

11 Women Activists of Occupy Wall Street

Consciousness-Raising and Connective Action in Hybrid Social Movements

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REDEFINING SOCIAL MOVEMENT “SUCCESS”

On the Second Anniversary of Occupy Wall Street, September 17, 2013, political commentator Robert Reich dismissed the movement as having failed, in part due to its “lack of a clear leadership.”¹ Such judgments persistently accusing Occupy Wall Street (OWS) of having “no clear goals or aims”—widely held misrepresentations of OWS which began almost as soon as media began reporting—reflect a fundamental misunderstanding and misrecognition of the particular commitments, aims, and visions of OWS as well as how contemporary “hybrid social movements” function, mobilized by a new generation of young, often first-time activists. In particular, the horizontal (nonhierarchical) organizational structure can appear to those unfamiliar with horizontalism as a lack of clear goals. Such accusations fail to recognize a key feature of contemporary social movements: the increasingly important commitment to a process of liberation as part and parcel of any end goals or singular aims. OWS is known as a leaderless movement for this reason, including features such as consensus-based decisions and radical inclusivity.

Horizontalism creates a nonhierarchical space which invites women to thrive and find spaces and places to assume “leadership.” A key participant from Occupy Santa Cruz tells us,

. . . since we were in a horizontal structure, and in a vertical structure women are often put at the lower rung of the ladder, it was a way for women to be heard. So that did happen and . . . the leaders of the group, quote unquote, even though we weren’t supposed to have leaders, were mostly all women, so that was kind of fascinating. But . . . the horizontal structure of Occupy is essential in kind of giving women the power to discuss and to even set agendas . . . (Leanne, Occupy Santa Cruz; news radio activist, mid-30s)

The comparison of OWS with the 1970s women’s liberation movement (also called second-wave feminism) thus turns out to be highly significant to

the evaluation of OWS, as we will show through our analysis of interviews with 23 women participants from nine Occupy sites across North America.² The practices of General Assemblies (GAs), people's mic(ro)phone, working groups, and "progressive stack" in OWS, all engaged consciousness-raising (CR) components originating in second-wave feminism.

However, because these components have morphed to hybrid spaces (online and offline), classic face-to-face (F2F) CR dialogues now include significant other modalities that require significant labor, much of which was conducted by women in OWS including information sharing, serving as FB administrator (adminning) for local Occupy Facebook (FB) sites, and conducting working groups. In all of these activities, significant components of CR include engaging in in-depth dialogues about the personal and political to move forward with consensus. The widespread massive shift to uses of social media for information sharing, organizing, dialogue, strategizing, documenting, and connecting is recognized most insightfully in the work of Maria Bakardjieva. As she notes, "The Internet transforms the process of identification by exploding the number of discourses and subject positions to which the individual becomes exposed, as well as by multiplying the participation forms available at that individual's fingertips."³ For horizontally-structured, consensus-based movements, measures of success formerly applied within social movement theory (SMT) and political theory are no longer sufficient.

Before illustrating how CR was taken up and how hybrid forms of CR developed through the integration of social media platforms such as Facebook, it is helpful to clarify how the principle of horizontalism redefines the contemporary landscape of social movements. The structure itself is key to the aims of such movements and this principle must be understood in order to fully appreciate the politicization of the new generation of young activists around the globe.

THE AIMS OF OWS: HORIZONTALISM AS PROCESS AND AIM

In the December 2011 issue of *Ms. Magazine*, blogger and film critic Stephanie Rogers wrote one of the first "mainstream" news pieces on the overlap of OWS and the reemergence of feminism, particularly practices from second-wave feminism such as CR and horizontalism.⁴ The essay is titled "What Occupy Wall Street Owes to Feminist Consciousness-Raising," and notes:

On November 17th, the national day of action for the Occupy Wall Street movement, I was interviewed by a man from a Swedish newspaper who wanted to know why I was there. I smiled and said, "That's the question, isn't it?" Everyone wants to know, still, even after the two-month anniversary of a movement that's only continued to grow stronger and gain more momentum, why people are occupying, who

and what they're protesting, and what they hope to change. I regurgitated what has effectively become The Message, "We want the power back in the hands of the people."⁵

Those presuming that a social movement must have a single or at least bounded legislative or policy change goal should account for the fact that myriad social movements since the 1960s have not embraced the single-demand formula.

In her recent article "Horizontal Democracy Now: From Alterglobalization to Occupation,"⁶ Marianne Maeckelbergh draws on years of participatory research to define horizontalism and provide its historical contexts and development. Two key practices that define the current historical moment have a long history: (1) the refusal of singular demands, ideologies, or programs for social change (linked to the movement terms "diversity" and "horizontality"), and (2) the idea that the political practices the movement itself develops are part and parcel of the movement's aims (prefiguration).⁷

Maeckelbergh traces multi-issue movements through contemporary history "from the New Left in the 1960s to feminist movements, anti-nuclear and peace movements in the 1970s and 1980s, to environmental and do-it-yourself (DIY) movements in the 1980s and 1990s all the way through to the alterglobalization movement at the turn of the century."⁸ Maeckelbergh emphasizes the recognition of inequalities ingrained in social interactions, which makes horizontalism effective in contemporary times:

... horizontality refers to the active creation of nonhierarchical relations through decision-making processes. Horizontality is both a value and a practice. Rather than assuming that equality can be declared or created through a centralized authority that is legitimated to rule by "the people," movement practices of horizontality rest on the assumption that inequality will always permeate every social interaction. This shift in assumptions results in an acknowledgement that these inequalities always exist and that each person is responsible for continuously challenging these inequalities at every step of a decision-making process.⁹

Thus, in counter to the all-too-frequent accusation of lacking clear aims and goals, what critics fail to recognize is the radical commitment built into the histories and principles of horizontalism as an organizational structure for social movements, highlighting the concept of "economic injustice" which, for some time, replaced terms like "class warfare,"¹⁰ and the long-haul consciousness raising commitment of participants. Many of those interviewed expressed their commitment to OWS in these terms:

Well, of course with any social movement you learn right from the beginning, you start learning about social movements in general, and

it is not something that is taken care of in a day, or a week, or a year. People who, most people I believe who are involved with Occupy are in it for the long haul . . . (Deena, Occupy Santa Ana, female, mid-60s, some experience with activism)

