly Capital		
	Traditional Petty Bourgeoisie (Capital wage-earners who depend on the sphere of the circulation and realization of surplus- value from capitalist modes of production)		
Proletariat	Petty Bourgeoisie (Non-capital wage earners that are productive labour producing surplus value and that value is extracted by the bourgeoisie)	'The 99%'	Exploited classes (Dominated classes) <i>(from which 'the people' are formed see figure 2.53b)</i>
	Working classes		

What is now required is an understanding of where the 1% and 99% category discourse sits in the context of the materiality and reality of class under the conditions which have just been outlined. A more thorough and serious discussion regarding class composition in the current neoliberal conjuncture within the advanced capitalist state now follows.

2.531 The monopoly finance capitalist stage

Figure 2.53a represents the structural determination of classes, in their most basic conceptual form, in the advanced capitalist state, within the specificity of the neoliberal conjuncture. These categories demarcate a number of important 'working boundaries' in the formation of social classes, fractions, and strata emerging from the structural determination of class in this instance. There are a number of important things to note regarding this formation, and the boundaries depicted. In this first instance this requires some theoretical clarification regarding the particular phase of capitalism in the advanced capitalist state in this particular conjuncture: the **monopoly finance capitalist stage**.

The monopoly finance capitalist stage is the developed stage of the *relationship* of industrial and banking capital whereby that development has given rise to 'exclusive' possession or control over various capital holdings by a fraction of the bourgeoisie. Taking the finance stage of capitalism, it is wise to first explain the relationship or 'merger' of industrial and banking capital, although it is important to be careful in using an expression such as 'merger' that might inadvertently hide the complexities of such a nebulous relationship. It is of vital importance to be clear that finance capital is the current phase in capitalist relations between banking and industrial capital because as argued by Poulantzas there is a tendency for people to often make the mistake of assuming banking finance is or equals finance capital. Instead, it is the case that there is a relationship between banking and industrial capital that in turn is the finance capital stage itself. As stated by Poulantzas (1974: 53), 'finance capital is not, strictly speaking,

a fraction of capital like the others, but designates the process of merger and the mode of functioning of the combined industrial and banking fractions’.

The present phase of capitalism should be characterised as a relationship between industrial and banking capital expressed as (monopoly) finance capital. In this formation whilst industrial capital may not be the only, or dominant in the strictest totalising sense, factor, and thus capitalism is ‘not to be understood in the immediate production process alone’ (Poulantzas, 1974: 94) at the same time banking capital must not be overemphasised at the expense of overlooking industrial capital, because, banking capital must always be understood and rooted in the extraction of surplus value from the production process. It is important not to ‘abolish the distinction between the concentration of productive capital and the centralization of money capital within capital’s expanded reproduction stage. In this cycle, both the accumulation of capital and the rate of profit are determined by the cycle of productive capital, which alone produced surplus value.’ (Poulantzas, 1974: 53). Poulantzas (1974: 93) expands further regarding, ‘the old error of identifying monopoly capitalism with the domination and hegemony of the banks’ which he continues to explain as problematic because, ‘beside the fact that this interpretation ultimately obscures imperialism as a specific stage of capitalism, it leads to accepting the possibility of the entire reproduction of social capital on an extended scale being determined by the cycle of commodity capital. And thus, during a certain “period” of this extended reproduction, by the cycle of commercial capital. This entails radically undermining Marx’s analysis of the determining role of production’ (ibid). In summary, ‘although the industrialization of capital can only be understood at the level of the reproduction process of the total social capital (productive capital, money capital, and commodity capital as well [...] capital as a social relation is based on the productive capital cycle’ (Poulantzas, 1974: 54). The specificity of the *monopoly* capitalist stage of finance capitalism denotes a particular stage of development after the stage of *competitive capitalism* (see: Poulantzas, 1978: 123). This is not to say that the monopoly

stage of finance capitalism is devoid of competition, instead it merely indicates some key factors in the functioning of capital as a whole in particular it refers 'to the substantive changes in the capitalist relations of production and social division of labour. While their hard core persists, and while they therefore remain capitalist, they nevertheless undergo important changes throughout the reproduction of capitalism' (Poulantzas, 1978: 123) and in turn there is a 'specific hegemony of monopoly capital over the bourgeoisie as a whole' (ibid: 128). The passages that follow will explicate further that 'it is not just monopoly capital that occupies the terrain of political domination' (Poulantzas, 1978: 128). However, for now, attention turns to the working categories of the structural determinants of class in this, the *monopoly finance* capitalist stage, which is what is now presented to the reader. For, as stated by Poulantzas (1974: 94), 'in other words, capitalist exploitation in the form of the production of surplus-value, which is realized by way of commodities, and by the existence of labour-power itself as a commodity, is based on the relations of production specific to capitalism; it is precisely there that the place of these classes, their reproduction and the class struggle, can be read off and deciphered'.

'The determining role of productive capital in the reproduction of the aggregate social capital has decisive implications for the determination of social classes [...]. In fact, it is only in terms of this role that Marx's analysis of the working class can be understood, a class that is not defined by wage labour (purchase and sale of labour-power, i.e. the ' wage-earning class'), but by productive labour, which under capitalism means labour that directly produces surplus-value. This is why, in Marx's theory, it is only those wage-earners who depend on productive capital who form part of the working class, since it is only productive capital that produces surplus-value. Wage-earners who depend on the sphere of the circulation and realization of surplus-value do not form part of the working class, since these forms of capital, and the labour that depends on them, do not produce surplus-value' (Poulantzas, 1974: 94).

Returning to Fig. 2.53a a further elucidation of the working categories for the structural determination of classes in the monopoly finance capitalist phase of the neoliberal conjuncture is presented now. In summary, this figure depicts firstly, the ***bourgeoisie*** which comprises of (i) *monopoly capital (the hegemonic fraction)*, (ii) *non-monopoly capital* and (iii) *the Traditional Petty Bourgeoisie* (capital wage-earners who depend on

the sphere of the circulation and realisation of surplus-value from capitalist modes of production) which in turn form the exploiting classes from which the 'power bloc' is formed (a hegemonic organising social class force). Secondly, the diagram presents the **proletariat** that comprises of (i) *the new petty 'bourgeoisie'* (non-capital wage earners that are productive labour producing surplus value and that value is extracted by someone else) and (ii) *the working classes*. These in turn form the exploited classes from which 'the people' (a counterhegemonic organising social class force) are, or might be, formed.

2.532 The Exploited and Exploiting classes

In the first instance, it is important to provide some commentary on the employment of the term the exploited and exploiting classes. To take the exploiting classes, a comprehensive reading of Poulantzas demonstrates that across his work he frequently uses both the terms dominant classes, to denote the grouping of classes which are politically dominant (see: Poulantzas, 1968; 1974; 1978), and exploiting classes to refer to the grouping of classes which are politically and ideologically dominant (see: Poulantzas 1974: 32). This thesis employs the term exploiting classes, rather than dominant classes, to denote this particular class grouping. This is in recognition of the inextricable relationship between the political and ideological. Poulantzas (1968: 205) recognises this himself when he states that, it is 'impossible for a class not only to be politically dominant but even to have a strictly political organization without having gained the position of dominant ideology, since its ideological organization coincides with its emergence as class-subject of society and of history'. Yet, despite this recognition across his works thereafter Poulantzas himself favours the term dominant classes and/or uses the terms dominant classes and exploiting classes interchangeably, and therefore to some extent, problematically. In this case exploiting classes has been chosen as the term to employ to denote all instances of this class grouping to demarcate the inextricable relationship, albeit with different 'weighting' and manifestations, between

the political and ideological.

2.533 It is not the size of your earnings – it is the extraction of your surplus value that counts

The exploited and exploiting classes as a term, although a useful shorthand to denote an existing class grouping, runs the risk of being problematically homogenously employed unless unpacked here, to reveal the class fractions, and the relationship between these class fractions, that make up these groupings. In doing so this demonstrates the formation, and to some extent 'weighting', of economic, political, and ideological dominance exacted within this wider class grouping.

To take the exploiting classes, as a group, this includes both monopoly, non-monopoly capital, and the traditional petty bourgeoisie (capital wage-earners who depend on the sphere of the circulation and realization of surplus-value from capitalist modes of production). These distinctions are of important. The monopoly capital fraction is the most dominant hegemonic fraction of this class grouping (this is also referred to as the '1 per cent', an item for discussion which will be returned to shortly). It is the 'most dominant' hegemonic fraction because, put simply, 'monopoly capitalism, [...] is simply the present phase of imperialism as it appears within each social formation and its own field of specific contradictions' (Poulantzas, 1974: 91). This is not to say that non-monopoly capital, and traditional petty bourgeoisie, do not themselves contribute to hegemony but it is 'subordinate' to the hegemony of monopoly capital in so far as monopoly capital is the present phase of imperialism. However, non-monopoly capital, and the traditional petty bourgeoisie, far from being simply and only subordinate in hegemonic terms, also paradoxically has a mutually reinforcing relationship, one that is fluid and subject to change, and is ultimately required for the very existence of the reproduction of the monopoly finance capitalist stage. As described by Poulantzas (1974: 140):

'The movement of concentration and centralization of capital is a constant process. It follows that the boundaries between monopoly and non-monopoly capital are variable and relative. They depend both on the phase of monopoly capitalism and on its concrete forms (branches, sectors, etc.) within a social

formation. In point of fact non-monopoly capital is based in the stage of competitive capitalism, such as this continues to function in a formation dominated by monopoly capitalism. This mode of functioning is itself transformed as a function of the domination of monopoly capital. There is in no sense a simple "coexistence" of two separate water-tight sectors. The criteria by which non-monopoly capital is defined are always located in relation to monopoly capital and its specific characteristics in a given phase: these criteria are not those intrinsic to a competitive capitalism such as this would have been able to function before the dominance of monopoly capitalism'.

Hence this paradoxical relationship, and the subsequent power dynamics in this manner between monopoly and non-monopoly capital and the traditional petty bourgeoisie gives rise to contradictions in their co-existence. As monopoly capital seeks to expand and accumulate further capital gains, it thus follows that, as argued by Poulantzas (1974: 138) 'it is often the monopoly capital with a strategy of international expansion that enters into the most intense contradictions' within the exploiting class grouping. This is perhaps best described by Poulantzas when he states that this is an 'uneven process of "fusion" operating among various fractions of capital' (Poulantzas, 1978: 128).

As further denoted in figure 2.53a, monopoly capital, non-monopoly capital, and the traditional petty bourgeoisie (capital), vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie/exploiting classes are distinct from the proletariat/exploited class grouping which is comprised of the new petty 'bourgeoisie' (non-capital wage earners that are productive labour producing surplus value and that value is extracted by someone else) and the working classes. This distinction is important because it is a distinction based on *nature* rather than *size*. Non-monopoly capital and the traditional petty bourgeoisie (capital) are aligned, to the bourgeoisie/exploiting classes not due to their size of but due to their nature. What is meant by this is what 'counts' and becomes the determining factor in these structural determination departure point categories is the distinction between productive labour and whether or not you are producing surplus value that is extracted by another person, or whether you are the extractor of the surplus value of someone else's productive labour. However, it is often the case, problematically, that size, rather than nature of the

enterprise forms the basis from which to distinguish the bourgeoisie from the proletariat. On this basis, in terms of social class, 'small capital' is often inappropriately aligned with the working classes, and both some forms of non-monopoly capital and the traditional petty bourgeoisie (capital) are often inaccurately aligned with the exploited classes. As explained by Poulantzas (1974: 139):

'The terms "big" and "medium" capital can lead to blurring the class dividing lines between, on the one side, capital as such, i.e. the bourgeoisie, and on the other side small-scale manufacturing and handicraft production, i.e. the petty bourgeoisie. This is effected by the surreptitious introduction, in this scale of magnitude, of the term "small capital" to denote the petty bourgeoisie. The term "big capital" is kept to refer to monopoly capital, seen as alone constituting the bourgeoisie, and by the term "non-monopoly strata" a continuous line is drawn to include both "medium capital" (the remainder of the bourgeoisie) and "small capital" (the petty bourgeoisie), giving it to be understood that all who do not form part of "big capital" no longer belong to the bourgeoisie. In this way medium capital is supposed to have the same type of contradictions in regard to big capital as the petty bourgeoisie has in regard to the bourgeoisie, and hence to present the same possibilities as the petty bourgeoisie as far as alliance with the working class is concerned [...] this theoretical confusion is also found with other writers, as for example A. Granou. He does not flinch from expressly separating the "medium bourgeoisie" from the bourgeoisie proper, in such expressions as: "The bourgeoisie must ensure the unreserved support of all strata of the petty and medium bourgeoisie". This amounts to sanctioning the myth of a union of "small and medium-size enterprises".'

2.534 So, who are the 1% and 99% exactly?

Having established the 'working boundaries' in the formation of social classes within the monopoly finance capitalist stage in the neoliberal conjuncture, it becomes important to embed aspects of suggested class groupings emanating from the Occupy movement itself. As previously ascertained (see: 2.1), there is a strong rationale for an examination of the Occupy movement and class struggle, although notably to speak *of it*, not *for it*. However, in terms of deriving class formation based on Occupy alone, this would require drawing upon the movement's counter-hegemonic juxtaposition of the '1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent'. In the case of the structural determination of class in the advanced capitalist state in the context of monopoly finance capitalist stage in the neoliberal conjuncture, this would situate the class line's of the movement's mantra as, the '1 per

cent' figuratively monopoly capital/hegemonic fraction and the '99 per cent' as not only the working classes but also non-monopoly capital and the traditional petty bourgeoisie also (see figure 2.53a). However, such a simple distinction is insufficient as a framework for analysis. Poulantzas (1974:103) argued that too heavy a focus on monopoly capital has led to 'every time that political domination is under discussion, it is only the big monopolies that are mentioned'. The 'failings' of the 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent discourse, which 'conceals as much as it reveals' (Taylor, 2013: 742), lies in what Poulantzas describes as leading to 'not only lead to a dubious analysis of the contemporary state apparatus, but it also implies that, once the handful of 'usurpers', i.e. the big monopolists, are ousted from power, this state, in its present form, can be used in a different way, to serve the interests of socialism' (Poulantzas, 1974: 106). Ergo, whilst the class struggle in the context of Occupy might be uncritically conceived as the 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent, due to the prominence of this rhetorical slogan, the parameters of discussing Occupy and the class struggle in this thesis instead, more accurately, engage with class struggle in the greater nuance of the 'real' social formation of classes in the advanced capitalist state in this particular stage of monopoly finance capitalism. The 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent instead represents a separate group formation, that usefully, symbolically places the Occupy Movement as counterhegemonic (in opposition to the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital), and then less usefully, makes a distinction by means of wealth distribution and inequality, as opposed to analytically serviceable class groupings in the neo-Marxist analytical sense.

2.535 The 'bourgeoisie(s)' and some not so *petty* discussions

The final matter to contend with is the complexity, possible fluidity, blurred boundaries and transference of the determination of social class across the categories of (i) the traditional petty bourgeoisie (capital wage-earners who depend on the sphere of the circulation and realization of surplus-value from capitalist modes of production) and (ii) new petty 'bourgeoisie' (non-capital wage earners that are productive labour producing

surplus value and that value is extracted by the exploiting classes), in the context of this particular monopoly finance capitalist stage. The concept of the traditional petty bourgeoisie, and the new petty bourgeoisie, was a source of great contention within the work of Poulantzas. Although, within a working typology on paper the distinction between the traditional and new petty bourgeoisie is clear the reality in practice may well turn out to be very different and it is a possibility that the boundary between the 2 categories in some respects has the potential to become blurred or that some persons structural determination of class under the current phase of monopoly finance capitalism may see some with *a foot in both camps*.

The key distinction, if it can be called that in the interim, for establishing the basis and departure point for the structural determination of classes in this particular conjuncture, is that the distinguishing feature that demarcates these working categories depends on the sphere of the circulation and *realisation* of surplus-value from capitalist modes of production. In this phase of (monopoly) finance capitalism it is of course a requirement to consider those with *a foot in both camps*. Therefore, in turn, it becomes particularly pertinent to consider the role of *direct voluntary*³⁴ investment in stock markets, something made possible through so called 'going public' on the stock market. It is important to state that knowledge of direct voluntary investment in stock markets is relatively uncharted waters, not least because there is no formal or legal requirement for data collection of this type (see: Grout *et al*, 2009). In fact Grout *et al* (2009) are thus far the only authors to attempt such a data collection and analysis of direct voluntary investment in stock markets around the world³⁵. Taking the data from Grout *et al* (2009)

³⁴ The reason that Grout *et al*. (2009) stipulates direct voluntary investment in stock markets as the issue of concern, as opposed to compulsory investment in stock markets such as through indirect subscription to pension schemes which in turn invest in stock markets is that the key factor in the structural determination of classes is the realisation of surplus-value from capitalist modes of production. In this instance direct voluntary investment is a purposeful attempt at realisation of surplus-value from capitalist modes of production laced with a degree of agency in terms of engagement in this, as opposed to indirect investment at a distance where that value is extracted by the exploiting classes and may or may not be passed on to that person.

³⁵ The work carried out by Grout *et al* (2009) accounted for and covered approximately 96% of the world stock market capitalisation.

and isolating their findings in the Western context, the site of concern in this thesis' analysis, they found that approximately 116 million people had voluntary individual investments in stock markets. Taking a basic population assumption of around 1.03 billion persons in the West (Population Reference Bureau, 2017) this would indicate that the percentage of persons in the West engaged with voluntary investment in stock markets is approximately 11%. Such an estimate is supported by some key data sets from individual countries, for example in the UK where the Office for National Statistics (2015 cited in Williams-Grut, 2015) estimated that around 11% of the stock market investment in the UK was accounted for by individual investors. Whilst it is difficult to glean further nuance on the demographic makeup of these individual investors (Grout, *et al.* 2009) it is possible to piece together some indicators regarding the most likely composition of these individual voluntary investors in the stock market and perhaps more importantly who holds the *most* shares. Key data sets indicate that women are less likely to invest in stock markets (Barrett, 2016), people with ultra-high net-worth (classified as those with at least \$30 million in assets) (see: Borzykowski, 2014) will invest in stocks. To take an illustrative case study in the US it is estimated that around 18% of people directly own stocks (DePillis, 2017). However, as shown by Wolff (2016 cited in Wile, 2017: np): 'despite the fact that almost half of all households owned stock shares either directly or indirectly through mutual funds, trusts, or various pension accounts, the richest 10% of households controlled 84% of the total value of these stocks in 2016'. To elucidate matters further DePillis (2017: np) states that 'as measured by those who declare ordinary dividend income on their tax returns, stock ownership varies dramatically by income level. Among filers who make less than \$25,000 a year, only about 8% own stocks. Meanwhile, 88% of those making more than \$1 million are in the market, which explains why the rising stock market tracks with increasing levels of inequality'. In summary whilst there is a lack of robust comprehensive data in this field, and even this data if readily available could be subject to substantial change such is the complex temporality of (monopoly) finance capitalism, key data sets indicate that the

vast majority of those within the working classes and new petty bourgeoisie categories are most likely to rely on their *productive labour* as their main source of income placing them in the main part in the working classes. However, transitions, both 'upward' and 'downward' between the categories of the bourgeoisie and working classes, particularly within the realm of the traditional and petty bourgeoisie terrain, is possible and as such in this particular conjuncture of (monopoly) finance capitalism, there is the marked possibility of fluidity and change in the structural determinants of class, something that is worthy of consideration not only here but in terms of the rolling impact this may have in their transformation into class positions in the conjuncture.

The structural determination of classes thus reflects the entirety of the social division of labour including that of economic, political, and ideological relations which are in turn a set of practices within the class struggle. However, the structural determination of classes (as delineated in figure 2.53a) is only one part of a set of class practices within class struggle³⁶.

³⁶ To speak of class struggle in the Poulantzian sense is not to necessarily define it conceptually but to situate it as a point of examination in terms of its relationship with [the] state for, 'the state plays a decisive role in the relations of production and the class struggle, entering into their constitution and, hence, their reproduction' (Poulantzas, 1978: 35).

Figure 2.53b Practices in Class Struggle

PRACTICES/CLASS STRUGGLE		
STRUCTURAL DETERMINATION/ CLASS PLACES*		CONJUNCTURE/ CLASS POSITIONS
SOCIAL DIVISION OF LABOUR Social classes, fractions, strata, categories	IDEOLOGY Relations of ideological domination/subordination Ideological struggle	Concepts of strategy; social forces, power bloc, 'people'
	POLITICS Relations of political domination/subordination Political struggle	
	ECONOMICS Relations of production/ relations of exploitation Economic struggle	

(Poulantzas, 1974: 15)

Figure 2.53a offered an insight into the grey area of this figure in the context of the advanced capitalist state within the neoliberal conjuncture*

As seen in figure 2.53b the structural determination of class, is only one part of the overarching and broader class struggle. The second element of consideration in matters of class, is the translation of the structural determination of class to class positions in the conjuncture (see: 2.54). Class positions are concerned with concepts of strategy and the formulation of social class forces vis-a-vis the derivation of 'the power bloc' from the exploiting classes, and 'the people' from the exploited classes (see:

figure 2.53a). The 'power bloc' refers to the composition of persons from within a 'class or fraction that generally provides the political personnel and the "heads" of the state apparatus, and which, by way of its own organizations, occupies the political foreground. As Marx himself showed, the governing class or fraction may be different from the hegemonic class or fraction, whose interests the state especially serves' (Poulantzas, 1974: 148). It is important to make enquiries, and recognise the existence of the 'power bloc' as this concept too has been side-lined by some, due to the aforementioned misnomer that posited the dominance of monopoly capital as separate, rather than inextricably tied up in other fractions of the exploiting classes (see: Poulantzas, 1974: 103. By 'the people' what is meant is those from the working classes/exploited classes that might constitute a counter-hegemonic social class force that would challenge the power bloc to enact a change within [the] state. The 'power bloc', by contrast, already exists as a relatively, or comparatively, stable social class force, albeit with a series of contradictions and thus the existence of fissures contained within, whereas the social class force of 'the people' is yet to be determined.

An examination of class positions in the conjuncture is vital because it is where it is possible to find an understanding of *social class force(s)*. As argued by Poulantzas (1974: 16), 'from the start structural class determination involves economic, political and ideological class struggle, and these struggles are expressed in the form of class positions in the conjuncture'. Thus, for Poulantzas (1978: 27), 'even at the relations of production, these class positions [are] finding expressions in power [and] consist in class practices and struggles'. Class positions in the conjuncture become even further important when Poulantzas (1974: 17) argues that these class positions in the conjuncture 'constitute the conditions for the intervention of classes as social forces'. Returning to SPS, where [the] state is referred to as, 'not purely a relationship, or the condensation of a relationship; it is the *specific material condensation* of a relationship of forces among class and class fractions' (Poulantzas, 1978: 129 original emphasis), the argument that can thus be made in reviewing the work contained within *Classes in*

Contemporary Capitalism is that it is not the structural determination of class, or any of the class fractions, categories, or strata contain within, that themselves constitute a social class force in their own right, it is instead *class positions in the conjuncture* that constitute **social class force**. This in turn features in the thesis' Poulantzas derived theoretical conceptualisation of [the] State: ***the specific material condensation of a relationship of social class forces***. Whilst in the main part there has been a need to step back from *State, Power, Socialism* and return to the earlier work of *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* to foreground all of the following theoretical departure points, what has been presented here is supported within Poulantzas' final major work also:

'Power, and above all the political power that is pre-eminently ascribed to the State, also refers to the power organization of a class and to class position in a given conjuncture (amongst other things, party organization): it refers to the relations of classes constituted as social forces, and thus to a strategic field properly so-called. The political power of a class, its capacity to realize its political interests, depends not only on its class place (and determination) with regard to other classes, but also on the position and strategy it displays in relation to them' (Poulantzas, 1978: 147).

For Poulantzas it is important to be clear regarding the difference between the *structural determination of social classes* and *class positions in the conjuncture*:

'The structural determination of classes, which thus exists only as the class struggle, must however be distinguished from class positions of each specific conjuncture – the focal point of the always unique historic individuality of a social formation, in other words the concrete situation of the class struggle. In stressing the importance of political and ideological relations in determining social classes, and the fact that social classes only exist in the form of class struggle and practices, class determination must not be reduced, in a voluntarist fashion, to class position. The importance of this lies in those cases in which a distance arises between the structural determination of classes and the class position in the conjuncture' (Poulantzas, 1974: 14-15).

Thus, for Poulantzas, it is important to distinguish between the structural determination of class and class positions in the conjuncture. The difference lies in how 'a social class, or fraction or stratum of a class, may take up a class position that does not correspond to its interests, which are defined by the class determination that

fixes in the horizon of class's struggle' (Poulantzas, 1974: 15). In doing so this does not mean that they (the exploited classes) have become part of (the exploiting classes), 'since their structural determination is not reducible to their class position' (ibid).

This thesis takes as its departure point that [the] State, in this specific case [the] state of advanced capitalism in the war of position within the neoliberal conjuncture, is theoretically conceptualised and understood as: ***the specific material condensation of a relationship of social class forces***. It further takes the position that *social class force* is the structural determination of class as expressed specifically as class position(s) in the conjuncture. As a result, this thesis is thus concerned with an examination of the various class positions in the conjuncture as assumed by the Occupy movement. In chapter 1, it was established that amongst a swathe of variable, contested, and mostly open-ended featurettes, one of the most agreeable aspect about the Occupy movement was that of its counter-hegemonic endeavours. However, given that *social class force*, which is so pertinent to an understanding of [the] State, is derived from the structural determination of classes as expressed specifically as class position(s) in the conjuncture then the concern becomes to what extent the Occupy movement is counter-hegemonic in terms of its ability to *translate* the structural determination of class into realised counter-hegemonic class positions in the conjuncture. This thesis examines such matters by interrogating the 'distance' between, and what Poulantzas (1974: 15) identifies as vital, of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture. In turn, interrogating these *translations* from structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture supports an analysis and discussion regarding to what extent the Occupy movement might be viewed as a meaningful social class force, and its subsequent potential to find material condensation within [the] State.

2.536 From Structural Determination of Class to Class Positions

The further, and final, minute of the foci of the theoretical framework is to firmly place the journey from structural determination of class to class positions in a particular conjuncture, as central to this thesis' concerns. As delineated in figure 2.53b, and the preceding sections, Poulantzas makes a clear distinction between the structural determination of class and class positions in the conjuncture. As argued by Jessop (1985: 183) 'for a long time Poulantzas was concerned with the relation between class determination and class position. But he never satisfactorily defined this relation' and a 'conjunctural analysis also means describing [the] complex field of power and consent, and looking at its different levels of expression - political, ideological, cultural and economic [and] about trying to see how all of that is deployed' (Hall and Massey, 2010: 65). Conjunctures themselves are however 'too general a procedure' (Couldry, 2000: 579) and a mere 'guiding analytical format' (Ratner, 1986:3) and thus combining the notion of conjunctural analysis with the specificity of an examination of the relationship that Poulantzas did not fully reconcile, offers theoretically fertile ground from which to work from.

To conclude this chapter, it is argued by Hall (1980: xvii-xviii), in the preface to *SPS*, that the work of Poulantzas remains 'strikingly unfinished' and to an extent is arguably 'coming apart at the seams' as he seemingly 'leaves it to us' to move forward with his initial ideas. As a result this reveals various theoretical pieces, almost stirringly 'in play' and, from an activist scholarly position: all to play *for*. Although from one of his earlier works, rather than his final works, in *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (1974) Poulantzas was concerned with learning more about the struggles that were taking place in the 'today'. In particular, his concern was in being heedful of misconceptions and being theoretically lacklustre. This thesis has similar aims to this, in seeking to depart from the neo-Marxist Poulantzian legacy, naming the incomplete and seeking out new theoretical potentials regarding the seemingly ever illusive 'State'. To

utilise the last words in *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*: 'the reason for this is that I am convinced that it is high time to undertake precise investigations of this kind, however, difficult they may be. Without precise knowledge, the various strategies that may be elaborated run the risk of, at best, remaining a dead letter. At worst, they can lead to serious defeats' (Poulantzas, 1974: 336).

Having outlined the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis, chapter 3 presents the methods associated with the research contained within. This chapter begins with a consideration of the researcher's positionality through an examination of the academia-activism milieu and related debates, followed by further details of the trials and tribulations of carrying out research, within the context of the advanced capitalist state, war of position, and class struggle in the neoliberal conjuncture.

Chapter 3: Researching the Occupy Movement in the Advanced Capitalist State, War of Position and Class Struggle in the Neoliberal Conjuncture

3.1 On Open-ended Process and Disobedience in both Theory and Method

The previous chapter outlined the theoretical framework for the thesis that demonstrated a commitment to the systematic examination of the Occupy movement through theoretical and conceptual means of a distinctly neo-Marxist derivation. A strong epistemological underpinning is defensible in order to escape from the anxieties found in the conjuncture of what we might term the post-positivist/postmodern era (Lather, 1994; Patai, 1994) and to avoid ontological slippage into potentially nihilistic variants of constructivism. On the other hand, a stringent Marxist orthodoxy alone can become almost obnoxious and have less useful consequences including inflexibility and a distinct lack of recognition of the inevitable constructivist and subjective elements always present in any research project execution. On the one hand, whilst the theoretical framework for the thesis has a commitment to a certain degree of systematicity, it also clearly frames all its concepts as distinctly and inescapably open-ended and embryonically 'in play' (Green, 2002; Egan, 2015). In doing so, there emerges a preliminary argued suitable degree of synergy between the physical sites of investigation of the Occupy movement and the tools of theoretical analysis.

This chapter is concerned with examining the methodological underpinnings of the thesis, and the methods utilised to conduct the research. The methods employed for the thesis also present with a certain fitting air of disobedience. This is both deliberate, as a suitably sincere genuflection to the disobedience of the Occupy movement itself (see: Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013a; Langman, 2013; Mitchell *et al*, 2013), but equally an almost organic imposition that emerged by default through the often impromptu and open ended forms of engagement with the movement. The 'real world' research process

as it happened, somewhat organically, went in some way to mitigate a concern of imposing from the top down intransigent canons on the emergence of new knowledge opportunities developing from the ground up. This is by way of recognising that 'collective social movements are incubators of new knowledge' (Kelley, 2002: 8 cited in Choudry, 2012: 175).

To speak of a disobedient approach is to acknowledge the current state of the methods literature regarding both new social movements and class struggle. Both the literature pertaining to methods for exploring new social movements and methods for Marxist forms of enquiry are imbued with a sense of methodological pluralism and experimentation (Della Porta, 2014; Klandermans et al, 2002; Little, 2007). McAdam (2003) describes how in methods for studying social movements there has been a shift from armchair theorising to systematic empirical research. However, much of this systematic empirical research has been tied up within particular concerns and interests. These interests, although diverse, tend to have one thing in common: a desire to 'test' for relationships and/or casual factors pertaining to a movement's existence, motivations and day to day activities. This has led to the most popular methods employed by researchers for studying social movements being those based around, or deriving from, formal mathematical models, frame and discourse analyses, resource mobilisation, and systematic models of network analysis (Diani, 2002; Klanderman and Staggenborg, 2002; Lindekilde, 2014; Oliver and Myer, 2002). Although useful for those particular endeavours, they are far less useful or suitable, for a study of social movements with a commitment to analysing class struggle and state power. However, the discipline of social movements itself has experienced, and mostly welcomed, 'cross fertilisation' (Klanderman and Staggenborg, 2002: x) with other disciplinary areas. This thesis employs such an approach, particularly in the context of the methods adopted for this research. Much like social movement research, 'rather than representing a coherent research community in possession of a central paradigm and commitment to specific methodological and theoretical premises, Marxist social

science in the twentieth century has had a great deal of variety and diversity of emphases' (Little, 2007: 231). Marxism 'does not offer a distinctive method of social science inquiry; rather, [it] provides an eclectic and empirically informed effort to describe and explain the phenomena of capitalism [...] a "style of inquiry" based on a family of hypotheses, hunches, and ontological commitments' (ibid: 24).

The details of this disobedient method of data collection and analysis is what is now presented to the reader. A combination of some of the tried and tested data collection and analysis methods derived from social movement studies embedded into a wider analytical framework that retains a commitment to the study of class struggle and state power. This is a framework that allows for transgressions outside the more common parameters in a way that is suitably experimental (Della Porta, 2014) given the equally experimental nature of the Occupy Movement itself. It is also an experimentation that subscribes to understanding the study of any social movement as an 'art' (Klandermans et al, 2002: 315). As argued Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002: ix) 'the "secret" of success of social movement theory and research has, been its characteristic openness to criticism and new approaches" and this is a sentiment that is present in Marxist methodologies too (Little, 2007). For Little (2007, 242) 'the best advice for young researchers [employing Marxist perspectives] in the social sciences is to be eclectic and open-minded'. Moreover, McAdam (2003) ultimately calls for research in this area to be more dynamic and as a result, this research does not prescribe to any singular particular way of studying social movements or class struggle in an orthodox sense. Instead, it employs a rich tapestry of different data collection and analysis methods that are suitable for a study of social movements but that also accommodates and allows the research to retain a commitment to the analysis of class struggle and state power.

3.2 Reimagining the Relationship between Academia and Activism

The first task is to situate the researcher within the specifics of this research context. In this case it is important to discuss where the research took place, which was both in the site of the Academy and at a site of Activism. This leads to a consideration of the relationship between the two.

3.21 The Academy in the Advanced Capitalist State

In order to unpack the issues regarding the relationship between academia and activism attention now turns to the Academy. This thesis is concerned with class struggle in the advanced capitalist state, utilising the Occupy movement as a vehicle for exploration. However, the very same issues under discussion in that context apply when it comes to matters of the Academy also. The very processes of the advanced capitalist state that are the central concern of this thesis have also 'swept through all aspects of university life' (Tombs and Whyte, 2003: 269). With specific reference to the West, there has been an increase in universities seeking and relying on corporate and government funding (Ylijoki, 2003; Walters, 2005; Maskovsky, 2012) that in turn 'make universities directly functional for capitalism'³⁷ (Stavrianakis, 2006: 145). Although not an entirely new phenomenon, the increasing 'commercialisation, through the direct funding of academic research by industry, means that academia becomes further oriented towards the needs of capital and [ergo often] produces research directly in its interests' (Maskovsky, 2012: 819). This is not merely the anecdotal or abstract tête-à-tête of the left's complaint about changes to higher education institutions. The changes are tangible, evidenced and surprisingly without too much shade, or attempt to conceal these trajectories. A paper by Stavrianakis (2006: 139) describes a series of remonstrations regarding protesting in 'opposition to investments in, and research with, and for, arms companies [that] symbolise[d] dispute over the values and interests universities should serve'. Their work in this article focuses on Bristol University (the

³⁷ It is important to reinforce that this is an attempt to make universities directly functional for capitalism rather than a totalising success at this endeavour, for at the heart of the academy both contemporarily and historically lies struggle (see: 3.23).

author's institution at the time of publication) as an illustrative example, but there are many more cases, situating the institutions investments in, and wider relationships with, arms companies and the military (ibid). Stavrianakis (2006) argues that university involvement with arms companies and military services is one of many examples of various corporate relationships that 'serve to orient universities further towards the needs of militarised capitalism' (ibid).

The increase in private funding for universities has grown alongside the increase in the cost of study. The UK is following in the footsteps of the US with increasingly costly fees for access to higher education that, for most, means accruing substantial amounts of debt (Rivero, 2017; Fazackerley, 2017). This also plays a pivotal role in the wider ensemble of seeking to make educational institutions serve the interests of capital. Chomsky (2014) describes that as a result of being beholden to large amounts of debt, graduates' trajectories can change substantially as they are often coerced to move away from any altruistic tendencies, and instead, towards more mercenary ones. He uses the example of a recently qualified lawyer who had they no debt might choose to work *pro bono* in the interests of social justice however, with ample debt to clear, the corporate sector may have a greater opportunity be able to co-opt the 'cream of the crop' to work for corporate capital institutions. The combination of the increased private funding of universities and increased cost of higher education means that knowledge is now in many ways a private commodity for sale at a high price, making it either inaccessible, or perhaps worse, when accessed through the substantial amassing of personal debt, its output, in many respects, is increasingly likely to be warped in favour of the interests of the exploiting classes and impinging on academic freedom (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004: 112).

To exemplify current changes to the condition of the academy is of course, not to fall foul of any misplaced nostalgia for earlier manifestations of the academy which were, and continue to be, characterised by 'Anglo-American privilege' and 'intellectual

exclusiveness' (Paasi, 2005: 769). Is it fair to say that where less powerful marginalised groups are the 'subjects' of this majority identity dominant discourse, their lived experiences are often trivialised or side-lined. Such majority identity dominance, combined with the increasing privatisation of the academy has a huge impact on the 'values, ideals and practices' (Ylijoki, 2003: 308) of academia. Perversely at the same time it is important to be mindful that critiques of intellectual elitism have been co-opted by the interests of capital in order to further serve their interests. Far from addressing the concerns of most critical scholars and activists regarding the exclusionary practices of the academy that often silence and omit minority voices and concerns, the critique has been used as a vehicle to discredit academic work inclusive of and mostly that which dissents from the status quo. As Maskovsky (2012: 819) argues:

'We must remember that these challenges emerged alongside the New Right's attack on "ivory tower" elitism. Indeed, the New Right has been particularly effective at putting the academic Left on the defensive with its politically disabling portrayal of academics as overly privileged "tenured radicals" whose romance with the counterculture and overzealous pursuit of "illiberal" causes such as affirmative action, multiculturalism, and political correctness corrupts the academy and undermines the quality of higher education. So too has its use of think tanks and other non-academic institutional contexts from which to launch attacks on the academy and challenge academic findings'.

It is argued that 'the increasingly close relationships between universities, governments and industry' (Ylijoki, 2003: 307) have 'profoundly harmful effects on the academy and world at large' (Maskovsky, 2012: 819) and serve to open spaces to reinforce the privilege of majority identity groups and the ideological practices of the power bloc/exploiting classes. However, this also makes this a key time to unpick and discuss the academic-activist situation further. What is known, is that all 'these questions have a direct bearing on how we conceptualise the current relationship between academia and activism' (ibid).

The various and ferocious attempts to inscribe neoliberalism into the fabric of everyday university life (Freedman and Bailey, 2012) has by no means been without contestation. Whilst there is a certain 'determination by pro-market forces to re-write

the rules of higher education' (ibid, 2012: np) there is equally a determination of other forces on the counter side and various forms of mobilisation to defend the university. Alongside the attempts to neoliberalise the academy we have equally seen a 'revival of communities of scholars and students (serving wider communities too) who explore educational, scientific, and social innovations to make important, disinterested contributions to the intellectual commons and public good' ³⁸(Jessop, 2018: 109; also see Giroux, 2002). These pockets of resistance, often provoked by the very forces discussed previously (Dyer-Witheford, 2005), include the call from feminists for 'slow scholarship' in the face of compressed time under neoliberalism (see: Mountz et al, 2015) the implementation of various models of postcolonial forms of resistance that are beyond 'simply saying "no" to power' and instead are a proactive strategies, rather than reactive strategies, in an 'effort to transform colonizer/colonized subjectivity, colonial discourses and material structures' (see: Shahjahan, 2014: 220) alongside various other countless depictions of unionised and/or grassroots movements against neoliberalism in schools, colleges and universities (see: Compton and Weiner, 2008). None of which is new as the academy has experienced many assaults on its being historically and both students and staff alike have always fronted a resistance to this (see: Borem, 2001; Bradley, 2018). Moreover, resistance and struggle in the academy is complex with those on the left seeking to resist such forces also recognising the extent of their complicity (see: Reay, 2014) or manifestations of 'docility' (see: Allen, 2005) and through this recognition seeking ways in which how it might be resisted and contested. However, despite the aforementioned cases as some illustrative examples, authors such as Mendoza (2009) have highlighted how literature on academic capitalism hasn't always been successful in drawing out the complexities of this interaction. This thesis now offers a potential framework for considering these changes through a framework of struggle.

