IRONY OF A REVOLUTION:
HOW GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS REINFORCED
POWER STRUCTURES THEY FOUGHT TO RESIST

by

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B.A., Fort Hays State University, 2000
M.L.S., Fort Hays State University, 2006

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work
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Manhattan, Kansas

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Abstract

This study is about two grassroots political organizations that formed prior to the 2012 presidential election in the United States, each concerned with the nation's economy, corporate favoritism, government involvement, and growing income inequality. The study outlines an historical account of a culture of control, and then analyzes actions of two contemporary protest organizations – The Tea Party, known as politically conservative; and Occupy Wall Street (OWS), characterized as liberal – as the national election unfolded. Each group sought to change the political landscape and influence the outcome of the presidential election, but with competing messages and very different approaches. Seeking change from the inside, The Tea Party emphasized limited government regulation of the market economy. OWS intended to crumble the system by outside resistance and demanded government attention to economic inequality. Field research and content analysis provide insight into behaviors, beliefs, and actions of each group, which, in turn, identify efforts to resist the status quo. Content analysis of print news provides evidence of state responses toward each group, while also offering insight into media framing and public influence. Finally, a survey of official responses from host communities reveals specific efforts to control protest organizations, ranging from acts of diplomacy to violent opposition. Findings demonstrate how roles of the Tea Party and OWS are not always in conflict, such as media often portray; for example, both groups contested corporate control. The Tea Party met token success, but stopped short of influencing top echelons. OWS brought attention to system inequities, but failed to maintain significant pressure; instead, participants were criminalized for acts of protest.

Ironically, in the end, both groups' efforts reinforced the culture of control they sought to resist. Theoretically, a cultural criminology framework, integrating symbolic interaction and social control, demonstrates how structural constraints oppose grassroots political efforts.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this doctoral dissertation to my family. Mom, thank you for providing words of encouragement. You kept me sane. Dad, thank you for your regular inquiries, questioning how long before I was finished. You kept me motivated. To my children, Shelby and Robert, thank you for tolerating the past five years. I know my education took a lot of time away from parenting. However, my hope is that you grasp the importance of always striving to better yourself and never settling for less than your best! To my grandchildren – now I can enjoy being a grandma, while spending time with grandma is still a cool thing to do. Darrell, I would like to thank you for your continual patience and encouragement throughout the past several years. Words can never express the appreciation I have for you.

Special dedication to the participants of Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street functions I attended and for contributing to this research. This was a valuable experience that taught more about life than can be included in a doctoral dissertation. Keep fighting for your cause, even when there is disagreement between the two. In the end, you all have the same purpose in mind – hope and belief in a future!

Chapter 1 - Political Protest within a Culture of Control

> This is truly the most important election – not only in our lifetime but in our
> nation's history.
>   Political Commentator

As the United States entered a presidential election year, dissension could be felt across the nation. The economy was bleak. Bailouts had occurred. The effects of inflation were taking a toll on American families, and many were living beyond their means. Unemployment was high and neither corporations nor small businesses seemed to be hiring. Investors were losing faith in the market and Wall Street wanted assurance that conditions would improve. Elites made sizable contributions to political campaigns in an effort to protect not only the economy but more specifically, their own interests. Populist demands seemed to infiltrate the political spectrum. In the final weeks before the election, the polls remained close; the consequences of the election would be powerful. According to pundits on either side, either confidence would be restored to the American people or the nation would surely slip into greater economic despair, depending on which candidate won.

Even though these comments would seem to apply to the 2012 presidential election, they were, in fact, from another watershed election, dating back to 1896.

In order to further place in perspective the present study of certain election-year groups, a few more historical points are instructive. During what is known as the Panic of 1893, the American economy plummeted, producing an economic depression with global consequences. By late January of 1895, the stockpile of gold held by the U.S. Treasury had fallen to less than $50 million, well short of the $100 million required to maintain the reserve (Brands, 1995). Recognizing that a government default would be catastrophic, investment banker J.P. Morgan approached then President Cleveland with a financial proposition believed to save the nation from economic ruin. Cleveland eventually agreed to Morgan's proposal that the U.S. Treasury sell bonds to a group of capitalists that would pay for the bonds with gold. The proposal, which was completed in February of 1995, proved successful in as few as four months as the government's gold reserves rebounded beyond the $100 million reserve (Brands, 1995). From J.P.