As Samuel Farber notes, recognition of activists' "long haul commitment" defines such communities as the "conscious minority," characterized by "an ebb and flow with the inevitable loss of people and cadre in the downswing of the socio-economic and political cycles . . . referring not primarily to the leaders but to the long-term, politically conscious activists who are involved for the long haul and who constitute the heart of movements."¹¹

Journalists also noted this long-term commitment as essential to the Occupy Movement:

"What's change?" said Rob, a protester who said he has worked in minimum wage jobs all his life and asked not to be identified by his full name. "What isn't change? We're here. That's change." "We're here for the long haul," said Patrick Bruner, a protester and student at Skidmore College in upstate New York, who is among those camped out in a private park near One World Trade Center.¹²

In a blog marking the one-year anniversary of OWS, Rogers calls for recognizing the feminist organizing legacies behind OWS: "We owe it to the women within the movement—and our feminist foremothers—to acknowledge women's work, and to understand that a movement claiming to fight for the disenfranchised can't afford to erase the contributions of women."¹³

Heather Gautney reinforces these key points about the misreading of "demands" and the unique spaces occupied by women thanks to the horizontal structure of OWS by the wider public and media:

This is a leaderless movement without an official set of demands. There are no projected outcomes, no bottom lines and no talking heads. In the Occupy movement, we are all leaders. This is not just a charming mess. We are all leaders represents a real praxis, and it has a real history. In the 1960s and 70s, feminists convened consciousness-raising meetings aimed at politicizing the various forms of women's oppression that were occurring in private. . . . feminist consciousness-raising eschewed formal leadership because each woman's experience and opinion had to be valued equally. The personal was the political.¹⁴

For those we interviewed, the "personal is political" awakening occurred not only through traditional F2F CR and long haul commitment, but "hybrid" CR. Social technologies, participatory democracy, and CR are radically enhanced by uses of a hybrid form of personal interaction.

OWS'S DEBT TO SECOND-WAVE FEMINISM: PERSONAL IS POLITICAL, CR, PROCESS

Early in our research, the resonance between OWS and feminist organizing practices began to emerge with increasing clarity and certainty. By the spring of 2012, some seven months after the camps had been closed, sites we were following like Occupy Patriarchy and Women Occupying Wall Street (WOW) announced that a Feminist General Assembly (FemGA) would be held in NYC. It would turn out to be one of five FemGAs held that summer. Stephanie Rogers writes in her blog *Bitch Flicks*,

. . . Like consciousness-raising, Occupy Wall Street started with small groups of oppressed people who spoke to one another about their personal struggles, and in doing so, learned they weren't alone or insane or weak or lazy, the way Those In Charge suggested. That discovery gave them the strength to channel the individual anger and suffering they experienced into a larger collective call to action.¹⁵

Sidney Tarrow, renowned political scientist of Cornell University, noted in an October 2011 *Foreign Affairs* article that OWS most closely resembles the second-wave of feminism:

If Occupy Wall Street resembles any movement in recent American history, it would actually be the so-called new women's movement of the 1970s. When that struggle emerged in the wake of the civil rights movement, it shocked conservatives and befuddled liberals. The first saw the activists as a bunch of bra-burning anarchists; the second considered them unladylike, or, well-meaning liberals gone off the reservation. Although the leaders of the new women's movement had policies they wanted on the agenda, their foremost demand was for recognition of, and credit for, the gendered reality of everyday life. Likewise, when the Occupy Wall Street activists attack Wall Street, it is not capitalism as such they are targeting, but a system of economic relations that has lost its way and failed to serve the public.¹⁶

Activist and writer David Graeber also points out the key role of feminism as a precursor to direct democracy.

The direct democratic process adopted by Occupy Wall Street has deep roots in American radical history. It was widely employed in the civil rights movement and by the Students for a Democratic Society. But its current form has developed from within movements like feminism and even spiritual traditions (both Quaker and Native American) as much as from within anarchism itself.¹⁷

This recognition of the influence of second-wave feminism on OWS affirms what we have observed in our research interviews¹⁸ that “There’s a ‘manar-chist’ problem in a lot of left-wing spaces,” and “a strong current of actively saying ‘no’ to that” and “a lot of people doing work around safer spaces and speaking out against sexual assault. And while women are leading, there are also other men involved.”¹⁹ In the summer of 2012, five FemGAs were held, four in New York City and one at the National Occupy Gathering held on the July 4th weekend in Philadelphia. Announced via Facebook and other social media, the events were F2F like all GA meetings and were livestreamed. The format and focus of the FemGAs reflected classic practices of CR; and the format reflected commonly used practices from all GAs—namely, the use of human mic, collective agenda setting, small breakout groups asked to discuss particular topics, report-backs to the larger group, etc. To a great extent, the FemGAs were able to engage traditional F2F CR practices given that these were real-time events held in open public outdoor spaces.

Intrinsic to this aspect of OWS, consciousness-raising is understood as “a personal face-to-face interaction which appears to create new psychological orientations for those involved in the process . . . the face-to-face interaction technique is selected because it is consistent with the radical revolutionary’s belief that shared personal experience should generate political theory and action.”²⁰ The CR processes used in the women’s liberation movement allowed “validity of personal experience, of the necessity for self-exposure and self-criticism, of the value of dialogue and of the goal of autonomous, individual decision making.”²¹

A new evolution of “personal is political” is visible throughout OWS, reflected in both the process and aims of OWS as well as in the intentional and conscious decisions of using consensus groups and assemblies. Graeber notes that OWS was unique amongst this recent spate of global social revolutions in its commitment to consensus-based decision-making (initially defined as 100%, later shifted to 90% agreement for many sites). This use of consensus was the first time it has been adopted for such a large-scale grassroots movement.

Our research also focused on the internal dynamics within OWS that required elements of CR in order to address such matters as unconscious and internalized sexism or racism, for example. A common refrain in Occupy was “Check your privilege!,” a direct request to participants to examine their own entitlement and lack of awareness of inequalities. A great deal of this CR work took place F2F. For example, we researched when and how different Occupy sites engaged “progressive stack,” which involves a facilitator of the GA creating a list of those who want to speak and ensuring that those who historically have been marginalized from speaking in public (people of color and women, for example) get the opportunity to speak. We studied the development of working groups, which tended to be people of color or queer folks organizing to raise issues important to them.