³⁸ This is public good in the truest sense as opposed to the term 'public interest' which instead is a form of political rhetoric that is often used to justify the implementation of policies that are harmful (see: Allen and Marne, 2002)

3.22 The Fraught Relationship between Academia and Activism

The discourse on the relationship between activism and academia is awash with terminology: for example ‘activist-orientated academic’ (Flood *et al*, 2013: 17); ‘acadivism’ (Kyle *et al*, 2011: 1200); to be untangled and unpacked for further investigatory inspection. Whilst the literature is fraught with difference one thing that stands as a point of agreement amongst thought and discussion in this area, is that of the unsuitability of binary divisions that posit the concepts of academia/academic and activism/activist as two distinctly separate entities. When presented as dichotomies they are argued as imposing harmful hypothesising of ‘theoretical versus accessible’, ‘research versus practice’, ‘academia versus activism’ (Lather, 1995 cited in Goodley and Moore, 2000: 877) which are far from the reality of most persons’ lived experience of the matter. Attempts at expanding the two categories into a broader typology have done little to help matters either. Grewcock (2012: 113) provides a critique of Loader and Sparks³⁹ (2011: 29 – 37 cited in *ibid*) regarding what he describes as entertaining a wider number of fictional identities, in this case in the context of criminological engagement in research, they include ‘scientific expert; policy adviser; social movement theorist/activist and lonely prophet’ and states that ‘categorizing the profession in this way risks downplaying the complex inter- relationship between critical theory and activity’ (*ibid*). Such relatively clear-cut and neatly boxed proposed identities, no matter how wide the scope of the terminology or typological endeavours, remain fundamentally problematic. Positing ‘the idea that theory and practice are oppositional binaries within either activism or academic practice’ (Wright, 2009: 379) is not reflective of the lived reality of the execution of research and is ultimately deemed ‘futile’ (Kasperek and Speer, 2013: 266). As argued by VanderPlaats (1999: 773) ‘for many activists working in academia [*or vice versa*] [...] there is a sense of being caught between two less than adequate possibilities’.

³⁹ Loader and Sparks (2011) present *Criminology's Public Roles a Drama in Six Acts* and seek to provide a topology of engagement premised on 6 categories: Enter the Democratic Under-Labourer; The Scientific Expert; The Policy Advisor; The Observer-turned-Player; The Social Movement Theorist-Activist and Lonely Prophet.

Despite this there is seemingly no end to the superlatives available to describe elegant abstractions of what the relationship between academia and activism might look like. Simultaneously there is a consensus that engagement (Brunnera *et al*, 2013: Tombs and Whyte, 2003) or at a minimum ‘a degree of connection’ (Carrillo Rowe, 2012: 799) of some description, between the academy and activism, is both vital, necessary, and desirable for critical research. In many respects it is also unavoidable as Colectivo Situaciones (2003 cited in Russell, 2015: 223) state that ‘the process of research (and me as researcher) cannot be alienated from the “object” of the research concern’. This is not to say that some do not try to circumvent such concerns in critical interventions, with whole journals (see: Antipode November 2012 Volume 44, Issue 5) dedicated to exposing substantial swathes of institutions, inclusive of academia and their work, as serving ‘no purpose [other] than perpetuating themselves’ (Stea 1969: 1 cited in Bauder, 2006: 671). Equally, alongside this there are also some very real attempts to engage and ‘work most closely with people [within] “grassroots”’ (Benson and Nagar, 2006: 582) to ‘open up the academy’ with examples from Lees (1999: 378) including a series of efforts to engage meaningfully with struggle related to the Cowley auto workers in Oxford and the M77 motorway extension in Glasgow (Harvey and Williams, 1995; Routledge, 1996 cited in *ibid*). For the critical researcher, concerned with matters of social justice within both academia and activism, engagement of some description is unequivocally advocated but the form and shape of this uncertain rendezvous is far from clear or set in concrete terms.

3.23 Academia and Activism: An Alternative Conceptualisation

There is a body of literature, particularly stemming from the discipline of geography within the social sciences, that has discussed the dissolution of binary divisions across so-called academic and activist spaces. In light of the shift towards the terms ‘critical’ and ‘radical’ geography being commandeered by aspects of professionalism identifies

how professionalism has commandeered the academy Castree (2000) develops a series of concerns about the distancing of the real world from the academy and instead calls for a position where making change for good is be embedded as a more natural disposition in academia. Alongside calls for greater recognition that knowledge production is pedagogical and in turn pedagogy is political (Castree et al, 2008: 680). He further elucidates in another piece that 'pedagogy in its various forms always matters for better or for worse and ought, therefore, to be the focus of our collective attention on a constant basis' (Castree et al, 2008: 682). In a similar vein, Askins (2009: 4) calls for greater acknowledgement and exploration of 'interconnectivities across spaces of activity/ism and everyday life play out' citing activism as 'just what I do' in every day academic life. Furthermore, stemming from the wider project 'autonomous geographies', Chatterton et al (2010: 245) also reject what they see as 'false distinction between academia and wider society' and instead position themselves as seeking collective action that makes strategic interventions that have an impact both within and outside the academy. Moreover, as part of the same overarching project Chatterton and Pickerill (2010: 487) also recognising 'messy, everyday practices [that] define participation in political projects where participants attempt to build the future in the present'. For Chatterton (2008: 423) it is crucial to bring activism into the academy as matter of regular practice to open up debates and discussions and therefore it should be naturally a case of 'not just about being "out there" beyond the walls of the university. It is also about radicalising our own workplaces and teaching'.

As argued by Bieler and Morton (2003: 467), what is required in endeavours such as this is 'a radical rethinking of theories of the state, the dialectic of subject-object and theory-practice, as well as commitments to emancipating the social world'. The intention is thus not only to seek to do this in the expected context of the case study or 'subject' of the Occupy movement, but to also attempt to do this in the tangential, but inextricably linked, wider holistic aspects of the thesis inclusive of method(ology). As a

result, at this stage what is proposed is an alternative conceptualisation of the relationship between academia and activism which, in turn, reflects an understanding of the researcher's place and positionality within the wider research context, and the conditions under which the thesis was executed. As previously delineated, neither binary notions of academia-[Vs]-activism or attempted 'mash up' categorisations seeking to typologise researchers within the academy, that exhibit both academic and activist endeavours, has proved fruitful. Instead an alternative proposition for the conceptualisation of the relationship between academia and activism is made, one which has at its fulcrum [the] Academy as a site of struggle. Rather than work within the dominant discourses and frameworks available, it is posited here instead that [the] Academy presents itself in much the same way as [the advanced capitalist] State. As per the 'constant' and 'in flux' features of the advanced capitalist state (see: chapter 2) [the] Academy also exhibits various perpetual crisis, the increased presence of private capital and debt financing. It also emulates the conditions of the state of advanced capitalism through its similar mythical premise of argued equal subject hood in terms of access and experience, which masks the reality of structural inequalities present. As a result [the] Academy thus also exists within a war of position. It is therefore proposed that rather than thinking about the relationship between academia and activism as the working concepts to attend with, as tends to be the case in the majority of the available discourse, that instead it is to similarly conceive of [the] Academy in the same way as done previously regarding [the] State as: ***the specific material condensation of a relationship of social class forces.***

Essentially the proposition is that much like [the] State, [the] Academy is not considered as tangible object to be won over but an example of the material manifest of the relationship between social class forces as laid out in the previous chapters, and as unpacked and discussed further in the chapters to follow. In this case the person or subject within the Academy is not anointed with the label of academic, activist or mix of

the two, only as a person with a social class of structural determination that is expressed in the conjuncture as a class position; which successively constitutes the social class force(s) that manifest in the specific material condensation of [the⁴⁰] Academy. Under this framing, the notion of 'academic' and 'activist' to an extent become almost redundant and any reduction of the two become subsumed into this new framework. To illustrate, the following presents examples from the authors own practices of struggle contained within their structural determination of class that has then presented itself in various class positions in the conjuncture. Within [the] Academy the structural determination of class at the point of 'me' as the individual has meant struggle in the economic domain (unionised struggle for better working conditions), that in turn is intimately tied up in the political (the threat of loss of employment in not meeting the expectations of neoliberal capital) and the ideological (the struggle to preserve education as a public good rather than profit making private commodity). This structural determination of class has been expressed as the differing class positions the author has taken up at various different conjunctures. In previous years the manifestation of struggle within the structural determination of class has been expressed in taking up a class position in the conjuncture that sits in opposition to the author's ideological ideas about the academy. An example of this would be how in the past the author has taken up research posts that are funded by state institutions examining issues pertaining to legally defined notions of crime, rather than the wider structural harms of the powerful the author wishes to examine. This has been a result of the political domination and subordination within the class struggle that has expressed itself as a class position in the conjuncture. On the other hand, at times the struggle has been more favourable in its expression as class position in the conjuncture. This thesis in itself is then also an expression of the structural determination of class as expressed in another particular conjuncture; one where it is possible to exploit a relative privilege, or 'class difference' (Poulantzas,1974), often

⁴⁰ The use of [the] is employed here in the same way it is with [the] state in Chapter 2 to denote a non-reified conceptualisation of [the] Academy.

obtained perversely through previous class positions less favourable to social justice and making advances in the war of position. Conducting this research itself becomes a class position in the conjuncture and thus constitutes itself as a potential fragment that might form, with others, part of a social class force that may then become realised in the wider material condensation of [the] Academy. To extrapolate this argument to its pinnacle would however arguably itself constitute an entire thesis of its own, so there is an incompleteness to the analysis presented here however, it is noteworthy to offer such initial experimental arguments which support the author in that all important task of at minimum considering 'how and why the researcher enters into and enacts with the cultural phenomenon' (Clair, 2012: 132). In summation it is argued that the researcher is neither an academic nor activist but instead a person of a structurally determined class that exists and acts by way of a set of material practices that only exists in struggle.

3.3 Data Collection and Handling in the Advanced Capitalist State

The following section presents further key details regarding the methods and data collection. The fieldwork undertaken can best be described as an ad hoc, immersive engagement, reflecting that of the extempore nature of the Occupy movement itself, that took the form of various activities (see: table 3.3). More formally there were a total of 15 recorded interviews alongside 8 instances of ethnographic participation (totalling approximately 60 hours) at various Occupy camps and Occupy related events and other informal venues. Less formally, but included in the Table 3.0, there are details of various related activities associated with the ensemble of PhD engagement and practices; a series of conferences and meetings where many activists were present and where I sat and spoke with many people involved in different occupations, and fleshed out thoughts and ideas emerging from the wider investigation. They are included because they are the sites and times where discourses often began to emerge, where ideas solidified, and because they themselves were sites of struggle.

As part of the research ethos of open ended disobedience this research was less concerned with ineffectual guess work regarding how many interviews or ethnographic work needed to be undertaken, there is arguably no 'ideal sample size' (Noerager Stern, 2007: 115), and thus instead took the sentiments of Blee and Taylor (2002: 100 cited in Yuen Thompson, 2007: 104) who suggest that 'sampling should strive for completeness ... adding new interviewees [or other data collection practices] until the topic is saturated'⁴¹. This combination of formal and informal data collection continued until such a time that it gave rise to the instinctive recognition of analytical maturity. The following sections outline some key themes and noteworthy matters arising from researching struggle in the advanced capitalist state.

⁴¹ This is not to say that the topic of occupy, class struggle and state power was ever saturated in itself, as there are and continue to be endless avenues for exploration that would last beyond more than one person's lifetime. Instead saturation in this content infers a point of sufficient empirical fare to make a robust and useful analytical judgements and offerings on the subject matter.

Table 3.3 Summary of the convoluted accumulation of the primary elements of the research data collection that intersect across lines of activism and academia, formal interviewing, and ethnography.

Date	Activities
September 2011	Occupy Liverpool, Communication Row, L1 <i>Ethnography</i>
October 2011	<i>2 formal interviews with members of Occupy Liverpool</i>
March 2012	Occupy and the politics of organising Warwick Organisation Theory Network Day School
April 2012	'Every Revolution has its Space: from Occupying Squares to Transforming Cities?' University of Manchester <i>1 formal interview with a member of Occupy London</i>
May 2012	Crisis, Class and Resistance: A one-day conference on political economy hosted by International Socialism journal <i>Participation</i> Occupy May 12th Demo, St Pauls Cathedral, London <i>Ethnography</i> <i>Informal unrecorded meeting with 7 members of Occupy Liverpool</i>
June 2012	Occupy Faith 8 Mile walk through Greater London <i>Ethnography</i> <i>Movements, Networks, Protest</i> <i>Kings College London Postgraduate Conference</i> <i>Participation – presented a paper</i>
November 2012	*These Grievances Are Not All Inclusive The Centre for the Study of Crime, Criminalisation and Social Exclusion seminar presentation <i>Delivered a joint paper with Tanya Paton (Occupy London LSX)</i>

December 2012	<p>Up the Anti: Reclaim the Future, Anti-Capitalist Initiative Queen Mary University London <i>Participation</i></p> <p>University of West England Social Science in the City Seminar Series, Bristol <i>Delivered an individual paper</i></p>
June 2013	<p>People's Assembly, London <i>Participation</i></p>
October 2013	<p>Blackstar Britain's Asian Youth Movement book seminar, Manchester <i>Participation</i></p>
November 2013	<p>Inaugural conference for British Sociological Association (BSA) Activism in Sociology, London <i>Delivered an individual paper</i></p>
May 2014	<p>Occupy May Day, St Pauls Cathedral, London <i>Ethnography</i></p>
October 2014	<p>Occupy Democracy, Parliament Square London <i>Ethnography and completed 8 formal interviews across 2 days</i></p>
November 2014	<p>We Do Not Consent: Defend the Right to Protest SOAS, London <i>Participation</i></p>
March 2015	<p>Time to Act Climate Change March/Occupy Democracy London <i>Ethnography</i></p> <p>Occupy The Media: Rupert Murdoch week The Shard, London <i>Ethnography</i></p>
May 2015	<p>Occupy Democracy May Day Occupation week <i>Ethnography</i> <i>Completed 4 formal interviews across 2 days</i></p>

3.31 We Can't Go On Together With Suspicious Minds

Securing and accessing participants for in-depth interviews was not without difficulties. The operating conditions of the research, that became rapidly and acutely apparent, were that of a climate cloaked and sodden in persistent fear, suspicion and misgivings. This was invariably due to the palpable and real concern of undercover policing at protest movements, something which was evidenced as occurring in a 'short term' context, at various Occupy protest sites (see for example: Agencies, 2011; Rawlinson, 2011; Waller and Hintze, 2012; Gillham *et al*, 2013;), and was also situated within wider revelations about 'long term' undercover policing actions, inclusive of extended deception that often involved undercover police officers having personal relationships with activists (see: Evans and Lewis, 2013; Watson and Polachowska, 2016; Penny, 2016). The methods literature is laden with concerns and advice regarding the regular and common challenges associated with gaining access to participants for interview, and establishing the necessary rapport. However, there are only limited works referring to the peculiarities of this specific research topography. Within this, the most referred to cases of suspicion is in the context of activist distrust or contempt for academia rather than reflecting on the role of undercover policing in this particular setting (see for example: Anderson, 2002; Hintz and Milan, 2010).

Recalling a scene at the Occupy Democracy May Day Occupation week in 2015, sat with a group of Occupiers in Parliament Square and ready to embark in a sing-a-long with musical activist Robin Grey, I was approached by a person who introduced themselves in a standard manner offering their name and asking my name in turn. Within 30 seconds of having established the basic pleasantries, inclusive of the places from which we had derived before joining the camp that day, they mused out loud, without any prompt and seemingly without context, 'people often think I am an undercover copper but I assure you I'm not' (field notes 01/05/15). This occurrence

in itself saturated my participatory ethnographic experience that day, bringing to the fore and causing me to address and outline this issue explicitly in the thesis. This was not to say that before this time I had not recognised the role of the suspicion resulting from undercover policing practices, quite the contrary, in fact, I had arguably discussed it extensively in meetings of activists, various conference settings, and listened to live speakers recount their stories and experience of the phenomenon. However, it was this particular occurrence that led me to understand how all-consuming the resultant fear and suspicion was. In all possible scenarios the impact of undercover policing was present whether the activist themselves having been unjustly accused so many times felt the need to qualify that they were not an undercover officer in the first few utterances of a comradely encounter, and subsequently how I simultaneously spent great lengths of time considering if this was a double bluff and they were in fact an undercover officer. There was now an added layer of suspicion where not only were participants potentially suspicious of the researcher but equally I was suspicious of them. The state and its agents were everywhere and nowhere, characterising the research process possibly without ever even being present. This led to an extension and variation on the 'classical anthropological personas, such as the stranger, kinsfolk, or the friend' (Jimenez and Estalella, 2013: 134) one situated once again in fluid and mobile struggle on a spectrum of uncertainty between the comrade and the enemy.

3.32 Negotiating the Interview

As a result of the aforementioned environment of suspicion, interviews were not easy to obtain. The initial process for interview was to make spaces outside the immediate camp, setting aside time and space away from the Occupy environment to discuss experiences and reflect on their time on camp. These were arguably fortuitous circumstances when chance encounters at, or with people from, the Occupy Liverpool and Occupy St Paul site led to the agreement of a separate and specified interview.

As stated by Woliver (2002: 678) serendipity plays a key role in fieldwork and interviews even though 'it is probably a sin in political science to admit it'. However, after originally completing a handful of interviews with participants from Occupy Liverpool (n=2) and Occupy London (n=1) outside of the protest occupation environment it became apparent that there were more opportunities for interview on an ad hoc basis 'in the moment' and during the occupations themselves. This still required careful navigation and the involvement of two types of gatekeepers. The first type of gatekeeper was that of the well-established, long standing and *trusted activist*. In the context of this particular research this was one particular person whom I had met at a conference when they were a guest speaker back in 2012 and had kept in contact with and met at various other events ever since. This person was able to verify and offer assurances to those who agreed to participate in an interview, simply being an acquaintance of this person and them giving me the 'seal of approval' (e.g. 'yeah this is Sam. Sam's good. Sam's OK') facilitated many interviews that might not have happened otherwise. There is a distinctiveness to the gatekeeper phenomenon within protest groups as characterised by Newlands (2009: 10) describing how 'protest movements are becoming their own gatekeepers'. Upton (2011: 7.4) reflects on the near impossibility of access to insider interviews within protest movements without a gatekeeper and approval from a trusted member of the group stating these 'gatekeepers [...] occupy a position which enables them to be [...] potential influencers or controllers of [...] research'.

The second type of gatekeeper was that of the *wing person* (see: Bazua Morales, 2013) whereby I attended occupations with a friend rather than alone. Having a companion made many people feel at greater ease as substantiated by May and Pattillo-McCoy (2000: 85) who demonstrate that an additional person in 'collaborative' ethnographic practice 'affects the interaction'. In this instance in terms of access to participants this had a positive impact. Over time however, due to my immersion in the

field and my continued combined activist endeavours I was able to become my own gatekeeper in the latter stages of the research not necessarily needing either of these two types of gatekeepers to negotiate access. In a strange twist of events, the depths of my involvement became such that, I found myself becoming a gatekeeper for others. During the Occupy Democracy May Day Occupation week in 2015, I noticed a young woman had been observing me during my interviews and approached me to talk. This person was also conducting PhD work and was finding it difficult to find people to talk to and interview. In a reversal of roles I found myself introducing this person to my own gatekeepers, various contacts and comrades or directly introducing this person in order to facilitate her entry and access to the interview data she required (field notes 02/05/15).

Fig 3.1 Occupy Liverpool

Occupy Liverpool began in late November 2011. It was a much more modestly sized camp than its capital city counterparts in New York and London, hosting around 25 - 50 people at any one time. The protestors at this Occupy camp chose St George's Plateau on Communication Row in the city centre as the site for their camp. Over time the protestors sought to change their location through an occupation of vacant buildings in the Liverpool beginning with the unused Tinklins Building on Victoria Street nearby in 2012 (BBC News 2012c). Other occupation attempts included a camp on Exchange Flags and the Lyceum Building on Bold Street both of which lasted a mere few hours before Police evicted those present (Liverpool Echo, 2012). Although the original camp and members no longer remain there have been further similar offshoots in the years that followed, including the most notorious Love Activists occupation of various empty banking buildings such as the Old Bank Castle Street in 2015 to house and feed homeless persons (see: Murphy, 2015) which resulted in the 10 week imprisonment of 5 of the activists from this group (see: Docking, 2015), and other occupations such as a former Barclays bank near Hamilton Square (Kay, 2017).

3.33 Adding Thickness to Interviews

The evolution of the research process to interview ad hoc on camp was not merely a result of need in terms of gaining rapport and trust and having gatekeepers present it was also tied up in a conscious decision that being immersed within the movement at various points in time, and having ethnographic dimensions, would bring a necessary thickness and context to the interview data. By 'thickness' what is meant is the necessary attention to the finer details of texture and place (Ortner, 1995) and as argued by McHugh (2000: 75) an ethnographic element adds 'interpretive meat and depth of understanding to the bones of [...] research'. Harcourt (2013: 53) also adds that 'the resistance movement can only be "heard" syntactically, from its place of occupation'. The added ethnographic element was also pertinent and necessary in the context of exploring the Occupy movement and mitigates against purely 'structuralist approaches [that] fail to address a fundamental aspect of social movement networks: their lived experience' (Barassia, 2013: 50). In particular, it allowed for ethnographic observation of everyday human interaction, processes of negotiation and subtle forms of communications (ibid) before, *during* and after the interview. Given the potential wariness of participants, due to the environment of distrust based on concerns regarding the possibility of undercover police officers, it was felt additionally important to interview within the protest environment to be able to note and recognise such nuances and detail *in situ*. Theodossopoulos (2014: 425) highlights the importance of utilising such consecrated access and ethnographic experience, extending ethnography to include a 'self-interrogation [that] enables us to see deeper into the process of resistance and the contradictions that emerge in day-to-day life'. Equally there were warnings regarding allowing the ethnographic visual alone to dominate (Jenks and Neves, 1986 cited in Pink, 2008: 180) thereby purposeful interviews combined with organic ethnographic practice was employed. The research in its reality and actualisation took on a convoluted form that did not, and could not, conform to any set number of interviews and interactions to reach a notion of validity. Instead the

method of data collection was a combination of varied fieldwork immersions into explicitly Occupy based camps and events which in turn informed wider considerations about struggle and [the] state that ultimately reached analytical maturity. Whilst this unconventional approach may lack a certain expected 'elegance' (Ortner, 1995: 174) it's disobedience to overly popularised and restrictive methods of data collection made the sequence in keeping with the Occupy movement's commitment to process and discovery.

The chosen approach was further justified and strengthened when turning attention to the prolific involvement of anthropologists within the Occupy movement, most notably founding member of Occupy Wall Street David Graber. As stated by Gomburg-Muñoz (2013: 290) perhaps 'the most enduring legacy of the anthropological contribution to Occupy will likely be the central role of anthropologists in writing the movement's history in the months and years to come'. Joining the anthropological casern made good sense (see: Baiocchi and Connor, 2008) situating myself as the researcher allowed for being 'in a moment of acute questioning about the forms and goals of the emergent modalities of protest we are witnessing, their potential for transformative change, and what our role can or should be in their study' (Urla and Helepololei, 2014: 432). However, within this 'renewed attention to political ethnography' (Baiocchi and Connor, 2008: 139) it remains important not to limit oneself to overly traditional ethnographic frameworks (Davies, 2009). As 'OWS tugs at the intellectual and activist sentiments' of ethnographers (Darrouzet, 2012: 314) there should also be a commitment to chart unfamiliar and messy territories that recognise the experimental potential for ethnography (Dole, 2012; Jimenez and Estalella, 2013) that runs parallel to the explorative elements of e.g. the Occupy movement itself.

3.34 Multi Site Ethnography and Place Making

As argued by Davies (2009: 19), ethnographic approaches also have the potential to 'effectively study spatially extensive political activity'. This is alongside Polletta (2014: 563) who describes the protest movements of 2011 onwards as a springboard

opportunity for full-bodied 'multi-year and multi-sited ethnographies'. Whilst this research could not and does not cover every Occupy site, which spanned across the world (see: Laine, 2011 for 'global ethnographies'), immersion into varied Occupy sites, at different points in time, allowed for the development of reflective practices to understand local and temporal variations and establish important forms of place making. Whilst the thesis sought to develop interpretive and macro theoretical considerations it was equally important not to overly generalise and avoid universalising reification, in essence acknowledging variant gradations within the 'temporalities of crisis' (Bryant, 2016: 21). As argued by Morgain (2013: 115) 'anthropology often generates regionally specific concepts and problematics' thus in the first instance there were gradations of experience from both ethnographic and interview data pertaining to *spatially different* sites. This was most acutely recognisable in for example Occupy sites in Liverpool and Occupy sites in London but also in variations of Occupy activity across London (e.g. St Pauls, Parliament Square and The Shard). Secondly, there were dissimilarities to acknowledge, regarding the specificities of *temporally different*, albeit geographically identical, sites e.g. Occupy Democracy October 2014, March 2015, May 2015.

The manifestations of the various phenomena explored within the thesis are inextricably 'tied up in place' (Pink, 2008) 'with emphasis upon the importance of emotion and embodiment' (Belém, 2009 cited in Laine, 2011: 243) within those places and spaces. To provide a comprehensively lucid example, one of the interview participants discussed the difference in policing from the time at St Paul's in London to the time at Occupy Democracy in Parliament Square and the difference Giles Fraser had made on lessening the looming policing presence by performing a protective role at St Pauls (see: chapter 5). This highlights firstly the irregularities in the manifestations of the state and its agents but it also exemplifies the remunerations of the ethnography-interview dialectic whereby the formalised reflections from the interview were also felt vis-à-vis in my own ethnographic understandings. The evolution towards critically

engaged ethnographic interviews, incorporated and was respectful to many beneficial aspects of what Barassia (2013: 49) describes as 'ethnographic cartography'. An argued *reification extinguisher* whereby the acknowledgement of 'how social movement networks are incorporated into practices and narratives of place-making and how they create complex and ever-changing spaces of meaning and action' (ibid).

Alongside bringing a necessary 'thickness' to interviews, the evolution of a combined interview-ethnographic approach was also in keeping with my commitment to activism and continued exploration of the academic-activist relationship. When interviewing at an activist carnival, Auyero (2002: 177) tells of their participant calling for people to note 'the carnival as lived experience, the carnival not as a "spectacle seen by the people" but as the world that "they live in"'. I also found a deep connection to the sentiments of Garces (2011: 2) regarding their experience at Occupy Wall Street: 'I could no longer resist fully immersing myself, or engaging in something akin to ethnographic "advocacy research", in order to provide a more empirically sensitive account of the Occupation'. So much about Occupy itself was an intrinsically ethnographic experience as elucidated in the observational narrative style of much of the published literature. Gomberg-Muñoz (2013: 290) argues that activists and scholars alike 'have drawn on ethnographic data and analyses to help legitimize Occupy as a politically serious and socially meaningful protest movement'. These ethnographic chronicles were part of the movement's strategies of contestation where it was said that counter ethnographic narratives from those present on camp were in effect contesting 'distant' mediated untruths stemming from the mainstream media (Garces, 2011; Juris and Razsa, 2012). The 'OWS indignant participants, their images as activists, tend[ed] to be both over-characterized and stereotypically constructed [...] through the lenses of the establishment' (Iranzo and Farné, 2013: 388). Embedding the interviews within an ethnographic framework also moderated the potential of my being caught in the moment, swept up 'in the carnival' (Auyero, 2002), and losing a sense of purposefulness in my research. The 'mash up' of interviews with ethnographic work

provided a necessary sobering and grounding effect, alleviating a traversing into single mindedness and potential resultant issues. For example Halvorsen (2015: 408) described Occupy London activists as having a tendency to 'emphasise either the moment of rupture (an intense lived space-time) or the cyclical time of everyday life (slower rhythms of camp life and social reproduction)', this blended research method is argued to have found a form of equilibrium and balance within this tumultuous terrain. The approach can be characterised as a variant of critical ethnography described by Simon and Dippo (1986: 195) as 'a form of knowledge production which supports transformative as well as interpretive concerns'. To return to the notion of adding thickness to interviews through ethnographic practices, Darrouzet (2012: 135) essentially describes activism as doing just that by 'people putting themselves on the line, physically; putting "skin in the game" in a very literal sense'. However, as stated by Clair (2012: 133) 'engagement [...] may vary in definition and range in its level of involvement from casual interest to the serious avowal'. This research approach sought to achieve engagement in its more potent, rather than lackadaisical, form meeting the needs of the necessary immersion in the class struggle.

In more explicit terms, and to be concrete about the epistemological rationale for the use of ethnography within this research, ethnography is employed as part of the research strategy for data collection for the following reasons. Employing semi-structured interviews alone would mean the researcher was taking an epistemological stance which Fine (1994 cited in: Apple, 1996) describes as 'voices' where the researcher imports the narratives of their participants into his or her accounts of a phenomena at a distance from the site of investigation. The result for knowledge production here would be that, 'in this process, this stance makes the way in which researchers construct their narratives and analyses opaque. Such a stance leaves little room for any role for the researcher except that of a "vehicle for transmission"' (Apple, 1996: x). Ethnography in this context therefore goes some way to address the one dimensionality of knowledge production that can occur with a single method of this

derivation. Moreover, when ethnography is employed, this gives rise to a more activist knowledge production which in turn means that, 'the writers position themselves as political and interrogative beings, "fully explicit about their original positions", about changes in these positions, and about where their research actually took them as investigators and as political actors' (Apple, 1996: xi). This is particularly important when considering that 'the study of social movements within the academy retains an implicit positivism' and that, in turn, 'movements are largely perceived as objects of knowledge for academics, rather than as knowledge-producers in their own right' (Chester, 2012: 145). Critical ethnography therefore, serves a key purpose in seeking to redress the imposition of more dominant frameworks of knowledge production that are imbued with 'top down', rather than 'bottom up', exploration, by gaining a native viewpoint (see: Escobar, 1992, 1998; Fox, 1989). It is also worth noting that on the surface it can appear as if participant observations and ethnography are not hugely common methods when exploring social movements (Balsiger and Lambelet, 2014) however, this is largely because historically many scholars were already participating in the movements they studied and did not think to label it in any formal manner. A good example of this would be various early bodies of work by Douglas Adams (ibid). As argued by Levi-Strauss (cited in Balsiger and Lambelet, 2014: 145 original emphasis) 'epistemologically, participant observation is a prerequisite of any theorization' pertaining to studying social movements.

3.35 'Just Sign It Mickey Mouse': Ethics and Participant Well Being in the Real

The ethics process for the research similarly reflected the duality and differences of conditions of what was outlined in *theory*, within the necessitated institutionalised processes associated with conducting research within academia, and the actuality of ethical research conduct in *practice*. As stated by Jackson (1999: 283) there are 'serious ethical and emotional dilemmas [that] arise when engaged in fieldwork in a politically charged and rapidly changing site' of which Occupy could be characterised. In

contrast to this acknowledgement of unpredictable research sites, 'institutional research ethics boards tend to favour a clear-cut, and some would argue apolitical, research agenda prior to the commencement of one's fieldwork' (Smeltzer, 2012: 268). An obsession by institutional ethics bodies with risk and possible litigation makes ethics a difficult procedure to navigate. On the one hand institutional demands facilitate, and often expect, fixed and static procedures, whilst on the other hand researchers are faced with amorphous-like conditions making reconfiguration through reflexive practice a necessity on a regular if not daily basis. Heavily politicised research involving social movements, protestors and activists is fraught with ethical considerations but this should be no means perturb academics from research in this important field (Gillan & Pickerill, 2012).

Protestors and activists do not necessarily fall under classical notions of vulnerable populations which traditionally include children or participants who lack 'capacity' with severe mental health issues of which participating in certain research questioning may prove distressing (ESRC, 2012). The ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (2012) does identify and consider, 'research including sensitive topics' which includes political behaviour and/or their experience of violence but it has limited specified or nuanced returns for research of this nature. However, protestors and activists have, at minimum, varied degrees of 'vulnerability' that requires due consideration when conducting research within the field. This acknowledgement proved to be one such considerations in the pre-established ethical considerations for the research that was pertinent in practice also. As per the review of narratives emerging from various Occupy sites globally, one degree of vulnerability expected in terms of participants was the very likely possibility of their having experience of violence and harm through state and corporate actors. Smeltzer (2012: 257) reflects on her experiences of research with activists in Malaysia which involved conducting interviews with people who 'live, work and volunteer in a country controlled by a repressive government that actively tries

to suppress any sort of resistance to the status quo'. Whilst the reflections from Smeltzer (2012) are deeply embedded in a specific national and/or local context the overarching reflective claims that if your participants are 'enduring government harassment and persecution, the ethics of conducting research about their activism deserves serious critical attention and analysis" (ibid: 257).

Through a commitment to the 'minimization of harm [and] respect for autonomy' (Hammersley & Traianou, 2011: 386), during the course of this research participants were not coached or prompted to discuss personal experiences of violence per se but enquiries regarding actions taken by the police or private security were part of the remit of this research. Whilst the participant information and consent forms made it clear that the participant did not have to pursue a particular line of enquiry and may refuse to answer any questions that made them feel uncomfortable, these narratives that depict the crimes of the powerful are important. Pain (2014: 130) argues that a feminist, reflective approach is the best course to take and this is one which she understands as 'enabling those in marginalised positions to be heard to the extent that they choose, being reflexive about the effects of power and ethics in the research, and safeguarding the emotional and physical well-being of the researched'. In meeting the needs of not silencing already marginalised voices, recognising the argued cathartic nature of recounting such injustice whilst avoiding harm and trauma, it is often down to the researcher to pursue lines of enquiry but be well versed enough to know and recognise signs of trauma or discomfort and therefore cease certain lines of enquiry when appropriate. Pain (2014: 130) illuminates the need to strike a balance 'between the risks of replaying and re-instigating trauma, and the need to speak about violence'.

Furthermore, these accounts of violence and harm, also give rise to concerns developed in the work of Dawson and Sinwell (2012). Dawson and Sinwell (2012) discuss participant expectations, when researching police violence, regarding what

they perceive the researcher might do with the research findings and, by all intents and purposes, their knowledge and accounts. It was the experience of Dawson and Sinwell (2012) that their participants often expected them to do something practical with the data, perhaps act in some way to challenge the injustice the participant recounted regarding their experience of police violence. These participants expressed annoyance and disappointment when the data was used to only theorise with one of the participants stating, 'what do you want to know? You researchers always come here asking questions but when we ask questions you give us theories. That's what you are doing. You are theorising the shit out of people's pain!' (Poni, Interview, 10 September 2009 cited in Dawson and Sinwell, 2012: 182). It was therefore vital that I disclosed to participants the distinctly analytical nature of my endeavours and that I was unable to support them in terms of seeking individual justice for crimes and harms committed against them by the state or corporation.

In conventional terms anonymity was afforded to participants in terms of each interviewee being assigned a letter i.e. Interview A, Interview B etc. in the order in which they were conducted. The assigning of a letter was also accompanied by the location where their Occupy experience took place i.e. Occupy Liverpool, Occupy Democracy. This allowed for anonymity, in the sense of the protection of participants (Wiles *et al*, 2008), whilst affording analytical recognition of place and space when required. In other cases there was conflict between the pre-established ethics processes as per the official institutionalised application Vs the reality in practice. As argued by Josselson (1996: xii) 'merely waving flags about confidentiality and anonymity is superficial, unthoughtful response'. A particularly noticeable case of this was that of the requirement for signed consent forms. Many participants did not feel comfortable disclosing their real or full name, again due to an environment of fear and suspicion. I became quickly aware of the realities and risks of being at an Occupy camp and demonstration where police would often confiscate peoples possessions. Having a

list of names and a recording of interviews together in my bag became neither desirable nor recommended. I therefore conceded often that I could not argue with any name they gave me, and thus that they may sign it 'mickey mouse' like others have done. The formal ethics processes requested by the University were often inadequate and not attuned realities.

Furthermore much of the data was collected through informal conversations, casual observations, and other unobtrusive interactions 'for which it is impossible to request "informed consent" at every turn' (Hodgson, 1999: 202). However, being engaged in the activist process meant I was able to reflexively recognise what needed to be omitted from the thesis. For example, in both formal and informal conversation people would recount details of harassment from both private security and state police actors and seeking refuge from them in specifically named space(s). In order to ensure that the space remained unidentified to a wider audience, and hence arguably the persons who were harassing the participant, the specific location of the space was removed from the transcription or any field note records. And Thus it all Came to be Through an Immersion in Struggle

To illustrate the method and conclude with a concrete example I draw upon how the analysis in both chapter 4 and 5, which both critically analyse the Safer Spaces Policy at Occupy, came to be. In sequence of the order in which the interviews were conducted this was my third interview. Sitting in a park in Highbury one afternoon I spent over 3 hours with participant C, a long term activist, who had spent copious amounts of time at Occupy LSX situated at the site outside St Paul's Cathedral. Taking a narrative, open ended conversational approach, we traced the lineage of the movement as experienced through their eyes. It was this interview that sparked an explicit interest in the role of Safer Spaces Policy and the significance of the micro implications of the policy for the wider macro concerns about the workings of class struggle and [the]

State. I am drawn to the work of Auyero (2002: 176) to describe this as a crucial point in the research through their description of research as 'not only [having] precious moments but, as any experienced fieldworker knows and patiently waits for, it also has breakthroughs'. Similarly, Auyero (2002) experienced their breakthrough moment within a single interview as the story of their participant emerged.

This is an example of how in-depth reflection from others, garnered through various methods, provided me with my own necessary prompts for looking with meaning in my research work. It gave cause to reflexively look *back* with meaning at the first two interviews and ethnographic participation at Occupy Liverpool unpacking their narratives and my own about the role of homeless persons and persons with alcohol and drug (mis)use issues. Equally, it facilitated reflecting *forward* for considered observational practices that allowed me to make sense of the significance of what otherwise might have been the banality of an occupier drinking prosecco in Parliament Square at the Occupy Democracy camp (field notes 24/10/16). I present the breakthrough interview moment here as facilitating my ability to encounter the 'unspoken, performative, and structuring elements [and] the 'extra linguistic' factors' (Baiochi and Connor, 2008: 144) through directive critical reflection.