Morgan's perspective, the success demonstrated the "power of capitalism, which would supply what democracy currently could not" (Brands, 2010, p. 597). The agreement would create a partnership between the U.S. government and the capitalist class that would have long term consequences – both positive and negative – for the nation and American people.

Moving ahead to 2012, we witness the culmination of more than 100 years of co-mingling between corporate and capitalist classes within a democratically organized nation. An underlying question loomed large on the political horizon: How, if at all, would competing groups affect policy and government practices in the next few years? This study evaluates the manner in which society creates meaning across the following domains: 1) formation of grassroots organizations; 2) labels of deviance placed on organization participants; and 3) state responses toward participants. In particular, the study explores activities and discourse associated with two contemporary grassroots political organizations – specifically the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street – as these groups struggle to influence elections and sway a variety of political issues such as limiting the scope of government versus reducing economic inequality.

Forms of activism advanced by the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street, in addition to media portrayals of each organization, provide clues of social and state responses toward participants. Tea Partiers sought to limit government intrusion from within the system. Occupiers sought to reduce economic inequality by acts of resistance against the system. This contrast in approaches provides insight into the social construction of meaning, specifically regarding those identified as "outsiders" by society (Becker, 1963). Regardless of approach, participants of these organizations were labeled as deviant by

social, economic, and political institutions due to their efforts to change the status quo. Consequently, the conflict between these long-standing institutions (social, economic, and political structures) – identified as insiders – and grassroots organizations – labeled as outsiders – calls for further study to understand the cultural dynamics that labels each group, legitimizing insiders while demonizing (and sometimes criminalizing) the other.

Through analyzing historical precedents and current discourse, this research evaluates media portrayals of each group, and, in turn, observes how these portrayals seem to influence public perception. Participant observations, interspersed throughout the study, help to inform both context and content of the organizations' respective messages, as well as group members' awareness and insight into the political process. Further and critical to the overall analysis, state-sponsored reactions to each group are evaluated to determine whether the two groups differ in responses they elicit from the criminal justice system. This study gains insight into how grassroots movements seek to shape the general social order and the consequences of their efforts.

Because this research utilizes the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street as case studies, a brief background of the two organizations is instructive. Some may question whether these organizations meet the criteria for a social movement, though some official designation of such is not the point of this research. As Tarrow (1998) argues, many forms of contentious politics exist prior to the development of specific formally, organized movements. For example, even before civil rights groups were classified as a social movement, activists were engaged in grassroots political participation (McAdam, 1982). Each organization presented here is recognized as engaging in extra- or non-institutional collective action, in pursuit of change-oriented goals (Snow et al., 2004).

For this reason, rather than confirming or denying the status of these two organizations as formal social movements, this study draws from the social movement literature.

Occupy Wall Street, known for advancing the slogan, "We are the 99%," advances its message in opposition to the wealthiest echelons of society (Hazen et al., 2011; van Gelder, 2011; Writers, 2011). On September 17, 2011, a challenge mounted by the Canadian magazine *Adbusters*, in response to European uprisings, brought thousands of demonstrators to Zuccotti Park in New York City (van Gelder, 2011; Writers, 2011; Chomsky, 2012). Within a few weeks, Occupy demonstrations had occurred in 95 cities throughout 82 countries (Adam, 2011) and in more than 600 communities across the U.S. (Thompson, 2011). Occupy participants share the belief that the current capitalist system is "rigged in favor of the wealthy" (van Gelder, 2011, p. 3). Confirming this view, Domhoff (2012) established that the top one percent of Americans hold 42 percent of the financial wealth, while the bottom 80 percent possesses only seven percent of the wealth. In addition, average hourly earnings have remained almost stagnant from 1964 to 2008 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010), after adjusting for inflation. Consequently, stagnant wages have limited the ability for individuals to move beyond the bottom 80 percent noted above. These structural economic issues gave impetus to the Occupy protests across the country.

Results from the Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (Occupy Research Network, 2012) depict Occupy Wall Street participants as primarily female and younger than 45 years of age. In addition, the majority is currently employed, earn less than $100,000 per year, and have a college or post-graduate degree. Politically, just over one third of Occupiers identify with the Democrats while slightly

more identify as Independents. An overwhelming majority of participants identify the economy as the most important problem facing the country, including issues of income inequality, money in politics, corporate greed, and student debt or limited access to education (2012).