In Oakland, the very word “occupy” was deeply contested, resulting in the split of a group calling themselves “Decolonize” rather than “Occupy” Oakland.²²

Here, a participant describes the kind of active listening and dialogue central both to OWS and to CR and group settings:

. . . Hopefully we want to try to understand each other, and if we’re working together as a group I think there was that need to kind of reflect. . . . M. was leading us in Council. . . . We would sit around in a group and pass a . . . stone or petrified wood. And whenever it was your turn you would speak freely on the topic that had been chosen and everyone else was just to listen, and then each of us would have our chance . . . it just developed intimacy. It also did develop open lines of communication. (Bria, Occupy Santa Ana, female, late 20s, late December, educational experience in activism, expert in General Assembly)

REVOLUTION GOES VIRAL: SITUATING OCCUPY WALL STREET WITHIN HYBRID GLOBAL LANDSCAPES

The OWS movement emerged amidst multiple uprisings, protests, and grassroots revolutions taking place around the globe. A hybrid movement combines web-based interactions with more traditional F2F meetings, encampments, and crowds-in-the-streets. Chadwick provides us with a definition for hybrid social movements that embraces two key concepts. One is organizational hybridity, built by “creating appealing and increasingly convergent forms of online citizen action, fostering distributed trust across horizontally linked citizen groups, promoting the fusion of sub-cultural and political discourses, and creating and building upon sedimentary networks.” Two, Chadwick defines a “hybrid mobilization movement” as one where “organization types move in and out of their traditional identities of a social movement.”²³

In many ways, OWS’s call to action was a materialized meme: a demonstration of “We are the 99%.” Richard Dawkins in 1989 defined a meme as “a symbolic packet that travels easily across large and diverse populations because it is easy to imitate, adapt personally, and share broadly with others.”²⁴ Dawkins also noted that, “Memes are network building and bridging units of social information transmission.”²⁵ Social media networks and widely accessible information-communication technologies (ICTs) including one-to-many live streams, tweets, posts, pages, cloud- and web-based video and photos (YouTube), and short message service (SMS) enable global connectivity, allowing large-scale organization, circulation of information, alternative and citizen journalistic coverage of events, and public dialogue and self-expression in pluralistic spaces unique to participatory media. The shared global sensibility of the 99%, the sense of “revolution in the air,”²⁶ is

a zeitgeist, a spirit of these times, largely due to the affordance of the internet and social media practices, referred to by one participant as “hive mind.” Her description explicitly references the key role played by mediated connectivity:

I’m like—“This is strange . . . our ideas are on everybody’s minds.” It was this weird feeling of “hive mind” where you felt like you were—and I’m not a spiritual person at all—but you actually felt like you were in touch with the population at a speed that was quicker than the media because you could . . . you got echoes of things before they would happen and they would become these great sort of media spectacles . . . all of those emotions really stirred up in me a sense that you could possibly accomplish anything through Occupy. You could Occupy anything. (Deena Occupy LA)

Within mediated publics and networked spaces, such shared sensibilities as “hive mind” travel like/as viral information, or memes:

One of the things I’ve been trying to track is how conversations developed without any central means of communication. Because they don’t just happen in one space. They travel amongst many spaces, so I’ve been taking sort of the big conversation about violence and non-violence and trying to track where it flowed. You can’t tell where it started of course. It’s completely rhizomatic. (Alice, Occupy LA, female, late 50s, December 2012, longtime activist)

This interviewee calls the spread of decentralized shared networked information and conversation “rhizomatic,” a form of dissemination that complements the concept of virality to describe how information can travel within our mediascapes.²⁷ The issue of speed—“you actually felt like you were in touch with the population at a speed that was quicker than the media”—echoes Virilio’s theorizations in *Pure War*.²⁸

These connections between individuals and between movements are afforded by social technologies like Facebook, as described by this participant who moves from being a technophobe to immersing herself in FB communities and international news via Google Translate:

I never would have jumped into it if the Occupy movement hadn’t suddenly catalyzed that. I was totally technophobic . . . but when the movement started I just started adding people and within, I remember, in nine days I had like 900 new friends . . . and it’s people from all over the world. What I saw in terms of the mobilization over the Internet was fascinating and how everybody started sharing what was really going on in places, and how it has Google Translate right there, and I could read articles from everywhere in the world. People were sending stuff about what was happening in their city . . . and what’s happening in some

city, in Hamburg, Germany, and what's happening . . . in Algeria . . . I never would have jumped into it if the Occupy movement hadn't suddenly catalyzed that . . . (Hattie, female, late 20s, December 21, 2012, first time activist)

The shift from social movements to hybrid social movements helps to create diverse points of entry into spaces for dialogue, connection, and community and action. As Chadwick notes, "Such organizational types could not work without the Internet because the technologies set up complex interactions between the online and offline environment and the organizational flexibility required for fast 'repertoire switching' within a single campaign or from one campaign to the next."²⁹

HORIZONTAL SOCIAL MOVEMENT STRUCTURES AND HYBRID CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING

What is unique to contemporary horizontal social movements is how CR is morphing into modalities that combine F2F with online or occur solely through online communication platforms.

Of course, a large part of consciousness-raising exists on the internet, and I've heard people refer to Occupy Wall Street as the first-ever internet revolution. Suffice it to say, Occupy Wall Street wouldn't exist without the fast-as-hell sharing of information over Twitter, personal e-mail exchanges among both participants and skeptics, blogs such as *We Are the 99%* (a site that showcases photos of people from all over the world sharing personal stories of economic struggle), Facebook (where pages for new feminist groups devoted to Occupy camps crop up daily), and YouTube footage that captures precisely how personal struggle translates into collective political action.³⁰

Stephanie Rogers describes how CR begins to take off virally through instances like the "We Are the 99 Percent" Tumblr site:

The "We Are the 99 Percent? blog on Tumblr also represents a viral version of consciousness-raising, where a diverse group of individuals impacted most by the Economy Tankers take to the blog and share their personal experiences in order to raise consciousness about the tangible consequences of the rising economic inequalities.³¹

The hybridity of contemporary social movements is further reflected in contested nicknames such as the "Twitter revolution" (the populist opposition during the 2009 Iranian election protests) and the "Facebook revolution" (another term used for the Egyptian revolution). The networked interconnectivity of the global uprisings is apparent in the accessible web-based

public spaces for dialogue, ICTs for ongoing communication, and social media platforms for information sharing, connecting, organizing, mobilizing, and documenting. The capacity to broadcast events—whether marches, protests, incidents of police brutality, inspiring speeches, etc.—through handheld, personalized digital mobile devices and web-based platforms reflects the global reach and nearly real-time facets of hybrid social movements.