This leads to a return once again to issues pertaining to sample size within this process. As argued by Ortner (1995), it is important not to confuse thickness with exhaustiveness. Smaller scale qualitative research is often less valued and subject to greater scrutiny for validity, than larger scale 'hearty' quantitative pieces of research, critiqued for non-conformance and a 'lack of scientific' approach (Medlicott, 2001 cited in Sim, 2003: 253). This research joins those that contest the use of such narrow working parameters, derived from its positivistic ancestors, for bestowing claims of 'validity'. This thesis contests the usefulness of the limited accounts of interviewing protestors on camp, such as that from Aelst and Walgrave (2001: 474) and their claims

that 'a representative picture of the demonstrators can be obtained' through a commitment to equality of opportunity for interview and 'substantial' sample sizes. As stated by Urla and Helepololei (2014: 434):

'Too much of the literature on resistance exhibits [...] a thinning of culture and a sanitizing of politics, resulting in an overly unified and homogenous portrait of resistance and resisters that belies their complex dynamics. Thick descriptions, in contrast, are those that explore the internal politics and tensions of subaltern groups, the heterogeneity of perspectives, as well as asymmetries and hierarchies that characterize their social groupings'.

There is a very specific and detailed rationale for this, which I outline now in an ethnographic commitment to 'empirically capture the actual decisions or non- decisions that people make, and [clarify the] actual temporal processes by which they judge responses' (Knight and Stewart, 2016: 11). I argue that much like Polkinghorne (2007: 476) that 'validating knowledge claims is not a mechanical process but, instead, is an argumentative practice [...] it makes claims about how people understand situations, others, and themselves'. Essentially in order to explore the the Occupy movement, to then in turn ultimately reveal what that can tell us about [the] State, class struggle and the workings of the exploiting classes, I was in fact in search of *further* dissenting counter-hegemonic voices within the wider argued counter- hegemonic dissent of Occupy to 'take into account the diversity of positions and power even within that group' (Hodgson, 1999: 218). I did not require a 'representative picture of the demonstrators' (Aelst and Walgrave, 2001), an ultimately futile endeavour to collate quantifiably sanctioned data samples that might tell us everything about how the protestors wanted to be seen, or indeed needed to be seen, in light of ready and mindfully poised state agents seeking to demonise and discredit the movement. Interviewing 'people that cause trouble' (see: Woliver, 2002) such as activists means talking with people that are accustomed to having to temper and stylise their accounts in order to avoid further demonization, and it is arguably rare to procure such thorough and candid narratives. When these accounts come to the fore it is important to seize them, work with them and develop them meaningfully rather than silence them in the

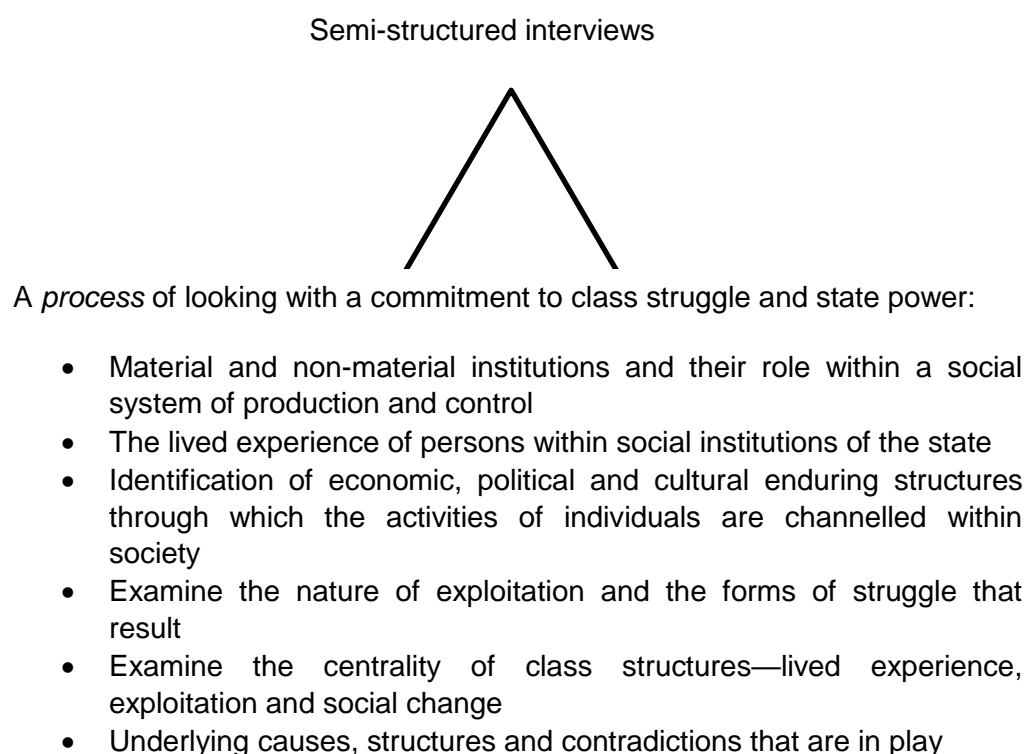
name of positivism. I could have completed an interview with a thousand Occupiers but that would be no guarantee to have unearthed the necessary crevasses I sought for meaningful analysis and critical discussion. It was the voices of persons such as Participant C who was willing to reflect on the possibility of the presence of unwelcome hegemonic ideologies within the largely counter-hegemonic presence of the Occupy movement that were the most valuable. Arguably one deeply critical and reflexive account can speak more truth to power (Hill, 2011) than that of 100 interviews that, albeit coercively through unequal power dimensions, tow a party line.

As argued by Barassia (2013: 49), from an analytical standpoint I understood 'social movement networks as complex processes of negotiation and interaction rather than structures' and that these negotiations, as written about in-depth, could not necessarily be disentangled from my primary data. This research has no formal data analysis in the sense of e.g. employing technological equipment to quantitatively code, instead much like the data collection itself, the analysis can only be described as a continuous open ended holistic engagement with 'the necessary' within a framework of analytical rumination over time. NVivo, the most popular qualitative analytical software tool was considered for use, however, a combination of my concern with seeking the candid dissenting voice rather than seeking to abstract any totalising representation of the movement as a whole, meant that NVivo presented itself as unsuitable. In the methods literature, NVivo is often discussed in the context of providing 'reliability' and 'validity' (see for example: Welsh, 2002) which, given its association with qualitative data, paradoxically infers a positivist anxiety. As I was not seeking to procure a totalising view of the movement but instead offer a partial narrative contained within that of the whole, one that spoke *of*, not *for*, the Occupy movement and class struggle (see: chapter 2) NVivo was not used. However, to not use NVivo or any other similar type of software was not to say that there was not an emphatically full-bodied process involved. In a practical sense, analysis of the data involved listening, and listening again, to each interview to the point of losing count. It involved transcribing the interviews myself at a

slow pace, note taking along the way to make sense of each and every sentence and its place and significance, be it to support or refute theoretical suppositions, be it central or tangential, in all matters pertaining to the thesis' concerns. In taking this approach there was something distinctly counter-hegemonically cathartic, and attuned, to the Occupy Movement, such the movements reference to 'throwing out the masters tools' (Solnit, 2011b), and to see what was there in the interviews and ethnographic observations, rather than being told what to see. Occupy itself was noted as presenting 'a new narrative' (Van Gelder *et al*, 2011: 13) not to adhere to the old ones. The analysis took place in my own 'tent city' in a room surrounded by papers, and post it notes, and was ultimately an expression of deep immersive contemplation within the class struggle; a fitting act of processual cogitation. To sit, to think for lengthy periods of time, to *reflexively ruminate*, in an era seeking to push the merits of relative instantaneity through technology, almost becomes an act of resistance in itself.

However, to give a greater insight into the on goings in 'tent city', figure xx delineates the overarching process of data collection, with the framework for data analysis contained within.

Figure 3.35 Triangulation and data analysis: a process inside 'tent city'.



Ethnography (participant observation)

Reflexive discussion with activists

The triangulation of research methods was 'emergent' and 'explanatory' in design (see: Ayoub et al, 2014). In the account of 'explanatory sequential' triangulation of research methods, Ayoub et al (2014) describes this as the employment of quantitative methods followed by the analysis of the quantitative elements, which in turn, inform the qualitative aspect of the research. In this instance, however, a qualitative explanatory holistic, rather than sequential, design was employed as a form of process harmonising with the process of the Occupy movement itself. The 'emergent' nature of the research is also reflective of the advice from Snow and Trom (2002: 153) who state that, 'as an orientating procedural principle, case study research should be open-ended and flexible in terms of both the design and execution of the research. This is not only because case study researchers are generally on the lookout for multiple and varied data sources, but also because there rarely is reason to be wedded to a particular method at the outset of the research'.

In terms of the data analysis expressly, the research employed methods of manual coding, as opposed to using Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) such as NVivo. The decision to consider the data manually was not one based in the usual 'side-taking' in the traditional sense of understanding closeness to the data (see: Beekhuyzen, 2007). Instead manual coding was employed due to the physicality of having huge swathes of transcript data, research field notes (including reflexive conversations with activists) that gave the researcher a tangible reminder of the plethora of thoughts and ideas emerging from the Occupy Movement itself. The creation of my own 'tent city' gave me a different kind of closeness, a closeness to the

Occupy movement itself, as the amassed paper surrounding me felt symbolic of the same feelings experienced on camp as the plethora of ideas and thoughts circulated.

Within 'tent city' the process of data analysis consisted of 2 stages of coding: open coding and axial coding. Open coding and axial coding are practices most closely associated with grounded theory (see: Mattoni, 2014). In this instance open coding and axial coding were employed but with purposefulness, through looking and listening with the commitment to class struggle and state power, with the adapted concerns from Little (2007) underpinning the examination of the data (see: figure xx). A process of listening and re-listening to audio recordings, reading and re-reading transcripts, and persistent consultation of research notes made in the field was employed in both the open and axial coding stages of the research. According to Mattoni (2014) in the open coding stage the researcher examines the data with a fairly open mind to recognise matters arising from the data. As described by Mattoni (2014: 30) this allows for an initial scrutiny of the data without a huge set of restrictions to compile a series of tentative codes 'that will be further redefined through subsequent coding stages'. In this research, open coding comprised of listing the various matters discussed by each of the research participants in the interview data, and matters arising within the ethnographic field notes. For example in this initial stage examples of broad codes included – police, private security, Giles Fraser, homeless people, drug and alcohol use, experiences of violence, engaging with the public, safer spaces policy, media. These were written out on post it notes and placed on a large A2 piece of paper in no particular order so these matters could all be viewed holistically at the same time. The second stage of the research involved axial coding. Axial coding, in the context of a grounded theory approach, is the exploration of the relationship between codes (ibid). However, in this thesis axial coding was employed not only to consider the relationships between these codes and broader categories but codes derived from the open coding stage were also considered with reference to the commitment to class struggle and the framework for looking derived from Little (2007). For example, the

initial open coding resulted in an extensive list of police interactions with people at Occupy. In the axial coding stage the relationship between these codes were established i.e. they were grouped in different new coding categories such as - threat of violence, actualised violence, public police state agents, private policing state agents and so on. However, further to this these coding categories were then assigned to the commitment to derive analytical meaning for matters of class struggle and state power and in turn were assigned additional, often multiple, labels such as 'repression inculcation' 'ideological inculcation' 'contradictions' 'economic' 'political' 'cultural'.

It is also important to state that this was not a single process of open and axial coding conducted only once. Due to the spontaneous and remerging nature of the Occupy movement the process of open and axial coding took repeatedly over the entire lifespan of the research. For example, the first set of data analysis took place following on from an initial set of interviews and ethnography with a handful of participants pertaining to the original sites of Occupy LSX and Occupy Liverpool in 2011 and 2012, just as Occupy Democracy in 2014 emerged. The second set of open and axial coding took place following on from interviews and ethnography conducted at Occupy Democracy in 2014. Various repetition of the processes of open and axial coding occurred throughout the duration of the research, sometimes after sitting and talking with an activist on camp, to reflect the processual nature of the Occupy Movement and class struggle. At the research 'conclusion' and 'saturation'⁴² final holistic examination of the data and the completion of one final process of open and axial coding was completed to consider the final presentation of the research findings that are presented here in this thesis.

The next chapter, chapter 4, moves on to delineate the first half of the findings from the research, pertaining to the organising role of [the] state in the context of 'ideological inculcation'. It is followed by chapter 5 which, having established all the necessary

⁴² The author places 'conclusion' and 'saturation' in inverted commas to recognise the conclusion and saturation of this particular research endeavour, the point where the author felt that there was a robust argument to make and something analytically potent to say, whilst also simultaneously recognising the open-ended nature of the occupy movement, state power and class struggle itself.

matters pertaining to 'ideological inculcation' examines matters pertaining to 'repression inculcation'. Together these chapters' piece together and offer a picture of Poulantzas' unreconciled journey (Jessop, 1985) from structural determination of class to class positions, in, in this specific context, the neoliberal conjuncture.

'An essential component of revolutionary strategy consists in knowing the enemy well'

(Poulantzas, 1974: 9).

Chapter 4: The Organising Role of [the] State: Ideological ‘Inculcation’, Concessions and Contradictions

4.1 Introduction and foreword⁴³

As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, this thesis is concerned with matters of class struggle and [the] state. The forthcoming chapters, chapters 4 and 5, form the analytical chapters of the thesis that draw upon the experiences and narratives from the Occupy movement; derived from a combination of primary research interview data, ethnography, and the narratives contained within the published secondary literature that emerged from the Occupy movement in the West. Chapter 4 is concerned primarily with matters of ideological ‘inculcation’ and chapter 5 with repression ‘inculcation’.

In this particular chapter, chapter 4, consideration is made regarding the emergence of the Occupy movement, in greater depth, by way of an examination of [the] state’s organising role i.e. organising the power bloc and disorganising the exploited classes. As previously ascertained this thesis’ reading of Poulantzas posits [the] state as **the specific material condensation of a relationship of social class forces**, or, to express this as an abbreviation, [the] state as ‘a condensed expression of the ongoing class struggle’ (Poulantzas, 1978: 130). At present in the neoliberal conjuncture this condensation takes the form of [a] state where the ‘balance’⁴⁴ of forces materialise as ‘incarnate [of the] politico-ideological relations in a form specific to the given mode of production’ (ibid: 27) – in this case advanced capitalism. Furthermore, Poulantzas

⁴³ Various elements of Chapter 4 are taken whole or in part from Fletcher, S. (2015) Negotiating the Resistance: Catch 22S, Brokering, and Contention within Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, Contention, 3(2) pp 5-16. A copy of this publication can be found in appendix C.

⁴⁴ The term ‘balance’ is employed in the Poulantzian sense and indicates not a zero-sum conception of power but one of convoluted exchange

(1978: 159) stressed the importance of an examination of 'transformations of the State according to the stage and phase of capitalism [...] condensed within the State are, for example, differentiations in the power bloc and relationships of force among its components; shifts in hegemony from one class or fraction to another; *changes in the character and representation of social classes, in the relations of the power bloc with supporting classes (petty bourgeoisie, peasantry) and in the organization of the working class and its strategic relations with the bourgeoisie*' (emphasis added).

An examination of [the] state as an organiser of the power bloc and disorganiser of the exploited classes thus requires engagement with the means by which this is achieved. As argued by Poulantzas (1978: 30), embedded in [the] state's organising role are matters of 'repression and ideological inculcation [...] present in the materiality of the State's current functions'. For this reason, both of the following analytical chapters examine matters of ideological (predominately chapter 4) and repression (predominately chapter 5). However, although this arrangement works for the linear necessities in a presentation of a thesis, not only presents such matters purely in this way, but, at various intervals, it also seeks to recognise the relationship between the two. For Poulantzas (1978: 30), 'the very distinction between repressive and ideological apparatuses cannot be sustained except at a purely descriptive and indicative level'.

Furthermore, the categorisation of 'ideological inculcation' and 'repression inculcation' infers power held over 'the oppressed and downtrodden masses [and] inevitably leads to an idealist, police conception of power, according to which the State dominates the masses either through police terror or internalized repression, (it matters little which), or else through trickery and illusion' (ibid). The reality of the situation is far more complex, as this chapter will go onto show in greater detail, but in the first instance it is important to record that for Poulantzas (1978: 30 – 31) 'it is quite simply wrong to believe that the State only acts in this manner [repression and

ideological inculcation]: the relation of the masses to power and the State - in what is termed among other things a consensus – always possesses a material substratum. I say “among other things”, since in working for class hegemony, the State acts within an unstable equilibrium of compromises between the dominant classes and the dominated’. He continues, ‘the State therefore continually adopts material measures which are of positive significance for the popular masses, even though these measures represent so many concessions imposed by the struggle of the subordinate classes. This essential material aspect cannot be explained if the relationship between State and popular masses is reduced to the couplet [of] repression [-] ideology’ (Poulantzas, 1978: 31).

For Poulantzas an examination of such matters, in *State, Power, Socialism*, led to his major work on *authoritarian statism*, as the characterisation of [the] state’s organising role. However, in the context of this thesis a critical examination of the repression-ideology couplet exacted in tandem with the unstable equilibrium of compromises is operationalised, instead, to better elucidate the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture⁴⁵. [The] state’s role of organising the power bloc and disorganising the exploited classes has a specific purpose. To simultaneously, disorganise the exploited classes to prevent the formulation of a social class force contender of and for ‘the people’, and to maintain the unification of the ‘power bloc’ to the extent that it remains the ‘superior’ social class force in any given conjuncture.

⁴⁵ Please note however, that authoritarian statism is discussed further in Chapter 5.

4.2 Before Anyone Flooded the Streets of Manhattan

‘Decades drift away. Decades of Fox News and Goldman Sachs. Decades of gutting what was left of the social contract. Decades in which kids came to think being a banker was sexy. When that happens you *know* it is all over – or about to explode, as once again history throws a curveball. Once in a lifetime, the unpredictable occurs and reality gets redefined’

(Taussig, 2013: 9: original emphasis).

The story of Occupy, or one of the stories as told here, in many ways, begins long before anyone stepped foot onto Wall Street, the steps of St Paul’s or any of the other spaces occupied by the many camps around the world. It is important to consider the preceding years and the various happenings during this time that led to large numbers of people taking to the streets from 2011 onwards. As per the characteristics of the advanced capitalist state, the neoliberal project also sought to project the blame for the ills brought about by the activities of the exploiting classes, through this neoliberal political project, onto the exploited classes. To a large extent it had many successes, as the power bloc organised in such a way that it gained popular support from many of the exploited classes in various ways, particularly in the West. This is not to say that the time period of the neoliberal project in the 1980s in the advanced capitalist state was not wanting in counter-hegemonic contenders, such as those pertaining to the anti/alter globalisation movement (Battle in Seattle; The World Social Forum; Protest against the G8 to name just a few) but these protests, like many protests, were relatively fleeting and soon dissipated in terms of continuous momentum and presence.

The neoliberal project was one that sought to capture minds from a very early age. In the ‘decades in which kids came to think being a banker was sexy’ (Taussig, 2013: 9), many young people, often, from very economically precarious backgrounds subscribed to the ideology of a meritocracy and subsequently sought to ‘make it’ through hard work and getting on their metaphorical bikes, as the Thatcher administration had told them to do.

As participant N pondered in a similar vein:

‘[it] may have been decided before you were 5 years old whether you were going to be the kind of person that showed up [to a protest] and the kind of person who joins the police. That is probably decided before you are 5 years old as well’ (Participant N).

Although the comments of Participant N are arguably deterministic in their colloquial expression through interview conversation, such thoughts are worthy of consideration. Saturated by media, images and advertisements that sought to sell the notion of meritocracy combined with trajectories that facilitated its hegemonic advancement such as the rise of celebrity and synoptic cultures regarding revering fame, status and wealth, Participant B further lamented:

‘I’ve always had this thing that modern capitalist society doesn’t try and hide anything it’s all there to be seen, it’s workings and reasons to be, nothing is hidden, there’s no shame in capitalist society anymore whereas frivolity is now completely and utterly celebrated as like, a, it’s a virtue. It’s no longer a vice to be frivolous, it’s a virtue [...] there was an advert recently I think it was for Tango and there were all these kids on skateboards and it had a song and the words to the song were “we’re not going to change the world, we’re going to rock it” [laughs] and it just started playing on my mind this, just like, - what does that mean? What does that song actually mean?’

There is evidence that various young people, to an extent, though argued ideological inculcation, ‘had responded to neoliberal labour market conditions and internalised “success” (or lack thereof) [...] as an individual enterprise’ (Pimlott-Wilson, 2015: 288). For González-Fuente and Pérez-Ortega (2016: 21) it is further argued ‘that one of the main reasons for the success of neoliberalism (i.e. trading in “dispossession for accumulation” at an elevated level of legitimacy) is that the youth (i.e. the people who depend on the adult world to some degree) naturalise it during their transition from the educational system to the job market’. It is further stated by Pimlott-Wilson (2015: 289) that ‘political leaders place the onus on the individual to “aspire” to dominant visions of adulthood rather than on the Government to address broader inequalities and barriers that young people face as they look towards their future’.

All of the latter, however, is weighted heavily towards the problematic notion of mere 'ideological inculcation' and thus requires additional concomitant recognition of the role of 'concessions' made by the state during this time also (see: Poulantzas, 1978: 31). A good example of a 'concession', would be that of the case of the rising cost of university education. The rising cost of university fees in the UK and the US was met with popular struggle and resistance. The 'concession' made was rather than exclude persons from this outright through fee increases, everyone had the 'right' to access student loans and finance. This also serves as an illusion of equal subject hood (see: Green, 1993). However, it is evident, that such 'concessions' within this particular conjuncture only perform the function of a 'sticking plaster' over the fractures and contradictions in the crisis (see: section 4.21).

Moreover, there is further greater nuance to the situation facing young people in the neoliberal conjuncture, than the latter commentary alone suggests, and it is important not to portray a homogenous picture of an exceedingly complex group. What it means for young people to 'actually exist in neoliberalism'⁴⁶ (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 349) is also the need for them to negotiate a series of anxieties (Horton, 2016) and often a 'set of contradictory beliefs' (Pimlott-Wilson, 2015: 288). At the economic level, the neoliberal project, supports trajectories of insecure employment and precarious working conditions. To give a brief indication of the situation in the West, in particular the sites of secondary and primary data collection of this thesis: in the US 'the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicate that more than 30 million involuntary job losses occurred between the early 1980s and 2004' (Kalleberg, 2009: 2 cited in Raymo *et al*, 2011: 249) and in the UK over six million people were estimated to be in precarious

⁴⁶ The discussion here regarding the impacts of neoliberalism on young people is not to infer that other populations are not subject to the neoliberal experience and 'existing in neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002) but that theirs is a particularly acute experience. This is in the sense that for millennials, defined by the Pew Research Centre as anyone born between 1981 and 1996 (see: Dimock, 2018), it has been their only existence. As a result, millennials have existed in neoliberalism since their birth as opposed to others born before this time, often referred to as 'baby boomers', that have experienced a stronger welfare state and social protection in the post-war period and are, to an extent, often afforded at least some latent and lingering levels of social protection.

employment (Booth, 2016). With the ability of employers to terminate employment swiftly this 'leave[s] young people with weak individual bargaining power' (Oyeleye, 2014: 61). To conceptualise this more rigorously, it was these types of conditions that Poulantzas described as engendering, what he termed, the 'effect of isolation' (Poulantzas, 1968) or, as is the term employed henceforth, the isolation effect. As told by Greene (2015: np):

'The greater socialisation of the capitalist economy has the effect of bringing workers together in the labour process, but at the same time, the laws of competition pit them against each other. We can see this during a recession when employed workers may suffer from pay cuts or lose benefits rather than be laid off and replaced by the multitude of unemployed who are eager for work. Poulantzas calls this, the "isolation effect" whereby class unity is forestalled and the working class is atomised and fragmented'.

Because, for Poulantzas (1978), the political and ideological are inextricably tied up in the economic (also see section 2.53) the significance and possibility of the isolation effect are two-fold. Firstly, the material set of class struggle practices associated with the isolation effect may give rise to a further 'neoliberalising' of the subject, in matters of the ideological and the political – naturalising them as per the discussion from González-Fuente and Pérez-Ortega (2016). The alternative to this, is that the contradictions in the crisis present themselves in such a way that they are recognised to instead form the opposite, remembering that 'popular struggles naturally lift the veil on the real nature of the State for those of its agents who are already disposed to see more clearly by their class affiliation' (Poulantzas, 1978: 156). Therefore, instead resistance and unity is forged at the political and ideological level, even if it cannot be forged at the economic level under the conditions of the neoliberal conjuncture. As argued by Monaghan and O'Flynn (2012: 9), 'neoliberal transformations [...] have undermined many young people's capacity to lead useful and meaningful lives' particularly in the economic realm through the impacts of the neoliberal projects isolation effect. As a result 'the potential for hopelessness, resentment, frustration and outbursts of anger has significantly increased as a consequence. The predictable result is a tinderbox,

ready to explode' (ibid).

In conclusion, the neoliberal project is never complete (Ojeda, 2012), despite its resolve and tenacity (Theodore & Brenner 2009; Peck 2012 cited in González-Fuente and Pérez-Ortega 2016) and through its own contradictions there always remains spaces for resistance (Archer, 2008). This ultimately leads to a conclusion that there are various levels of success in 'neoliberalising subjects' (MacLeavy, 2008). It therefore becomes important to examine the intricacies regarding how, within this particular conjuncture, in the advanced capitalist state, inclusive of the efforts of [the] state to *neoliberalise its subjects* through ideological 'inculcation' and gain the popular support of the masses, how it was that the Occupy movement came to be. As argued by Oyeleye (2014: 67), 'situating contemporary youth experience spatially and temporally amidst global processes of dispossession and subordination inscribes the sense of loss that is the experience of young people across the world'. It is this loss, and the intensification and amplification of said loss, within the post-2008 financial crisis years that this thesis now turns its attention toward.

4.21 The Role of the New Guard: Young People and the Student Movement

Despite attempts to prolong its shelf life (see: Barber, 2008) there is only so long that the mask of the lie of the neoliberal project, and its bogus promises, can stay on without slipping. It is for this reason that it is now important to turn to, and consider, the role of the new guard: young people and, in particular, the student and graduate movement. As argued by Jessop (2012: 1), 'multi-faceted crises that build over time [have] sudden, acute phases [that] are more disorienting and place the heaviest demands on conjunctural analysis'. Within the wider conjuncture of the neoliberal project in the advanced capitalist state there are various other *sub-conjunctural* moments⁴⁷ – moments of crisis realisation. It is here that we begin to see the vitally important role of, what is referred to as, the new guard. Student and graduates who had reached the 'end of the line', and felt, most palpably, the broken promises of the

⁴⁷ See section 2.4 for detail on sub-conjunctural moments

neoliberal project. What is meant by this, is that having completed higher education, inclusive of the accruing of large amounts of debt, with the exception of but a few, this inevitably included, upon graduating and seeking employment in the job market, that they were able to feel, most pertinently, the reality of the situation. It was at this particular time that students were leaving college with no jobs to go to particularly in the context of the post-2008 financial crisis and the subsequent austerity that ensued in the 3 years, and beyond, after that. It was for this reason that, having bore witness and felt the broken promises for themselves, this particular group made up large numbers of the Occupy movement and its supporters. As argued by Milkman (2014: 55), 'the 2008 Wall Street crash [...] disproportionately affected Millennials, many of whom entered the labour market just when the crisis hit. They have been struggling ever since with unemployment, underemployment, debt, and other forms of economic precarity. These developments also helped spark a wave of political activism. In 2011, Millennials—especially the college-educated among them—made up the core of Occupy Wall Street and its various offshoots'. It is a similar story with the Indignados of Spain where many of the protestors were in the form of recent graduates, arriving at a point in their lives of entering the job market at a time when in 2011 unemployment rates for young people under 25 was at 43% (Younge, 2011) reaching a record 51.6% in 2013 (Burgen, 2013).

The reasons for this were further expressed by a 27 year old nurse who spoke to Milkman *et al* (2013: 195): 'the 26 to 29, 30 crowd was the strongest presence, [...] people my age who maybe had grad school, or weren't finding jobs, and had kind of just blazed through college and a Master's program and then were like, "what the hell is this?"'. They were furthermore told by another interviewee who stated 'you have generations of people graduating from high school and college who are in debt for careers that don't exist anymore, and they need somewhere to go' (ibid). To corroborate this, in the US it was noted by McCarthy (2012: 51) that, 'in the two U.S. cities with the most Occupy activity, Oakland and New York, students have been front

and center' and Gaby and Caren (2012: 370) who found that 'the density of Facebook activism was highest in college towns and in state capitals'. As Graeber (2011: np) expands:

'We are watching the beginnings of the defiant self-assertion of a new generation of Americans, a generation who are looking forward to finishing their education with no jobs, no future, but still saddled with enormous and unforgivable debt. Most, I found, were of working-class or otherwise modest backgrounds, kids who did exactly what they were told they should: studied, got into college, and are now not just being punished for it, but humiliated – faced with a life of being treated as deadbeats, moral reprobates'.

This was also another hugely significant factor - not only had young people been sold a lie that became most apparent in the austerity aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, they were also often the source of demonisation by the exploiting classes/power bloc. Young people had very much become the target of the exploiting classes/power bloc in terms of the blame game (see: Milkman, 2014; Power, 2012) and this demonising attack that portrayed them as apathetic, disengaged, lazy, and selfish had not escaped them – it was time to launch a counter narrative. A common feature amongst those at Occupy protest camps was that of a 'remarkably high level of education' (Graeber, 2011c: 4), an education that in some respects, notwithstanding attempts to neoliberalise curriculums in both compulsory and higher education (see: Boden and Nedeva, 2010; Cervone, 2017; De Lissovoy, 2008; Millei, 2011; Saltman, 2007), had given young people some of the tools necessary to begin to critically assess the conditions within which they found themselves.

As argued by Hammond (2013: 505), in a broad sense, 'young people have often been the main recruits to social movements in the past – their attachments to family and work are weak, and they are more receptive to calls for social change. But they are even more susceptible to joining protests today than in more ordinary times, because economic crisis has swelled their numbers and magnified their grievances'. OWS was a movement driven by young people, many of which had college educations, but who had equally been 'stopped dead in their tracks' (Graeber, 2011c:4) at the point of

exiting the higher education system. Furthermore, Milkman *et al* (2013: 195) highlight another quote from a participant who described, 'that's the brilliant thing about social movements and why they tend to be led by young people. They haven't learned all the things that won't work, and just get an audacious idea and move forward' giving a counter-hegemonic movements like Occupy the necessary traction not experienced for some time. Students and graduates were also supported by their educational counterparts, as education workers who too had witnessed and experienced this aspect of the neoliberal austerity project, joined them in support: for example, educational activists from Occupy the Department of Education who played, and continue to play, a major role challenging corporate school reform (see: Picower, 2013).

As argued by Graeber (2011c: 7), 'I think the answer is generational. In politics, too, as in education, we are looking at a generation of young people who played by the rules, and have seen their efforts prove absolutely fruitless'. Alongside the lie of employment at the end of education, and massive amounts of debt, the millennial generation were also at the end of their first set of voting experiences. And like the Indignados the 'US based Occupy activists denounce a similar situation, pointing to the absence of alternatives in the bi-partisan political system' (Glasius and Pleyers 2013: 556). There are only so many election campaigns that promise change and then bring about, at most, a merely diluted form of the capitalist system of increasing inequality, which people can withstand before there is a serious fracture in the crisis to be realised and seized. Such fabricated democracy did not go unnoticed by this group as the general sentiment of contemporary electoral politics was expressed by Participant N, 'you're given a vote: here's a vote, now fuck off'.

4.22 With Comrades of Old: The Anarchists *et al*

The millennials however, although a strong presence for all the reasons outlined in the preceding section, were by no means alone in their endeavours and presence at the Occupy movement. The movement was essentially an amalgamation of those who had previously forged elements of unity at the level of the political and, to an extent, the ideological in the own historic sub-conjunctural moment(s) - comrades of old) - and those situated in their own, in progress, efforts of forging unity beyond that of the isolation effect experienced in the economic. The 'comrades of old' had a strong presence of neo-anarchist activists and they played a huge part in joining and supporting this new guard of people. Schneider (2011: 2) describes how the many young people who turned up had no idea about the notion of a General Assembly, instead 'they came for their own reasons, united by the aesthetic appeal of swarming the money-changers at their own temple' and how it was subsequently the longstanding neo-anarchists⁴⁸ who offered their tools for meaningful organisation. Ultimately, as described by Dean (2013: 6), there was substantial involvement from the neo-anarchists, who adapted into new forms of organisation, and they further argue that the neo-anarchists should be credited with inciting people 'toward collectively and political will' and turning 'left incapacity into an opportunity'. To further describe the scenario: 'the emergence of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) has challenged this narrative by problematising economic inequality and the neoliberal discourse that legitimated it, and reintroduced the words 'class' and 'capitalism' back into political debate. Occupy Wall Street represent[ed] the convergence of a populism animated by those directly hit by the economic crisis with previously existing neo-anarchist activists' (Taylor, 2013: 732).

⁴⁸ Anarchism is riddled with as many misconceptions as it is ambiguities (see: Gordon, 2011). Anarchists can largely be understood as seeking the abolitionism of capitalism alongside the removal of the state, where power would be 'as decentralised as possible' (ibid). Neo-Anarchism specifically refers to the group of Anarchists that emerged during the 1990 World Trade Organisation protests in Seattle. According to Castells (2005 cited in: Taylor, 2013: 729) 'the radicalism at the core of the alterglobalization movement (AGM) that emerged at the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial protests in Seattle was characterized by a new political sensibility uniting a diversity of concerns, often under the ideological umbrella of anarchism'.

Alongside the neo-anarchists who brought forward their tools for communication, such as the horizontalism seen at Occupy, there were other contributions from various factions. Despite substantial decimation of the labour movements in the US and the UK, the persons involved in such movements historically and contemporarily, did become involved, with many of their remaining members contributing to the Occupy movement. With only a few documented cases of Union and Labour movements appearing in the literature (see: Lewis and Luce, 2012; Buhle and Buhle, 2011) it can still, however, be evidenced with a series of concrete cases of involvement, such as the labour group named the May 12th Coalition who were involved in the very first attempts to occupy Wall Street, and who worked with the younger and newer persons conducting 'training sessions on civil disobedience and disruptive activity, as well as teach-ins on the contributions made by banks and Wall Street to [...] current economic woes' (Lewis and Luce, 2012: 44). Smith (2012: 378) also highlighted the contributions that came from those who had been involved in the anti/alter globalisation movements and World Social Forum of the 1990s, and argued that the amalgamation of all these factors meant that Occupy 'reflects the collective wisdom of previous moments of mobilization along with a history of learning and experimentation enhanced by an ongoing process of reflection' with a younger newer generation. All of this resulted in 'a common infrastructure of networks and meetings that facilitate[d] rapid diffusion; a generational background shaped both by the precarity of paid work and by exposure to, and participation in, global information streams; and, most fundamentally, a shared articulation of demands and practices' (Glasius and Pleyers 2013: 547). What was witnessed was, the joining of forces, both old and new, about the precarity of employment from the first steps in the labour market through to retirement, as Occupy made demands 'so [that] we may have dignity at all ages' (Occupy Global, 2012 cited in Glasius and Pleyers 2013: 561)⁴⁹. This emergence of the old and new presented

⁴⁹ The culmination of seeing 'comrades of old' and 'new guard' was also evidenced in an informal group meeting with 12 people from Occupy Liverpool in a coffee shop back in 2011 (field notes 31/10/11) and in the various London based events also (field notes 30/10/14).

itself both in formally recorded interviews and general conversations at different camps, giving rise to a sense of mutual learning and solidarity:

‘I think in terms of showing Occupy as a positive thing it was really good for the local activists to see that there were these people who were willing to get involved and start occupying shops, and knew what they were talking about and engaged the public because for most of the protests and things locally it is always the same faces that you see, whereas most of Occupy was entirely new people that had never been involved before so that was really good’ (Participant A).

4.23 Seizing Contradictions in the Crisis

In chapter 1, the Occupy movement was conceptualised and described as having multiple and extensive grievances (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012; Colvin, 2011; Council of Elders, 2011; Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013a; Foroohar, 2011; Kroll, 2011; Scherer, 2011; The Occupy Wall Street General Assembly, 2011; van Gelder 2011a). This was alongside a resulting anger and frustration (Chomsky, 2012; Colvin, 2011; Cowen and de Rugy, 2012; Ruggiero, 2012; Tarrow, 2011) that had reached saturation point and had to go somewhere, *become* something. It was arguably the millennials experience, often inclusive of leaving education with huge amounts of debt with no prospects of employment or the life they had been promised, that felt this particularly fractious point in the conjuncture of the neoliberal project most, during this time. Simultaneously waiting in the wings were the ‘comrades of old’, made up predominantly of the neo-anarchists, labour and union movement, and anti/alter globalisation movement, that had vast swathes of previous experience in similar matters. They too were poised to seize an opportunity for a new moment in history. Essentially the very elements of the neoliberal project in the advanced capitalist state, that had previously kept mass protest movements at bay (a blend of ideological inculcation and concessions), in polarity, became the denouement of the resistance in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis. As argued by Arrighi *et al* (1989: 30) ‘one of the contradictions, however, of capitalism as a system is that the very integrating

tendencies that have been one of its defining characteristics have had an impact on the form of anti-systemic activity’.

4.3 The People’s Library

4.31 The People’s Library and the Bank of Ideas as space to counter the neoliberal project

So the first set of contradictions in the crisis climaxed in 2011, and resulted in so many people physically manifesting to form or take part in the Occupy movement. This was however, the first step in a longer expedition, and one of the key things the protestors sought to do was create an alternative space where further self-realisation and counter-hegemonic education and ideas might flourish. As told by Stoller (2011 cited in Castañeda, 2012: 314), Occupy ‘built a campsite full of life, where power is exercised according to their voices [...] to understand #OccupyWallStreet, you have to get that it is not a media object or a march. It is first and foremost, a church of dissent, a space made sacred by a community [...] it has become many things. Public square. Carnival. Place to get news. Daycare center. Health care center. Concert venue. Library. Performance space. School’.

One of the most important aspects of the Occupy movement arguably became their libraries and that of a space for creative alternative education. The first library at Occupy Wall Street began with an anonymous donation of books left on a bench in Zuccotti park (Zabriskie, 2011: np) and literally became thousands of books over a mere period of weeks (Milkman *et al*, 2012). The significance and importance of the camp libraries is highlighted and solidified by the fact that the Occupy camp libraries seemed to be the first thing to appear (Lingel, 2012) and the first thing to go (Eskow, 2012; McVeigh, 2011b; watch: Occupy TVNY Destruction of the Library | Occupy Wall Street Video). As described by Pickerill and Krinsky (2012: 283), there was ‘significant emphasis on alternative education. In London, the “Tent City University” and “The Bank of Ideas” were quickly established and teach-ins occurred in many camps’. Its

importance is almost illustrated by the all elusive sign of modern day significance - its own Wikipedia entry and its own website (see: <https://peopleslibrary.wordpress.com/>).