The Tea Party is often characterized by pundits as a more economically secure segment of society, interested in certain social issues, and labeled as neoconservative (Taibbi, 2010; Street & DiMaggio, 2011). The organization was formally named in February 2009, although reports exist of developing grassroots participation surrounding political platforms a year earlier (Zernike, 2011). Similar to Occupy, about 99 percent of Tea Party participants who responded to a *Washington Post* survey (2010) expressed concern with the current state of the economy. However, Tea Partiers did not target corporations specifically for the economic woes. Instead, supporters believe government policies, including bail outs of greedy corporations, are primarily the problem. Other driving ideas that generate support of the Tea Party movement include an overall mistrust of government, opposition to President Obama and Democratic Party policies, as well as dissatisfaction with mainstream Republican Party leaders (*Washington Post*, 2010).

Results from the National Survey of Tea Party Supporters (*New York Times CBS News Poll*, 2010) depict Tea Party participants as primarily male and older than 45 years of age. In addition, the majority is currently employed, earn less than $100,000 per year, and have some college, or a college or post-graduate degree. Politically, the majority of Tea Partiers identify with the Republicans, although slightly more than one third identify as Independents. An overwhelming majority of participants identify the economy as the most important problem facing the country (2010).

Regardless of the distinctions between the organizations and individual participants, each group has established itself as a political organization with its collective eyes on influencing public policy in the U.S. Each has developed a unique identity and approach for responding to their perception of social injustice. Media portrayals and state responses toward participants of each group provide a measure of how they are regarded (by certain segments at least), and of possible elements of social control. These cultural constructions create a perception of participants as "outsiders," which hints at certain structural constraints that may limit the success of each organization. This study explores goals, objectives, and strategies of each group, and proposes to analyze each in terms of its effectiveness and potential to influence politics and policy in the U.S. The study is particularly interested in how each garners membership and support, gathers influence, and sustains its mark on the socio-political landscape.

The value of this work is that it engages the actual process of, and battle for, control as it unfolds rather than evaluating the climate in retrospect. While previous research approaches political protest in relation to new social movement activity, emphasizing contested social issues such as abortion, gay/lesbian rights, and religious freedom (Snow et al., 2004) – to name a few – this work evaluates what appear to be competing attitudes and approaches toward economic conditions facing the nation. In turn, this research sets the stage for critical questions: What would happen to grassroots political organizations in the current culture of control? Who would survive, and who would establish a lasting influence, if any, on the direction of the nation?

The following conceptual map (Figure 1.1) demonstrates how this research sought to answer these questions within a cultural criminology framework, which incorporates elements of both culture of control and symbolic interactionism, two bedrocks of this theoretical framework.