It is thanks to such web-based connectivity that events in Tahrir Square as well as in Spain inspired OWS. In the late spring prior to OWS, the movement of Los Indignados in Spain—“organized entirely over the internet by DRY (Democracia Real Ya—Real Democracy Now)”—established a permanent encampment as of May 15, 2011, to protest the effects of the economic crisis in Spain.³² This directly inspired and catalyzed Adbuster’s call to America to occupy Wall Street.

When our research team interviewed participants at the Occupy Toronto public encampment in November 2011, we learned that everyone—from the most radical anarchist to those who did not own any mobile device—engaged Facebook (FB) for all communications related to Occupy and as their primary filter and news source. This primary use of FB was reiterated by every interviewee in the subsequent 23 interviews we conducted with female OWS activists from nine different Occupy cities in the United States; 100% of those we spoke to use FB for most aspects of their political and social organizing, and identified links with their own CR. On occasion, a news article will capture this link between Occupy participants’ demands and the role of CR:

Demands can act as a form of consciousness-raising, helping to develop a sense of entitlement that may exist only in a latent form among large number of people. The Occupy movement has shown its enormous capacity to affect the popular consciousness as witness the rapid popularization of the ideas about the 1 and 99 percent. When raised by a mass movement, demands can bring to the surface ideas that have a latent support in the moral economy of the 99 percent of Americans but have not yet been articulated as expectations that people think are legitimate and possible.³³

Dismissals such as Reich’s are especially disappointing, because for those who paid attention, OWS clearly expressed their goals and aims; and because of the intentional inclusivity of the principles of horizontalism and its leaderless organization, the breadth and diversity of aims were upheld and respected. Finally, for this movement, the means were conscientiously tied to the ends—i.e., the process of communication, conversation, and decision making was as important as any particular goal. “The Arab Spring and Occupy movements have brought the idea of leaderless social movement organizing to the attention of the mass media. Although perhaps too diffuse to meet common definitions of an ‘organization,’ they have nevertheless challenged the orthodoxy that social action needs clearly identifiable, hierarchically positioned leaders.”³⁴

Highlighting process as both an aim and representative of a radical shift in Social Media Organizations (SMO), Sutherland et al. cite activist and scholar David Graeber's key point that "we don't want leaders' . . . What is needed therefore, is not an all-out rejection, but a different conceptualization, of leadership defined as a process."³⁵ Providing a description of the characteristics of horizontal SMO, Sutherland et al. state:

. . . attention must be paid to the ways in which organizational members collectively construct shared meanings through interaction processes (Coburn, 2001; Ganz, 2000). Although specific actors may take the lead in meaning-management, these meanings must be shared, common and valued by all in the organization before collective action can occur. The key move here is away from an individual perspective of leadership towards a conception that emphasizes relationality and the construction of social meaning.³⁶

CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING VIA SOCIAL MEDIA

So how are CR practices originally designed for F2F settings being adapted for networked environments? Rogers describes various other web-based forums and sites in which CR is taking place including:

. . . the Divine Feminine, a group in which female-bodied or female-identified women talk about the oppressions they experience; Ambiguous UpSparkles, started by Eve Ensler, where people come together and share their personal stories of oppression using the people's mic; and similar groups, like POCCupy (People of Color), a group for people of color to talk about oppression, WOW (Women Occupying Wall Street) and Safer Spaces, two groups that focus on the presence and safety of women in the movement.³⁷

Processes like CR are, in a sense, organic opportunities to educate oneself and others, to develop reflective skills for collective discussion, active listening, and critical and reflexive awareness. Here one participant describes how social media tools opened her eyes to new imaginings of communication and connections, resonating with the CR aim of opening new ways of seeing oneself and one's agency in the world:

One of the most important experiences for me was reaching out and learning how to use the internet and not just consuming things but being a productive agent in learning how to broadcast and learning how to leverage all of these different spaces of communication. Becoming part of inter-Occupy and then learning that even things that I had believed were wild in the beginning, almost nearly impossible, are now coming

to fruition and we're just learning the possibilities of building out this network, just leveraging the tools that we have while also building new ones. And these new ones are really only limited by our capacity to imagine what communication should look like. (Alice, Occupy LA)

Her experience reflects a common theme of empowerment through a kind of DIY/DIT (do-it-yourself/together) ethos,³⁸ providing her with a sense of agency as a result of active peer-to-peer broadcasting versus passive consuming. This young woman echoes the CR aim of the importance of "validating" experience, that through the strength of numbers one no longer feels like a "crazy person," reinforcing the experience of the personal as political:

But I was trying to fight some of the media narrative because we have so much paid advertisement, paid media coming at us that I really wanted to educate people. And really connect with people too that were of the same mind because I can shout all I want as one person and you look maybe kind of like a crazy person, but if you have 100 people shouting about what they want then you're a force to be reckoned with, so it's a little different. (Leanne, Occupy Santa Cruz, news radio activist, mid-30s)

She spoke of her commitment to using radio and social media for education. In her awakening to the "personal is political" via a Facebook virtual art installation, she like many others mentions blogs and video-logs, ("vlogs") as sparking new consciousness and unification of women:

I saw this thing on Facebook yesterday . . . The Wall of Vagina. And it's this art project that is a cast, plaster cast of hundreds of women's vaginas. That has been shown, I think it's in the UK, and it's across the entire wall and I was just like wow that's crazy, but I would never know about that if it wasn't for Facebook. And I'm like, "that is really interesting" and it's just another way to communicate, to expose ourselves to different ideas. So I think it's been incredibly helpful. (Bria, female, late 20s, educational experience in activism, Occupy Santa Ana)

She describes her growing awareness of the significant gaps between what was reported in traditional media vs. media produced from the front lines of the movement. Key to this was Facebook in various uses and re-purposing:

So, I followed all the traditional media attention but then I got very invested in understanding what was happening with the difference between my Facebook account before Occupy and afterwards. (Alice, Occupy LA)

A final frequent topic for CR dialogue and discussion both online and off was what was most frequently referred to by Occupy members as "Check

Your Privilege.” When asked what language was used in OWS to address issues of feminism or oppression, this woman mentioned “check your privilege” first and then described other features designed for equity ranging from “progressive stack” to “safe space”:

So definitely check your privilege. Step up, step back, like the philosophy I mentioned before. We had a progressive stack at all the meetings, which was basically . . . it’s similar to the step up step back, if you’re taking a stack of people and there’s four white men that are first in line, you might put a woman ahead of them to speak . . . to try to get more diverse voices having a say in the meeting. . . . I know we used . . . “safe space” a lot. Which can mean a variety of things but I think it meant like a safe space for people to feel comfortable speaking up without being attacked or judged. (Sabrina female, early 30s, April 10, 2013, previous activist experience, Occupy New York)

“Safe space” is a hallmark of CR,³⁹ and each of the above terms were extensively discussed and debated via online platforms (FB, comments on YouTube videos, blog posts, Twitter, and listservs). Another activist describes intervening in the Occupy Los Angeles FB page to make it more queer-friendly, an effort to create more ‘safe space’ for queer members of OWS.