Essentially alongside requests for subsistence, sleeping equipment, and food, for example, there was a strong call for literature and educational material; 'If anyone has any books/pamphlets/etc. on relevant topics, please consider donating them to the OccupyDC K St library that's been set up for the sake of our collective education!' (Caren and Gaby, 2011: np). When the Occupy Wall Street camp was eventually destroyed by a combination of state and corporate actors in November 2012, 'it carried out eviction with alacrity, featuring Police Commissioner Ray Kelly cast as Kilgore in *Apocalypse Now* 2011, on the scene, revelling in the smell not of napalm but of thousands of books from the OWS library tossed in a dumpster' (Schrader and Wachsmuth, 2012: 246) essentially 'destroyed by police and dumped as trash' (Rehmann, 2013:14). The importance of the library cannot be understated and despite the destruction at OWS and other places where material was confiscated, and/or almost certainly conveniently 'lost', 'the People's Library had mobilised to support various OWS actions, creating pop-up libraries and utilizing book mobiles' (Lingel, 2012: np). It is further noteworthy that occupations of academic buildings happened frequently during the time of the occupations (Neary and Amsler, 2012) and continued to happen, in the aftermath of the evictions of Occupy Wall Street and Occupy LSX, with various offshoot efforts (see: Wong, 2015).

And whilst the contradictions of the neoliberal crisis had failed to hold through ideological inculcation and concessions, due to the absence of employment upon graduation for so many young people, it was argued that their education, in matters of the crisis itself, had too been compromised, and this alternative form of learning at the Occupy movement was very much wanted and needed. As described by one interviewee:

'If you were looking in from the outside it was a school, you know what I mean, and you couldn't criticise a school. This was a free university, you know, we were learning about economics and all these things, and I don't know about everybody else, but I didn't know about money and economics. I always think "how the fuck did I get a master's degree in social policy and I don't know the first thing about bloody economics?" you know?' [laughs]' (Participant C).

As argued by Shepard (2012: 126), 'by reimagining the public square, OWS has also highlighted the importance of education. Education is everywhere at Zuccotti Park, with protesters educating each other, creating a free lending-library, developing working groups to examine political questions, and initiating a free "nomadic university" to bring college to the people of New York, in the boroughs and streets where they live'. As further described by Participant C, recalling their time at Occupy LSX outside St Pauls Cathedral in London:

'There were probably hundreds of people Sam, who knew that what was going on [the occupations] was the right thing to do, that it was the righteous resistance to a really corrupted state. And it's not just England, it's the whole fucking world, the banks have got completely corrupted, the corporations are controlling the world, there's increasing poverty, very intense poverty I mean, even in bloody England. You've got all these food banks, and you know, it's a shame on us that we are in this situation. So, but, we had all these basics, these were facts, but we didn't necessarily know how to articulate our resistance do you understand me? So the function of those, you know, day in day out day - there were lectures about money, and how to do money more ethically, and what capitalism was and what resistance movements were going on somewhere else, you know, endless different subject matters gave people who were eager beavers activists – the words, the language yeah? - with which to either communicate with each other or communicate to outsiders who were asking questions, or to the press, or academically if they were interested that way, I thought they were. I mean that's what I loved most about it to be honest' (Participant C).

Graeber (2011c: 4) argues that it was 'no coincidence that the epicenter of the Wall Street Occupation, and so many others, is an impromptu library: a library being not only a model of an alternative economy, where lending is from a communal pool, at 0% interest, and the currency being learnt is knowledge, and the means to understanding'. Given the naming of capitalism as the problem, it was no surprise that there was plenty to talk about, as the extent of the crisis was so vast and complex, due to the attempts to conceal and obfuscate by the exploiting classes/power bloc

being so great. Participant N spoke about the vital importance and need for a space to discuss the nature of the fight against capitalism, in the advanced capitalist state and neoliberal conjuncture, because it contained so many different befuddling complex strands and elements. They discussed how in other protests such as the protest against the Iraq war in 2003, that these were different and easier to grasp as it was 'for a cause that people understood' and how in comparison, in terms of the wider fight against capitalism, 'people don't really understand. I don't really understand all this' (Participant N). Such words from Participant N are reminiscent of [a] state that is both revealed and concealed:

'If the State and the tactics it embodies are never entirely concealed, this is not because corridor-talk finally becomes known regardless of the State's will, but because at a certain level tactical elaboration is an integral part of the State's provisions to organize the dominant classes: it appears on the state arena by virtue of its role in representing these classes (as was shown very clearly by de Gaulle's famous, and not in the least "ideological" speech in May '68). There is an apparent contradiction here: virtually everything that the bourgeoisie and its power have carried out has been publicly stated and listed in one state discourse or another, even if it has not always been understood' (Poulantzas, 1978: 32).

As a result, the Occupy movement was arguably 'explicitly pedagogical. As some of its roots extend into longstanding critiques of capitalist institutions of knowledge and education, there are strong educational elements in its formal constitution' (Neary and Amsler, 2012: 111). It was also not merely a case of philosophical pondering and understanding but also education of a practical nature. Much of the literature and teach-ins focused on practical advice for those in strife, such as understanding debt and how to get out of it, and as a result all the camps had education explicitly at the heart of their endeavours (ibid). As described by Participants B and C:

'The whole part of the Occupy thing was, you know, come, you don't need to be a card carrying member of this, or need to know this theory or need to have read this book, you just need to come and then you know. As we always used to say - it's a process - just by doing it, that's how you get somewhere' (Participant B).

‘I think that, you know I can only speak for myself really [...] but you know, here was a place full of people who were basically friendly, [with] free food, all busy busy doing positive stuff - learning, education, generally assembly. I mean, you know, it was a fab[ulous] place to be, even if you weren’t really politically savvy or interested. You would learn, and you would learn quickly, you know, if you just went to a few of those lectures, you’d soon realise what was going on so I think that people were just more interested and felt happier being at Occupy’ (Participant C).

This is not to posit that the Occupy movement was a homogenous group and although it had a heavy educational presence, and purpose, it was not always so easy:

‘There are so many barriers to people getting involved in anything, especially people who aren’t already from a background that is conducive to those things. People who can’t articulate themselves that well, people who maybe can’t read or write that well, people who feel excluded anyway’ (Participant B).

For this reason, a number of those involved sought to ensure that they provided imaginative activities to discuss and share knowledge in the most inclusive fashion possible. As argued by Neary and Ambler (2012: 111), ‘in London, Tent City University was an integral and publicly prominent part of the encampment in St. Paul’s Square, popularising the idea that “anyone can teach, anyone can learn”’. The response⁵⁰ from police and security guards to educational activities was also telling. During the interview with Participant N, they were simultaneously setting up a giant monopoly board as an educational activity, whilst talking about their experience at Occupy Democracy at Parliament Square. They described how they had previously been blocked from doing this activity because they were told that the ropes were ‘unauthorised’.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 5 for further analysis on police and security guard responses to the Occupy movement more generally pertaining to repression, force and violence.

Speaking at Occupy Democracy Participant M⁵¹ painted a similar picture:

‘Essentially in a sense [...] I think the sort of damage done to the movement by preventing that [...] kind of interesting fascinating Occupy space emerge. I mean that was why the Occupy movement formed, that was why the Occupy movement, for all its kind of power at a certain moment, was fundamentally vulnerable to power, what was special about it was that people kind of created these interesting, inclusive spaces that everybody, whether they agreed or not, or was just curious, was welcome to come into. And just the infrastructure, having the kitchen and the library, you know, that was all kind of part of the fascination of this democratic emergence. And by preventing that happening, we’re just, you know, to some extent, and you know, preventing the tents which, you know, prevents us from being this sort of solid ongoing presence. You know, it reduces us, for most intents and purposes, to just another bunch of protestors, you know, hooking up in Parliament Square’ (Participant M).

In summary, after the initial fractures of the crisis manifested themselves so palpably to result in the Occupy movement, those in the movement were keen to extend this initial fracture and prise open the cracks to find further emancipation from neoliberalism. As one person explained to Milkman *et al* (2013: 196) the Occupy movement ‘was a non-commodified space in the heart of global capital, in the ventricle [...] even for myself and a lot of other people who have been involved in politics, it’s just like you’re inhaling this clean mountain air! That we can relate to each other outside the market. That’s why people were so drawn to it’. Alongside being personally drawn to Occupy, those within the movement also sought to create and/or build upon this fractious *sub-conjunctural moment* in terms of engagement with the wider general public too.

4.32 Interaction with the general public

‘Occupy activists see democracy not just as something to demand from politicians, but also as a task for themselves: to be a democratic person you have to inform yourself, form yourself an opinion, tell that opinion to the public and try to change things the way you want them to be. That costs much time and is a quite exhausting task. In a representative democracy you have to take care what the representatives do in your name’ (Erik, Occupy Frankfurt, e-mail communication May 2012 cited in Glasius and Pleyers, 2013:

⁵¹ Participant M and Participant H are the same person interviewed on two separate occasions regarding their experiences across multiple different Occupy sites in London.

Having been incentivised by the rupture-esq nature of the sub-conjunctural moment of the Occupy movement, for those who became part of the Occupy movement there was a further key task at hand - to extend this time of self-discovery and seek to create further fractures to a wider audience, bringing them too into the fold. Despite a number of seized opportunities to exploit the contradictions in the crisis it was not the case that everyone from the exploited classes came to, or joined, the Occupy movement and in conversations with various people on site at Occupy there was lamentation regarding why everyone wasn't out on the streets – 'how did we get here and others not?' (Research notes Occupy May 12th Demo St Pauls Cathedral, London).

The reasons why, are various and multi-fold, including that, not everyone saw Capitalism as a problem (see: Wright, 2012). Communication with the external public, and those not in the Occupy movement, became really important in terms of seeking support and opening up the conversation in the quest to explore and exploit the fractures and contradictions in the crisis at this time. Many of the interviewees described this space for interaction with the general public as vital, and whilst some members of the public exhibited responses to the Occupy movement that inferred they were exhibiting high levels of Träger⁵², there were various cases of successful interaction, breaking through some of the general public's co-option into monopoly capital/power bloc's attempts at hegemonic ideological unification:

'I think there has always been a level of "get a job", of a couple of people going past, but I think you're going to get that as a general [thing] though. Most of the response we've gotten [is to get] people [to] see how ridiculous it

⁵² Träger, from the literal translation from German, meaning 'bearer'. For Marx (1867 cited in Arthur, 1996: 178: original emphasis) Träger refers to 'the characters who appear on the economic stage are but the personifications of the economical relations that exist between them [...] it is as bearers [Träger] of these economic relations that they come into contact with each other'. Träger itself is a term not explicitly used by Poulantzas although he makes multiple references to the literal translation from German, the term 'bearers', throughout his work and in different contexts. For the purposes of this thesis the notion of Träger is utilised to represent activity within struggle that represents the person as bearing hegemonic ideas, feelings, or aspects. In contrast to Marx it is not only about being the 'bearer' of economic relations but ideological and political relations also, which for Poulantzas (1973; 1974) it was the case that economic relations were inextricably tied up in the ideological and political.

is - and it is ridiculous. And yeah somebody walked up to us and was like “well done you’ve managed to actually manifest in practicality how little democracy is talked about”. I can’t remember the exact detail a lot better than that, but it was that sort of like “well done for actually materialising the lack of democracy in this country” (Participant G).

‘The great thing about those actions, is because of the way you are doing them, because it is so public you know, you really are cheek by jowl with Joe public - every type of person from every social class or whatever you want to call it is there. And you get the actual chance to talk to people face to face [with] people asking “well what is all this about? Why are you doing this?” you know. And you say “did you know that Boots evaded, you know, 20 billion quid worth of tax last year?” and people are like “what? Boots?” because they think like Boots is one of those names that is on the high street and totally respected, it’s been going for since Victorian times probably. And people, you know, it’s one of those places where they think you know everything is fine - Boots, it’s good quality and all the rest of it, and when you tell people these things sometimes they are genuinely shocked [you say] - “why is it OK that you have to pay your taxes but this company doesn’t have to pay its tax like Vodafone or whatever”. So in a way I think those actions are really good, because they are totally, you’re not trying, you’re not selling a theory, you know you’re not selling anti- capitalism, you’re not selling Marxism, whatever your political ... you’re really just confronting [them] with a fact like “this shop – evades tax and we don’t think that’s right”. Most people just can’t argue with that, they really can’t, because there is not really any ideology around that, even though there is, but when you’re in that interaction in the street it’s just like saying “that man stole my purse” or whatever [laughs] that’s a fact that they can’t contravene, so I think those things are really, really, good’ (Participant B).

‘Although there was like the odd one in the middle of the day were someone is clearly not in work shouting to you “get a job” is a bit like [pauses] but the people who we could actually talk to about it, and about like unemployment, especially in Liverpool as well, it is one of the highest, like, highest unemployment rates in the UK isn’t it is. That’s what we are fighting against, there aren’t enough jobs for people who are out there on top of everything else [laughs]’ (Participant A).

‘[It was important] to show that we were obviously a peaceful democratic movement that was there to have an important conversation that resonated with a huge national concern’ (Participant H).

‘people would say “what are you protesting about?” and we’d say, it’s not really a protest as such, you know, we had this thing where we would say - it’s not a protest it’s a process - do you know what I mean, you’re stepping out of the normal thing and you’re starting a process and that process is being there and talking to people and learning off each’ (Participant B).

‘A lot of people who come down here say like, “oh my god I never realised that police brutality⁵³ happens in this country I thought it was the kind of thing we hear about on the news” (Participant L).

⁵³ See Chapter 5 for further detail and analysis on policing and repression, force and violence.

However, not everyone at the movement felt as hopeful about the effectiveness of the attempted engagement with the public. Whilst there were various forms of ‘casual support’ which ranged from eliciting ‘high-fives, thumbs-up and honks of support’ (Schrader and Wachsmuth, 2012: 250), and when ‘dozens of occupiers displayed signs to passing cars, eliciting frequent honks of approval and the occasional insult’ (Juris, 2012: 236), this was not always the case. Whilst it is important to be mindful of the pitfalls of relatively small sampling in the gathering of statistical data claiming to represent general public opinion, it can be noted that arguably ‘at its inception, Occupy Wall Street was supported by 30 per cent of Americans and 58 per cent of New Yorkers; even six months later it still garnered a respectable 16 per cent and 48 per cent support from the two groups, respectively’ (Enten, 2012 cited in Glasius and Pleyers 2013: 562). If these statistics are to be taken as indicative of the reality of support, or lack of therein, for the Occupy movement, from the general public this means that, even at its peak, 70% of Americans did not support the movement. As told, by a tired and almost despondent, Participant N:

‘And you wonder, you have this notion of, well if we only had the right flyer or the right song we’ll do it, but then you think maybe not. Maybe we are telling ourselves things that might appeal to us, not everyone is looking at us the way we look at them. I suppose we’re telling them our propaganda, and they are telling us their propaganda, but it doesn’t seem to work’ (Participant N).

However, there was some residual hope in the mere possibility that curiosity might open up avenues for further dialogue:

‘Well, from people who weren’t part of Occupy, the majority were like pretty supportive. So there would be, like, members of the public who would come along to give a donation of food, or money, or, like, sleeping bags, tents - all sorts of things really, clothes. That was really emotional sometimes because, like, people that you have never met coming along and saying like “thank you I can’t be out here myself but here’s some food” or something like that [...]. Sometimes we’d get people who would come along and be really like against us, but were curious enough to come along and see what was going on. I can’t think of any of them, really, who left still negative, do you know, like, when they’ve come and sat down and spoke to us and understood why we were there’ (Participant A).

Aside from the focus on physical interactions with the general public, from the perspective of being on camp, or in the public sphere participating in related actions and demos engaging with the public face to face, physical space was far from the only arena for seeking to engage with the public. Countering corporate media outlets was seen as vital by many of the participants at Occupy. As described by Participant M:

‘There’s that quite famous line, and I can’t even remember who said it, that the greatest weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. It’s easy to think of that as just a sort of general situation, rather than in terms of the specifics, of the way in which the minds of the oppressed, broadly speaking, are messed with in all sorts of ways broadly in society, in terms of media and propaganda and all that - the 3 trillion a year that is spent on public relations, marketing and advertising’.

The movement did have success, at minimum, in terms of piquing the curiosity of the general public when at one-point internet searches for the Occupy movement surpassed that of the Tea Party (Parrillo, 2011 cited in DeLuca *et al*, 2012). In a study by Gleason (2013: 982), they strongly supported the argument that the Occupy movement was resilient in sharing alternative counter-hegemonic content online and described it as effectively hundreds, if not thousands, of hours of footage that was facilitating people becoming ‘more informed, engaged citizens’ that, in turn, was driving more open informal learning.

4.32 Puncturing Bubbles, Struggle, and States of Denial

In terms of interaction with the general public, it was often the case that persons from the general public did feel the contradictions in the crisis in a similar way to those at the Occupy movement itself. What was noted, however, by a number of members of the Occupy movement was that this process of self-realisation, for both the general public and themselves, was a painful one, and that many persons exhibited a form of response to the Occupy movement tied up in forms of denial (see: Cohen, 2001). As expressed by various interviewees:

‘I’m a very domesticated animal, I’m in my late thirties, I know I don’t look it, but I’m a professional, white, fairly heterosexual sort of man. I’ve not been schooled in being contrary at all. I find that about myself, I wish these people

[protestors at Occupy] would shave and sort there shit out and stop bothering me, you know, but you have to come here to teach yourself in an embodied way what it is to be contrary and I don't think there is any other way of doing it [...] I mean I'm an awful character as well, I go to supermarkets, I sometimes don't turn off my TV, I leave my TV on standby, I do terrible things because I don't care that much and I'm just getting on with my life. Go to work, get some money, kill some people with some casual violence at the supermarket, I know what my lifestyle involves, you know, I know how many people have to die so I can live, I know how it works and we all do this [...] It's like a sort of trauma to realise your whole life has been wrong, people always say about informational awareness but it's not that as soon as you realise [for example] climate change is happening, and it's serious, and urgent, you have to completely reassess your values of your entire life, and actually your whole family history, and you know, that is a massive trauma' (Participant N).

'I think people are just, sometimes they are just happy, with how corrupt the world is, they think if they have got a big house and nice car and a nice telly - that's them sorted. They sort of, people tend to think of, like, anti- capitalism as, like, not having a nice house and nice car or a mobile phone and things like that. I think if you burst the bubble everyone secretly knows what is going on, but they don't really want to. And if you make it that obvious that they have, just, got to question - like hang on. I think sometimes they take it out on you a little bit, like you have burst their bubble and it's your fault [laughs] they were happy until they knew, like everyone knows there is no escaping the fact. It's like McDonalds I don't know anyone that thinks it is anything but cardboard but people still eat it' (Participant A).

4.33 Neoliberal Residue on the Fractures of Possibility

Kellner (2013: 265) argued that these 'uprisings and insurrectionary movements throughout the world have ruptured the common-sense understanding that neoliberal capitalism provided the best hope for future prosperity'. However, as true as this sentiment may be for some, for those that either engaged with, or supported, the Occupy movement, these fractures and ruptures do not necessarily emerge as whole or 'clean'. Despite the contradictions in the crisis at this particular sub-conjunctural moment, that resulted in the bringing together of people at the Occupy movement, having existed in neoliberalism, it is not to say that recognition of the crisis of capitalism removes all elements of Träger entirely. A key example of this is regarding the case of Jenny Jones. On Tuesday 21st October 2014 Senior Green Party Politician Jenny Jones was arrested alongside 14 other people at Occupy Democracy for allegedly 'obstructing police' (Booth, 2014). Jenny Jones was subsequently, and quickly, 'de-

arrested' upon the police's realisation who she was (Harper, 2014). It was later, in the month that followed, that Jenny Jones spoke at the annual Defend the Right to Protest conference on Sunday 16th November 2014 We Do Not Consent: SOAS, London. During the presentation Jones expressed discontent at the general treatment she had faced upon her unnecessary arrest, alongside stating that she was dissatisfied with the fact that the police had all her details in the system on record which she deemed unfair because she 'did not have a criminal record'. This was an example of what is termed here as *residual neoliberal coating* on an otherwise sound counter-hegemonic argument about the right to protest. The residual neoliberal coating that is being referred to here, is that of the belief that if she had have had a criminal record the inference was that such big brother surveillance would have been acceptable, an argument that quickly falls down when considering the number of miscarriages of justice annually (Naughton, 2002).

4.4 The Occupy Safer Spaces Policy (Part I)⁵⁴

Drawing upon this notion of fractures in the crisis that result in counterhegemonic ideas and activities but that also retain *residual neoliberal coating*, attention now turns towards a case study to further unpack and unpick the complexity of the fractures and the contradictions in the crisis. A noteworthy consideration at this particular point in the thesis' narrative is to say that this analytical journey is not without some unease. What is meant by this is that in order to fully realise such analytical endeavours requires, to some extent, a critique of the Occupy movement itself. Such an act is more than permissible in the sense that one area that continues to remain relatively underdeveloped in the contemporary radical left is an examination of power working through people; in particular, how hegemonic power might operate through resistance movements themselves. This is not to say that such internally reflexive analyses are completely absent from (radical) left discourses, there are indeed various sources of

⁵⁴ Various elements of section 4.4 are taken whole or in part from Fletcher, S. (2015) Negotiating the Resistance: Catch 22S, Brokering, and Contention within Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, Contention, 3(2) pp 5-16. A copy of this publication can be found in appendix C.

reflective dialogues where the critical lens has been turned inward to examine and reveal power structures within our everyday institutionalised practices, whether they be found at work, at home or within our social relationships (Mathiesen, 2004). However, specific critiques of resistance movements from those involved themselves, or people pertaining to these movements, has long since been an issue of contention within counter-hegemonic movements and historically these movements have been keen not to criticise any informal transgressions or each other in a public forum (Ramamurthy, 2013: 67). It is easy to see why this is the case given the persistent condition of the power bloc being that of one with plentiful reserves of unjust criticism that they are readily prepared to level against these movements, often with little provocation, in an attempt to protect their own vested interests. However, in shying away from an honest examination of contemporary protest movements the nuances of the present manifestations of hegemonic power can continue to evade adequate scrutiny.

4.41 The Occupy Safer Spaces Policy: Point 13

The following section provides an in-depth illustration of the concept of neoliberal residue on the fractures of possibility, or in other words, the remainder of ideological 'inculcation'. Early on in the first emerging formations of the Occupy Movement in 2011 a series of working documents were drawn up, the most well-known being that of the Declaration of the Occupation of New York City (see: occupywallstreet.org, 2011) outlining the rationale, discontents and the demands of the occupation. Alongside this declaration, a series of Safer Spaces Policies were drawn up and released across both US and UK sites. To elucidate the rationale for the Safer Spaces policies, all statements included a form of preamble that described the aspiration for the creation of an anti-oppressive space that would be pleasant and conducive to the aims outlined in the declaration of the occupation. A copy of an exemplar Safer Spaces Policy, from Occupy LSX, statement can be found in Appendix D.

To those ends, using the main Occupy London Safer Spaces Policy as an exemplar policy, the majority of the 13 point list reflected concerns regarding ensuring a respectful awareness for language used, the unacceptable nature of various forms of prejudice and encouraging mediation and reverent challenges to any such objectionable forms of behaviour. 12 of the 13 points listed were informal directives that many would agree would lay the foundations for a favourable environment in line with the coequality sentiment of the movement such as no racism, ageism, sexism, transphobia, ableism, or any forms of prejudice based on protected characteristics, and gaining explicit verbal consent before crossing physical or emotional boundaries. However, as an appendage to these initial 12 points the Safer Spaces Policy also included point 13 regarding the prohibition of alcohol and drugs on camp. The rule asserting no alcohol or drugs became a key feature across many of the Occupy sites in the UK including amongst many others: Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Newcastle (Gee, 2011). Although there were some minute variations across the individually released policies the steadfast proclamation of no alcohol and drugs on camp remained consistent.

What began to emerge was some contention regarding point 13 of the policy, as illustrated by the reflections of Participant C who took part in Occupy LSX:

‘I mean it was a big issue and a big thing this Safer Spaces Policy which had this last little tag at the end. So it was like, you know, we're not going to be abusive or racist and it was all about how we are going to maintain good behaviour and then the last tiny thing said “Occupy London is a drug and alcohol free space” and I thought is it? [...] So this Safer Space policy got passed and then well I thought this is just as Addict- phobic as anywhere else on the planet’.

4.42 Reproducing the Discourses of the Neoliberal Project

'I just remember there was one of these key moments for me. It wasn't like a proper assembly, but they used to have these talking sticks, you know, it is basically set up so that people could share feelings, so it wasn't like a real political meeting, you know, it more, you know, to bond people. Anyway this [person] he was always facilitating the general assembly and kind of kicked it off and he goes, looking directly at me, he goes "these people you know have really serious problems and I did two years working with the homeless and I don't know why you think that we should accommodate everybody and anybody" and all this kind of stuff. And he's giving me this look, right, [laughs] and I'm just sat there like this thinking "oh for fucks sake" [...] trying to contain myself, and it is really interesting, because, like the room was obviously quite divided you know, and as ever with Occupy there was always this strong desire to, you know, not fight with each other, to somehow find a point of agreement, but that was quite intense. And we had this mad situation because on the one hand he was arguing that, and then on the other side there was me, and others arguing another thing, and then this one [person] who has become famous in Occupy for being completely, I can't even find the words, you know, [this person] was just naughty right? Kept coming in and [person] walked in and, it was brilliant, and he goes "I'm fucking trippin'" [laughs] and I start thinking "Jesus is he alright?" like this is quite a serious meeting [laughs], you know, what I mean and [person] walks in, like this, "I'm fucking trippin' and you're a bunch of fascists" (Participant C).

The consequences of an explicit declaration of a no alcohol and drugs remit within the Safer Spaces reverberated across the various Occupy sites within the UK and US. The assignation of alcohol or drug consumption within the Safer Spaces sphere, ergo aligning their use with the antithesis of safety (risk or danger), also permitted transference to various consciousness regarding the status of alcohol or drug users. Participant D, at Occupy Democracy, speaking about the police confiscation of the camp's Safer Spaces notification stated, 'for a long time we didn't have a sign to let people know that they would be safe here and that we don't condone alcohol or drug taking because that is not what we are about, we're about trying to get something done'. The apparent amalgamation of drug and alcohol use as concomitant with an inability to 'get things done' is problematic and forms the basis for a reduction of political agency to be commensurate of with a certain set of 'normative' conditions of the 'professional' protester. As Walker (2012: np), writing for The Guardian, said of the Finsbury Square Occupation, 'the longer it went on it attracted an increasing number of

vulnerable homeless people, often with drink and drug problems, *rather* than protesters' (emphasis added).

The continued variant manifestations of the binary distinctions made between drug user or protester, alcohol user or 'someone who gets things done', as mutually exclusive categories, can give rise to a troublesome state sponsored ideological litmus test for political agency and ability. As Wagner & Cohen (1991: 543-544) argue, the structurally dispossessed are often portrayed as 'passive victims, people who are acted upon rather than conscious actors on the social scene'. In contrast to the inference contained within the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, what actually emerged was that there were various formal and informal documented cases of persons with alcohol or drug (mis)use/dependency issues becoming key actors within the Occupy movement. Participant B from Occupy Liverpool, spoke of the key role one alcohol dependant member of the group played during their time on camp; cooking meals and performing night-watch duties. However, having said this, it is important to be careful of the emphasis on a labour based 'informal contribution calculus' as a form of determining legitimate protester status (Herring and Glück, 2011). In contrast to this Mendoza (2012) reports that often Occupy was refreshing because of its appreciation of the diverse ways to contribute beyond that of economic or labour based activities. It can also be argued that mere act of being at Occupy constitutes as protest through the value of 'amplified presence' (Spiotta, 2011). Developing the discourse further Schein (2012: 339) argued that, 'Occupiers variously resisted and succumbed to a language dividing the "real" political occupiers from those drawn to the park by the promise of a real meal and a safe space to sleep'.

Within the framework of this discussion a common reoccurring concern was that of the possibility of the disruption that might be caused by those with alcohol or drug (mis)use issues and, as per references made within the literature, those of homeless status. Within the category of the structurally dispossessed which encapsulates a number of possible social issues, sometimes disparate, sometimes inter-sectionally related,

concerns were raised regarding the use of the term 'disruptive behaviour' and when it was applied. Chadeyane Appel (2011: 119) argues that the disruptive label was 'applied across categories of difference. Those people often considered to be disruptive in OWS processes have different educational backgrounds, homes statuses [...] and certainly different psychological habitations of the world'. Singh (2012) was similarly critical of the ambiguous nature of terms such as disruptive or violent behaviour and as Gira Grant (2011) argued, blaming certain persons for disruptive or violent behaviour at Occupy could potentially be viewed as an expression of unchecked racism given that, for example in New York, over 50% of the homeless population were African-American. Roth (2011) also reflected on the ironic nature of the exclusion of some homeless people despite the parallels that can be drawn between the slogans and signposts made by those involved in the movement, being similar to the very messages homeless veterans had long since been displaying on the streets of New York.

4.43 The Limits of Inclusion and Participation

The inclusivity amorphous, i.e. who is welcome, not welcome and why, can be further unpacked to reveal more of its clauses. Maclean (2012) argues the need for caveats to inclusivity in praxis, employing the hypothetical presupposition of former British National Party leader Nick Griffin wishing to attend Occupy to speak about ethnicity. There are people who by definition would be excluded for their peddling of hateful speech. As Power (2012: 179) states 'fascists are not protesters [...] anyone who campaigns for the unequal and the promotion of inequality is not protesting anything: inequality is the current state of things' and as such there are often a variety of markedly perceptible lines to be drawn regarding what is and isn't counter- hegemonic. Further examples of the limits to inclusion and participation include several known cases of sexual assault at Occupy Wall Street and the exclusion of these persons from camp (Occupy Wall Street Safer Spaces Working Group, 2012).

However, for those that may have contributed, either intentionally or unwittingly, to the ostracisation of some from Occupy, there are further contemplations to make. Daily life within the Occupy camps is not without its hardships; evading the attention of state servants willing to use repression, force, and violence (see: chapter 5), withstanding the tempestuous weather conditions and reliance on altruistic contributions. To extend these expectations to providing welfare for those who might have mental health related conditions, drug or alcohol dependency or the various other possible welfare needs of the structurally dispossessed, is a grandiose task. However, whilst the presence of populations with support needs does not mean that by default Occupy is obligated to provide assistance, the 'vacancies of capitalism' (King, 2011) - i.e. the mass closures and austerity - leave people palpably wanting and needing basic amenities, both within and beyond the movement and are often filled by the local populous ex gratia. Interviewees at both the Liverpool and London sites (Participant A and Participant C) remarked that often people chose Occupy as a preferable space to be than that of their state provided hostel accommodation that was extremely poor in quality. Where the state had failed to provide its duty of care, something Occupy has highlighted in its numerous anti-austerity sub-campaigns (King, 2011), this should not then mean that this becomes the responsibility of Occupy and its campaigners by default.

There are indeed caveats to inclusion, stipulations on those who are welcome and able to participate without causing harm to others. However, those who (mis)use drugs, alcohol and/or are homeless, although great care should be taken not to conflate these three as inextricably linked, should not fall automatically under the same domain as more identifiably innately harmful acts. To do so without question, as has sometimes been the case at Occupy, is to reproduce problematic state sponsored discourses of the 'dangerous' drug or alcohol user or the 'lazy' homeless person. Uncritical hard line 'zero tolerance' stances, themselves of distinctly neoliberal derivation, should not conflate alcohol or drug dependency within the same milieu as a host of intrinsically, oppressive actions such as racism, ableism, homophobia, or transphobia.

4.44 Breaking Out of the Neoliberal Project

While there were many cases of an argued succumbing to the discourse of the exploiting classes that posits the drug/alcohol and/or homeless person as inherently dangerous and lacking aptitude, through point 13 of the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, at the same time there were some cases of a deeper, more thoughtful, resistance to such an approach. Yassin (2011: 126), with regards to what the media was calling 'unsavoury' [sic] people at an Occupy site in California, argued that 'these problems always existed in downtown Oakland. If anything, the Occupy space has provided a space where others can mediate the conflicts that arise, and where ideas of how to de-escalate conflict can be broached and improved upon'. Alongside this, Dellacioppia *et al* (2013: 304) discussed how for Occupy LA much of their activism centred on the 'fight against gentrification and the criminalization of poverty'. The Occupy El Paso site took similar action also but this was not without conflict (Smith *et al*, 2012), showing the heterogeneous nature of the Occupy movement that in some cases resisted the demonisation efforts of the powerful in more direct ways. Consideration of elements contained within the Safer Spaces Policy at Occupy raised important questions regarding their possible consequences. Reflexively, cogitation can be given to the neoliberal city semantic derivation of Safer Spaces, whose origin lies in the Business Improvement District (BIDs) profit focussed regeneration trends of the 1990s and beyond. In the context of urban regeneration agendas Safer Spaces have come under criticism for their exclusionary practices of the already marginalised and dispossessed who lack consumer purchasing power to actualise their right to urban spaces (Coleman, 2009; Spalek *et al*, 2012). The potential for the replication of these marginalising practices was noted by Participant A at Occupy Liverpool:

'A couple of homeless guys turned up in the morning after the first night and they always come and sit on the monument and have a butty [sandwich] from the hostel and a can of beer. It was sort of, like, not so much explaining to them that you can't come and drink beer here because we are all going "this

is a no drinking camp” [...] it was more that the issue was explaining to other people on the camp that those guys do that every day; like who are we to tell them that they can't?’

However, even for those that did manage to extrapolate themselves from the discourses of the dangerous drug and/or alcohol misuser or the ‘lazy’ homeless person, the presence of Safer Spaces Policies that places drug and alcohol (mis)use in juxtaposition with notions of ‘safety’ discloses the anxieties of modern day protest; the desire to exclude those detrimental to the movement (those who exhibit racist and phobic discriminatory attitudes) and unfortunately the need to often deny those who may be used by state agents to demonise the movement (drug and alcohol users). The pursuit of an alternative to the status quo of capitalist accumulation of wealth by the few is not without a gauntlet of challenges that can lead to compromising its own *raison d'être*. Chapter 5 returns to further examine the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, continuing the discussion in terms of a consideration of the role of repression ‘inculcation’ i.e. repression, force and violence within this complex milieu.

4.5 Conclusion: Ambiguous Bodies

To conclude, this chapter has traced the complexities of ideological ‘inculcation’ (and concessions) i.e. the pertinent question of what it means to ‘actually exist in neoliberalism’ (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 349). A discussion of the evolution of the wider neoliberal conjuncture was deployed, to elucidate the development of the most pertinent contradictions in the crisis that gave rise to the *sub-conjunctural moment*, that was, the Occupy movement. For the Occupy movement, this *sub-conjunctural moment*, within the wider conjuncture of the neoliberal project, was the cumulative zenith of the ‘graduate without a future’⁵⁵ that, in turn, spear-headed the movement forward, along with comrades of old, in the most castigatory and unrelenting of austerity years that following the financial crisis of 2008. Having established the particularities of the climate that gave rise to the Occupy movement, attention was then

⁵⁵ ‘The graduate without a future’ is phrase borrowed and acknowledged to be from The Guardian newspaper series of the same name in 2011.

given to the distinctly pedagogic nature of the movement, in no small part, due to the difficulties in a holistic extradition from the neoliberal project. The chapter outlined the difficulties and hardships of self-realisation, inclusive of the sometimes resistance and denial of recognition of the problem of capitalism. Furthermore, the prevalence of restrictive structural conditions that necessitate and compel persons to negotiate their lives within limits that reduce capacity for unity i.e. the 'effect of isolation' (Poulantzas, 1968), or isolation effect, was outlined. Moreover, the chapter discussed the notion of *neoliberal residual coating* that remains on attempts at counter-hegemonic action, and, using the minute of the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, demonstrated an example of the result of ideological 'inculcation' (and concessions), that sire ambiguous bodies that can embody, and 'be', both Träger and counter-hegemonic, to a greater or lesser extent.

In this thesis' aim to elucidate the unreconciled relation between class determination and class positions in the conjuncture, left incomplete in the cumulative works of Poulantzas (Jessop, 1985), the next chapter, chapter 5, departs from the position of the ambiguous bodies resultant from 'existing in neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 349), to consider the impact of repression 'inculcation' (and concessions) in making further steps towards a formulation and contemplation of class positions in the conjuncture. It does so, firstly, by delineating aspects of repression, force and violence, experienced at the Occupy movement

Chapter 5: The Organising Role of [the] State: Repression 'Inculcation', Concessions and Contradictions

5.1 Introduction

Having established the complexities of 'existing in neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 349) and demonstrated the difficulties, if not impossibility, of alleviating oneself entirely from the neoliberal mire, this chapter goes on to further explore the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture, by tracing the journey of the aforementioned ambiguous bodies experience of repression 'inculcation' (and concessions). It begins by exploring the details and trajectories of repression 'inculcation' namely - repression, force, and violence in the neoliberal conjuncture enacted against the Occupy movement. In doing so it demonstrates the gauntlet of factors persons within the Occupy movement had to navigate, and seek to overcome, in order to take up a meaningful counter- hegemonic class positions.

5.2 On Repression, Force, and Violence

The following section documents the extensive acts of repression 'inculcation', henceforth referred to broadly as repression, force, and violence levelled against protestors in order to impact the Occupy movement adversely. The findings from the research supports the call to reinstate matters of repression, force, and violence as a key factor in contemporary governance (Davies, 2013). There are a number of factors that have led to the partial shelving of repression, force, and violence in some quarters over recent years. Firstly, as Marxism sought to grapple with key changes in the capitalist formations and its evolution in the West over a series of years, into what is now referred to as the advanced capitalist state, various key thinkers in the field sought to respond to their accusers who claimed Marxist analyses focussing too heavily on

both economic aspects and matters of overt violence. As a result in order to provide what was seen as a necessary ballast much work began to exhibit an over emphasis on ideological aspects however, this was often at the expense of, rather than in addition to writings on matters of repression, force, and violence (see: Poulantzas, 1978: 19 -20, 22). Secondly, the shadowing of the reality and acuteness of state violence is/was further compounded by the continued discourse and construction of those at the 'sharp end of state violence as morally stained, psychologically fractured individuals whose abnormally dangerous, anti-social tendencies justify violent interventions in their lives' (Sim, 2010: 6) and in its extended pinnacle is positioned as a civilising process (see: Watts, 2016).

In particular, it seeks to demonstrate and draw out some of the particularities, and peculiarities, regarding matters of repression, force, and violence in the neoliberal conjuncture specifically. In line with the overarching theoretical framework of Poulantzian derivation this section also draws upon the work of Poulantzas in its conceptualisation of matters of repression, force, and violence. According to Poulantzas (1978: 29), 'repression should be understood first and foremost [as] organized physical violence in the most material sense of the term: *violence to the body*. One essential condition of the Establishment and maintenance of power is the coercion of bodies and the threat of violence or death' (original emphasis). Ergo, this section depicts, in the main part, actualised violence to the body enacted against protestors at Occupy, but alongside this, within the remit of wider notions of repression, force, and violence, it delineates various forms of repressive action taken to thwart the development and/or existence of the Occupy movement, inclusive of the *threat of*, rather than actualised, force and violence. It is, however, duly noted that, 'the relations of the State to body are [...] considerably more complex and extensive than those of repression. Nevertheless, the State is always rooted in physical constraint, manipulation and [the] consumption of bodies' (Poulantzas, 1978: 29).