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Map Demonstrating Theoretical Framework
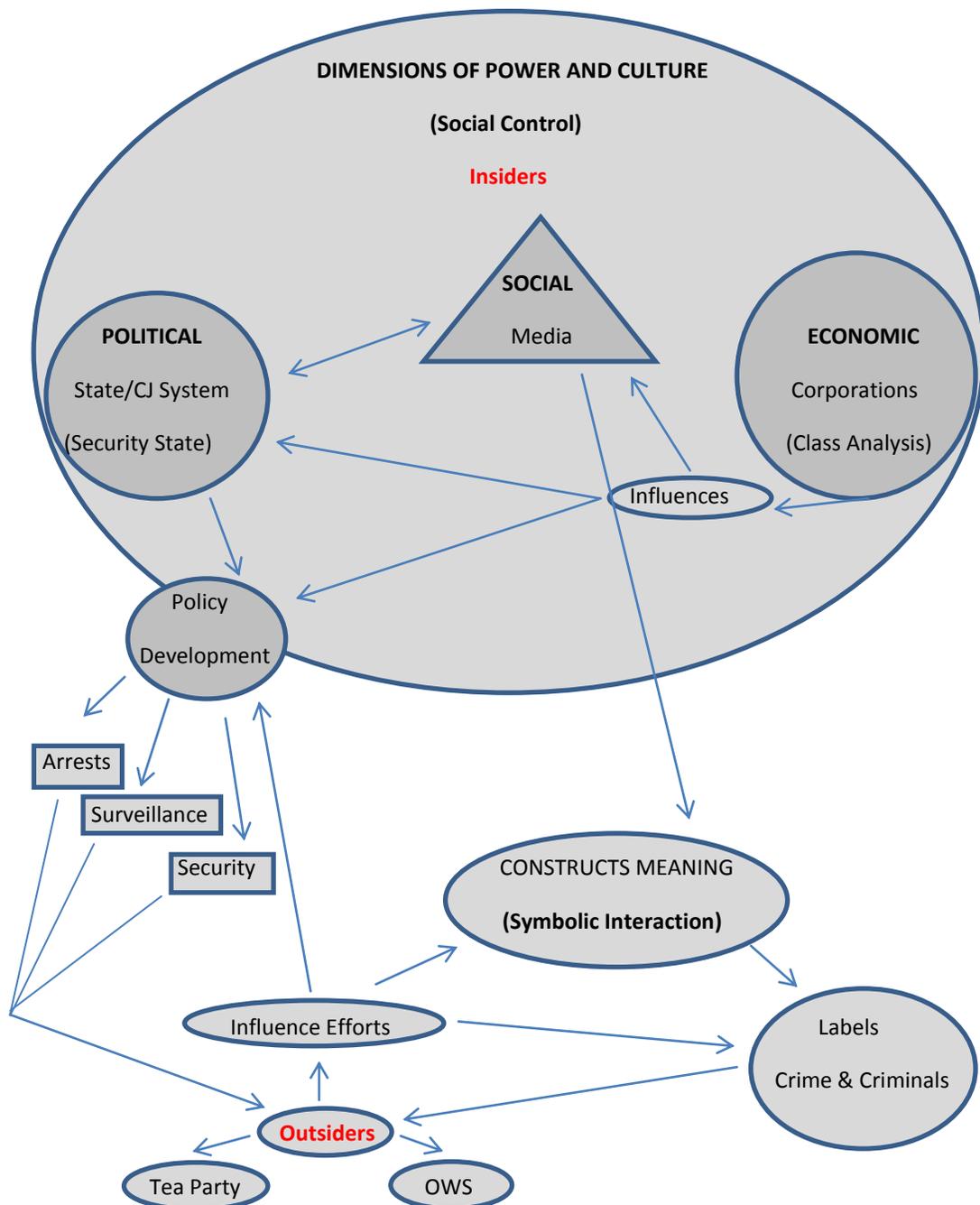
A culture of control underscores the political, social, and economic institutions that constrain society, while symbolic interaction provides the development of meaning that reinforces culture. State actors (political), represented by political officials and the criminal justice system, mainstream media outlets (social), and corporations (economic) represent insiders that possess power over outsiders. These insiders exercise power across a number of social domains. Corporations influence policy development through the financial support of elections. In addition, corporations influence the construction of culture through financial control of media outlets. Market-driven media outlets control information in favor of corporate success (McCarthy et al., 1996; Baker, 2007). State actors develop policies to promote interests of the powerful (Domhoff, 2010), resulting in increased security through arrests and surveillance of those labeled as outsiders.

Outsiders are those groups or individuals who challenge the status quo, or resist current dimensions of power. Outsiders, who fall beyond the domain of acceptable compliance, are more likely to be labeled as deviant or criminals by the media. Cavendar (2004) argues that the media constructs culture by defining the following: 1) what society thinks; 2) what or who society views as a social problem; and 3) what solutions society should support to resolve the problem. Such definitions come as a result of cultural constructs, set in motion by insiders. Outsiders, and their activities that pose a threat, are identified through symbolic interaction as dangerous, or, at best, "weird." Efforts by the media to present members of the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street negatively demonstrate efforts to dictate society's views of the organizations.

In total, this research seeks to understand the ideological and historical influences that divide society between insiders and outsiders. Within the current political milieu,

this research demonstrates efforts by outsiders – particularly Occupy Wall Street and the Tea Party – to resist efforts of control by insiders. Media portrayals of each group are important for understanding how each group is presented to the viewing public, evidence of insider influence, and state responses toward acts of protest by each organization.