When we organized the queer affinity group, first thing I did was create a Facebook page for it. Because that is how you legitimize yourself as an entity in existence. . . . I spent a lot of time on the queering OWS, their Facebook page and their group as well in terms of cross fertilization of ideas and interests. (Craig male, late 50s, December 2012, longtime activist, Occupy Los Angeles)

He then concludes,

The tools that we have, the online tools for organizing are so incredibly powerful and different from anything that has existed previous to the Internet that I really do think it’s gonna change incredibly how political movements function and are able to operate. (Craig, Occupy Los Angeles)

THE PERSONALIZATION OF POLITICS AND THE SHIFT FROM COLLECTIVE TO CONNECTIVE ACTION

A number of recent scholarly contributions highlight new ways of thinking about the individual in relation to networks and mediated publics. Bennett and Segerberg note that conventional social movement theory no longer accounts for the individual, and focus on the personalization of politics and

how connective action is replacing collective action within the context of what Barry Wellman refers to as “networked individualism.”⁴⁰

These easily personalized frames contrast with more conventional collective action frames (e.g., “eat the rich”) that may require more socialization and brokerage to propagate in large numbers. Participation is importantly channeled through often dense social networks over which people can share their own stories and concerns—the pervasive use of social technology enables individuals to become important catalysts of collective action processes as they activate their own social networks.⁴¹

Each of these features is recognizable throughout our research into OWS practices. The concept of “personalized politics” or what is termed “connective” (as contrasted with “collective”) action, illustrates how social networking involves “co-production and co-distribution revealing a different economic and psychological logic: co-production and sharing based on personalized expression.”⁴²

The logic of connective action illuminates the high value placed on dialogue, awakening, and working to align the OWS movement’s process with the utopian values and ethos being called for that has been a hallmark of OWS. “When people who seek more personalized paths to concerted action are familiar with practices of social networking in everyday life, and when they have access to technologies from mobile phones to computers, they are already familiar with a different logic of organization: the logic of connective action.”⁴³

Personalized action frames and the “logic of connective action” help explain the phenomenon of hundreds of thousands of relatively isolated or privatized individuals sharing in the “connective” (as opposed to “collective”) zeitgeist of demands for economic justice expressed by participants in diverse social uprisings around the world. The new theorizations that emphasize the individualized experience of politics within networked, connected spaces and relations take us closer toward understanding citizens engaged in connective action around the globe. Bruce Bimber et al. note that “[a]mong scholars, one important strand of thought about digital media and collective action has emphasized the point that formal organizations with structures and incentives are no longer critical for accomplishing things collectively,”⁴⁴ which in turn raises questions about what constitutes these selves, these individuals, who enact agency within political participation.

Neither political philosophy nor sociology considers the subject or the individual when theorizing about social movements and both ignore an individual’s motivations to participate. Bimber et al. state that the recent global uprisings no longer reflect shared identities or ideologies but rather shared “diverse [individual] frustrations.”⁴⁵ This “enhanced connectivity” in a hybrid online and offline movement ties directly to Bennett and Segerberg’s “logic of connective action.”⁴⁶ Bakardjieva similarly addresses the

importance of the internet helping to make visible “facets of democracy located outside of the visible arena of politics”:⁴⁷

I would like to propose a perspective on the democratic potential of the Internet that casts light on facets of democracy located outside of the visible arena of politics, typically occupied by campaigning, voting, assemblies, and organized action in the street or the media. I would like to divert attention from the structural, institutional, and procedural effects of the Internet on democracy and direct it toward changes unfolding at the level of meaning and individual agency. My main pre-occupation will be to inquire into the capacity of the Internet to enhance democracy through the multiplication and enrichment of the everyday practices of citizenship.⁴⁸

POLITICS AND SUBPOLITICS: NEW FORMS NEED A NEW LANGUAGE OF CONNECTIVE ACTION

The uses of social technologies by participants around the world are redefining the modalities, forms and potential capacities of social movements. Our research reveals that social movements like OWS reflect in its articulations and diverse expressions the second sense of revolution, “a fundamental change in the way of thinking about or visualizing something: a change of paradigm.”⁴⁹

At the turn of the 19th century Kant posed the question, How is knowledge possible? Today, two centuries later, the parallel question is, How is political design possible? It is no coincidence that this raises an overarching question that ties together art and politics. Beyond nature, God, altars, truth, causality, ego, id, and superego begins the “art of living,” as the late Foucault called it, or the art of the self-design or renaissance of politics as a fundamental universal condition of human existence. Without a doubt, no age of hope or paradise is dawning. Reflexive modernization is the age of uncertainty and ambivalence, which combines the constant threat of disasters on an entirely new scale with the possibility and necessity to reinvent our political institutions and invent new ways of conducting politics at social “sites” that we previously considered unpolitical.⁵⁰

Not only are we at a key historical moment faced with this “necessity to reinvent” our understanding of politics, but indeed “Some of the necessary conditions for a functioning democracy exist at the level of lived experience, resources, and subjective dispositions” which may mark a significant “cultural turn” in the study of democracy and political communication.”⁵¹ Next we outline several key insights and concepts provided by recent media

and social movement scholars that amplify the significance of the return of feminist organizing practices, and may clarify the nature of this cultural turn.

In the context of scholarly “dismissal” or “de-valuation” of OWS as a “social outcry and ‘merely’ a fledgling version of a social movement,” our research suggests the critical importance of reevaluating the criteria of “success” of contemporary social movements, closely related to the often-debated characteristics of a clear demand or goal, the importance of the individual, and participants’ sense of connectivity within subpolitics.