5.21 The Use of Already Existing Law

Emerging from the first forms of published literature, that documented people's experience at the various Occupy camps, it was seen that one form of repressive action towards the Occupy movement was to use already established law to criminalise 'everyday' harmless acts associated with the movement. This included requiring a permit to amplify sound (which was responded to with the 'human microphone'), arrests in the US for violations of a 150-year-old state statute which prohibited 'masked gatherings of two or more people, with the exception of masquerade balls' and further arrests for those found sleeping on site and thus deemed to be breaking anti-camping ordinances (Khalek, 2012). Furthermore, in order to facilitate the harassment and arrest of Occupy protestors there were documented accounts of the utilisation and manipulation of laws such as accusations that hotdogs were being illegally street vended (Barksdale and Scypion, 2012:8) when distributing food supplies to those in the camps.

In the UK context Public Order laws were also utilised and as indicated by Interview A they, and others, at Occupy Liverpool experienced excessive usage of Section 5 of the Public Order Act 1986 related to harassment, alarm or distress and Breach of the Peace and Section 68 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 pertaining to aggravated trespass (all the aforementioned were highlighted by Interview A). Policing through public order was also seen in the US context with Vitale (2011: 74), reflecting on policing at Occupy Wall Street, analysing the role that 'Broken Windows' theory played (see: Kelling & Wilson, 1982) and the impact this had on policing practices in the USA whereby police had become the actors who 'restore communities by controlling low level disorder' (Vitale, 2011: 74-75). Vitale (2011) argues that the dissent of the Occupy protestors was placed in the rubric of low level disorder, as a break from the mundane, and was subsequently seen as a threat. Public order rhetoric thus served as

a stepping stone towards legitimising the introduction of many protesters into the criminal justice system leading to 'frequent arrests' such as those during the mobile Occupy protest that took to Brooklyn Bridge in October 2011 (Vitale, 2011: 80) with a total arrest count of over 830 people from Occupy Wall Street (Jaffe, 2011: 257). Within the literature, it was also noted that the physical removal of many camps was based around some form of public order rationale (Pickerill & Krinsky, 2012: 285). As Participant A noted:

'There was a town hall demo where people from Occupy only were arrested, they were arrested under public order offences. One was arrested for a supposed assault on a police officer whilst 4 of them had hold of him on the floor, he somehow assaulted them apparently'.

The spontaneity of the Occupy movement and its defiant action without seeking any form of formal permission to congregate, was also crucial in terms of the response it received. Gilmore (2010: 21) details how criminal justice institutions specifically make a 'critical distinction between "organised declared" and "non declared" protests'. This subsequently provides the conditions for a 'discourse of the dangerous, unpredictable, abnormal deviant [which] is the key foundation stone on which is built the culture of impunity and immunity surrounding state servants' (Sim, 2010: 6). This is also where the claim to the 'legitimate' use of force becomes the exclusive remit of the state (Ty, 2011: 238 and Weber, 1919). All of this in part played a role in the Occupy movement's decision to choose peaceful nonviolent protest action. Brissette (2011) states that at Occupy 'peace is not equated with justice but with pacification: desire for order, for predictability, for security'⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ It is important to stress that the constructions of the Occupy movement as dangerous is not novel. As both sides compete for legitimacy the hegemonic power bloc have always invoked their resources in one way or another to undermine counterhegemonic endeavours in a variety of ways. Constructing the counterhegemonic protestor as dangerous or deviance has always been a tool used in counterhegemonic protests around the world (See: Power, 2013; Riback, 2017; Van Rooy, 2004). Although the construction of protest and protestors as threat can be traced back as far as the 1789 and 1798 unrest in France and Ireland respectively (see: Wood, 2014: 10) the construction of protestors as dangerous and as threat has grown exponentially in the wake of September 11th 2001. The events of September 11th provided the capacity for the state to 'restructure the logic of protest policing' (ibid: 23) under a new regime of anti-terrorist initiatives that reconstructed how the public consider the notions of 'security' and 'threat' and thus facilitating mass data collection, surveillance, and intervention in all forms of dissent from the status quo, both

A further example of the responses to the Occupy movement, inextricably tied up within this area of discussion, included attempts to criminalise through the application of specific labels. Overnight, the description of the Occupy Oakland site went from one of 'peaceful protest' to that of 'unlawful assembly' (Ty, 2011) and similarly, quite suddenly, the City of London listed Occupy London as a 'domestic terror threat' (Richmond, 2012: 294). The descriptive changes that criminalised the camp are pertinent in terms of Young (1990 cited in Scraton & Chadwick, 1991: 162) who points out that 'meaningful and informed political action can be undermined, de-legitimized and criminalized' in this case with extraordinary swiftness. Moreover, at Occupy Oakland there were similar demonising efforts in a number of journalistic pieces which suggested the camp was 'attracting rats' (Bady 2011: 133) and was subsequently a hazard, despite the local state having shown little concern previously about levels of vermin within the city. These accounts, when taken alongside each other, also raise questions regarding the 'cosy and coy relationship between the state and mass media' (Sim, 2010: 6).

5.22 The Creation of New Bylaws

The prowess of repressive action from [the] state lies not only in its ability to utilise already established laws but to enact new bylaws, often in response to other forms of previous protest, as to pre-emptively be prepared to prevent such action being taken again. The Occupy Democracy protests in 2014 fell afoul of such a bylaw, enacted by the City of Westminster in response to the Parliament Square Peace Campaign in 2001, where the now deceased Brian Haw campaigned by camping out on site at Parliament Square consistently, for a total of 8 years, regarding economic sanctions imposed on Iraq, before his death in 2011. In response to his campaign, the City of Westminster, in anticipation of future demonstrations, introduced the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill 2011 which got its first hearing in November 2010 and

came into force on 15th September 2011⁵⁷ (Feigenbaum *et al*, 2013a). Amidst its 189 pages of convoluted regulations it banned the use of anything deemed to facilitate sleep (see: Appendix E). There have been similar responses to protest movements in other cases such as the legislation put in place after the Resurrection City⁵⁸ in Washington Mall in the US that subsequently deemed camping on national parkland illegal (*ibid*).

In what was described as a 'creative' interpretation of the law (Perraudin, 2014: np) these new bylaws, contained within the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill 2011, effectively meant that police were not only able to confiscate more overt sleeping structures such as tents and camping equipment but also backpacks, umbrellas and even pizza boxes. This particular implementation and use of these bylaws is corroborated by various interviewees (Participant D; Participant E) who recounted experiencing and/or witnessing the banning and confiscation of any form of camping equipment, including, umbrellas, tarpaulin, cardboard and even coats and jackets which had been removed by police. Ultimately the bylaws enabled policing actors to 'class every single thing that we use as an attempt to be a *structure*' (Participant D). This is reminiscent of the words of Poulantzas (1978: 91) when he describes 'political forecasting on the part of the dominant classes [...] a prop for strategic calculation by including among the variables of its system the resistance and struggle of the dominated classes'.

To illustrate further Participant D recounted the following incident that occurred on the first night of the 9 day Occupy Democracy protest in October 2014:

'The lady, bless her, about 60, between 60 and 70, she had a bad back because she was sitting on concrete because they wouldn't let us on the field at first either. So she blew up a black mini airbed just to relieve her back a little bit from leaning against the tree. Maybe 5 or 6 officers came up, removed her, by physically dragging her down concrete steps' (Participant

⁵⁷ Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill 2011 available from: <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmbills/116/11116.pdf>.

⁵⁸ On the 12th May 1968 over 3000 people occupied the National Mall in Washington as part of the Poor People's Campaign for economic justice in the United States.

D).

‘They passed a law saying that you couldn’t have tents on the square and then they passed another recent law, I guess, that said you can’t have any type of sleeping equipment whatsoever. Like they wouldn’t even let us have cardboard, and when we tried to sleep on cardboard in the rain they would come and, like, harass us and wake us up and ask us if we were OK and things, and then, the next night, tell us we couldn’t use cardboard, you know, that it wasn’t, we couldn’t sleep on cardboard because that is facilitating our sleeping’ (Participant E).

‘They would literally just sort of be sitting in vans and, you know, obviously we’d go through proper battles with them, with them trying to rip tarpaulin from under us, pulling people out and arresting people for you know sleeping on pieces of boxes and just ridiculous reasons’ (Participant K).

As a result of the aforementioned bylaws one thing that became particularly pertinent in an examination of the repressive strategies employed was that of sleep deprivation. Sleep deprivation emerged as one of the key ways to seek to get persons to remove themselves from camp, through sheer exhaustion, rather than the state or private security guards removing the protestors themselves, through violence on the body. This is something which is more favourable, in an arguably authoritarian state of limited liberties that seeks to purport itself as a democratic one with plentiful liberty. This was corroborated by various interview participants:

‘They really do harass you, like, 3 policemen came over to a sleeping person who is literally lying on a plastic bag. We measured cardboard and 0.04 millimetres and tried to argue the case that it doesn’t constitute comfort and that we can lay on cardboard because it’s not sleeping equipment but they are not having it’ (Participant D).

‘It was crawling with police people and they really were just arresting people, or trying to arrest people if they fell asleep on the tarpaulin [...] yeah they are just coming around and waking people up all the time’ (Participant N).

Deprivation as a tactic extended beyond that of sleep deprivation alone, but also to other forms of deprivation such as the three interviewees who described, at various points in time, experiencing being held in a police kettle (Participant A: Occupy Liverpool; Participant C: Occupy LSX; Participant D: Occupy Democracy) which in turn deprived them of other basic necessities such as food, water and use of a bathroom.

5.23 Violence to the Body

Further to this, from the very start of the movement, acts of state violence occurred across various Occupy camps through a myriad of police action directed towards the protestors. On the first day of the Occupy London demonstration Howard & Pratt-Boyden (2013: 731) assert that protestors were 'kettled and attacked by police' at their first meeting (this did however, dissipate in this particular context due to the actions of Giles Fraser see: chapter 5 - 5.4). The initial emerging published narratives from the Occupy movement provide continued accounts of state violence and, in particular, actions that suggest an increase in the militarisation of their tactics. The most well-known example of this being the infamous 'Pepper Spray Cop' whose attack on seated student demonstrators 'quickly became the face of liberal willingness to use violence against the Occupy/decolonize movement' (Schrager Lang & Lang/Levitsky, 2012: 225). There were calls for the actions of the 'Pepper Spray Cop' not to be seen as a one off, or a mere example of 'bad policing', but for it to be viewed '*as an example of policing*' (UC Davis Bicycle Barricade, 2011: 245, authors emphasis). Whilst there was a lot of attention on the now ubiquitous 'Pepper Spray Cop' in particular, it is important to note that pepper spray was frequently used on Occupiers in the US and beyond, including an attack on an 84 year old woman at Occupy Seattle, 'the woman in the red dress' at Occupy Gezi, and also participants at Occupy Wall Street (Feigenbaum *et al*, 2014: 21).

Essentially, when the use of laws and bylaws were insufficient to break the resolve of many of the protestors, excessive violence remained a key choice by [the] state in order to intimidate the protestors at Occupy. The following documents an extensive list of very violent actions towards protestors, but these are but a mere fraction of the available accounts on such matters, as every interviewee described an account of either experiencing and/or witnessing violent acts during their protest experience at Occupy:

'I was punched in the face by a security guard and thrown outside. A pregnant woman was pushed to the floor by a security guard and then a few of the other protestors got in the way of the pregnant woman and the security guard and just, security got really heavy handed they got one lad in a headlock and dragged him off [and] put a cigarette out on his face, smashed his phone because he was filming what had taken place. Some of the Occupy activists phoned the police, when the police turned up they just started arresting protestors' (Participant A – speaking about events at Occupy Liverpool).

'One day [...] I came along in the car and I was driving up Ludgate Hill and I witnessed something. I saw like a commotion, it was really mad actually because I literally got out of the car and left it in the middle, [laughs], I left it in the middle of the road and then as I got out the car I noticed that the, do you know what they do? They put people in these cages that are like 6 by 8 or whatever, in the back of the vans, do you know about them? Fuck. I had never seen that right, never. I mean considering my history, it was quite, you know, I was shocked I mean I was just completely distressed and out of my mind [...] I jumped out the car and I saw this and I started screaming at the top of my ..."I can't believe, because whatever he has done this is totally out of order" and I'm [...] "Let him out! Let him out!" and the cops were just like, because I was just one of many things that was happening, so they were just ignoring me like this mad woman who jumps out of a car [...] I don't know whatever he had done that was wrong they'd obviously enabled the cops to bust his arse, but I was like, god, the way they were treating him never mind whatever he'd done. I'm sure that it wasn't great but - Jesus' (Participant C – Speaking about events at Occupy LSX).

'There, the tactical team, [they] are even worse. They are literally like steroid robots. They come in and they are just brutal and they are masked, they have got a veil over them there is no response or anything between them with us, they are just called in, do the violence, go home, they don't arrest. They brought dogs here yesterday [...] they kettled us into two circles, one circle inside the other and they literally just beat us, punched us. We've got it on film, they were slapping a young girl around the head, kneeing us, just using a lot of violence, and I don't think there was an arrest. They literally just pulled us about threw us about, beat us and then left' (Participant D – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'Another tactic I saw on Saturday night was the pressure points one, behind the ear and one under the throat and they pull your ear and throat one way and the rest of your head the other way. And they were doing that to girls as well, so that was really another - it's been heart breaking to see because they haven't discriminated against who they will put violence on; it's been the young, the old, the black, the white, the rich, the poor, the politicians, the protestors' (Participant D – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'A journalist was assaulted three times last night and I think a little, a little, a child was assaulted as well yeah so yeah it's quite serious and it's scary [...] I saw some people having their pressure points like squeezed and their necks kind of grabbed, in a way it almost looked like any sort of wrong move could

have easily broke their necks, because they would wrap their hands around their face squeezing these points and then lift up on their noses with their fingers as well, so in an upward motion. As they took them out of the crowd they did the same thing to me, the blood was gushing out of my nose [...] they [the police] sexually assaulted me and grabbed my balls and were like squeezing my balls and I had to shout out in pain, like, I just - it was unbearable and at the same time they were using force to push into me so it was it was very painful, and yeah, it could have caused me a lot of damage' (Participant E –speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'They [the Territorial Support Group (TSG)] pulled one lad off the top here and just threw him straight into the fence' (Participant F – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'I got kneed in the face, [and] I was out [side] of it most of the time, like [name of partner and fellow activist on camp removed] and I turned up on site all of those police officers around all of the people on the tarpaulin. [Name of partner and fellow activist on camp removed] was in the middle and I had our [child] strapped to the front of me, you know, so I couldn't really get quite right in there as I would normally. And yet kind of, as people were coming out, I had a bag of fruit and some water and I was rolling cigarettes just hanging outside rolling cigarettes [laughs] waiting for the next person to be dragged out and as they were doing that, giving people hugs, giving people love, you know just kind of making them feel alright again. And the moment [name of partner and fellow activist on camp removed] came out of the circle the first thing I did was pass him the baby because he [partner] is streaming with tears down his face and I was like right "here is your son" and he [partner] was just like [does sobbing impression]' (Participant G – Speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'And you know, it's just really nasty and when you see it for what it is. It is pretty rough and I think there has been quite a few times that we've come back with kind of like bruises' (Participant L – Speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'There was all the standard repression [...] at some point early evening the night before they had sort of like forcibly bashed through a bunch of us to get to be able to actually encircle us and actually I have got a sort of dodgy shoulder and I was pushed over backwards and it came out slightly' (Participant M – Speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

The violence experienced by protestors at Occupy cannot be understated, the interview quotes here are not merely anecdotal but symptomatic of the police brutality experienced at various Occupy sites. In the US there were equally violent scenes as the police used tear gas canisters, rubber bullets, pepper spray, grabbed people by the wrist slamming them into the ground in a 'judo-flip', used batons and nightsticks to beat protestors, grabbed protestors by the throat and punched protestors in the head

(Friedersdorf, 2012; Sherter, 2011). There continue to be a range of examples of other manifestations of police brutality emerging from the literature. At the Occupy Oakland site on October 27th 2011 police responded to the demonstrators with tear gas canisters and flash bang grenades, resulting in video footage depicting a scene where a wheelchair user at the Occupy site was shrouded with tear gas (Taylor, 2011: 138). A similar scene was recorded a day earlier on October 26th at Occupy Oakland by Taylor & Resnick (2011: 182) who describe how police used rubber bullets and maced protestors. Further to this, Pickerill & Krinsky (2012: 285) document how, during October 2011, 'in Oakland, police were involved in a near fatal assault on activist Scott Olsen'. The violence towards protestors continued, to a greater or lesser extent, throughout the occupations until the eventual physical demise of most of the Occupy camps. At Occupy Wall Street, Writers for the 99% (2011) describe how, in the early hours of November 15th during the eviction from Zuccotti Park, a military style removal operation from the site took place. One activist described waking up to be faced with a police officer in riot gear with a baton in his hand (Writers for the 99%, 2011: 178). Also reported during this time was a sense of disorientation generated 'by the NYPD's use of loud sound devices' (Writers for the 99%, 2011: 178) and officers 'wielding nightsticks' (ibid: 181). On 15th November, when a permit was granted which temporarily allowed for people to return to Zuccotti Park, the following occurred: 'an older woman waved a copy of the court ruling at police guarding the park, a cop punched her in the face' (ibid: 187). This use of force spans further afield than 'Occupy' itself, with similar happenings being seen at the Indignados camp in Madrid when occupiers were forcibly removed from their camp in central Madrid (Baiocchi & Ganuza 2012: 300). It has been argued that the law enforcement response to many of the Occupy actions has been incredibly harsh with 'accusations of unnecessary repression abound' (Calhoun, 2011 cited in Pickerill & Krinsky 2012: 285). The level of violence levelled at Occupy protestors cannot and should not be understated. As described by Participant L:

‘I mean I’ve been just, overall, just, really like surprised and horrified at kind of the level of police repression but violence as well. I guess, like for me coming down in October and just seeing their response, the police response, and what was happening, you know, I’ve never seen that many police in such a small ...in such a small kind of ... [inhales in] the amount of police per square foot was insane and, you know, there was maybe two, maybe three police officers to every protestor, the whole square was fenced off. There were police dogs, there were vans lined up on every side of the street leading up to the square and that was for, in response to like, you know, I had been down the day before and, you know, we had both been there and really just a kind of bunch of peaceful protestors. A lot of them were really young students, you know, these weren’t like armed militia and the response was just so extreme, it was so imbalanced to what they were responding to’.

In continuing the vein of the commentary above it is more than worth noting that responses from interviewees at Occupy reflected the well documented trajectories of the militarisation of policing (see: Balko, 2013; Kazmi, 2011; Kraska and Kappeler, 1997; Wood, 2014) as spoken about by Participant A who recounted a day of Occupy related action in Liverpool:

‘We ran from HSBC to Topshop, got in through the doors they closed the doors and security were just lined up and you could see them sort of jumping up and down like they were like standing in a war zone or something, like, getting ready to fight’.

There were also plentiful cases of not only actualised violence but also the threat of violence:

‘He [a police officer] said to one lad he said “I could just push you off the wall, you’ll go over on your back and then I’ll come round and I’ll boot you in the head with my steel toe caps on” and then grinned at him, and then come right into his face trying to antagonise him’ (Participant F).

‘It was blatant here the other day when we had 140 police officers around it was just willy waving [laughs] they were just like [does a gruff voice] “let’s get in there!” you know what I mean? [does impression again] “Let’s show all of our force! Let’s show off” it was just ridiculous” (Participant G).

All of these actions, whether actualised or threatened, were not without lasting effects or legacies on the protestors wellbeing, as demonstrated through multiple references to how ‘people’s confidence was really shaken’ (Participant A), and that these sorts of incidents described by all interview participants had in a number of cases ‘left people, literally in some cases, on the street traumatised’ (Participant C).

5.24 Oscillation in Repressive, Forceful, and Violent Practices

The preceding sections however, if taken out of context give a far too linear impression of the repression, force, and violence enacted against protestors at the Occupy movement. In some ways, the timing of the overt violence was more sinister and purposeful, and was littered with various 'pauses' in the violence, which in turn had an even greater impact. Even before the Occupy movement, Vitale (2005) wrote about the oscillation of police behaviour between 'negotiated management' to a 'command and control' style of policing and that policing practices were far from one dimensional and instead, only irregularly overtly violent. In the interviews conducted at various Occupy camps participants spoke about the oscillation of police behaviour which was on some days more favourable to facilitating their protest, but on other days it would swing towards incredibly violent actions, something that the protestors found unsettling:

'The police on the day were surprisingly quite easy going with it, usually with UK Uncut, in the lead up to that, we'd stopped quite a lot of what we were doing because the police had started to get really heavy handed and security guards were like, police and security guards, were both being really forceful actually assaulting people - there was quite a few arrests [...] so for a long time if we were doing something at a shop the police would just come and see what we were doing, realise we knew what we were talking about, we knew our rights and leave it at that. A lot of the time the police would come talk to us for five minutes and then leave and we'd be left to do what we wanted to do. And then it came as a real shock really, pretty much from nowhere the police just started to really become heavy handed and start cracking down again. So we had police like turning up at the camp giving us chips and coming around smiling and laughing and talking to people trying to make friends with people [...] then literally from nowhere the police just seemed to be targeting Occupy people' (Participant A – speaking about events at Occupy Liverpool).

'We set up the camp and that went incredibly well, a lot of us were convinced that we wouldn't even be able to do it, that we'd just put the tents down and the police would just come and then would be gone, you know. We set up the camp, the police turned up and said "we haven't got a problem as long as you don't do any damage as long as you don't you know" [...]. it was just a car with a policeman and a police woman they were just like, I think they were there after about half an hour after we set up camp, I don't know who called them but everything was OK' (Interview B – Speaking about Occupy Liverpool).

'We started saying to the police we've got a lot of workshops on today, and we've got some poetry and some music and it's going to be a really good day so if you can just facilitate that and do your job then maybe together we can

just, like, let the thing run smooth and they were smiling and saying “yeah yeah yeah yeah” and then half an hour later they were violently evicting us all [laughs] and arresting us and putting a fence up around here’ (Participant D – speaking about Occupy Democracy).

‘Sometimes you would get a sergeant who wasn’t so heavy and then you’d get a new batch that would come on and they just fucking beat us [laughs] [...] but it is, it is just a façade, it is a charade, it’s like it doesn’t mean anything it’s it’s [...] like it’s theatre and it’s so frustrating it’s like we try, you know, a lot of people have been really radicalised and now realise how fucked this police state is but others don’t and so we’re vulnerable to people talking, like, to people going “oh but like they are people too” and whilst I appreciate that like they are working like a lot of them are working class people and they are just making a living like but you can’t, you can’t ... if they are in uniform if they are on shift you can’t like you can’t see them like that because, as you said, like any minute they might be handing out chips today but tomorrow they are smashing your head open’ (Participant K – Speaking about Occupy Democracy)

One possibility is to view this oscillation of approach as a variety of, or form of, concession (as discussed in chapter 4), albeit a brief and fleeting concession. However, when discussing these matters with people at Occupy some interviewees began to reflect on the role of shift changes amongst the police and private security guards, that they too envisaged as far from as merely happenstance, in the following ways:

‘I’m extremely concerned and extremely paranoid about the bylaws because they seem to be making them up. They seem to be making up a lot of this stuff with shift changes as well. Why the change of the police? One shift will tell us one lot of stuff and then go and the next lot will come in and [are] harassing us for what the last police have told us to do [...] Yeah there’s different approaches and some will let you do something and others won’t, so we are constantly confused, and these bylaws seem to go on and on and on forever [...] I don’t know if that is another ploy or something’ (Participant D).

‘Every 4 hours, or whatever, they would change shift and their formation would change so, you know, however they were occupying the space every sort of four hours or so they’d all sort of, like, a new team would move in and that team would move out [...] yeah basically, like, and also we’d have to, like, every time the shift changed and a new sergeant would come on we’d have to go through this whole scenario again’ (Participant K).

‘So the idea that the huge shifts in terms of how we are treated depending on the time we’re at for me is not fully explained by just the vagaries of different people in charge making different decisions. The fact that they go from, sort of, being really nice to letting us do stuff to and then totally changing their tune from one minute to the next is a really obvious way of destabilising a group of people’ (Participant M).

5.25 Repression, Force, and Violence: Seen and Unseen

There are further nuances to understanding repressive, forceful, and violent policing tactics that were used against the Occupy movement and this relates to the issue that they were simultaneously both *seen* and *unseen*. Although actions of repression, force, and violence are seen, often recorded and spoken about, in a number of cases interview participants argued that the timing of police repression, force, and violence was, enacted in a way and at such a time, so as to ensure being seen as little as possible, particularly by the general public in the immediate area. As described by Participant N the police were, 'playing their game quite carefully [...] because they are under the microscope'. In addition to this it was also no coincidence that the eviction of both Occupy Wall Street and Occupy LSX took place at night, as did the most violent incidents at Occupy Democracy in 2014:

'In October when we were here for 10 days, you know day and night – we were battling them at night. From my point of view, what was interesting was to watch how it changed from night through daylight. Right now there are tourists, there are people around, they [the police] are backing off, right, but as soon as the sun goes down it will fucking kick off' (Participant K – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'Yeah, so they try to keep it low profile and [so] they don't particularly look like there is much happening to people who just pass by. I mean like last night, I say last night, here all the officers who were standing around were in black because it was dark so people driving past - and really unless you were stopping and having a look proper [...] you're just going to drive past and not really notice it as a major [police] presence when there was maybe up to 100 police around in the square. All the vans parked around the side, but no lights flashing or nothing, so it just looks like they blocking the view of, you know, how many police are out, the vans and stuff, and it's all like a distraction so people can't see the real fact of what is going on' (Participant F – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

It was a similar case when it came to high profile events happening in the nearby area of where the Occupy movement was. This meant that the police were more likely to enact repression, force, and violence during these periods, to try and reduce the numbers of protesters in advance of high profile event. Participant N indicated how they were told by police that those assembled as part of the Occupy movement would not be allowed to stay for Election Day or VE day, and as one of the Heritage Wardens told them, 'I think we both understand that it is just too high profile'. Similarly, on one day in October 2014, during the first assembly of Occupy Democracy related protests, the Queen was due to drive past, on her way to speak at an event 'and so before the Queen drove by they just mass arrested everyone' (Participant N). This notion of trying to hide the violence being enacted on Occupy protestors was seen first-hand by one of the protesters when they recounted how they were treated when a police officer mistook them, not as an Occupy activist, but as a member of the public. The following story is highly revealing:

'It is really, really, violent and it is very smart the way they do it and it is quite hidden from the general public [...] and yeah there was like one day over Christmas where we had kind of, like, gone to help out with, like, with friends who had taken a squat up in [name of place removed] and there was an eviction and some of us had gone to support. Anyway there was like an eviction of the kitchen that was outside the thing and then the police, when they came down, they swooped in and like literally, like, battered everything and threw everything up in the air. And this was the kitchen to, like, give homeless people cups of tea over Christmas and that was all it was it was, a really simple little charitable project and they just came in and literally kicked up the table, took everything, literally confiscated all the stuff and just pushed everyone around. And the funny thing was I ran to the toilet over the road, like just went into a pub, and when I came out there was this really friendly police officer kind of thinking that I was just an ordinary member of the public telling me to kind of [puts on sweet voice to impersonate the officer] "hold on the road is just closed off for a minute if you could go that way" and it was just, like, this face trying to hide what they were really doing which was, you know, beating up people that were trying to feed the homeless' (Participant L).

5.26 The State-Corporate Nexus

A further important notion to contend with, which is particularly pertinent in the context of the neoliberal conjuncture, is the trajectories of repression, force, and violence with regards to the relationship between the state and the corporation. As delineated in chapter 2, a key feature of the neoliberal project is *accumulation by dispossession*, achieved in part through the mass privatisation and commodification of publically shared or run land, property and services (see: Harvey, 2005: 160-165). This includes security services which, in this context, meant that public police actors were not the only policing actors that the Occupy movement had to engage with. For example, in the context of certain areas of London, namely Trafalgar Square, and, most pertinently, Parliament Square, where the Occupy Democracy protests took place, it was not only the City of London Police that were charged with this jurisdiction but in addition privately employed Heritage Wardens from AOS Security. The role of the Heritage Wardens is ambiguous, as described on their webpage, which states that, they are working ‘in partnership with the GLA⁵⁹ [and] are responsible for the security at Trafalgar Square and Parliament Square Gardens’ and, furthermore, that they ‘perform a range of tasks that support the Authority in discharging this duty’ (see: aossecurity.co.uk, 2017).

The contemporary nature of policing in the neoliberal conjuncture is better recognised to include ‘private’ security functions in collusion with public state forms of policing (see: Gillham *et al*, 2013; Morgan, 2014), and within the literature some recognition of the changing nature of the policing of protest, in terms of the state-corporate relationship, is recognised. For example, Pickerill & Krinsky (2012: 285) note that the ‘politics of policing, especially in the collusion between financial interests and the repression of dissent, was made evident by the response to Occupy’ and furthermore that ‘Occupy has illustrated the extent to which protest policing has evolved’ (ibid). Composite ‘grey

⁵⁹ Greater London Authority (GLA)

policing' (Hoogenboom, 1991; Zedner, 2009) is recognised in some of the literature with regards to the Occupy movement (see: Wolf, 2012; Bratich, 2014; Dellacioppa *et al*, 2013). For example, Bratich (2014: 68) makes reference to Bloomberg's "private army" who played a large role in the physical eviction of the Occupy Wall Street camp in New York, and Dellacioppa *et al* (2013: 413) make reference to Skid Row in Los Angeles (LA), where some of the Occupy LA action(s) took place, reflected on how the area was 'also policed by private security, hired by the local business community'. Bratich (2014: 68) analyses the complex state- corporate relationship further:

'Nationwide, public/private alliances were forged between local law enforcement, banks, private security firms, and federal agencies to spy on, restrict, and disrupt occupations. We saw the formation of "fusion centers" where "information sharing environments" were cultivated to enhance police powers'.

Contrary to these limited discussions regarding the role of the corporate it can be seen that the development and rationale for the Occupy movement includes ample recognition and discussion regarding the role of the corporation in terms of sustaining economic inequality through the accumulation of wealth (see: Linzey & Reifman, 2011; Declaration of the Occupation of New York City 2011; Klein, 2011b; Johnston, 2011; Kingsolver, 2011; Dixon, 2011; Phillips, 2012; Walia, 2011). However, despite some recognition and efforts, in some quarters, to interrogate the state-corporate relationship, in comparison there appears to be limited critical investigation regarding the role of the corporate in the everyday policing of the Occupy movement itself (for limited acknowledgements of this occurrence see: Klein, 2011a; Roose, 2011). However, participants at Occupy Democracy were keen to elucidate the impact of the relationship between the City of London Police and, their private co-workers, the AOS Heritage Wardens:

'We are sitting right now, time and place wise, at the intersection of this state and corporate police reality, you know, we have these red tops [Heritage Wardens] who are essentially private security working for Boris Johnson [the Mayor of London at the time] and the Greater London Authority which administers the Queen's land which is Parliament Square. What happens, what is happening in effect though, is that these red tops are essentially

telling the police what to do and the police as [content removed to anonymise], just when they were putting up the fencing, a couple of us managed to get back through again, sat back down on the bit of the grass that clearly is undamaged. The only pretext they have had for closing the square is the damage to the grass which, in itself, is insane, to say that the right of the grass to regrow this week rather than next week is more important than our supposedly sacrosanct democratic right is absurd enough but clearly at least a third of the square is entirely undamaged so there is no pretext for shutting off that bit of the square. And I'm there with the red tops and the police saying, you know the guy is saying "you're committing a trespass" and I'm saying "the only basis on which apparently it is a trespass is if the grass is damaged and clearly we can all see that the grass isn't damaged here so why are you asking me to move from here?" and he goes "I don't have to tell you, I've asked you already – move" and so I turned to the senior police person who is there as the enforcer of the private security and say "you know you guys I understand that under this law you sort of have to back up these private security people and but also your job is to facilitate lawful protest so can, you know, can you ask this guy in what way I am trespassing?" and she basically completely refused. You know she didn't see it in any way necessary to get that information (Participant H – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'There is always plausible deniability of course, often there is a shift change and then suddenly the way we are treated really shifts you know and you can put that down to, well, there is a different guy in charge with a slightly different approach. We know that especially here [Parliament Square] the transcript from the House of Lords where they are talking about Occupy Democracy in October implies broadly, without specifically saying anything, that of course there have been various conversations amongst the various agencies that have a broad interest in terms of what is going on, in terms of protest within Parliament Square that would be the GLA, the police ...' (Participant M – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

The various ensemble of the different arms of both public and private policing actors also served, from some participant's perspectives, as another way of confusing the protestors. Furthermore, it was often perceived as far more insidious and pre-meditated than it may appear on the surface:

'I suppose my experience of this place is that there is always different levels of policing effectively from your riot squad looking policing down to sort of your park wardens here or your heritage wardens who aren't even police but they are the ones who seem to be policing the place. And it's always difficult because you have got the liaison officers who are your friends [said sarcastically] and then the park wardens and they are our friends [said sarcastically] and you never quite know [...] but you know the stories about these PLO's [Police Liaison Officers] who have made friends with activists, been round their houses, got to know them and then months later just reported all their personal matters to court. And you hear the stories, just like

someone else was telling me a PLO was saying “oh I’m not one of them I’m just here, I’m trying to do this” and the next time they saw them at a demo they were there with their riot shields and you’ve no idea. I mean maybe she was promoted in a week, in between those two [events], I don’t know but that’s the thing you’ve, no - it’s very hard to judge that and you can be incredibly cold and shut off and then we have this sort of messianic tendency to think we can covert these people by being nice to them but, they’ve been to more demos than I have these people [policing agents] and they have heard more speeches than I have and you think they must, well, if they haven’t got it by now they never will’ (Participant N - speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

Evasion of accountability, or ‘plausible deniability’ (Participant M), through the state-corporate relationship was seen in other ways too. For example, Participant A recalled the problems with the relationship between police and private security entities, regarding when the police sought to ostensibly ‘help’ with a scenario regarding assaults from private security actors on members of Occupy Liverpool, which resulted in huge reservations about following up on assault charges. The relationship between the Heritage Wardens and the police was far from clear and often changed. On the one hand the notion was that the Heritage Wardens issued warnings regarding what was, and was not, allowed followed by the police acting upon any infringements:

‘What is really fascinating to watch is the dynamic between the hierarchy of policing in this area, I don’t know what the word is [...] it is coordinated, it is maintained by private security, by Heritage Wardens there the guys that - look! They are red tops [the Heritage Wardens] yeah and they are the guys that will come up initially. So if you’re sleeping or you’re using sleeping equipment or if we kick off with a megaphone, it’s those people that will initially interact with you then it’s like this series of a verbal warning and then a written warning and then basically they then get the police to move in and do their bidding. So initially it is interesting to watch this kind of hierarchy of the police acting on behalf of this private security company essentially - which is mad in itself’ (Participant K – Speaking at Occupy Democracy).

However, as noted by another participant the police also sought to push the boundaries of the activities of the Heritage Wardens encouraging them to act out their role and responsibilities:

‘You see it again here, people have fallen asleep because they have not had kip for three days and the moment they fall asleep you see that the police and the park wardens, and you see that there’s police coming up to the

Heritage Wardens and saying “someone’s sleeping over here go and wake them up”, you know, they are goading them, you know. I genuinely don’t think they would be as harsh as they are being unless they were being told to and instructed to by the police’ (Interview G – Speaking about Occupy Democracy).

Thus, as argued by Tombs and Whyte (2003) this serves to reinforce that a shift towards privatisation, rather than reduce the power of the state, may actually augment, and strengthen, its power, particularly in terms of the evasion of accountability as police seek to get private security to do their bidding in this context. Much like the scenario of ‘state-corporate’ fusion centre described by Bratich (2014) regarding Occupy Wall Street, similar observations were made by those at Occupy Democracy in London

‘So yeah, I mean it’s in the sense like they’re, the Greater London Authority, is not a corporate entity per se, you know, sort of in the economic sense but it is nonetheless, it is a classic example of how what should be powers vested in specifically accountable employees of the state are subcontracted, but then the that sub-contraction is used as a kind of, um, as a means of kind of deferring accountability so the police rather than being accountable for their actions essentially are blaming it on the private security who have no job to facilitate my protest, you know. And so it creates this kind of mess of unaccountability basically. I mean the other interesting thing as I understand it, and you probably know far more about this than I do, about this, is that in many cases corporations will pay for police and there are all sorts of stories that came out around Occupy, of the police essentially sitting down with senior business people in the City of London as if they were kind of you know on the same team [laughs and says this in a mocking amused voice]. I mean here it was with the corporation of London, and the corporation of London, obviously is this kind of bizarrely unaccountable state within a state that is elected by companies, you know, and not necessarily British companies any company within the City of London, but the company has votes based on the number of its employees, but as I understand it the employees have no say in the way the company votes. So the kind of tyrannical utterly hierarchal structure of those companies has completely, like, have side stepped any kind of meaningful democracy and because the City of London has this kind of weird legal status it’s very, very, difficult there’s no sort of transparency of its account. It is understood that it essentially works for the banks and the businesses in it, you know, that have the votes in the elections and so what you had in the City of London, was the separate police force with the City Corporation of London enforcing the laws’ (Participant H).

Similarly, at Occupy Liverpool, the police response was felt to be particularly heavy and speedy when it came to the change of strategy by the Occupy Liverpool group to either move to occupy corporately owned buildings or demonstrate at shops owned by major

corporations:

'I was involved in Occupy Liverpool from all the planning stages, the whole time there was an outdoor camp, I stayed the whole time and then when it went to buildings I was still involved, but for me that was when I started to lose interest and stopped being involved [...] again like it could just be a coincidence, but it seems that the biggest thing that had changed with Occupy, when the police started cracking down was that, that was around the time we moved to buildings [...] the first day we were in the building we were raided by police' (Participant A).

'We ended up at Boots and that is where things turned nasty because one of the guys got attacked by a security guard at that point [...] it was quite nasty, my wife got pushed over because she was actually holding on, she was holding the guy who got attacked by the security guard, so the guy went flying, so my wife, she's only little, she's only up to about my shoulders, she went flying, she lost her phone [...] it was just chaos, proper chaos' (Participant B).