Information and communication technologies provide multiple entry points through which an individual can connect with political activity. Subpolitics, as defined presciently by Ulrich Beck in 1997, reflects the blurring of categories including social and political, private and public, personal and political:

But why can or should the political be at home or take place only in the political system? Who says that politics are possible only in the forms and terms of governmental, parliamentary, and party politics? Perhaps the truly political disappears in and from the political system and reappears, changed and generalized, in a form that remains to be comprehended and developed, as sub(system) politics (Beck, 1992) in all the other fields of society.⁵²

Between 1997 and today, subpolitics (elaborated aptly by Bakardjieva’s notion of subactivism⁵³) has come to describe networked communities that reflect individuals, publics, audiences, and virtual publics actively engaged in developing critical awareness of systemic social structures. Specifically in the case of OWS, this subpolitical realm captures how Occupy participants share informal education to understand and analyze how power functions in corporate oligarchies to better comprehend the breakdown of capitalism.

Henry Jenkins and Nico Carpentier address this overlap of the political and cultural within contemporary media practices:

Ethan Zuckerman . . . has proposed the “cute cat picture theory of revolution”: young people around the world have developed “latent capacities” (in terms of their access and understanding of technologies for working around hierarchical control, of their ability to form and navigate through social networks, to create and circulate images), which may be deployed toward more explicitly political ends under the right circumstances. So, it is not simply that the cultural constitutes a distinctive sphere or register of politics, but that what happens in the realm of cultural politics may have a direct impact on institutional politics.⁵⁴

In her 2010 book *A Private Sphere: Democracy in a Digital Age*, Zizi Papacharissi provides a compelling case for redefining digital democracy with a much deeper understanding of the blurring of private, public,

personal, and political spheres, informing and redefining how individuals are engaging in contemporary politics.⁵⁵ In the 2011 conclusion to her edited collection *A Networked Self: Identity, Community and Culture on Networked Sites*, she further describes “convergence” as it applies to the kinds of identities expressed by our interviewees—a hybrid sense of self and community constituted by very fluid, overlapping, and porous boundaries between the spheres noted above.⁵⁶ Specifically addressing the “inner workings” of what Bennett and Segerberg refer to as “Personal Action Frames, (PAFs)”⁵⁷ we point out the background concept of convergence as it is key to understanding hybrid CR.

Convergence is a useful concept for analyzing the forms and modalities of the sense of self or subjectivity that we must account for in studying how individuals make their way in mediated and hybrid networks. Papacharissi’s description is thus worth quoting at length to outline the complex layers that we note constitute connective action and PAFs:

The architecture of the technology that belies these networked platforms of interaction rests upon principles of convergence, which enable multiple and overlapping connections between varieties of distinct social spheres. The social platforms or spaces sustained by convergent technologies accentuate confluence, flexibility, and reflexivity of media content. Jenkins (2006) has broadly defined convergence as “a word that describes technological, industrial, cultural and social changes in the ways media circulates within our culture . . . a situation in which multiple media systems coexist and where media content flows fluidly across them.” Jenkins emphasizes that convergence references several common ideas, including the flow of content across media platforms, overlap between media industries, financing that serves the interest of combined processes of media production, migratory behavior on the part of audiences that virally follow content, and of course, the ability for audiences to interact with content as both consumers and producers. The convergent properties of media render them both remixed and remixable; the product of institutions and independent socio-cultural agents. It is helpful to understand social network platforms as hosting social resources that are both remixed and remixable, in the sense that they actively combine all aspects of our social identity into a singular sphere, which then further evolves as these distinct parts converge and evolve.⁵⁸

Our research bears out Papacharissi’s description that social network platforms “actively combine all aspects of our social identity into a singular sphere, which then further evolves as these distinct parts converge and evolve.”⁵⁹ Media scholar Mark Deuze (2007) further suggests that convergence “is not just a technological process” and must therefore also be recognized as “having a cultural logic of its own, blurring the lines between

production and consumption, between making media and using media, and between active or passive spectatorship of mediated culture.”⁶⁰

Bennett and Segerberg’s theory on PAFs and connective logic⁶¹ resonates as descriptors for what is a morphed form of traditional CR, for which we transpose Beck’s subpolitical. This contemporary modality of using social media for the simultaneous counter-public sphere and space for subpolitical behaviors (critical awakening) forms a conceptual framework for digitally networked action (DNA) to be legitimately examined.⁶² This theory of connective action allows a reevaluation of the way in which social movement theory understands the individual and their motivations for participation when attempting to define collective action.

CONCLUSION: “WE’RE STILL HERE: 99%”

Our chapter has sought to show how this subpolitical awakening results in significant part from the easy “opt-in” provided by mediated platforms and information-communication technologies (ICTs), social networks which then bleed into political networks. Such subpolitical constituencies include unprecedented millions of first-time activists who may not even call themselves such but who are taking part in the streets and within mediated publics.⁶³

Such spaces for “dreaming in public,” as some reference OWS—engaged through both F2F and web-based communications, particularly FB and Twitter—allow participants to develop increased critical awareness, growth, and transformed social relations to help create a culture and ethos for the aspired-towards “new world.” Our research affirms how OWS and numerous other contemporary social movements reflect the complex, rapidly changing face of participatory democracy and subpolitics. The prefigurative nature of the movement is crucial to 21st-century transformations of participatory democracy. We have shown the overlap of OWS and second-wave feminism, highlighting key strands of attention within social movement theory and political theory. In particular, the renewal of the “personal is political” adds significantly to new conceptions for thinking about the 21st-century subject and the renewed importance of not only the individual but such eschewed concerns as “consciousness,” “awakening,” and “dialogue” as centrally important to adequate theorization of hybrid social movements.

We suggest that the understandings of social movements—like much of the vocabulary used to describe this rapidly changing arena of grassroots and participatory democracy—require radical redefinition. The blurring of public and private, social and political, requires rethinking traditional and binaristic vocabulary, discourses, and assumptions in order to best understand the changing modalities of participatory democracy, organizational structures and practices of contemporary hybrid social movements. Further,

our research confirms the nascent recognition of social movements in a digital media environment that the roles played by individuals require much greater attention than political theories have previously acknowledged.

We have argued that it is precisely the hybrid (offline and online) nature of Occupy that allowed for a new hybrid CR, a generational wake-up call. We further showed how these new hybrid CR practices represent a radical tool for critical consciousness by virtue of the multiple entry points afforded by social media platforms such as FB (the media most widely used by OWS participants), horizontal structures, and with the “logic of connective action” explaining such networked spaces.

Given the predominant discourses of the last 30 years lamenting young people’s disaffection from “civic participation,” OWS marks the radical revolutionizing of a generation of consciousness, part of a “global awakening.” Within the context of hybridized lives in which “real life” and “cyber-life” overlap and mutually shape one another, as scholars we must account for the “cultural turn” in political theory—the complexity of digitally mediated landscapes, communications, and connective action.

NOTES

1. Robert Reich, “Happy Birthday Occupy,” *The Huffington Post*, last modified Sept. 15, 2013, www.huffingtonpost.com/robert-reich/happy-birthday-occupy_b_3931978.html?utm_source=Alert-blogger&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Email+Notifications.
2. During 2012–2013, our research team conducted, transcribed, coded, and analyzed the interviews from the 23 participants. Most of the interviewees were female, offering a unique perspective in the leaderless movement of Occupy, with a wide range of political activist experience. An outline of questions was provided in a semi-structured fashion and concerned their motivations for participating in Occupy, hopes for the Occupy movement, social media participation throughout encampment and post-encampment stages, cross-generational dialogues, shared texts and philosophies within the movement, and exploration of the consciousness-raising practices witnessed throughout their involvement of Occupy. The 23 interviewees selected for this study were individuals who we actively sought out via Facebook and Twitter accounts who held a consistent presence online and created a large volume of online content. We were particularly interested in interviewing women who had been involved with the social media aspect of the OWS movement. We were also able to interview two men who were present for a two-person interview. Our research team then continued to analyze the interviews through a grounded theory approach, generating three layers of code lists to use in the analysis of our findings, a driving force of content in this chapter.
3. Maria Bakardjieva, “Subactivism: Lifeworld and Politics in the Age of the Internet,” *The Information Society* 25, no. 2 (2009): 91–104.
4. Stephanie Rogers, “What Occupy Wall Street Owes to Feminist Consciousness-Raising,” *Ms. Magazine Blog*, (December 13, 2011), last modified January 18, 2014, <http://msmagazine.com/blog/2011/12/13/what-occupy-wall-street-owes-to-feminist-consciousness-raising/> (accessed October 6, 2013).
5. *Ibid.*

6. “The assumption underlying this article is that the more we know about the history of these processes of horizontal decision making, the better equipped we will be to improve them. In this way we can, when appropriate, draw on lessons learned in the past and come to understand horizontal decision making today not as an entirely new invention, but as part of a much longer political process that is continuously evolving. The current historical juncture has brought about unprecedented opportunities for experimentation with horizontal decision making and decentralized forms of democratic governance, and as such it seems an apt moment to reflect on the politics of these procedures as part of an attempt to remain open to the new lessons as we learn them.” Marianne Maeckelbergh, “Horizontal Democracy Now: From Alterglobalization to Occupation,” *Interface: a journal for and about social movements* 4, no. 1 (2012): 207–234.
7. Marianne Maeckelbergh, “Horizontal Democracy Now: From Alterglobalization to Occupation.” *Interface: a journal for and about social movements* 4, no. 1 (2012): 207–234.
8. Marianne Maeckelbergh, “Horizontal Democracy Now,” 211.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Occupy changed the national dialogue, in the sense that it branded itself to take on many different aid missions, i.e., Occupy Sandy, Fort Hernandez, and Fort Luciero (foreclosure) and Occupy Eugene Medical and their work to overturn Citizens United. Occupy became a brand where it was possible to Occupy anything.
11. Samuel Farber, “The Art of Demanding.” *Jacobin: A magazine of culture and polemic*, last modified Sept. 7, 2012, last modified January 19, 2014, <http://jacobinmag.com/2012/09/the-art-of-demanding/>.
12. Alexander Eichler, “Wall Street Occupiers in for the Long Haul,” *Common Dreams*, last modified Sept. 29, 2011, last modified January 19, 2014, www.commondreams.org/headline/2011/09/29-7.
13. S. Rogers, “Happy Birthday OWS.”
14. H. Gautney, “What is Occupy Wall Street?”
15. Stephanie Rogers, “Occupy Wall Street and Feminism and Misogyny,” Bitch Flicks, last modified Oct. 17, 2011, last modified January 19, 2014, www.bitchflicks.com/2011/10/occupy-wall-street-and-feminism-and-misogyny-oh-my.html.
16. Sidney Tarrow, (2011) “Why Occupy Wall Street Is Not the Tea Party of the Left,” Council on Foreign Relations, last modified January 18, 2014, www.foreignaffairs.com/print/98544.
17. David Graeber, *The Democracy Project* (New York: The Random House Publishing Group, 2013), 23.
18. Megan Boler, “Occupy Women: Will Feminism’s Fourth Wave Be a Swell or a Ripple?,” Truthout.org, last modified January 18, 2014, <http://truth-out.org/news/item/9188-occupy-women-will-fourth-wave-feminism-be-a-wave-or-a-ripple>.
19. Sarah Seltzer, “Where are the Women at Occupy Wall Street,” Truthout.org, last modified January 18, 2014, www.truth-out.org/news/item/4419:where-are-the-women-at-occupy-wall-street.
20. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, “The Rhetoric of Women’s Liberation: An Oxymoron,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59, no. 1 (1973): 74–86.
21. Challenging public/private ties to earlier debates between Marxists and feminists, in 1989 Jaggar follows MacKinnon’s 1981 assertion “Consciousness raising is to feminism what labor is to Marxism” when she develops a significant epistemological intervention on “Love and Knowledge”: “Critical reflection on emotion is not a self-indulgent substitute for political analysis