5.27 Arbitrary and Capricious Powers

To add to an already complex nebula of power in this particular conjuncture, it is further important to add commentary regarding what was perceived by interviewees, and delineated in the literature, as repression, force, and violence that was enacted in a highly arbitrary and capricious manner. All of the aforementioned trajectories in the repressive, forceful, and violent activities of [the] state are most notably characterised by an arbitrary and capricious exercise in power. For example, the ambiguity, and hence malleability, of the laws and bylaws, alongside the variability of enforcement across state-corporate lines, all contributed to the application of the law and acts of repression, force, and violence in a highly arbitrary way:

'You know it would take you two minutes on YouTube to find plenty of incidents of video in the last few months alone where people are on Parliament Square protesting with banners, with amplification equipment, but nothing is being done. So the sense in which these laws are arbitrarily enforced as and when what is happening is inconvenient to the powers that be, seems to go completely against the sort of basic principle that the police are meant to enforce the law fairly and impartially' (Participant H - speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'I was tying some ropes together to make a giant monopoly board but then he [a Heritage Warden] told us that we couldn't use ropes because it was unauthorised and we'd effectively be enclosing Parliament Square and

[would] stop people using it and it would be removed, which seems incredibly arbitrary a decision and which was one they had made, so it may not be within their power whether to prosecute but it's within their power whether to report [...] we are allowed to protest twenty-four hours a day seven days a week but the law is so absurdly openly framed – worded' (Participant N – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'It's been quite an interesting situation here, to be honest I've not quite got my head around it, just because the interpretation of the law that they are putting here. We had another Act, that I can't remember the name of, come into play on Monday, so we've actually had two ridiculous sets of laws and legislations to try and get our heads round [...]. As well as the differences between this ground [where the interview and current camp was] and the ground over there [the portion fencing off the main Parliament Square ground] because they are actually two separate jurisdictions, so yeah it has been a bit sort of strange' (Participant G – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

'And it was quite funny because Jenny Jones from the Green Party, she came down on Friday to have a little discussion with us and we were saying to her about wrongful arrests and police brutality, she thought she would look into it a little bit. She came out of the House of Lords, came to see what was going on, she was pretty much violently wrongfully arrested, the irony of it, you couldn't write it [laughs] and then de-arrested once they found out who she was' (Participant D – speaking about events at Occupy Democracy).

A number of the protestors spoke about working out how to challenge the gaps and flaws in the arguments of policing agents however, it transpired that although they had sought legal advice from various organisations, it was to the movements unavoidable detriment that they had 'less hours' than the police to 'get their head around' the laws and new bylaws. As stated by Participant N, 'they've been busier than we have [the police and Heritage Wardens] they've learnt the things, you know, we spend time sitting around talking about the revolution and they sit around wondering what is to be practically done about all these protestors, you know, and so they actually put the hours in, and we don't'.

5.28 A De Facto Tax on Protest⁶⁰

In matters of repression, force, and violence a number of the participants viewed these acts, not as merely tools for eradication, but instead as a form of taxation on protest. As described by Participant H:

⁶⁰ I wish to thank Participant H/M for this phrase.
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'It's de facto a tax on our basic rights, to say that you can protest, but you can't have any of the normal infrastructure of protest, you can protest but you can't have visual symbols or your protest in the form of - have banners, and you can protest but you can't have amplification equipment so people can actually hear what you are saying. These are all de facto a tax on protest' (Participant H).

This tax on protest is symbolic of interventionist strategies of repression, force, and violence that often serve to dilute protest and as argued by a number of the protestors, it was recognised that the action taken on them, they felt to be at a time when there were either a certain number, or high volume, of supporters gathering, or that progress was being made:

'It's like that, I don't know if you've ever read Herbert Marcuse, he calls it repressive tolerance it's kind of like "you're allowed to do this" and that kind of sets something off in your brain and you think well if I am allowed to do it then it can't be that effective can it? It's like when they say if voting changed anything they would make it illegal [laughs] it's that kind of thing, it's like this is what they have to let you do to let off steam and when you've finished it will all go back to normal again. You've not changed anything it's almost like street theatre in a way' (Participant B).

'You know what actual crime; what harm is being committed? There is none. The harm is to the informational sphere and that is what they are really afraid of, that something will puncture through their bubble of bullshit' (Participant G).

'Like I can appreciate, like, when you are talking about revolution and struggle [...] the idea that, you know, that if it really kicked off they would just drone the fuck out of us anyway' (Participant K).

'That's why I just don't talk to them [the police and Heritage Wardens] at all, like, yesterday, you know, they just like asked me a question and I always just turn away like now I just won't talk to them because it doesn't matter what colour jacket they are wearing so they are there but that's what they are that's not a conspiracy or anything poor analysis they are, they are they have the legitimate use of violence to enforce the rules of the state. I mean that is what they are there for like that's how the state functions as a uniform, that's how the state enforces itself on ordinary people, it's no conspiracy, it's just that for most people they don't experience it in such a kind of real way. Like, it's just theory if you are studying politics at university, you understand how the courts function and what the police function is and how all the different elements of the state come together to have a functioning state but it's just something theoretical. It is not until you are doing something that challenges the state and then you experience violence and oppression from the state that you realise "ah that's what it means" that they are protecting the state that's what they are there to protect it's the state and so if you try to challenge the state that's what you'll get' (Participant L).

'He [Occupy member] was saying to me "you're never going to get away with

that", he'd seen horses charging into protestors, he said "seriously they will not let you do things, they will let you ... you've got a right to protest so long as it doesn't have an effect". So long as your protest is fairly meaningless you have a right to protest. That's quite cynical but then again it's not. You can stay here for an hour and you are fine, stay here for a day and they will arrest you' (Participant N).

Although not the central focus of this thesis it is important to pause here to present some of the central related strands of Poulantza's (1978) work that formed his characterisation of the state, namely, authoritarian statism. The 'tax on protest' described here is highly evocative of the authoritarian statism as described by Poulantzas, specifically its multifarious reference to the curtailment of democratic liberties (see: Poulantzas, 1978: 203, 216, 227, 231). Although the specific conjuncture under which Poulantzas' wrote *State, Power, Socialism* work was pertaining to a albeit different conjunctural period than that of the specific conjunctural period under analysis here, his work on authoritarian statism still resonates due to his analytical endeavours of this matter being ascribed to advanced capitalist states in the West under monopoly capitalism. Poulantzas (1978: 203 -204) describes 'the general direction of change' of authoritarian statism, in its most basic form, as 'namely, intensified state control over every sphere of socioeconomic life combined with radical decline of the institutions of political democracy and with draconian and multiform curtailment of so-called 'formal' liberties, whose reality is being discovered now that they are going overboard'.

The 'tax on protest', as described here, resonates with this definition as it highlights an example of multiform curtailment and, in turn, echoes the wider understanding of the functioning of the authoritarian statism. It does so by exemplifying a form of limitation on liberty through a specific form of exercising of power that must be distinguished from fascism. For Poulantzas (1978: 209)

authoritarian statism must be distinguished from fascism, for the presence of fascism requires some form of 'real break' (original emphasis) and 'presupposes an historical defeat of the working-class and popular movement: it is this defeat that opens the way to fascism, which is never a direct and immediate reaction to a rise of the popular movement' (ibid). To confirm 'the emergence of authoritarian statism cannot be identified either with a new fascist order or with a tendency towards fascism. Instead authoritarian statism presents a more insidious element of control over the popular masses representing the 'new "democratic" form of the bourgeois republic in the current phase of capitalism' (Poulantzas, 1978: 208 – 209).

In this way, the tax on protest as described here evidences 'the intensified concentration and centralization of power [that] naturally exerts a heavy influence towards the curtailment of democratic liberties' (Poulantzas, 1978: 227) without extending the argument to infer a fascist state. Poulantzas (1978: 238) continues to describe the authoritarian state: 'it does not involve merely an increase in organized physical repression or ideological manipulation. Going beyond these, it asserts itself in the establishment of new power techniques and in the development of various practices, channels and props intended to create a new materiality of that social body upon which power is exercised'. In the case of the response to the Occupy movement the 'tax on protest' presented here is an example of authoritarian statism in action and a form of the state's curtailment of liberties 'inscribed within it the functioning of power in the totality of social relations' (Poulantzas, 1978: 238). There is of course an absurdity of sorts in that it is important to be mindful that 'the paradox lies in the fact that authoritarian statism is not simply the means with which the State equips itself to tackle the crisis, but the response to a crisis which it itself helps to produce' (Poulantzas, 1978: 212).

5.29 Repression, Force and Violence in Review

According to Poulantzas (1978: 29) 'the State is always rooted in physical constraint, manipulation and consumption of bodies. This takes place in two ways: through institutions which actualize bodily constraint and the permanent threat of mutilation (prison, army, police and so on); and through *bodily order* which both institutes and manages bodies by bending and moulding them into shape' (original emphasis). What these findings, regarding repression, force, and violence, as seen at the Occupy movement, demonstrate is a response to the Occupy movement that occupies a peculiar space between *bodily constraint* and *bodily order*. It is proposed that this can be explained as follows. The existence of the Occupy movement, and other protests like it, present the advanced capitalist state with a dilemma. The advanced capitalist state is one that seeks to, and to a great extent requires, the maintenance of the illusion of democracy, freedom and liberty, even though it substantively does not have these qualities. Because of this, the very existence of counter-hegemonic protests can ironically serve an important function and support it, in its endeavours to present itself in this way. The existence of protest, *within limits*, serves, to some extent, to maintain the advanced capitalist states illusions of freedom and liberty⁶¹. Therefore, it does not naturally follow that, the advanced capitalist state will always seek to eradicate protest in its totality, not least as it is aware of the contradictions in the crisis of capital and hence expects various forms of revolt, revolt that may be exasperated further by an

⁶¹ The illusions of freedom and liberty alluded to here are once again evocative of authoritarian statism which, alongside the discussion on the 'tax on protest' can also be extended to the realm of so-called democratic politics (which was discussed in chapter 1: 1.6). As described by Poulantzas (1978: 231) part of authoritarian statism is the disguising of the curtailment of liberties through the continuation of a 'plurality of parties - which determines the curtailment of democratic liberties under authoritarian statism.' He continues 'authoritarian statism hardly leaves parties with any choice: either they must subordinate themselves to the administration, or else they must give up all access to it. Citizens are obliged to face the administration head-on, and it is not surprising that, beyond their participation in elections, they are generally disaffected with parties that are supposed to represent them in the state administration' (ibid). Poulantzas (1978: 230) further states that 'transformation of the parties of power, transformation of their personnel from class representatives acting in the summits of the State to state representatives and plenipotentiaries [...] among social classes, transformation of the same kind in the role of parliament and of deputies - all these developments involve an important shift away from representative democracy towards authoritarian statism'.

explicitly and visibly authoritarian response. In order to not reveal too overtly its true authoritarian nature, or more accurately its *authoritarian statism*⁶² form⁶³, repressive, forceful, and violent responses to the Occupy movement serve as a function to manage the movement, through, in the first instance, *bodily order* to exact a specific diktat on its existence. However, if, a movement gathers a certain level or degree of traction be that in the immediate, or the long term, then *bodily constraint* is always at the disposal of [the] state. As elucidated further by Poulantzas (1978: 210):

‘Authoritarian statism [...] involves the establishment of an entire institutional structure serving to prevent a rise in popular struggles and the dangers which that holds for class hegemony. This veritable arsenal, which is not simply of a legal-constitutional character, does not always come to the fore in the exercise of power: it is revealed to the mass of the population [...] above all through sudden jolts to its functioning. Hidden under a bushel, this arsenal is still in the republic’s reserve-stock, ready to be unleashed’.

In the case of the Occupy movement, where possible, particularly when it can be seen, [the] state will enact repressive acts that are less directly violent to the body that serve to break the resolve of the protestors and, in the hope that, the movement might dissipate ‘of its own accord’ as a result. At the same time the advanced capitalist state holds power through both the ambiguity of laws, bylaws, and to a degree through holding a monopoly on violence and can thus draw upon force and violence arbitrarily, most frequently committed at strategic times where, to a large extent, it is hidden from view. Meanwhile, in the specific context of the neoliberal conjuncture, and its associated trajectories of privatisation, an addendum to the largely original interpretation of the conceptualisation of repression, force, and violence within [the] state of authoritarian statism, is that [the] state also affords itself a certain amount of distance from these acts of repression, force, and violence, which can serve as a

⁶² Authoritarian Statism, ‘namely, [the] intensified state control over every sphere of socio-economic life combined with radical decline of the institution as of political democracy and with draconian and multiform curtailment of so-called “formal” liberties’ (Poulantzas, 1978: 203- 204 original emphasis).

⁶³ ‘Present-day authoritarian statism is not a disguised form of totalitarianism, similar to regimes with a one-party system in the strict sense of the term. Still, the institutionalization of a single-party centre says a great deal about the transformation of the democratic framework in which it is inserted’ (Poulantzas, 1978: 236).

contingency in cases where it may be called into account.

Moreover, the findings presented here also pose a major challenge to much of the literature regarding the protest of policing since the 1970s. Over the past few decades literature on the policing of protest has largely characterised protest policing in Western democracies as experiencing 'a marked shift away from oppressive or coercive approaches to an emphasis on consensus based negotiation' (Gorringe and Rosie, 2008: 187). This is also referred to most emphatically as a style of protest policing known as 'negotiated management' (see for example: McPhail et al, 1998; Waddington, 2007) which was in turn characterising a change from the 'escalated force' models of the 1960s 'in which police relied on ever-increasing amounts of force to disperse protesters and break up demonstrations' (Gilham and Noakes, 2007: 342). Negotiated management in summary is described as greater 'cooperation between police and demonstrators and an effort to avoid violence' (Vitale, 2005: 286). It is argued here that the most popular narrative within the literature is one that depicts the policing of protest in the West as being that of negotiated management with a range of 'exceptions'. Within the wider acceptance of a shift towards negotiated management is a series of claims that sometimes there are 'exceptions'. For example King and Waddington (2005) describes protests at international summits as an exceptional case where violence was used and Vitale (2005) describes Policing in New York as 'command and control', in essence an attempt to further micromanaged every aspect of protest, instead. The findings from both the primary and secondary source accounts of the experience of protest policing at the Occupy Movement in the West challenge this assumption and framing of violence against protestors as the 'exception' to a broader strategy of negotiated management. In turn these findings call for a rearticulating of this notion of the 'exception' and instead calls for a recognition that policing of protest is reflective of the current nature of the state within class struggle. In other words returning to Poulantzas (1978: 210), negotiated management as a form of protest policing would fall under 'the establishment of an entire institutional structure

serving to prevent a rise in popular struggles and the dangers that this holds for class hegemony' and that when the police enact repression, force, and violence this is not a spontaneous exception to the rule but instead demonstrates the actualisation of the state's ability to exercise its power, in the form of overt and naked violence, which will always be enacted if there is 'sudden jolts to it's [the state's] functioning' and that violence against protestors is exemplary of the 'state's veritable arsenal' (ibid).

5.3 The Occupy Safer Spaces Policy (Part II)⁶⁴

Chapter 4 detailed one of the emerging documents and declarations from the Occupy movement; the Safer Spaces Policy and some matters arising from this. The thesis now returns, following the large but important interlude regarding repression, force, and violence to elicit further discussions pertaining to the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy. As delineated in the preceding chapter this was a document draw up at OWS and adopted almost word for word in all cases across Occupy sites globally. The policy demarcated a number of highly agreeable points regarding ensuring there were no 'isms' or phobic actions within the camp in order to facilitate a respectful and inclusive environment. However, one point of contention amidst the otherwise agreeable 12 points, was point 13 which explicitly stated that the Occupy Movement was an alcohol and drug free space. In chapter 4, what was discussed, with the exception of only a few sites, was the reproduction of neoliberal discourse on the 'dangerous' drug and/or alcohol (mis)user and inference that these persons lacked certain capacities to act politically or meaningfully. Having discussed some of the finer points and considered the outcomes from the structural determinants of class, that sire ambiguous bodies that can embody, and be, both Träger and counter-hegemonic, to a greater or lesser, extent attention now returns to further explore the role of repression, force, and violence in the matters concerning the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy. Departing from Chapter 4 which presented the notion of *neoliberal residual coating* that remains on attempts at counter-hegemonic action discussion now turns to examine the impact of repression, force and violence on those seeking to realise both actively seeking to include persons with drug and/or alcohol (mis)use issue and mount an ideological challenge to the discourses of the 'dangerous' drug or alcohol (mis)user or 'lazy' homeless person.

⁶⁴ Various elements of section 5.3 are taken whole or in part from Fletcher, S. (2015) Negotiating the Resistance: Catch 22S, Brokering, and Contention within Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, Contention, 3(2) pp 5-16. A copy of this can be found in appendix C.

5.31 The Criminalisation and Demonisation of Dissent

As delineated in Chapter 4 various individuals and/or Occupy camps did recognise, the contention of, and problem in, banning alcohol and drugs on camp. Moreover, some of the slight variations contained within local manifestations of the Safer Spaces Policies revealed such subtle hints of dissonance. At Occupy Bristol (occupybristoluk.org, 2011) the following was posted on their webpage:

‘we are in statement, and intent a dry site with no alcohol or drug use.

This is difficult both **morally and practically** to enforce. To these ends people visibly under the influence of alcohol or any other drugs are not welcome’ (original emphasis).

It is here that there appears to be a formal acknowledgement of the moral contention regarding the enforcement of the no alcohol or drugs rule. This extract from the Safer Spaces Policy also contained a hyperlink attached to the words ‘morally and practically’ which, on the website led to an article titled ‘Alcoholics and Drug Users are not bad people’ (Occupy Bristol, 2011), although the policy remained in place. It was a similar case at Occupy London, as recounted by Participant C:

‘So, anyway I argued about this, I dared to, in front of 20 professional social workers, psychotherapists and god knows who, and lost [...] you know I was just completely, because I was basically saying, look, first of all that is clearly not true [the site being drug and alcohol free] secondly it’s a great intention but it is unrealistic and it will alienate some people so wouldn’t it be better if we say, you know, even just say we would like it to be this way but if you need help you know we are here sort of thing’.

However, it is not hard to see why the policy remained in place given the persistent attempts by the power bloc to find reason to criminalise and/or demonise the movement. The Occupy movement was generally no stranger to having demonising efforts levelled against it. Its peaceful protest was often labelled as ‘unlawful assembly’ (Ty, 2011) with, for example, Occupy London being listed as a ‘domestic terror threat’ (Richmond, 2012) and tabloid descriptions of the group as ‘gormless rent-a-mob’ and ‘swampy wannabes’ (Littlejohn, 2011; Wilkes *et al*, 2011) which offers just a small glimpse of the regular assaults on the movement’s credibility. What also emerges is the

concept of visibility, which might allude to concerns regarding the portrayal of the Occupy protests through mainstream media outlets. As Participant C, speaking about Occupy LSX, continues 'they never really said it in the meeting of course, but the issue was the PR [Public Relations]. You know because then they put up all these little signs that said "alcohol and drugs free space" so it was really for the press'. In terms of criminalising factors the prohibition of alcohol and drugs from camp is not in and of itself surprising or contentious, given the already established restrictions of consumption of alcohol in public spaces under the Licensing Act 2003 - actualised in Designated Public Place Orders (DPPO's) - and the general outlawing of various drug consumption under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. As told by Participant C:

'What there was, was a lot of discussion about, you know, are we the 99 per cent - not if you are addicted [laughs] you know there were a lot of those little kind of conversations that occasionally filtered out into the general assembly but generally speaking what happened was this organic development of those who were dependent chemically just keeping themselves out of the lime light a bit when necessary. And, you know, at the end of the day you have got to also consider that they were in the public eye and if they were using hard drugs anyway they needed to bloody well hide because the cops were there all the bloody time so they were not just protecting Occupy but protecting themselves, you know'.

5.32 Into the Closet

'So, that's what I didn't like about it because I thought that was cruel basically, I mean it is like hard enough to be an addict, to be, you know, strung out and then to feel alienated is just not fair. Although some people clearly felt that Occupy was more important than them and their problem so that they essentially, as I did eventually you know, put themselves in the closet. They wouldn't talk about it much unless it was absolutely necessary certainly they wouldn't talk about it in the general assembly obviously, and they would hide themselves in order for the greater cause, so it was a kind of a sense of sacrifice, I can't really find the words here. You know what I'm saying? They would basically minimise, not minimise, but deny their experience in the public sense so that Occupy was protected from you know the Daily Mail etcetera [...] and there were clearly, and I think you know, from the PR point of view, a lot of people felt that it was really important to place Occupy in a socially acceptable mode' (Participant C).

Due to the ever poised combined onslaught of criminalising and demonising attempts on the Occupy movement, regarding the inclusion of those who were experiencing drug and/or alcohol addictions essentially, in many cases, meant that those persons put themselves 'in the closet'. It cannot be underestimated how coercively this came to be because no amount of reasoned attempts to discuss alcohol and drug (mis)use and addictions could seem to sway the mainstream media. As Participant C further recounted:

'So along comes this [journalist] chatting away, before I know it I'm, and people are saying to me [name removed] be careful and I'm thinking yeah but you know what we need to be honest here it's like so what do we do? Just hide the fact that this is happening because they are going to go and write some shit anyway, better that they get what's actually happening rather than whatever crap they are going to write. So I just said basically to [journalist] look we're a microcosm of the world and you know there's a tiny minority of people here who have drug problems, some of them with HIV and Hepatitis and who knows what and we have to protect each other and the camp it is as simple as that, not from them but from, you know we are good give them, they have vulnerable immune systems you know the whole thing, we're trying to be health conscious it is as simple as that. And you know I was trying to couch it in language that was as accepting as possible, you know or as what I was trying to say to [journalist] was actually, was that, I did say that what I found, what I find really interesting, I mentioned my own experience [details removed] [identifiable life event removed] I thought that this might be important to [journalist] but it didn't even go into the article when [they] wrote it up it was just like this headline that said "Junkies threaten St. Pauls blah blah" whatever it was, you know, and then this, some of the article I got to say was, it wasn't all bad but the general tone of it was fucking awful as you might imagine'.

Ultimately the closet becomes a metaphor to describe the impacts of both the actualised and possible/threatened repression, force, and of violence and the current prowess of [the] state the once again enact *bodily order* on counterhegemonic efforts and ideals, that results in the dilution of the fullest truly counter-hegemonic message that might be possible.

5.4 The Curious Case of Giles Fraser (and Others)

5.41 'The Renegade Priest'

Giles Fraser was born in 1964. As a young child he attended a Christian Public School going on to complete his degree in Philosophy in Newcastle, then on to study theology at Oxford and ultimately gaining his Doctorate from the University of Lancaster (Dugan, 2012). During this time Fraser was also simultaneously a Chaplain and taught as a lecturer in philosophy at Wadham College, Oxford (ibid). Fraser would come to play a particularly crucial role for the Occupy Movement in London. At the time of Occupy LSX, Giles Fraser was Canon Chancellor of St Paul's Cathedral and emerged as an important figure in terms of the camp's ability to maintain a physical presence longer than, for example, its New York counterpart. Although technically not a priest, in the strictest nominal sense, but a Canon of the Church of England, he would become to be known by those at various London based Occupy camps as the 'Renegade Priest'.

On the morning of the second day of the occupation of St Pauls, 16th October 2011, there was a strong police presence and tensions were high, as they often were with any demonstration of this kind (Participant C; Participant M). However, due to the activity of Giles Fraser something unexpected happened, as recalled by Participant M:

'Occupy, the first time round in St Pauls, was virtually unique in my experience of protest in that the very well-worn mainstream media framing of protest has always been about this implicitly contentious dynamic between the police and protestors, and therefore, it being the kind of thing that a. there are probably troublemakers and b. if you're a normal person you might not want to get involved with [it]. But because Giles Fraser came out on the morning of the second day of Occupy, when until that point we had been surrounded by incredibly aggressive looking TSG [Metropolitan Police Service Territorial Support Group], and Giles Fraser the Canon Chancellor who happened to be on duty in St Paul's Cathedral on that Sunday morning came out. And I was actually asleep at the time, but I gathered he said something along the lines of "there's only one threatening thing going on here as far as I can see and it's certainly not the protestors so if the police would kindly step back that would be much appreciated" and suddenly there was just this melting away of this really kind of menacing presence'.

Participant M continued recalling the difference to the previous day:

‘And on the day before there would have been thousands of people sort of on the main site but also thousands of people outside the police kettle that had been set up who were being let in one at a time, occasionally, so that the police could claim people were being allowed in. But yeah that aggression on the part of the authorities, which is so central to the depicting of protestors in the mainstream culture was just removed by the priest, you know. And then the corporation of London, because they were the subject of the protest you know, they were kind of looking magnanimous, as if they were sort of facilitating protest, you know. They were going through the motions, but because the police were pushed away, and clearly there was no problem, it was suddenly that the pretext for further intervention without a specific kind of legal excuse had also evaporated and that was what was so interesting’ (Participant M).

Essentially, as stated by Tremlett (2012: 135), ‘the protestors ended up—after occasional ugly skirmishes with the police and, on the following day, after the intervention of Giles Fraser, the then canon of St Paul’s—camped on a narrow snake of land between Paternoster Square and St Paul’s Cathedral’. As attested to by Participant M, the actions of Fraser had a major impact on the police’s ability to move in fully on the protestors and enact various forms of violence and/or evict them. It was the statement(s) and words of Fraser, whose truthful depiction of the scene of peaceful protest in such a public manner, which scuppered the usual *modus operandi* and justification for eviction by [the] state. Ford Rojas and Ross (2011: np) note that Fraser told the media that, ‘the police were trying to protect the building for us which was very good of them. I asked them if they’d leave because I didn’t feel it needed that sort of protection. They didn’t do any damage and church went off as normal this morning. It has all been very peaceful. I am very much in favour of people’s right to protest peacefully. We have only seen good-natured protesters and police doing their job’.

Further to this, soon after the inception of Occupy LSX, which began on 15th October 2011, people had begun to speculate about a suspected impending eviction from outside St Pauls Cathedral. Despite having held the authorities at bay with his initial address on the steps of St Paul’s Cathedral on the second day of the occupation the prospect of an attempted eviction looked likely. Over the next week, at the time when it

was believed that an eviction was imminent, an understanding derived from a ‘hastily convened meeting [...] of the cathedral chapter’ (Fraser, 2015: np), Fraser resigned from his post as Canon Chancellor on October 27th 2011 stating that if an eviction had taken place ‘our legal advice was that this would have implied consent. The church cannot answer peaceful protest with violence’ (cited in Butt *et al*, 2011). Again this subtle public expose and high profile activity by Fraser played an important function in, at minimum, slowing down the violent state onslaught and as previously delineated in the extension of the physical life span of Occupy LSX until its eventual eviction under High Court rule on 28th February 2012. For Participant C these happenings within the Church of England was highly pertinent:

‘When it really kicked off for me was when the Bishop of London arrived [...] because that was when the church basically [would say] we do or don’t support you [...] I was interested because I was thinking like if the cathedral comes out in support of this occupation then that is majorly important [...] then of course it transpired pretty quickly that they were divided themselves that those on the boards of all the different bloody corporations were obviously not in a position to support us and those who were not – were, and Giles Fraser, you know all that history, left the cathedral because of it and we were really delighted about that’ (Participant C).

As highlighted by Participant C the support of relatively influential persons within powerful religious institutions is not without contention, particularly due to their relationship with some of the very corporate entities the movement was trying to contest. However, Occupy was also about the concept of ‘reclaiming’ and this included reclaiming spirituality and faith from organised structures of corruption (see: Occupy Faith⁶⁵, 2011). As described by Tremlett (2012: 135), ‘when Fraser came out onto the steps of St Paul’s on 16 October and effectively gave them permission to establish their camp, a powerful British institution had rediscovered its moral foundations. As one activist put it to me, “For thousands of years they’ve been preaching about feeding the hungry, and Occupy were practicing the message”’. As a side note there has arguably

⁶⁵ On Thursday 7th June 2012 I joined a group of around 40 people from Occupy Faith on the first 8 Mile leg to Blackheath of their longer pilgrimage from St Pauls Cathedral to Canterbury where we discussed the relationship between faith institutions and seeking to find ways to bring about change for social justice.

been some positive knock on effects such as the revelations of the Church of England's indirect investment relationships with predatory short term lending loan company Wonga, an investment it later finally extradited itself from in 2014 (Johnston, 2014).

'The way I understand it is that the renegade priest i.e. Giles Fraser coming out on the first morning of the camp [Occupy LSX] and essentially ordering back the huge and menacing police presence had a completely destabilising effect in terms of what I am sure was intended, or what I imagine was intended by the authorities. And what that meant was that for the first time in my life as a protestor I was at a protest where it wasn't, it couldn't be framed as kind of slightly menacing situation involving police and protestors and which we all know the mainstream media will probably frame protestors as menacing because they are the scary ones. I mean literally he came out of the church that morning and said that there's only one threatening thing going on here as far as I'm concerned and it's not these protestors you know if I could kindly ask you to leave the churches land and what was so serendipitous about that was that he was the Canon Chancellor who just happened to be the person with that responsibility on that particular day. And it has emerged that, of course, in the camp, you know the hierarchy of the church not surprisingly that given that it was like nine out of eleven of their trustees are kind of 1%-ers, head of this asset management company, you know x head of this bank and blah blah blah he was very much well - we called him the renegade priest and that pretty much sums it up' (Participant H).

5.42 The Renegade Other

Alongside Giles Fraser a further host of 'unlikely' agents came out in support of the movement also, attending Occupy camps, particularly in terms of Occupy Wall Street which saw a range of people in attendance, from David Crosby, Roseanne Barr, and Kanye West (see: Clark Estes, 2011; NY Daily News, 2011). These celebrities were labelled as 'the 1% for the 99%' (TIME, 2011). Celebrities did not always get a warm welcome (Susman, 2011) which included the movement often turning down big donations from celebrities (Hammond, 2015). In a quote from Susman (2011: np) one participant from OWS said "'Sharpton and all these guys — are you kidding me?" said Walker, who accused them of using Occupy Wall Street to bolster their profiles while perpetuating things the movement eschews, such as party politics, consumerism and

sexism. "We don't want to be used and co-opted. This is not a game". However, as understandable as the unease that goes with accepting the support emanating from the undeniable privilege of the financial wealth of celebrity was, there were arguably ways in which to usefully exploit their presence: be this presence one of altruism or for their own persona and public profile.

One example of the usefulness of celebrity was with regards to their extensive social media followers and the potential they had for raising awareness and disseminating information about the Occupy movement as widely as possible. Even if a celebrity, through their own volition, was seeking personal gains in terms of their public persona, research on celebrity dissent, from the system they have made their gains from, argues that 'a celebrity persona can potentially work very well with dissent rhetoric because dissent is always time bound, uniquely contextual and requires a diverse and flexible persuasive message' (Cavin Hambrick, 2012: 5). Furthermore, 'the interesting paradox [...] is that it provides a context for the celebrity that is "safe" for the audience because the celebrity is part of the consumer system, the status quo, yet at the same time, the celebrity represents freedom and equality to do and say what they want' (ibid: 5-6).

There are further cases of high profile persons, this time within formal electoral politics, which demonstrated how having persons with relative privilege and power onside can be highly helpful. Much like the de-arresting of Jenny Jones (see: Chapter 5, 5.57) Participant H told recalled how one time, at the Occupy movement in London, when Caroline Lucas came and spoke with a microphone nothing happened, compared to the confiscation of sound equipment and arrests that were frequently made if a 'regular' person from the movement used such items. In this case as Caroline Lucas used a microphone there was someone else being simultaneously threatened with arrest if they didn't stop using sound amplification equipment and give over their personal details. As Participant H recalled:

‘the sense in which these laws are arbitrarily enforced as and when what is happening is inconvenient to the powers that be seems to go completely against the sort of basic principle that the police are meant to enforce the law fairly and impartially, Caroline Lucas came and spoke with amplification nothing happened but then when some other woman was doing it later on they threatened her with arrest if she wouldn’t give over her megaphone and then she didn’t want to give her name and address because she is doing nothing wrong then they arrest her for it’.

Persons of prominence can perform useful functions in terms of drawing attention to an issue that has been largely ignored by mainstream media, increasing awareness via social media, engaging in activist activities that a ‘regular’ person may not be able to due to being shut down or arrested. In summary the renegade offers, at minimum, the potential for some protection or respite against the repressive, forceful, and violent activities of [the] state levelled at protestors.

5.43 The Role of the Renegade

The role of the renegade is one worthy of consideration as it is in essence an embodiment of contradictions in the crisis which are always present (Poulantzas, 1974). When faced with what can only be described as a fusillade of repressive, forceful, and violent strategies that can dilute, sojourn or even put an end to counter-hegemonic activities and the spaces which groups like Occupy sought to create to discuss such endeavours, it is the case that either amplification of the revolutionary sound (such as celebrity through social media) or respite from repression, force, and violence (such as is the case of Giles Fraser) can be found and facilitated through these ‘unlikely’ renegade alliances. Such renegade persons and renegade actions are essentially further forms and representations of contradictions in the crisis. Grayson and Little (2017: 64) discuss, in an edition of *Marxism Today*, how in the 1980s various writers sought to demonstrate how, for example, ‘Thatcherism took advantage of the contradictions of the crisis, and actively put in place a new set of (albeit contradictory, partial and contingent) alliances to establish the hegemony of neoliberal thought and

governance in the UK'. Exploiting contradictions in the crisis and forming these alliances even if 'contradictory, partial and contingent' is something that the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital have been incredibly strong at doing. So it follows that there is scope for a discussion about the role that contradictory, partial and contingent alliances might play in the strategy of groups, such as the Occupy movement, and the revolutionary strategy of the left more generally

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, having established in Chapter 4 that persons (individual) or groups (plural) can exhibit either, or both, *Träger* and counter-hegemonic ideals as a result of their existence within neoliberalism, Chapter 5 has sought to examine some of the details surrounding the translation of this into class positions. Matters regarding the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture are of central concern to this thesis, particularly due to the relationship between the two being left distinctly unreconciled (Jessop, 1985). In the first instance, it is important to recognise the ease of transition of *Träger* to a class position in the conjuncture that is favourable to the power bloc and the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital. What is meant by this is that [the] state will only intervene in matters of class determination that leads to seeking the formulation of a counter-hegemonic class position – as is evident by the repression, force, and violence seen various Occupy camps. This can be seen in terms of there being, for example, limited contest to point 13 of the Occupy Safer Spaces policy that banned drugs and alcohol from camp – only repressive, forceful, and violent action, or threatened action, to those that contravened this. The Occupy movement did not have to battle for the instatement of point 13 and no repressive, forceful, or violent action was taken against the movement regarding such a statement. In contrast counter-hegemonic positions that sought to challenge point 13 of the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, regarding the inclusion of persons with drug and alcohol (mis)use, were met with the threat of, and the

sometimes actualisation of, repression, force, and violence. Therefore of the greater concern is an examination of state responses to the attempted translation of the structural determination of class into counter- hegemonic class positions. Tracing the journey of counter-hegemonic practices, desires or wants into class positions is the main concern of the thesis. This is with a forward looking view, as delineated in Chapter 2, regarding the making of a social class force of ‘the people’ to enact change within [the] state (itself *the specific material condensation of a relationship of social class forces*).

In summary, the intricate details of the repressive, forceful, and violent responses towards the Occupy movement, although analytically interesting and important in and of themselves in terms of how this played out, most importantly served two overarching functions – (i) to *modify* the translation of counter-hegemony (to reconstitute Träger) in class positions or (ii) to *stop* the translation of counter- hegemony (when Träger cannot be reconstituted) into a counter-hegemonic class position. These functions are aligned with the revelations of Chapter 5, which sees [the] state in the first instance enact *bodily order* to exact a specific diktat on its existence and then bodily constraint if a certain degree of traction towards counter- hegemonic class positions is made. Furthermore, in Chapter 5, repression, force, and violence was presented as incumbent of the nature of the condition of authoritarian statism (with the added codicil of the role of the corporate in the neoliberal conjuncture). The findings about repression, force and violence against protestors as described in this chapter, serve as a timely reminder of the centrality of overt and naked violence as a defining characteristic of state power in the neoliberal conjuncture. In particular, what these findings demonstrate is that whilst in the advanced stages of development ideological inculcation is a hugely important factor this does not come at the expense or detriment of repression inculcation. Instead, repression inculcation, its very existence and possibility as state apparatus, remains highly pertinent as a reserve in the states authentic arsenal that will be used willingly and promptly in the

eventuality of any actual threat or disruption to its operations.

For Poulantzas (1978: 204 – 205) ‘it scarcely seems possible to realize the Left’s aim of challenging authoritarian statism’, and it is thus the case here for the Occupy movement, where repression, force and violence presented itself once again as a crucial factor in contemporary governance (Davies, 2013).

There is also cause to pause here to consider Stuart Hall’s response to Poulantzas work, and thus to consider the role of active popular consent in the context of authoritarian statism. In the Great Moving Right Show Hall (1979: 15) states that what also has to be considered, ‘is a move toward “authoritarian populism”—an exceptional form of the capitalist state—which, unlike classical fascism, has retained most (though not all) of the formal representative institution in place, and which at the same time has been able to construct around itself an active popular consent’. Drawing upon Gramsci he speaks of the ‘persistent and incessant efforts which are being made to defend and conserve’ this position (ibid). In terms of the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture, Hall’s offering of authoritarian populism can help explain some of the on goings seen in terms of the discussion regarding the Safer Spaces Policy at Occupy. Hall (1988: 7) speaks of punitive populism under Thatcher which he describes that, ‘ideologically, though it has certainly not totally won the hearts and minds of the majority of ordinary people, it is clearly not simply an “external” force, operating on but having no roots in the internal “logics” of their thinking and experience’. This was seen in the case study of the Safer Spaces Policy at Occupy in terms of some persons being unquestioning of the meaning and significance of the inclusion of point 13 regarding drug and alcohol misuse, something that is reflective of the Authoritarian Populism as described here by Hall. Furthermore, for those that did bring point 13 into question Authoritarian Statism then comes into play as the state’s prowess through its ability to perform repression inculcation is felt most pertinently. Therefore in the long processual nature of struggle in the present conjuncture whilst it seems scarcely possible to challenge authoritarian statism this

may be due to the presence of authoritarian populism which supports authoritarian statism at its core.

However, Chapter 5 also revealed the almost serendipitous, born again from contradictions in the crisis, role of the renegade. The role of the renegade can serve multiple purposes but most pertinently, and as illustrated in the case of Giles Fraser, it can serve to mitigate and stave off acts of repression, force, and violence that seek to modify or halt the translation of the structural determination into counter-hegemonic class positions. As matters of repression, force, and violence played such a crucial role in the transformation or obstruction of the realisation of class positions in the conjuncture, so too does the protective role of the renegade. Although the relationship with a renegade is often an uneasy one, as asked by Johnson (1977: 194), drawing on the work of Poulantzas, 'what are the structural bases for existing or potential class alliances in the class struggle'? The next chapter, Chapter 6, alongside a summary review of the research findings, turns its attention towards a consideration of alliances within the class struggle, with a view to considering the constitution of sufficient counter-hegemonic class positions, in both matter and mass, in order to move towards the making of a social class force of 'the people' that might enact a material change within [the] state.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: Finding *Process* in Protest

6.1 *Of Occupy and the Class Struggle*

Within this thesis, class struggle emerged as not *the* way of examining, but *a* way of examining the Occupy movement meaningfully. Therefore, as delineated in previous chapters, this thesis speaks *of* the Occupy movement and class struggle, rather than *for* the Occupy movement and class struggle (see Chapter 2: 2.1). To conclude, this thesis now considers what the various strands of this type of examination of the Occupy movement, when considered together, can contribute to both theoretical and actual matters of [the] state, and the possibility of meaningful material change to said state, by offering a number of conclusory remarks. These conclusory remarks take the following form. Firstly, it connects all aspects of the thesis as deeply embedded in *process*, both in terms of the theoretical and the 'real'. Secondly, in bringing together Poulantzian theory pertaining to [the] state within the war of position, this thesis makes some important amendments to the war of position proposition, as expressed in Gramscian terms. Following on from this, the central concern of the thesis, the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture, is traced, in terms of its trajectories as experienced through the Occupy movement. This most pertinent section firstly, provides a recap of the structural determination of class as experienced in the neoliberal conjuncture of the advanced capitalist state. Moreover, it then surmises the role of [the] state as organiser of the power bloc and disorganiser of the exploited classes as the basis for what unfolds thereafter – a review of the processes of attempts at ideological and repression 'inculcation' as seen through the Occupy movement. As the thesis reaches its pinnacle, it then considers the concept of 'pertinent effects' and the making of a social class force of 'the people', inclusive of the types of alliances that might be considered towards this endeavour.

6.2 On Process in both the ‘Theoretical’ and the ‘Real’

What holds the various material components of this thesis together, is a resonance with notions of *process*. In the first instance, the Occupy movement itself was acutely one of *process*, with its various components and features all being indicative of a transforming, evolving, ambiguous, and experimental process in protest assembly (see: Ateş 2012; Harcourt, 2013; Mitchell *et al*, 2013; Roth, 2011; Scherer, 2011; van Gelder, 2011a; Wright and Stern-Weiner, 2012). From its focus, and call, for new processes to bring about equality and real democracy (Hardt and Negri, 2011) through to the day to day running of the different camps and their commitment to horizontalism (Kaufmann, 2011; Sitrin, 2012b) it is understood why one of the movement’s most often cited adages was, *it’s not a protest it’s a process*⁶⁶. As stated by Hoffman (2011; np), ‘in Boston, Meghann Sheridan wrote on the group’s Facebook page, “The process is the message”’. The movement’s lack of concrete form was viewed in both a positive and negative light by different parties. On the one hand it was understood that, ‘because of the way people organized, because it was a process, not an end goal, the movement lived on’ (Reavey, 2014: np). On the other hand, its rejection of concretised reification left it open to a number of critiques, which argued that the movement was too vague, ultimately giving rise to claims of political paralysis (see: Furedi, 2011).

Alongside the concept of process featuring heavily in the material aspects of the case study of the Occupy movement, process emerged in all aspects of the theoretical staples that have been mobilised for this analysis. The neoliberal conjuncture in the advanced capitalist state, for all its ‘constants’ (see: chapter 2 - 2.1) is invariably ‘in flux’ (see Chapter 2: 2.22 and 2.4) and ever changing in both its form, particularly with regard to its manifestation in different temporal and spatial arrangements. Process,

⁶⁶ Direct reference to and/or inference to the importance of process was not only present in many of the formal interviews but appears frequently in the narrative accounts contained within the published literature (see: chapter 1 - 1.9; chapter 4 - 4.2 and 4.3) and was something spoken about often when on camp at the Occupy movement engaging in informal discussions with various persons.

and relationships within process, are also deeply embedded within capitalism more broadly speaking. For Poulantzas (1974: 21), an examination of the workings of capital and [the] state requires the analytical scrutiny of the '*process of production and reproduction*' (original emphasis). It is these processes under capitalism that give rise to the structural determinants of class, which, in turn, act as the departure point from which they subsequently translate, through further and continued processes of class struggle (Poulantzas, 1974), into class positions in the conjuncture (see Chapter 2: 2.53 and 2.54). It is this particular process, i.e. the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture, which was of central analytical concern in this thesis. Although a process amongst many other processes being examined, it is this process that Poulantzas left unreconciled within his work (Jessop, 1985) and it is also this process that is considered most fervently, due to its capacity to be of value to the integrated body in struggle, that has an agglomerated interest in both academia and activism (see: Chapter 3: 3.2). As argued by Poulantzas (1968: 12), 'theoretical work [then], whatever the degree of its abstraction, is always work bearing on real *processes*. [...] theoretical work proceeds from a raw material, which consists not of the "real- concrete", but of information, notions, etc. about this reality, and deals with it by means of certain conceptual tools: the result of this work is the knowledge of an object' (emphasis added).

6.3 Process and the War of Position and War of Manoeuvre: A Codicil

In its beginning, due to the spatiality and temporality attributed to both the derivation of the primary research data, and the secondary literature of published narratives arising from the movement, this thesis recognised and situated the Occupy movement within the advanced capitalist state in the neoliberal conjuncture. As delineated in Chapter 2 this, in turn, gave rise to an acknowledgement of the Occupy movement, in the context of the West, of also being situated within the terrain of the war of position (see: chapter 2 - 2.3). In many ways this was, and remains, an accurate assertion for a

number of reasons. Firstly, acknowledging the war of position terrain, within which the particular Occupy movement camps under examination were situated, was essential in order to recognise and give a sense of the long and entrenched process of class struggle associated with advanced capitalist states. Secondly, it also responded to the somewhat careless assessments of the movement (see: Gude, 2012; Mitchell, 2013 and Žižek, 2012), pertaining to measuring 'success' against the benchmark of a war of manoeuvre, i.e. the commandeering of state apparatus, before a successful battle over hearts and minds had been won, which would, in Gramscian terms, constitute a weak and fragile victory that would likely soon be overturned. However, the culmination of this work calls for further exploration of the relationship of the notions of the war of position and war of manoeuvre, and ultimately, the type of 'war' taking place in this particular conjuncture. This is with particular reference to assurances of a non-fortress conceptualisation of the state that might be gleaned from some of the dichotomous residue associated with the origins of Gramsci's work on the war of manoeuvre and war of position.

The first point to address is regarding the derivation of the notions of war of manoeuvre and war of position in the works of Gramsci. For Gramsci, his first foray into the development of the notions of a war of manoeuvre and war of position have their roots firmly in an attempt to make a distinction between the type of required revolutionary strategy in the East and West during his time of writing. Gramsci explains this in one of his letters written to the then Italian politician Palmiro Togliatti, who would become leader of the Italian Communist Party in 1927, in 1924:

'The determination, which in Russia was direct and drove the masses onto the streets for a revolutionary uprising, in central and western Europe is complicated by all these political super-structures, created by the greater development of capitalism. This makes the action of the masses slower and more prudent, and therefore requires of the revolutionary party a strategy and tactics altogether more complex and long-term than those which were necessary for the Bolsheviks in the period between March and November 1917' (SPWII pp 199 – 200 cited

in: Ransome, 1992: 145).

It is from these origins that Gramsci derived his first venture into discussions regarding the war of manoeuvre, a more direct frontal attack pertinent to his mind to the East, and a war of position, a more slow and gradual struggle pertaining to conditions in the West. The attempt to distinguish the different type of revolutionary strategy required in the East, in comparison to the West, underpinned the development of these terms and as such the East/West distinction permeated into the war of manoeuvre and war of position resulting in an inferred dichotomy in many parts of his writings thereafter. For example Gramsci (Q 13, §7; SPN, p. 243 cited in Thomas, 2011: 52) stated that the 'war of movement increasingly becomes war of position' in the context of the West and through this expression of becoming the inference of a transition infers a dichotomous distinction (also see: Q 7, §16; SPN, pp. 237–8 for further dichotomy inferences). As per the reflections of Thomas (2011: 49 - 50) who states that Gramsci's 'famous remarks on the different political structures in East and West and the different revolutionary strategies appropriate to them, solidif[ied] into the famous juxtaposition between "war of manoeuvre" in the East and "war of position" in the West' (also: see Thomas, 2011: 75 for further commentary on argued ahistorical juxtapositions). This foundation and source of Gramsci's war of manoeuvre and war of position musings, being that of a consideration of the differences between East and West, means that in reading Gramsci we are left with a legacy of a pervading dichotomy that is, to an extent, always suffused within these terms.

In the context of this research these dichotomous origins give rise to a series of problems when mobilising the terms war of manoeuvre and war of position. In terms of this thesis, the key concern is a the proposition of a fortress state which appears in the following extract from Gramsci:

'In war it would sometimes happen that a fierce artillery attack seemed to have destroyed the enemy's entire defensive system, whereas in fact it only

destroyed the *outer perimeter*, and at the moment of their advance and attack the assailants would find themselves confronted by a line of *defence* which was still effective' (SPN, p235 cited in: Ransome, 1992: 145 – 146, emphasis added)

Poulantzas is critical of the corollaries of such a statement when he says that:

'The shift in the relationship of forces within the State touches its apparatuses and mechanisms as a whole; it does not affect only parliament or, as is so often repeated nowadays, the ideological state apparatuses that are supposed to play the determining role in the "contemporary" State. The process extends also, and above all, to the repressive state apparatuses that hold the monopoly of legitimate physical violence: especially the army and the police. But just as we should not forget the particular role of these apparatuses [...] so we should not imagine that the strategy of modifying the relationship of forces within the State is valid only for the ideological apparatuses, and that the repressive apparatuses, completely isolated from popular struggle, can be taken only by frontal, external attack [...]. Obviously, a shift in the balance of forces within the repressive apparatuses poses special, and therefore formidable, problems. But [...] these apparatuses are themselves traversed by the struggles of the popular masses' (Poulantzas, 1978: 259)

What is gleaned from the above extract is, if we are to take [the] state to be the specific material condensation of the relationship of social class forces, then any issues such as this arising from the historical dichotomising of a war of position distinct from a war of manoeuvre needs to be renounced. It requires reconsideration as a result of acknowledging that:

'The choice is not, as is often thought, between a struggle "within" the state apparatuses (that is, physically invested and inserted in their material space) and a struggle located at a certain physical distance from these apparatuses. *First*, because any struggle at a distance always has effects within the State: it is always there, even if only in a refracted manner and through intermediaries. *Secondly*, and most importantly, because struggle at a distance from the state apparatuses, whether within or beyond the limits of the physical space traced by the institutional *loci*, remains

necessary at all times and in every case, since it reflects the, autonomy of the struggles and organizations of the popular masses' (Poulantzas, 1978: 259: original emphasis).

All of this is reflected, and grounded, in the findings from the Occupy movement. In the earlier parts of this thesis the writer was critical of the benchmarking of the movement's 'success' against the war of manoeuvre and thus sort to situate the movement within the war of position terrain. However, a close, post analytical inspection situates the movement in the terrain of long processual struggle but one that does not preclude a fortress state. This is most evident in the Occupy movement's role in the 'fight for \$15' that saw minimum wage rises across New York, Seattle, California, Portland, and Chicago (see: Minners, 2016; Sanchez, 2016). It also saw The Rolling Jubilee (see: <http://rollingjubilee.org/>) abolishing over \$31 in personal debt such as health bills and student debt, by raising just over \$700,000. It is also well established that in bringing all the matters that it did to the fore it has seen other impacts to state practices through the election of members of the Occupy movement, such as Kshawa Samat in Seattle, to city council, lead to New York Mayor Bill de Blasio seeking to address sick pay and minimum wage hikes and in general has been cited as, at minimum, at least making it a great deal more difficult for Wall Street to exert its influence on government (see: Minners, 2016). Although all of these are admittedly best described as pertinent effects (see: chapter 6: 6.45) they do evidence the slow process of struggle but one that does not delineate a fortress state.

At this point it is important to pause and be clear that it can be argued that such dichotomies did not pervade every aspect of Gramsci's work particularly in his later writings when his early theoretical separationist tendencies, such as war of manoeuvre/position and political/civil society as he eked out his musings further, saw some redress particularly in his developments of the integral state. Walsh (2012: np) is partially accurate in his assessment that in some cases Poulantzas use of Gramsci creates a 'straw-man to tear down' and to a degree in some cases Poulantzas can fall

foul of makes totalising claims about things Gramsci said in a particular point in time that may have later been subject to development. Although, at times, Poulantzas is indeed guilty of not recognising the particular temporalities of Gramsci in context he remains accurate in his remarks found in his final work *State, Power, Socialism*. Poulantzas (1978: 256) states that 'despite his remarkable insights [and] Gramsci's considerable theoretical political contributions [...] the fact remains that Gramsci was also unable to pose the problem in all its amplitude'. However, rather than confront these 'blind alleys' (ibid) that he identifies within Gramsci, Poulantzas admits that he is not able to elicit a more in-depth further discussion on these matters at the time of writing. For that reason, Poulantzas too is only able to 'tinker' with issues pertaining to the war of position and his avowals regarding the problems with Gramsci's conceptualisation, which are thus 'too summarily announced' (Hall, 1980: xvii) and are ultimately left 'in other hands' (ibid).

However, no matter a readers take on the extent to which Poulantzas accurately reads Gramsci, or the extent to which Gramsci adequately addresses the dichotomous origins of his terminology regarding the different types of 'wars', what is vital moving forward, in the context of any discussion pertaining to the type of 'war' and struggle going on in this particular conjuncture in the advanced capitalist state, is to expunge any such dichotomous residue pertaining to the war of manoeuvre and war of position terrain. The reason for this is because 'it is [...] not a question of a straight choice between frontal war of movement and war of position [...]. A fortress state is an imaginary because all struggle, even if seemingly at a distance from it, has an effect on [the] state as a whole (Poulantzas, 1978: 258). For Poulantzas (1978: 258 – 259), 'to shift the relationship of forces within the State does not mean to win successive reforms in an unbroken chain, to conquer the state machinery piece by piece, or simply to occupy the positions of government. It denotes nothing other than a stage of real breaks, the climax of which – and there has to be one - is reached when the relationship of forces on the strategic terrain of the State swings over to the side of the popular masses'.

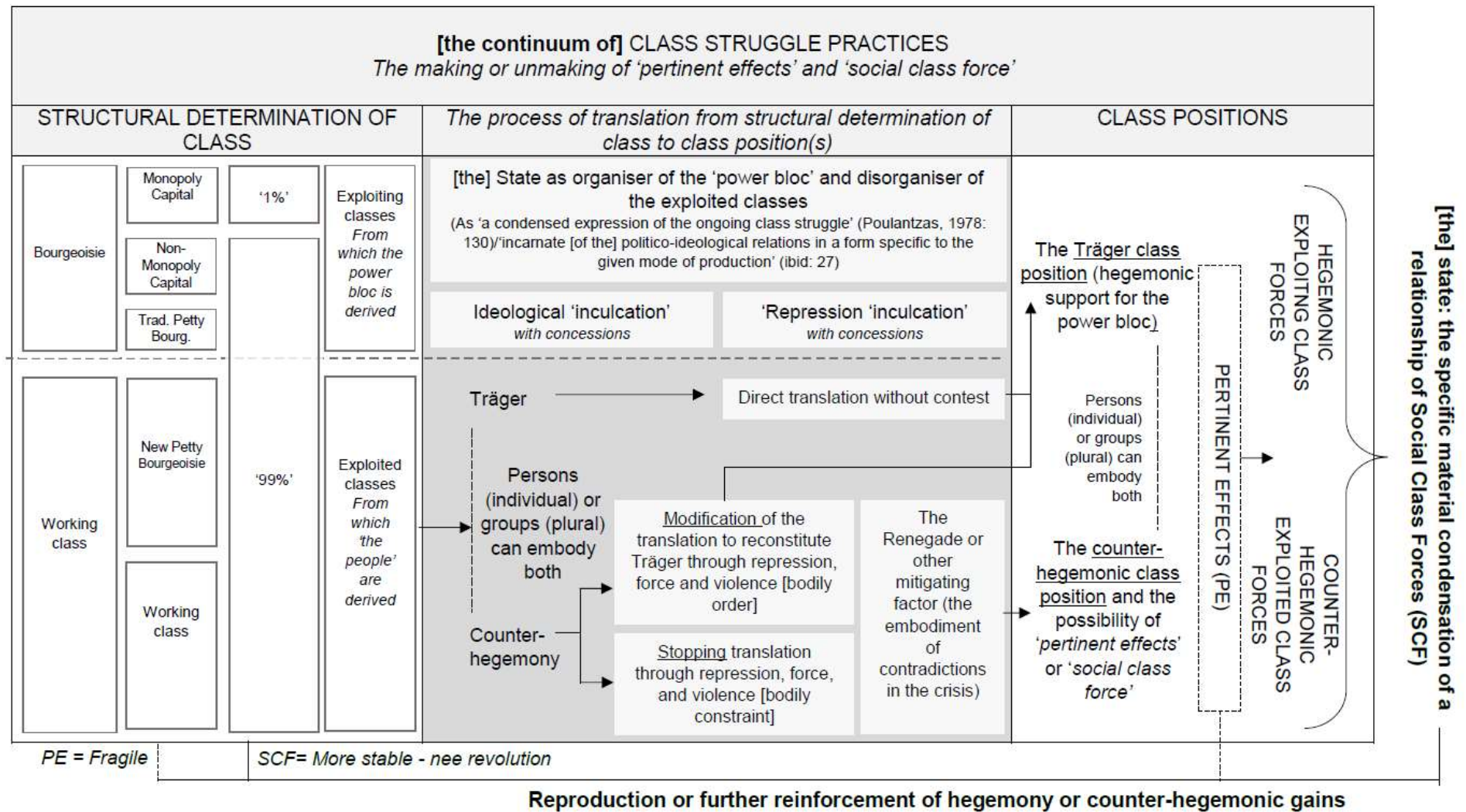
In conclusion this thesis calls for greater theoretical attention, interpretation and evolution of both Gramsci and Poulantzas, and perhaps others alike, to take on matters arising regarding the type of 'war' taking place in the current conjuncture. What is then required is a new conceptual base from which to work, one that acknowledges the long entrenched and processual nature of struggle that involves a quasi-distinction between the ideological and repressive roles of state apparatus, without succumbing to the ill-conceived problematic of the binaries of base/superstructure, civil/political society, active/passive revolution, and ultimately war of position/manoeuvre and its resultant problems such as an ill-conceived fortress state. Although it is fair to say that in Gramsci's later works involving his move towards discussions of the integral state may have begun to set the scene for a greater elucidation of the type of war taking place, an elucidation that might have expunged the dichotomous origins of his operational terms of war of manoeuvre and war of position that can give rise to the problematic notion of a fortress state he never sufficiently was able to return to this in his lifetime. In equal part Poulantzas too was unable to take the mantle regarding a matter that would require so much in-depth theoretical treatment it would merit a colossus task of its own. For, 'the truth is that one cannot choose the form of war one wants' (Gramsci, Q 13, §24; SPN, p. 234 cited in Thomas, 2011: 150) but the decision to examine that war in all its theoretical, practical and strategic amplitude is something one can choose to do.

6.4 On the Structural Determination of Class to Class Positions in the Conjuncture

This thesis now turns to the most pertinent process under examination in this research: the translation of the structural determination of class through to class positions in the neoliberal conjuncture. It does so by recapping the analytical processual journey of class struggle, within the context of the Occupy movement, in the West. Beginning with the structural determination of class and its interaction with notions of the '1 per cent'

and the '99 per cent', it delineates the social classes, strata, and fractions as seen in the advanced capitalist state. This is then followed by a summary discussion that situates [the] state as the organiser of the power bloc, derived from the exploiting classes, into a social class force and as the disorganiser of the exploited classes, in an attempt to pervert the formulation of a social class force that would form 'the people'. In situating [the] state in its organising role, the journey of the structural determination of class through to class positions in the conjuncture takes the form of tracing a journey of class struggle for the exploited classes that assembled at the Occupy movement, examining the forms of ideological 'inculcation' and repression 'inculcation', albeit with concessions, towards variant class positions in the conjuncture. As described by Poulantzas (1974: 16) 'from the start structural class determination involve[s] economic, political and ideological class struggle, and these struggles are all expressed as class positions in the conjuncture'. A summary and visual representation of this journey, as seen through the Occupy movement, can be found in figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4: The Translation of the Structural Determination of Class to Class Positions in the (Neoliberal) Conjuncture



6.41 The Structural Determination of Class

Chapter 2 set the context for matters pertaining to the structural determination of class in the neoliberal conjuncture (see: Figure 2.53a). Within this section a series of social class categories were ascertained. The importance of such a demarcation of social classes in the advanced capitalist state was multiple. Firstly, it was important to firm up some key areas of contention. It was important to ensure that monopoly capital, non-monopoly capital and the traditional petty bourgeoisie (capital) were attributed to the exploiting classes for in some cases the mistake had been made to categorise based on size of ownership rather than on ownership in and of itself. For example, sometimes small capital holdings pertaining to the traditional petty bourgeoisie (capital) had been attributed to the working class domain incorrectly in the context of the structural determinants of class. The structural determination of class is organised in this way, in order to denote the commonality amongst all fractions for whom capitalism as a system is required for their existence (the exploiting classes), whilst recognising through the sub-categories of monopoly, non-monopoly and traditional petty bourgeoisie capital that there is a 'contradictory and uneven process of "fusion" operating among various fractions of capital' (Poulantzas, 1978: 128).

Of equal importance was situating the language of the Occupy movement within this structure. One of the key slogans of the Occupy movement was the 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent, a phrase acknowledged not to be statistically accurate but as a statement of counter-hegemony to the hegemonic dominance of the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital. As argued by Poulantzas (1974: 14-15) 'in stressing the importance of political and ideological relations in determining social classes, and the fact that social classes only exist in the form of class struggle and class practices, class determination must not be reduced, in a voluntarist fashion, to class position'. The main interest of this thesis lies in '*the importance [of] those*

cases in which distance arises between the structural determination of classes and class positions in the conjuncture' (ibid). It is at this point that [the] state and its organising role becomes most palpable.

6.42[The] State as Organiser of the Power Bloc and Disorganiser of the Exploited Classes

The role of [the] state in its advanced capitalist form is to act as the organiser of a 'power bloc', derived from the various fractions of the exploiting classes to enact its political hegemonic will, derived from the monopoly capital fraction. As stated by Poulantzas (1974: 93), 'as far as the terrain of political domination is concerned, this is [...] occupied not by one single class or class fraction, but by several dominant classes and fractions. These classes and fractions form a specific alliance on this terrain, the power bloc, generally functioning under the leadership of one of the dominant classes or fractions, the hegemonic class or fraction'. It is exactly because of the class fraction differences contained within the exploiting classes (monopoly capital, non-monopoly capital and the traditional petty bourgeoisie - capital) that this 'power bloc' does not always stand in a 'uniformly contradictory relationship' (Poulantzas, 1978: 143) to the exploited classes. Although as previously delineated these fractions can be grouped as the exploiting classes, due to some extent being united in their relationship of possession under the processes of capitalist production (see: chapter 2 - 2.53) however, their differences in terms of classification as fractions always give rise to contradictions. For Poulantzas (1978: 133) 'contradictions among the dominant classes and fractions – or in other words, the relationship of forces within the power bloc – are precisely what makes it necessary for the unity of the bloc to be organized by the State'. Therefore the 'power bloc', in itself, is always a case of 'a variable game of provisional compromises' (Poulantzas, 1978: 140) that gives rise to the potential for 'resistance centres' (ibid: 137). These 'resistance centres' pose key questions for the possibility of alliances between certain fractions of the exploiting classes with the

exploited classes in terms of class positions in the conjuncture.

However, [the] state's role in terms of organising the power bloc is not its only organising role, it simultaneously seeks to *disorganise* the working classes in forming its own 'power bloc' – a social class force of, for, and to be known as, 'the people'⁶⁷. As argued by Poulantzas (1978: 140: emphasis added), 'the State concentrates not only the relationship of forces between fractions of the power bloc, *but also the relationship between the power bloc and the dominated*⁶⁸ classes'. The relationship of the exploiting classes to the power bloc (and the exploited classes) was examined in chapters 4 and 5 which traced various relevant details of the Occupy movement by way of examining the activities of the power bloc, as enacted through [the] state, impacting the processes of the structural determination of class to class positions in the conjuncture. The next section revisits this journey by way of moving towards the question of alliances. For it is the case today 'more than ever [...] that an essential component of revolutionary strategy consists in knowing the enemy well, and in being able to establish correct alliances' (Poulantzas, 1974: 9).

6.43 Ideological 'Inculcation', Subconjunctural Moments and the Occupy Movement

Chapter 4 of this thesis turned its attention to matters of ideological 'inculcation' regarding [the] state's role in organising the power bloc, and disorganising the exploited classes. The chapters formation in dealing with ideological 'inculcation', seemingly distinctly from Chapter 5 which dealt with repression 'inculcation', is to remember that to structure matters in this way is to speak of *matters* pertaining to ideological 'inculcation' rather than view them as separate in terms of the role of state apparatus which can have the role of both ideological and repression 'inculcation'. For example 'dominant ideology also enters into the organization of

⁶⁷ For Poulantzas (1974: 24), 'the 'power bloc', designat[ed] a specific alliance of dominant classes and fractions; also, on the side of the dominated classes, the concept of the 'people', designating a specific alliance of these classes and fractions'.

⁶⁸ Please see chapter 2 – 2.5 regarding Poulantzas' use of the term dominated classes and the thesis' employment of the exploiting classes instead.

other apparatuses (army, police, judicial system, prisons, state administration)' even if their 'principal responsibility is the exercise of legitimate physical violence' (Poulantzas, 1978: 29). Moreover, for Poulantzas (1978: 28), 'ideology does not consist merely in a system of ideas or representations: it also involves a series of *material practices*, embracing the customs and life-style of the agents and setting like cement in the totality of social (including political and economic) practices' (original emphasis). It is also important to be mindful that 'inculcation' also involves concessions, so as not to reduce [the] state to ideological and repression inculcation couplet alone, although these are in themselves part of the strategy for gaining consent (Poulantzas, 1978: 84).

Chapter 4 considered a number of matters that were largely tied up in what it means to 'actually exist in neoliberalism' (Brenner and Theodore, 2002: 349). To this end it considered the wider neoliberal conjuncture, beginning with the Thatcher and Regan years of the 1980s, and examined the partial success of the neoliberal project. In doing so it recognised the ideological 'inculcation' associated with the advanced capitalist state in this conjuncture had, had some partial success whereby to an extent aspects of neoliberal ideology was internalised or aspired to (See: Pimlott-Wilson, 2015; González-Fuente and Pérez-Ortega, 2016). On the other hand it was often less about success in terms of the power bloc successfully recruiting the support of the working classes, and instead, that the particular processes of accumulation by dispossession in the neoliberal conjuncture gave rise to the 'effect of isolation' (Poulantzas, 1968) or isolation effect. The isolation effect induces a series of problems in terms of making it difficult to forge solidarity at the economic level given, for example, high levels of unemployment and precarious working conditions. However, it does not rule out demand for, and a desire to, forge political or ideological solidarity leaving these spaces more open to potential activity.

The analysis of the Occupy movement in this way considered the wider neoliberal

conjuncture in terms of considering all these processes before anyone flooded the streets of Manhattan as they did on the 17th September 2011. Despite resistance and contradictions in the crisis manifesting themselves across the neoliberal conjuncture setting, at various points in time, the possibilities and desires to form political and/or ideological solidarity can be seen most pertinently and in a material form, such as was the case with the Occupy movement, in what this thesis describes as a particular *subconjunctural moment*. What is meant by the subconjunctural moment is a time within the wider conjuncture when certain contradictions in the crisis meet a temporal and spatial pinnacle or climax. In this case the existence of the Occupy movement, as a subconjunctural moment, is attributed mainly to the millennials and student and graduate movement. The Occupy movement was evidenced as being highly driven and led by students and recent graduates (see: Gaby and Caren, 2012; Graber, 2011; McCarthy, 2012; Milkman *et al*, 2013). It is argued that this particular subconjunctural moment can be accredited to the contradictions in the crisis being felt most palpably by those that had done as they were supposed to - worked hard, and studied hard – yet saw no rewards at the end of this line of practices. Galvanized by feeling the effects of the crisis so acutely, particularly in the context of the aftermath of the 2008 onward austerity period, these young people were joined by ‘comrades of old’ such as the neo-anarchists, anti/alter globalisation campaigners and labour related movements, where they shared practice, experience and ideas (see: Dean, 2013; Lewis and Luce, 2012; Smith, 2012; Taylor, 2013).

However, to realise these political and ideological solidarity desires and to wish for change is not to immediately and totally extract oneself from the mire of the neoliberal project. After establishing the Occupy movement and witnessing its growth in various different cities across the world, there were further tasks at hand. Chapter 4 recounted the experience of people at the Occupy movement and, in doing so, it traced the importance and need for a space for *process* to work towards a way

forward for meaningful change. This was both in the context of engaging with the external public and amongst those within the movement. The space of the camps

themselves had a strong library presence and the space they had made was important in the sense that, as delineated by a protestor at Occupy Baltimore, the camps became a 'public sphere not mediated by commodities or mainstream political discourse' (Hoffman, 2011: np). This once again placed emphasis on *process*, rather than protest in itself, and demonstrated that such a space was required to 'garner the level of understanding and engagement needed to change the broken system around us' (Brophy, 2012: np).

What emerged as a result of the ideological 'inculcation' efforts of the neoliberal project was, rather than the Occupy movement being counter-hegemonic in its totality, just like those outside the movement, was the presence of a series of ambiguous bodies that can, and did, exhibit both Träger and counter-hegemonic ideas. The point of a space, such as the Occupy movement, was to provide the room and latitude that, although it may never sit wholly outside of [the] state (see: Poulantzas, 1978: 260) will at least offer the possibility of working through processes of neoliberal extrapolation forming more bonds, and ultimately class positions, that are counter-hegemonic. Remembering that, as described by Jessop (2014: np), people 'are not mere Träger (bearers) of pre-constituted class identities and interests but active agents, reflecting on their identities and interests in specific conjunctures with all that this implies for changing horizons of action'. Within chapter 4 this was further elucidated in the minute of the explication of contention within the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy pertaining to matters about drug and alcohol (mis)users.

In the road to democratic socialism Poulantzas (1978: 263) described two dangers that lie in wait. The concerns of this thesis in chapter 4 are reminiscent of one of these two dangers and that is 'forms of articulation' (ibid: 264). The Occupy movement required space, in this long struggle to work on, and even to master, its forms of articulation inclusive of seeking to shed any neoliberal residue, resulting

from matters of ideological ‘inculcation’ in the neoliberal conjuncture. However, such a space was effectively terminated by the other danger that lay in wait. The other danger lying in wait, is that of the ‘reaction of the enemy’ (ibid) which is where the attention of this thesis now turns to once more.

6.44 Repression ‘Inculcation’, Contradictions in the Crisis and the Question of Alliances

Chapter 5 critically explored matters of repression ‘inculcation’. This chapter began by delineating all the peculiarities, and particularities, of matters of repression, force, and violence as seen at the Occupy movement in [the] state of advanced capitalism in the neoliberal conjuncture. It delineated aspects pertaining to the use of old laws to adversely affect the Occupy movement ,as well as [the] state’s ability to have foresight in enacting new byelaws to prevent further acts of dissent, such as was the case of the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill 2011. Further to this it depicted some of the exactitudes of neoliberalism which saw ‘other’ manifestations in the enactment of state repression, force, and violence, one which showed the use of, and incorporation of, private security entities which, in turn, afforded [the] state yet another way to distance itself from repression, force, and violence and augment its power. Once again the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy was employed to provide a neat minute elucidation of these matters furthermore. Moreover, the manifestation of overt violence to the body, oscillation in police practices that were distinctly arbitrarily enacted were viewed as not only temporal, in terms of hiding such violence from the public as best as possible, but also strategic and indicative of the nuances of repression ‘inculcation’ in this case. That is to say that [the] state, in the case of the Occupy movement, acted in a way that sought to procure *bodily order* to exact a specific diktat on its existence. However, if, the movement gathered a certain level or degree of traction be that in the immediate, or the long term, then *bodily constraint* was always at the disposal of [the] state. This is due to the requirement to maintain a perception and illusion of

democracy, freedom, and liberty of which there is limited realisation of this in the advanced capitalist state. Therefore [the] state is served by the concession of allowing protest *to an extent*, but if that protest starts to demonstrate the possibility of becoming something, that might reach a certain level of organisation and traction, inclusive of the possibility of moving towards a social class force realisation of 'the people', it can always quash it with the veritable arsenal it keeps hidden under a bushel (Poulantzas, 1978).

With regards to matters of repression inculcation Chapter 5 also examined the role of the renegade in particular, the role of Giles Fraser 'the renegade priest' at the original Occupy inception in London, Occupy LSX. Fraser, the then Canon Chancellor for St Paul's Cathedral, played a major role in the physical existence of Occupy LSX that lasted 2 months longer than the physical existence of its major counterpart - Occupy Wall Street. On the morning of the second day of the Occupy LSX occupation (October 16th 2011) Fraser asked the 'menacing police presence' (see: chapter 5 – 5.41) to move away and, in many respects, he was able to protect the movement from state repression, force, and violence for a time. Although serendipitous, rather than a strategic plan by the Occupy movement, this surprising alliance in Fraser, surprising in the sense of the unease of the church being seen by many as forming part of the exploiting classes, afforded the movement more time to coalesce in the space they held so sacred to forming ideas and motions. Fraser, and other potential 'renegades' raise key questions in matters pertaining to alliance.

The question of alliances is hugely pertinent for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is argued that the Occupy movement in itself was an experiment in alliance. The Occupy Movement was awash with talk of connections (see: chapter 1 - 1.7). Taking the most likely and basic alliances amongst the exploited classes first, and attempts to organise and counter [the] state's attempt to disorganise, there were cases of alliances between other protest groups and their particular cause e.g.

with 'Slut Walk' (see: Butler, 2011b). Further to this, as described by Solnit (2012: np), 'Occupy Wall Street also built alliances around racist persecution that lasted well after most of the encampments were disbanded. Occupiers were there for everything from the Million Hoodie Marches to protest the slaying of Trayvon Martin in Florida to stop- and-frisk in New York City to racist bank policies and foreclosures in San Francisco. There, a broad-based housing rights movement came out of Occupy that joined forces with the Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment (ACCE) to address foreclosures, evictions, corrupt banking practices, and more'. Although with some admitted unease (see: Wallsten, 2011) there were alliances between Libertarians and Occupy Wall Street who were united by their concern with 'crony capitalism' (Friedersdorf, 2011; Shuster, 2012) and alliances with labour unions united by anti-corporate sentiment (Kozloff, 2011). The language of the 1 per cent Vs the 99 per cent, albeit problematic in hiding as much as it revealed about the structural determination of class in the conjuncture, demonstrated the possibility and desire to form alliances against the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital. These aforementioned cases of alliance are however, arguably more obvious alliances pertaining to an organisation of those predominantly within the working classes/exploited classes.

As argued by Poulantzas (1974: 334) 'we must rid ourselves once and for all of the illusions that have often affected the revolutionary movement, throughout its history, to the effect that an objective proletarian polarization of class determination must necessarily lead in time to a polarization of class positions'. The question of alliances within class struggle to support the possible formulation and constitution of a social class force of 'the people' is one of the key questions arising (see: Johnson, 1977). For Poulantzas (1974: 302) 'the fundamental question, today more than ever, is that of the working class's alliances'. The case of 'the renegade' reinforces that 'the structural class determination, and is not reducible to class position; rather, it has its effects on this. The national bourgeoisie is capable of

adopting, in certain specific conjunctures of the anti-imperialist and national liberation struggle, class positions which make it part of 'the people'; it can therefore be brought into a certain type of alliance with the popular masses' (Poulantzas, 1974: 71). The key question that arises is the extent, shape and manifestation of such alliance.

This thesis draws the conclusion that any contradictions in the crisis which give rise to renegade persons, such as Fraser and others, should be utilised expressly in the terrain of protection from repression 'inculcation' and for the creation and preservation of spaces for process amongst, and on the terms of, the working classes:

'In point of fact, every class alliance of the popular masses (the 'people') involves a series of real contradictions between the interests of the various classes in the alliance, contradictions which have to be taken seriously into consideration and resolved correctly these are the "contradictions among the people". There can be no doubt that certain of the contemporary wage-earning groupings outside of the proletariat form part of the people. But recognition of their class membership, which differentiates them from the working class, is nevertheless essential in order to establish a correct basis for the popular alliance, under the leadership and hegemony of the working class [...] By expressly denying the class membership of these groupings, their differentiation from the working class is hidden, i.e. the possibility that they have class interests that are relatively distinct from those of the working class is concealed. By imputing to them interests identical to those of the working class, the long-term interests of the working class itself, which is the only class that is revolutionary to the end, are distorted so that they can be amalgamated with those of these other groupings, while the real problem is precisely that of leading groupings with their own specific class membership to take up the positions of the working class. The proponents of the state monopoly capitalism theory may well stress the fact that these shifting classless strata do not belong to the working class, but in their political conclusions they increasingly converge with the social-democratic error of the 'wage-earning class' (Poulantzas, 1974:

For the working classes, in any endeavours seeking to form a social class force of 'the people', there are a number of risks. Given how power currently operates, in terms of the dominance of the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital and the way it which it organises the power bloc, this means that [the] state, in its condensed form within the neoliberal conjuncture, gives rise to risks in terms of any alliance with persons outside of the working classes. This risk is one of being subsumed – taken over, or at minimum becoming heavily tainted, by the hegemonic fraction of monopoly capital (Henningesen, 2011). However, alliances are undoubtedly required, for as stated by Arrighi *et al* (1989: 29) 'indeed, this has been one of the great strengths of the world's ruling strata throughout history – the noncontinuity of rebellion'.

The problem lies in that talk of alliances most often tends to coalesce around an assumed forging of political alliances, predominantly in terms of already existing political parties and functionaries (see: Ross, 1978). The result of such alliances at the political level is that 'any alliance strategy carries with it the danger that the Left will not only use but will be *used* by its allies' (ibid: 170). Therefore this thesis posits to query the way in which alliances are most frequently considered, and to call for, instead, alliances, that in their shape and form, carry far less risks of the creation of a social class force of 'the people' being compromised. The processual nature of struggle makes abundantly clear the importance of creating spaces for *process*, especially in terms of reverting, and limiting further, any undesirable effects resulting from the ideological 'inculcation' of existing in neoliberalism. What becomes vital in the long course of struggle is the organic processual development of a social class force of 'the people' derived from, and on the terms of the working classes, and thus, that any alliances that are forged should be ones that allow for this to happen by mitigating the, particularly repressive,

'inculcation' efforts of [the] state in its present form.

6.45 Process and Pertinent Effects: Towards a Social Class Force of ‘the People’

In moving towards the final conclusory remarks this thesis considers two items from the work of Poulantzas - *pertinent effects* and *social class force*. According to Poulantzas (1974: 160) pertinent effects are ‘the specific expression at the political level of a class or class fraction that exists in its own right but without constituting a social force’. The distinction between pertinent effects and a social class force is crucial. In essence, ‘pertinent effects do not require actual organisation of the class in question since they can also be achieved through modifications in relations of power and/or structures of action that would not otherwise occur’ (Jessop, 1985: 155 - 156) whereas, a social class force requires a determinate counter-hegemonic organised formation that have the capacity to achieve ‘profound breaks [...] rather than secondary modifications of the state apparatus’ (Poulantzas, 1978: 263)⁶⁹.