- and political action. It is itself a kind of political theory and political practice, indispensable for an adequate social theory and social transformation" (Jaggar 1989, 64), which countered the Marxist critique that reflecting on subjective experience is a bourgeois, cultural endeavor not appropriate to or necessary for political revolution.
22. The extensive accounts and analyses regarding these issues include the following: John Paul Montano, "Open Letter to the Occupy Wall Street Activists," (September 24, 2011), last modified January 18, 2014, www.zashnain.com/2011/09/open-letter-to-occupy-wallstreet.html. For more information, see "Open Letter to the 'Occupy' Movement: The Decolonization Proposal," last modified January 18, 2014, www.youtube.com/watch?v=r_s3X0uW9Ec; Robert Desjarlait, "Decolonization and Occupy Wall Street," guest blog post (October 11, 2011), last modified January 18, 2014; and Miranda J. Brady and Derek Antoine, "Decolonize Wall Street! Situating Indigenous Critiques of the Occupy Wall Street Movement," *American Communication Journal* 15, no. 1 (2013), last modified January 18, 2014, www.racialicious.com/2011/10/11/decolonization-and-occupy-wall-street/.
 23. Andrew Chadwick, "Digital Network Repertoires and Organizational Hybridity." *Political Communication*, (2007): 283–301. doi:10.1080/10584600701471666.
 24. Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Quoted in W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, "The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics," *Information, Communication and Society* 15, no. 5 (2012): 739–768.
 25. Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*.
 26. Bob Dylan, "Tangled Up in Blue," CBS (1975).
 27. McKenzie Wark, *Celebrities, Culture and Cyberspace: The Light on the Hill in a Postmodern World* (Australia: Pluto Press, 1999); see McKenzie Wark for more on virality, a feature of 21st-century media, including Richard Dawkin's definition of a meme.
 28. Paul Virilio and Sylvere Lotringer. "Pure War," *Semiotext* (1997).
 29. Andrew Chadwick, "Digital Network Repertoires," 284.
 30. Stephanie Rogers, "Happy Birthday, Occupy Wall Street!" Bitch Flicks, last modified Sept. 17, 2012, www.btchflicks.com/2012/09/happy-birthday-occupy-wall-street.html.
 31. Stephanie Rogers, "Occupy Wall Street and Feminism and Misogyny," Bitch Flicks, last modified Oct. 17, 2011, www.btchflicks.com/2011/10/occupy-wall-street-and-feminism-and-misogyny-oh-my.html.
 32. Georgina Blakeley, "Los Indignados: A Movement that Is Here to Stay," Open Democracy, last modified January 18, 2014, www.opendemocracy.net/georgina-blakeley/los-indignados-movement-that-is-here-to-stay. "The arrest of 24 demonstrators at the end of the march in Madrid led to a spontaneous sit-down on the evening of the May 15 in Madrid's main square, the Plaza del Sol . . . Facebook, Twitter and other social media called for a mass sit-down that same evening which then became a more permanent camp. This was the start of the 15-M—los indignados movement—although it had roots in other movements such as VdeVivienda which began in 2006 in support of the right to affordable housing, Precarios en movimiento, a loose network of groups struggling against the lack of certainty (precariedad) in employment, housing, pensions, health and education and Juventud Sin Futuro (Youth without a Future) which coalesced in Madrid's universities in April 2011 around the slogan 'no house, no job, no pension, no fear.'" Georgina Blakeley, "Los Indignados: A Movement that is Here to Stay," Open Democracy,

- last modified October 5, 2012, www.opendemocracy.net/georgina-blakeley/los-indignados-movement-that-is-here-to-stay www.opendemocracy.net/georgina-blakeley/los-indignados-movement-that-is-here-to-stay.
33. Samuel Farber, "The Art of Demanding," *Jacobin: A magazine of culture and polemic*, last modified Sept. 7, 2012, last modified January 18, 2014, <http://jacobinmag.com/2012/09/the-art-of-demanding/>.
 34. Neil Sutherland, Christopher Land, and Steffen Böhm, "Anti-leaders (Hip) in Social Movement Organizations: The Case of Autonomous Grassroots Groups," *Organization* (2013).
 35. Neil Sutherland, Christopher Land, and Steffen Böhm. "Anti-leaders (hip) in Social Movement Organizations: The Case of Autonomous Grassroots Groups." *Organization* (2013), 5.
 36. Sutherland et al, 5.
 37. S. Rogers, "What Occupy Wall Street Owes to Feminist Consciousness-Raising."
 38. See Matt Ratto and Megan Boler, eds. *DIY Citizenship: Critical Making and Social Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014).
 39. See for example Berenice Fisher, 2001.
 40. Lance W. Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, "The Logic of Connective Action."
 41. W. Lance Bennett, "The Personalization of Politics Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 644, no. 1 (2012): 20–39.
 42. L. Bennett, "Personalization of Politics."
 43. Ibid.
 44. Bruce Bimber, Andrew Flanagin, and Cynthia Stohl, "Reconceptualizing Collective Action in the Contemporary Media Environment," *Communication Theory* no. 4 (2005): 365–388.
 45. Lance W. Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, "The Logic of Connective Action."
 46. Ibid., 739–768.
 47. M. Bakardjieva, "Subactivism."
 48. Ibid., 91–92.
 49. Merriam Webster Dictionary.
 50. Ulrich Beck, "Subpolitics Ecology and the Disintegration of Institutional Power," *Organization & Environment* 10, no. 1 (1997): 52–65, 53.
 51. M. Bakardjieva, "Subactivism," 92.
 52. U. Beck, "Subpolitics Ecology," 1.
 53. "We attempt to connect the problematic of citizenship with that of everyday life through the concept of subactivism. Subactivism in my definition is a kind of politics that unfolds at the level of subjective experience and is submerged in the flow of everyday life. It is constituted by small-scale, often individual, decisions and actions that have either a political or ethical frame of reference (or both) and are difficult to capture using the traditional tools with which political participation is measured. Subactivism is a refraction of the public political arena in the private and personal world." M. Bakardjieva, "Subactivism," 92.
 54. Jenkins, Henry. "RETHINKING 'RETHINKING CONVERGENCE/CULTURE.'" *Cultural Studies Ahead-of-Print* (2013): 1–31.
 55. Zizi Papacharissi, *A Private Sphere: Democracy in a Digital Age* (Polity, 2010).
 56. Zizi Papacharissi, ed. *A Networked Self: Identity, Community, and Culture on Social Network Sites* (Routledge, 2010).
 57. Lance W. Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, "The Logic of Connective Action."

58. Zizi Papacharissi, ed., *A Networked Self*, 282.
59. *Ibid.*, 305.
60. Mark Deuze, *Media Work* (Polity, 2007), 74.
61. Lance W. Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg, "A Logic of Connective Action," 22.
62. *Ibid.*, 742.
63. For more on first time activists see: Ian Reilly and Megan Boler, "Satire and Social Change: The Rally to Restore Sanity and the Future of Politics," *Communication, Culture and Critique* 7 (forthcoming).

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