Firstly, although fragile and susceptible to reversion by the [the] state in its organising role, there is ‘the need to recognise and study the “pertinent effects” [...] in any given conjuncture’ (Panitch, 1999: 30). In terms of pertinent effects, the Occupy movement can be seen as having various impacts within this terrain. For example, in abstract terms it ‘fundamentally altered the national conversation’ van Gelder (2011a:11) and in more acute terms it had a number of ‘wins’ such as the momentum it built and the role it played in campaigns to increase the minimum wage in the US (see: Levitin, 2015). However, even if no pertinent effects can be identified this should not render acts of struggle as instrumentally meaningless, for in the process of struggle it remains evident that even in ‘the absence of “pertinent effects” at the political level [this] does not mean an absence of political practice: suffrage, for example, is a political practice for the person who makes use of it’

⁶⁹ Poulantzas was always ambiguous about what constitutes as social class force however, this is argued to be as close a reading of social class force as can be achieved at this present time as a full progression of the war of vectorial is yet to be seen.

(Poulantzas, 1968: 80). Furthermore, as discussed by Poulantzas (1968: 81) pertinent effects play an important role:

‘It is only by examining this that we can circumscribe the relations of the limits and variations, and thus characterize the “pertinent effects”. This pertinence may be reflected in important modifications of political and ideological structures as well as in modifications of the field of the political and ideological class struggle. It may be manifested in an important modification of the relations of class “representation”, in which the economic existence of a class is reflected in important changes of structure strategy of the party *of another class*, so that the latter can put itself forward also as the representative of the former class, in the case in which its party has an important role in the political class struggle’ (original emphasis).

However, as pertinent effects are not profound changes in the ‘balance’ of social class forces to the extent that they inscribe material changes to state apparatus within the condensation of the relationship of class forces that is [the] state, they are fragile and subject to a reneging by [the] state in its current form.

As argued by Poulantzas (1974: 17) class positions in the conjuncture ‘constitute the conditions for the intervention of classes as social forces’. Social class forces in turn need to be organised in such a way that as argued by (Poulantzas, 1978 cited in Martin, 2008: 368) ‘for state power to be taken, a mass struggle must have unfolded in such a way as to modify the relationship of forces within the state apparatuses’. Such a modification would require the constitution of a social class force of ‘the people’. In turn, the constitution of a social class force of ‘the people’ requires space for *process*. However, for Poulantzas (1974: 332), ‘no alliance has yet materialized between the major sections of these fractions and the working class, based on the specific objectives of a socialist revolution’. In the long process of struggle this still remains the case, however, in seeking to situate the analysis of

the translation of the structural determination of class into class positions in the conjuncture, as a key site of investigation, it is posited that this may lead to greater elucidations regarding the possibilities of alliance towards a socialist revolution once more. However, in many ways due to his earlier reservations about social movements and what he perceived to be their lack of ability to translate to social forces, alongside his distinctly unpacked analysis of the translation of class determination to class positions, Poulantzas work missed opportunities to critically analyse this transition, that might then evolve into a social class force of 'the people' (Jessop, 1990). What is required for the constitution of a social class force is space for the working classes to engage in *process*. In shutting down the physical spaces it appropriated, the Occupy movement and its traction was halted, and in being denied the space and time it required to fulfil the promise of process, so thus was its potential to evolve into a social class force of 'the people'.

6.5 Final Words – It's not a Protest it's a *Process*

As argued by Jessop (1985: 183) 'for a long time Poulantzas was concerned with the relation between class determination and class position. But he never satisfactorily defined this relation'. To this end this thesis has sought to posit further elucidations regarding the process of the journey of the structural determination of class and its translation into class positions in a given conjuncture. In doing so, it not only wishes to examine its particular area of interest, the Occupy movement, but to offer and share a framework from which to work in order to support any further endeavours that seek to bring about crucial, and much needed, change within the advanced capitalist state. There's nothing inevitable about these processes and how they play out within particular conjunctures (Grayson and Little, 2017) and in that sense, it's also, always, all to play *for*. The translation of the structural determination of class to class positions in the conjuncture will always require, and should welcome, constant and systematic review. This review should be relevant to, inclusive of

identifying and reflecting on, new expressions and formations of the many aspects of the processes of class struggle, that are as fluid as much as they are constant, in their various spatial and temporal arrangements. However, to paraphrase the last words of Poulantzas in *State, Power, Socialism* – that, will be another story.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Declaration of the Occupation of New York City

As we gather together in solidarity to express a feeling of mass injustice, we must not lose sight of what brought us together. We write so that all people who feel wronged by the corporate forces of the world can know that we are your allies.

As one people, united, we acknowledge the reality: that the future of the human race requires the cooperation of its members; that our system must protect our rights, and upon corruption of that system, it is up to the individuals to protect their own rights, and those of their neighbors; that a democratic government derives its just power from the people, but corporations do not seek consent to extract wealth from the people and the Earth; and that no true democracy is attainable when the process is determined by economic power. We come to you at a time when corporations, which place profit over people, self-interest over justice, and oppression over equality, run our governments. We have peaceably assembled here, as is our right, to let these facts be known.

- They have taken our houses through an illegal foreclosure process, despite not having the original mortgage.
- They have taken bailouts from taxpayers with impunity, and continue to give Executives exorbitant bonuses.
- They have perpetuated inequality and discrimination in the workplace based on age, the color of one's skin, sex, gender identity and sexual orientation.
- They have poisoned the food supply through negligence, and undermined the farming system through monopolization.
- They have profited off of the torture, confinement, and cruel treatment of countless nonhuman animals, and actively hide these practices.
- They have continuously sought to strip employees of the right to negotiate for better pay and safer working conditions.
- They have held students hostage with tens of thousands of dollars of debt on education, which is itself a human right.

- They have consistently outsourced labor and used that outsourcing as leverage to cut workers' healthcare and pay.
- They have influenced the courts to achieve the same rights as people, with none of the culpability or responsibility.
- They have spent millions of dollars on legal teams that look for ways to get them out of contracts in regards to health insurance.
- They have sold our privacy as a commodity.
- They have used the military and police force to prevent freedom of the press.
- They have deliberately declined to recall faulty products endangering lives in pursuit of profit.
- They determine economic policy, despite the catastrophic failures their policies have produced and continue to produce.
- They have donated large sums of money to politicians supposed to be regulating them.
- They continue to block alternate forms of energy to keep us dependent on oil.
- They continue to block generic forms of medicine that could save people's lives in order to protect investments that have already turned a substantive profit.
- They have purposely covered up oil spills, accidents, faulty bookkeeping, and inactive ingredients in pursuit of profit.
- They purposefully keep people misinformed and fearful through their control of the media.
- They have accepted private contracts to murder prisoners even when presented with serious doubts about their guilt.
- They have perpetuated colonialism at home and abroad.
- They have participated in the torture and murder of innocent civilians overseas.

- They continue to create weapons of mass destruction in order to receive government contracts*

To the people of the world, We, the New York City General Assembly occupying Wall Street in Liberty Square, urge you to assert your power.

Exercise your right to peaceably assemble; occupy public space; create a process to address the problems we face, and generate solutions accessible to everyone.

To all communities that take action and form groups in the spirit of direct democracy, we offer support, documentation, and all of the resources at our disposal.

Join us and make your voices heard!

*These grievances are not all-inclusive.

(Occupy Wall Street, 2011)

Appendix B: Example copy of Open and Axial data coding

was no sense of this is possibly going to **alienate** certain people and also the people that did it themselves I kind of thought it might be the case then in **retrospect** I found out that was a methamphetamine **addict**, I mean you this is you know I suppose that was part of mine and other **peoples concern** is that you know it was so **hypocritical** and **ridiculous** I mean the people that were actively involved in creating this policy [removed content for ethical reasons] do you see what I mean? It was ridiculous so what I didn't like about it was how AGAIN a **certain group of drug users** were being **alienated** and made to feel that they **didn't belong** [participant C]

Interviewer: "Are you getting bitten? [RE: mosquitoes in interview location]"

21.28 "No it's not that. So, that's what I didn't like about it because I thought that was cruel basically I mean it is like hard enough to be an **addict**, to be you know, strung out and then to feel **alienated** is just not fair. Although some people clearly felt that **Occupy** was more important than them and their problem so that they essentially, as I did eventually you know, put themselves in the **closet**. They wouldn't talk about it much unless it was absolutely necessary certainly they wouldn't talk about it in general assembly obviously and they would **hide** themselves in order for the **greater cause** so it was a kind of sense of **sacrifice**, I can't really find the words here. You know what I'm saying? They would basically **minimise**, not minimise, but deny their experience in the public sense so that Occupy was protected from you know the Daily Mail etc. [participant C]

"Not not well a, not that had been because you What there was a lot of **addicted** [laughs] you occasionally filtered happened was this... would have been aware of it if there I suppose ... as such probably not. We are **we the 99%** - not if you are those little kind conversations that bly but generally speaking what ho were **dependent chemically** just keeping themselves out of the **line sight** a bit when necessary and you know at the end of the day you have got to also consider that they were in the **public eye** and if they were using hard **drugs** anyway they needed to bloody well **hide** because the **cops** were there all the bloody time so there was not just protecting Occupy but **protecting themselves** you know. And you know from time to time, in you know that kitchen tent, I remember one day being there one afternoon/evening when the **cops** thought that they saw two people doing a small **drug** deal, I mean it was [weird/weed inaudible] it wasn't like a big thing as far as I am aware. Anyway the **cops** just went mad [accentuated long 'a'] and dashed into the tent and started trying to **bust people** and it got quite **aggressive** and then loads of Occupiers went forward to **film** it to make sure that it was **on record** and you know so there was always that **tension** and there was always that issue and now I suppose a key thing that happened for me, which I suppose was a **key issue** eventually for Occupy, because it ended up on the **bloody front page** of [newspaper title removed] but you know I was doing my work, chores, whatever by the kitchen tent one morning/afternoon I think [young person/child was at school] and before I know it I realise I'm in a conversation with [newspaper title removed] **journalist** and he's asking me all these questions about sin bins and drugs and needles and this that and the other and I had just got some sin bins in thinking that if anybody is using then they need some sin bins here so I gave them to the first aid tent yeh?"

25.19 I'd literally just got them that day I think because I was like 'oh look ok so you don't want to deal with this so I will just do what I think is necessary' so I went and got the sin bins and gave them to the first aid tent and said look just if you come across

Kitchen tent - relevant? location only? return here

Close (o)

*hypocritical (o)
[class pos-hove]*

*[class pos. (A)]
alienation (o)
hide (o) →*

*public (o)
x multiple*

*protection (o)
[repinote (A)]*

*minimalise (o)
[class pos. (A)]*

media (o)

*we the 99% (o)
[class (A)]*

*protect (o)
x protection (o)
hide (o)
[repinote (A)]*

film (o)

*media (o)
x multiple*

Appendix C: Published Material (copy)

The following is an exact copy of the following published work:

Fletcher, S. (2015) Negotiating the Resistance: Catch 22s, Brokering, and Contention within Occupy Safer Spaces Policy, Contention: The Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Protest, 3(2), pp 5-16.

NEGOTIATING THE RESISTANCE: CATCH 22S, BROKERING AND CONTENTION WITHIN OCCUPY SAFER SPACES POLICY

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Abstract

In the post 2008 financial crisis climate we have seen a plethora of protest movements emerge globally with one of the most recognisable, particularly in the western context, being that of the Occupy movement, which sought to contest the global accumulation of wealth by the few, at the expense of the many. Such protest movements have paved the way for old and new, often contentious, dialogues pertinent for a variety of disciplines and subject matters. Drawing upon both emerging narratives from the movement within the published literature and the authors own empirical interview data with participants at a variety of Occupy sites, this article discusses to what extent the Occupy movement negotiates its existence with the hegemonic state-corporate nexus through its Safer Spaces Policy. The paper concludes that the counter-hegemonic endeavours of resistance movements can be compromised, through the coercion and consent strategies of the powerful working in tandem, resulting in a movement that both opposes and emulates what it seeks to contest. Such discussion can ultimately contribute to the longevous discourses pertaining to how hegemonic power operates not just on but through people.

⁵⁴ With thanks to Giles Barrett, Vicky Canning, Georgios Papanicolaou, Sara Parker, Joe Sim and Steve Tombs for their thoughts and reviews during the writing of the article. The author also extends a special thanks to all those at the various Occupy camps who gave up their time to discuss their experiences.

Keywords

Occupy, Safer Spaces, management, negotiation, resistance, co-option

One area that continues to remain relatively underdeveloped in the contemporary radical left is an examination of power working through people; in particular how hegemonic power might operate through resistance movements themselves. This is not to say that such internally reflexive analyses are completely absent from radical left discourses, there are indeed various sources of reflective dialogues where the critical lens has been turned inward to examine and reveal power structures within our everyday institutionalised practices, whether they be found at work, at home or within our social relationships (Mathiesen, 2004). However, specific critique of resistance operations from those involved themselves, or people pertaining to these movements, has long since been an issue of contention within counter-hegemonic movements and historically these movements have been keen not to criticise any informal transgressions or each other in a public forum (Ramamurthy, 2013: 67). It is easy to see why this is the case given the persistent condition of the establishment being that of one with plentiful reserves of unjust criticism that they are readily prepared to level against these movements, often with little provocation, in an attempt to protect their own vested interests. However, in shying away from an honest examination of contemporary protest movements the nuances of the present manifestations of hegemonic power continue to evade adequate scrutiny. Employing the work of critical state theorists it can be argued that resistance movements fall both within and outside the remit of the state. Poulantzas (1978: 154) argues that at the same time 'class struggles traverse and constitute the state; that they assume a specific form within the state; and that this form is bound up with the material framework of the state'.

Theoretical conceptions of state, power and hegemony are fraught with anxieties, as is evident by their various degrees of abstraction. What is largely agreed upon

however, is that all of these concepts are fluid, perpetually evolving and inevitably complex (Coleman et al, 2009; Peck, 2010). Arguably one of the most composite areas of state power manifestations resides in the extent of its presence within the resistance itself, in its apparition within unexpected host actors beyond the better recognised traditional establishment. Further to this, a failure to rigorously investigate hegemonic power in all its guises can perpetuate the dangerous popular misconception of an 'us' versus 'them' rhetorical binary that can mask the delicate intricacies and blurred boundaries between state and resistance. The everyday contempt (Niven, 2012) expressed by the contemporary multitude of dispossessed and disenfranchised against the economic and political establishment arguably yields a misleading portraiture of a battlefield with distinct lines drawn between liberator and oppressor. Such attitudes have even been transposed from metaphorical portraiture to the language of the contemporary western resistance movement. Taylor (2013: 742) argues that within the hyperbole of Occupy Wall Street (OWS), the 'flagship' occupation in the US, 'the 'greed' of the economic '1%', counterpoised to the hard-working, rule-abiding 99%, has emerged as the dominant political frame of OWS. Rhetorically powerful, the slogan's elegant simplicity conceals as much as it reveals'. Alongside the 99% phraseology many of the other compositional messages emanating from Occupy also appear keen to proclaim its stance as a movement completely at odds to its hegemonic counter-part. This is done largely through the movement's commitment to non-violence in contrast to an aggressive, hostile and brutal attitude and actions towards the dissenting Occupiers (Solnit, 2011; Vitale, 2011). Nevertheless whilst Occupy may have successfully avoided replication of the coercive state arm through its dedication to peaceful protest, its ability to successfully evade the velvet glove, in the same way as it has avoided emulation of the iron fist, is questionable Kellner (2013: 265) argues that 'uprisings and insurrectionary movements throughout the world have ruptured the common-sense understanding that neoliberal capitalism provided the best hope for future prosperity'. Whilst the

merits of these counter- hegemonic endeavours should not be diminished or undermined, neither should they be accepted as holistically counterhegemonic in their absolute entirety. These counter-hegemonic protest movements, alongside all our other various societal institutions and like the resistance movements that have preceded them, should be examined for residual coatings as they emerge from the neoliberal hegemonic mire. In this instance what will be examined and queried is the extent to which hegemonic power acts through the resistance via varying levels of ideological co-option in the day to day workings of the Occupy movement. The discussion will centre around a critical consideration of the Safer Space Policies constructed and implemented across many of the camps in the UK and the US and ultimately the implications of employing the 'Safer Spaces' notional rhetoric of the neoliberal city as a virtue of the resistance movement itself.

This research paper derives from the ongoing doctoral research of the author regarding a critical investigation into the varied responses to the Occupy movement captured in a civil and political society framework. It draws upon the data collected through a snow-ball sample of 13 semi-structured in-depth interviews with participants from 3 different Occupy sites in the UK since 2012: Occupy Liverpool, Communication Row; Occupy London, St Pauls Cathedral; Occupy Democracy, Parliament Square. The research methodology for this work also includes in excess of 80 hours of ethnographic fieldwork, intersecting with the authors own scholarly-activist endeavours, not only at the aforementioned sites but in other Occupy and activist arenas. Examples of this include shorter but still largely static occupations such as Occupy Media or fully mobile protests such as Occupy Faith. Alongside the formal interview data and ethnographic fieldwork the research incorporates analytical reflections from the emerging literature and published narratives emanating from a wider range of Occupy camps in the UK and the US.

Dismantling the dynamics of the Occupy Safer Spaces Policy

When we speak of hegemonic power or the establishment we are referring to a contested and complex web of state-corporate influence. In an argued state-corporate collaboration (Bratich, 2014; Dellacoppia 2013 et al, 2013; Pickerall & Krinsky, 2012; Wolf, 2012) Occupy has had a series of criminalisation and demonisation efforts levelled against it. In terms of efforts to criminalise Occupy there have been charges of illegal street vending when distributing food on camp (Barksdale, 2012), uses of anti-camping ordinances to prevent permanent residence (Khalek, 2012; Writers for the 99%); something which has persisted through to the most recent Occupy Democracy protests of 2014 and the introduction of bye-laws to halt the 'Tarpaulin Revolution' (Occupy Democracy, 2014). Alongside criminalising efforts there have been demonising efforts with swift switches from 'peaceful protest' to 'unlawful assembly' labels (Ty, 2011) with, for example, Occupy London being listed as a 'domestic terror threat' (Richmond, 2012) and tabloid descriptions of the group as 'gormless rent-a-mob' and 'swampy wannabes' (Daily Mail, 2011). This offers just a small glimpse of the regular assaults on the movement's credibility.

Early on in the first emerging formations of the Occupy Movement in 2011 a series of working documents were drawn up, the most well-known being that of the Declaration of the Occupation of New York City (see: occupywallstreet.org, 2011) outlining the rationale, discontents and the demands of the occupation. Alongside this declaration a series of Safer Spaces Policies were drawn up and released across both US and UK sites. To elucidate the rationale for the Safer Spaces policies all statements included a form of preamble that described the aspiration for the creation of an anti-oppressive space that would be pleasant and conducive to the aims outlined in the declaration of the occupation. To those ends, using the main Occupy London Safer Spaces Policy as an exemplar policy (see: occupylondon.org), the majority of the 13 point list reflected concerns regarding

ensuring a respectful awareness for language used, the unacceptable nature of various forms of prejudice and encouraging mediation and reverent challenges to any such objectionable forms of behaviour. 12 of the 13 points listed were informal directives that many would agree would lay the foundations for a favourable environment in line with the coequality sentiment of the movement. However, as an appendage to these initial 12 points the Safer Spaces Policy also included point 13 regarding the prohibition of alcohol and drugs on camp. What began to emerge was some contention regarding point 13 of the policy as illustrated by the reflections of Participant C at Occupy London:

I mean it was a big issue and a big thing this Safer Spaces Policy which had this last little tag at the end. So it was like, you know, we're not going to be abusive or racist and it was all about how we are going to maintain good behaviour and then the last tiny thing said 'Occupy London is a drug and alcohol free space' and I thought is it? [...] So this Safer Space policy got passed and then well I thought this is just as Addictphobic as anywhere else on the planet.

The prohibition of alcohol and drugs from camp is not in and of itself surprising or contentious, given the already established restrictions of consumption of alcohol in public spaces under the Licensing Act 2013 - actualised in Designated Public Place Orders (DPPO's) - and the general outlawing of various drug consumption under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. However, what is disputable is the arguably uncritical alignment of drug and alcohol consumption with behaviours far more concomitant with harmful consequences for those in the camp. The rule asserting no alcohol or drugs became a key feature across many of the Occupy sites in the UK including amongst many others: Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Newcastle (Gee, 2011). Although there were some minute variations across the individually released policies the steadfast proclamation of no alcohol and drugs on camp remained consistent. However, as per the concerns of Participant C at Occupy London, some of the prefaces to the policy reveal subtle hints of dissonance. At Occupy Bristol (occupybristoluk.org, 2011) the following was posted on their webpage: **we are in statement, and intent a dry site with no alcohol or drug**

use. This is difficult both **morally and practically** to enforce. To these ends people **visibly under the influence of alcohol** or any other drugs are **not welcome** (original emphasis)

Here there appears to be a formal acknowledgement of the moral contention regarding the enforcement of the no alcohol or drugs rule. What also emerges is the concept of visibility, which might allude to concerns regarding the portrayal of the Occupy protests through mainstream media outlets. As Participant C at Occupy London continues 'they never really said it in the meeting of course, but the issue was the PR [Public Relations]. You know because then they put up all these little signs that said "alcohol and drugs free space" so it was really for the press'.

The consequences of an explicit declaration of a no alcohol and drugs remit within the Safer Spaces PR bombast reverberated across the various Occupy sites within the UK and US. The assignation of alcohol or drug consumption within the Safer Spaces sphere, ergo aligning their use with the antithesis of safety (risk or danger), might also permit transference to public consciousness regarding the status of alcohol or drug users. Participant D at Occupy Democracy speaking about the police confiscation of the camps Safer Spaces notification stated: 'For a long time we didn't have a sign to let people know that they would be safe here and that we don't condone alcohol or drug taking because that is not what we are about, we're about trying to get something done'.

The apparent amalgamation of drug and alcohol use as concomitant with an inability to 'get things done' is problematic and forms the basis for a reduction of political agency to be commensurate of with a certain set of 'normative' conditions of the 'professional' protester. As Walker (2012) writing for The Guardian said of the Finsbury Square Occupation, 'the longer it went on it attracted an increasing number of vulnerable homeless people, often with drink and drug problems, rather than protesters' (emphasis added). The continued variant manifestations of the

binary distinctions made between drug user or protester, alcohol user or 'someone who gets things done' as mutually exclusive categories can give rise to a troublesome state sponsored ideological litmus test for political agency and ability. As Wagner & Cohen (1991: 543 - 544) argue, the structurally dispossessed are often portrayed as 'passive victims, people who are acted upon rather than conscious actors on the social scene'. There are various formal and informal documented cases of persons with alcohol or drug (mis)use/dependency issues as key actors within the Occupy movement. Participant B of Occupy Liverpool spoke of the key role one alcohol dependant member of the group played during their time on camp, cooking meals and performing night-watch duties. Although one must be careful of the emphasis on a labour based 'informal contribution calculus' as a form of determining legitimate protester status (Herring & Glück, 2011). In contrast to this Mendoza (2012) reports that often Occupy was refreshing because of its appreciation of the diverse ways to contribute beyond that of economic or labour based activities. It can also be argued that mere act of being at Occupy constitutes as protest through the value of 'amplified presence' (Spiotta, 2011). Developing the discourse further Schein (2012: 339) argued that 'Occupiers variously resisted and succumbed to a language dividing the 'real' political occupiers from those drawn to the park by the 'promise of a real meal and a safe space to sleep'.

Within the framework of this discussion a common reoccurring concern was that of the possibility of the disruption that might be caused by those with alcohol or drug (mis) use issues and, as per references made within the literature, those of homeless status. Within the category of the structurally dispossessed which encapsulates a number of possible social issues, sometimes disparate, sometimes inter-sectionally related, concerns were raised regarding the use of the term disruptive behaviour and when it was applied. Chadeyane Appel (2011: 119) argues that disruptive label was 'applied across categories of difference. Those people often considered to be disruptive in OWS processes have different

educational backgrounds, homes statuses [...] and certainly different psychological habitations of the world'. Singh (2012) was similarly critical of the ambiguous nature of terms such as disruptive or violent behaviour and as Gira Grant (2011) argued, blaming certain persons for disruptive or violent behaviour at Occupy could potentially be viewed as an expression of unchecked racism given that, for example in New York, over 50% of the homeless population are African-American. Roth (2011) also reflects on the ironic nature of the exclusion of some homeless people despite the parallels that can be drawn between the slogans and signposts made by those involved in the movement being similar to the very messages homeless veterans had long since been displaying on the streets of New York.

In summary, consideration of elements contained within the Safer Spaces Policy at Occupy raise important questions regarding their possible consequences. Reflexively, cogitation can be given to the neoliberal city semantic derivation of Safer Spaces, whose origin lies in the Business Improvement District (BIDs) profit focussed regeneration trends of the 1990s and beyond. In the context of urban regeneration agendas Safer Spaces have come under criticism for their exclusionary practices of the already marginalised and dispossessed who lack consumer purchasing power to actualise their right to urban spaces (Coleman, 2009; Spalek et al, 2012). The potential for the replication of these marginalising practices was noted by Participant B at Occupy Liverpool:

A couple of homeless guys turned up in the morning after the first night and they always come and sit on the monument and have a butty [sandwich] from the hostel and a can of beer. It was sort of like not so much explaining to them that you can't come and drink beer here because we are all going 'this is a no drinking camp' [...] it was more that the issue was explaining to other people on the camp that those guys do that every day; like who are we to tell them that they can't?

Restrictions on Inclusivity

Yassin (2011: 126), with regards to what the media was calling 'unsavoury' [sic] people at an Occupy site in California, argued that 'these problems always existed

in downtown Oakland. If anything, the Occupy space has provided a space where others can mediate the conflicts that arise, and where ideas of how to de-escalate conflict can be broached and improved upon'. Alongside this Dellacoppia et al (2013:

304) discuss how Occupy LA organised much of their activism centered around the 'fight against gentrification and the criminalization of poverty'. The Occupy El Paso site took similar action also but this was not without conflict (Smith et al, 2012), showing the heterogeneous nature of the Occupy movement that in some cases resisted the demonisation efforts of the powerful in more direct ways. However, for those that may have contributed, either intentionally or unwittingly, to the ostracisation of some from Occupy, there are further contemplations to make. Daily life within the Occupy camps is not without its hardships; evading the attention of state servants willing to use coercive force, withstanding the tempestuous weather conditions and reliance on copious amounts of altruistic contributions. To extend these expectations to providing welfare for those that might have mental health related conditions, drug or alcohol dependency or the various other possible welfare needs of the structurally dispossessed is a grandiose task. However, whilst the presence of populations with support needs does not mean that by default Occupy is obligated to provide assistance, the 'vacancies of capitalism' (King, 2011) - i.e. the mass closures and austerity - leave people palpably wanting and needing basic amenities, both within and beyond the movement and are often filled by the local populous ex gratia. Research participants at both the Liverpool and London sites remarked that often people chose Occupy as a preferable space to be than that of their state provided hostel accommodation that was extremely poor in quality. Where the state has failed to provide its duty of care, something Occupy has highlighted in its numerous anti- austerity subcampaigns, this should not then mean that this becomes the responsibility of Occupy and it's campaigners by default. It is here that the equivocal nature of the inclusivity nebulous begins to unravel.

We can further disentangle the inclusivity amorphous to reveal more of its clauses. Maclean (2012) argues the need for caveats to inclusivity in praxis, employing the hypothetical presupposition of former British National Party leader Nick Griffin wishing to attend Occupy to speak about ethnicity. There are people who by definition would be excluded for their peddling of hateful speech. As Power (2012: 179) states 'fascists are not protesters [...] anyone who campaigns for the unequal and the promotion of inequality is not protesting anything: inequality is the current state of things' and as such there are often a variety of markedly perceptible lines to be drawn regarding what is and isn't counter-hegemonic. Further examples of the limits to participation include several known cases of sexual assault at Occupy Wall Street and the justifiable exclusion of these persons from camp (Occupy Wall Street Safer Spaces Working Group, 2012). There are indeed caveats to inclusion, stipulations on those who are welcome and able to participate without causing harm to others. However, those who (mis)use drugs, alcohol and/or are homeless, although great care should be taken not to conflate these three as inextricably linked, should not fall automatically under the same domain as more identifiably innately harmful acts. To do so without question, as has sometimes been the case at Occupy, is to suppose the conjecture of problematic state sponsored discourses of the 'dangerous' drug or alcohol user or the 'lazy' homeless person. Uncritical hard line 'zero tolerance' stances, themselves of distinctly neoliberal derivation, should not conflate alcohol or drug dependency within the same milieu as a host of intrinsically oppressive actions such as racism, ableism, homophobia or transphobia. The presence of Safer Spaces Policies that places these in juxtaposition disclose the anxieties of modern day protest; the desire to exclude those detrimental to the movement (those who exhibit racist and phobic discriminatory attitudes) and the need to deny those who may be used by state agents to demonise the movement (drug and alcohol users). The pursuit of an alternative to the status quo of capitalist accumulation of wealth by the few is not

without a gauntlet of challenges that can lead to compromising its own *raison d'être*.

Managing the Resistance

Jones (2014) argues that management of democracy is a key function of the contemporary establishment to ensure their own interests remain unthreatened. Management, negotiation and brokerage remain key functions of the modern state. Evidenced based examples can be seen across various institutional locales including academia, such as the case where critical criminologists have long since unpicked the role of scholarship in reinforcing state defined crime pertaining to the legitimisation of oppressive criminal justice practices (Hillyard, 2013; Gilmore et al, 2013). Despite being commonly understood in some popular culture schematic overviews as the state antithesis; dissent, protest and resistance receive no exemption from the management and negotiation state convocation. Ramamurthy (2013) illustrates some key historical examples of protest movement including negotiations with state institutions, and the introduction of state funding that often resulted in divisive competitive drives for limited resources. Whilst the Occupy movement in its delightful organisational ambiguity does not fall into the state funding terrain, its informal state brokerage relationship is apparent in other ways. As an occupier of predominantly urban space, a space commandeered for the day to day operations of capitalism (Sassens, 1998), the state-corporate stronghold does not care for disruption of its operations. For Harvey (2012: xv) the city and urban space is an important site of struggle and a signifier, arguing that 'everything depends on who gets to fill it with meaning'. As Occupiers attempt to reclaim the often quasi-public spaces of the city, to fill it with their alternative meaning of real democracy, equality and liberation, they do not displace their neoliberal counterparts in their entirety. Furthermore, we might also ask to what extent the origins of Occupy Safer Spaces policies are emblematic of a neoliberal corruption of public consciousness that is difficult to unlearn or if they are reflective of the anticipated attack from the hegemonic foe. It is argued here that elements of the

Safer Spaces Policy, alongside its routine function, in some respects forms the basis of a negotiation with its powerful adversary in order to subsist.

Conducting ethnographic fieldwork in this area one becomes distinctly aware that in the interview process there is uncertainty, suspicious inklings of the motives of the researcher, even if the researcher is known to the movement, which can be seen as a result of debased media spin- doctoring and reports of undercover police infiltration (The Guardian, 2011). As a result there is a keenness to continue to project the safe, peaceful and almost docile image of Occupy at any given opportunity. The often tireless references to Occupy being a safe space is reflective of the incumbent day to day negotiation between state and protester in order to continue to exist. And as the state continues to manage its own adversary in Occupy, by negotiating the terms of its existence, the top down pressure exerted can tip the scales in favour of the establishment as some voices are sidelined, extradited and ultimately silenced from the protest through Safer Spaces fallout. By a sedulous championing of the virtues of Safer Space at Occupy ergo employing the vernacular of the exclusionary neoliberal city (see: Coleman & Sim, 2013; Davis, 1992; Lefebvre, 1996), conceivably elements of the resistance can begin to emulate to the very processes they seek to contest.

One cannot be completely dismissive or critical of the Safe Spaces Policy in its entirety because conceivably point 1 – 12 form the basis of a strong counter-hegemonic discourse for the movement. However, it is important to critically unpack the potential significance of the sheer presence of point 13 within the Safer Spaces Policy ambit. It is argued here that point 13, which makes clear the movement's absolute prohibition of alcohol and drugs on camp, can be viewed as a sort of misfit ideological appendage that sits uneasy with the wider counter-hegemonic sentiments of the Safer Spaces Policy. To take alcohol consumption as an example, Haydock (2015: 143) describes the role of the neoliberal project in the construction of what counts as admirable or problematic alcohol usage. He

continues to argue that this is achieved through the shaping of a moral discourse on alcohol consumption that favours and preserves market capital. Coleman et al (2005: 2519) adduce that broadly speaking 'crime control networks within regenerating cities rarely obstruct regimes of consumption and production' and that 'anti-alcohol campaigns in cities have almost exclusively been confined to street drinking'. This is of great significance as it demonstrates that the ideological underpinnings of an anti-alcohol stance in public space, is one that is inextricably tied to a 'public order' pretension, designed to sustain and benefit market capital. Peck (2010: 108) argues that 'the neoliberal project was cobbled together to serve corporate capital, financial elites, the shareholding classes' and as such it can be argued that the inclusion of an anti-alcohol position is one that is aligned with a moral discourse that preserves market capital as opposed to contesting it. Castree (2007:7) maintains that our empirical, theoretical and conceptual understanding of neoliberal environments is lacking, particularly in terms of understanding its diverse forms and manifestations. What is argued here is that within the overarching counter-hegemonic discourse of the Safer Spaces Policy there remains state-corporate ideological residue. This is significant not least because ideological struggle is a vital part of counter-hegemonic struggle, but also if we consider it to simultaneously act as a point of compromising brokerage facilitation between state ideology and dissenting counter-hegemonic discourse. Seeking legitimacy by the standards created by the oppressor is not without cognitive rationale. The argued encroachment of state-corporate sanctioned ideology into the resistance is purposeful in the management strategies of the powerful. The conscious or unconscious bargaining process by the relatively power-poor is in part consequential of the coercive state-corporate stratagem.

There is both individual and collective fear of state-corporate action, often very violent action, towards the Occupy movement (see: Howard & Pratt-Boyden, 2013; Taylor, 2011; Writers for the 99%, 2011). The outcome of the omnipresent state-

corporate Damocles sword results in far reaching disciplinary denouement, as Participant C at Occupy London reflected:

Generally speaking what happened was the organic development of those who were dependent chemically just keeping themselves out of the lime light a bit when necessary and you know, at the end of the day you have got to consider that they were in the public eye and if they were using hard drugs they needed to bloody well hide because the cops were there all the bloody time, so they were not just protecting Occupy but protecting themselves.

What emerges in this management process is a multifarious series of disciplinary processes working in tandem to reduce the movement's dexterity for change; direct state-corporate discipline in the guise of formal action such as the use of criminal justice arresting powers; negotiated discipline through certain elements of the Safer Spaces policy that can discourage and exclude; and finally internalised discipline where one limits their own participation in the resistance.

Conclusion

Taylor (2013: 742) states that 'capitalist power acts not only or even primarily on subjects from outside but through them'. By way of an examination certain elements contained within the various adopted Safer Spaces Policies across Occupy movements in the UK and the US, new and old questions have been raised pertaining to how hegemonic power operates through resistance movements themselves, arguably co-opting them in part into the ideological tool box of the establishment. The prior critical discussion should be understood as an analysis of state power in action, not a critique of the Occupy movement itself. Delving deeper we can see that in many ways the dual action of the coercive and consensual arms of the state plausibly lead Occupy into a precarious position whereby consent is granted, at the expense of unerringly radical departures, in order to avoid coercive reprisal. The material conditions of the divergent state weaves a composite web of consent and coercion working in synthesis; in many ways what we might describe as a hegemonic catch 22.

The chills of popular power and change (Sitrin, 2011; van Gelder, 2011) are ever present but their power capacity is often managed and negotiated by the tenacious state, to some degree rendering elements of the resistance to a diatonic tone that falls in line with the melody of the status quo. As Kelley (2002: 8 cited in Choudry, 2012: 175) states, 'collective social movements are incubators of new knowledge' and in order to meaningfully harness some of the most valuable contributions it can make to the radical consciousness, recognition of the state's ideological presence within the resistance itself is key. The nuanced and more established theoretical conceptualisations are yet to be developed fully, but broadly speaking the intricacies and issues arising here are of fundamental diagnostic concern lest there be a systematic negligence 'to understand that the main features of contemporary popular struggles are both a reflection of an institutionally determined logic and a challenge to that logic' (Piven and Cloward, 1979: x).

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Appendix D: Occupy Safer Spaces Policy (Occupy LSX)

'Open discussion is at the heart of our Occupation and our decision-making process. The more people we can involve in our debates, the stronger and more representative the results will be.

Occupy London wants to operate and conduct our discussions in a safe anti-oppressive space – whether offline or online – that is welcoming, engaging and supportive.

In order to ensure this we feel it is necessary to establish some guidelines for participants. These have been agreed by the OccupyLSX General Assembly.

Please note that, as with all forms of direct democracy this policy is a work in progress. Suggestions are welcome.

1. Racism, as well as ageism, homophobia, sexism, transphobia, ableism or prejudice based on ethnicity, nationality, class, gender, gender presentation, language ability, asylum status or religious affiliation is unacceptable and will be challenged.
2. Respect each other's physical and emotional boundaries, always get explicit verbal consent before touching someone or crossing boundaries.
3. Be aware of the space you take up and the positions and privileges you bring, including racial, class and gender privilege.
4. Avoid assuming the opinions and identifications of other participants.
5. Recognize that we try not to judge, put each other down or compete.
6. Be aware of the language you use in discussion and how you relate to others. Try to speak slowly and clearly and use uncomplicated language.
7. The group endeavors as much as is feasible to ensure that meeting spaces are as accessible as possible to the widest range of people. Foster a spirit of mutual respect: Listen to the wisdom everyone brings to the group.

8. Give each person the time and space to speak. In large groups, or for groups using facilitation: Raise your hand to speak.

9. "Respect the person; challenge their behaviour."

10. If someone violates these agreements a discussion or mediation process can happen, depending on the wishes of the person who was violated. If a serious violation happens to the extent that someone feels unsafe, they can be asked to leave the space and/or speak with a person or process nominated by those present.

11. Whilst ground rules are collective responsibility everyone is also personally responsible for their own behaviour.

12. Occupy London is an alcohol and drugs free space'

(occupylondon.org, 2011).

**Appendix E: Police Reform and Social Responsibility Bill 2011
(page 95)**

‘141 Prohibited activities in controlled area of Parliament Square:

(2) For the purposes of this Part, a “prohibited activity” is any of the following -

- (a) operating any amplified noise equipment in the controlled area of Parliament Square;
- (b) erecting or keeping erected in the controlled area of Parliament Square -
 - (i) any tent, or
 - (ii) any other structure that is designed, or adapted, (solely or mainly) for the purpose of facilitating sleeping or staying in a place for any period;
- (c) using any tent or other such structure in the controlled area of Parliament Square for the purpose of sleeping or staying in that area;
- (d) placing or keeping in place in the controlled area of Parliament Square any sleeping equipment with a view to its use (whether or not by the person placing it or keeping it in place) for the purpose of sleeping overnight in that area;
- (e) using any sleeping equipment in the controlled area of Parliament Square for the purpose of sleeping overnight in that area’.