Beyond this introductory chapter, the remainder of the dissertation includes six chapters. Following the conventional format, Chapter 2 provides the literature review, beginning with the theoretical framework that guides the study. This study employs a cultural criminology approach, including culture of control and symbolic interaction. Chapter 3 lays out the methodology incorporated throughout this study. Chapters four through six provide results, specific to a particular element of the study. The following descriptions briefly preview the remaining chapters. Finally, a concluding chapter reflects on the entire study.

Chapter 4, *Tea Party: Change from Within,* provides insight into the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of the Tea Party and participants. This chapter begins with an overview of the organization and its participants, as reported from the *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) Survey of Tea Party Supporters, identified through observations of Tea Party functions, and advanced by Tea Party affiliated websites. The chapter continues with themes that developed from messages promoted during Tea Party functions. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the political perspectives advanced by the organization and participants, supporting the theoretical underpinnings of the organization.

Chapter 5, *Occupy Wall Street: Change through Resistance,* provides insight into the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of Occupy Wall Street and participants. This chapter

begins with an overview of the organization and its participants, as reported from the

Occupy Research Network (2012) Occupy Research Demographic and Political

Participation Survey, identified through observations of Occupy functions, and advanced

by Occupy Wall Street affiliated websites. The chapter continues with themes that

developed from messages promoted during Occupy functions. Finally, the chapter

concludes with a brief discussion of the political perspectives advanced by the

organization and participants, which also supports the theoretical underpinnings of the

organization.

Chapter 6, *Media and State Responses: It is about Control,* provides insight into

efforts by the media to portray grassroots political organizations, and participants, as

outsiders. In addition, state responses tend to reinforce this outsider status, although at

varying degrees between competing groups. A theoretical reflection identifies efforts by

the media and state to advance a culture of control.

Chapter 7, *Opposition within a Culture of Control,* reflects on the study as a

whole. The chapter begins with discussion of the similarities, as well as differences,

between the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street. These comparisons, in addition to a

recap of the social, economic, and political conditions that fueled the organization of

these groups, introduce a discussion of key findings that developed from this study.

These findings demonstrate a connection to the cultural criminology framework that

guided this study. The chapter ends by recognizing the limitations of this study, as well

as implications for future research.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do
> not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances
> directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past.
> Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

As this quote implies, people do not determine their future solely as individuals but rather as a product of the knowledge and conditions of historical influences. This literature review provides an overview of those historical factors responsible for shaping the nation we know today.   The review first develops the theoretical foundations of social control and symbolic interaction as situated within a cultural criminology framework. The chapter continues by identifying the historical changes, in combination with a number of structural elements, that reinforce a culture of control. The literature expands to include state responses toward organized efforts to mobilize against the status quo. The chapter continues with literature that expands the development of meaning, providing insight into the exercise and consequences of symbolic politics for advancing a culture of control.   Literature identifying competing ideologies follows, including how grassroots organizations or movements utilize ideology to generate support and promote intended messages.   The literature review concludes by identifying the impact of media in modern society, addressing how media influences affect public opinion, and lays ground to examine how the state – specifically policy makers – may be able to utilize the media to promote policy agendas. Returning to the concept of framing, the literature addresses how media affiliates have presented previous protest movements. Finally, this chapter concludes with discussion of the purpose of this research, including the primary questions addressed throughout the study.

Theoretical Foundations

In order to inform the study of these organizations – Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street – I incorporate a body of constructivist scholarship. Conceptually, this project employs cultural criminology, which incorporates elements of both culture of control and symbolic interactionism, two bedrocks of this theoretical framework. The culture of control framework underscores the social, economic, and political institutions that constrain society, while the symbolic interaction literature provides insight into the development of meaning that reinforces culture. As illustrated in the conceptual model (Figure 1.1), this research demonstrates how groups identified as outsiders may, within certain conditions, recognize and challenge the structural constraints that control society, or, as argued by Marx, come to develop class consciousness (2010[1848]; McLellan, 2002). From the framework of culture as a social construction through which meaning and actors are defined, this research relies upon a cultural criminology approach specifically to study conflict and social control. The model presented here extends the body of work to include organizational dynamics of political protest.

The genre known as cultural criminology (Ferrell & Hamm, 1998; Ferrell, 1999; Ferrell et al., 2008; Young, 2011) establishes epistemological underpinnings that guide concepts and methodology, requiring a research agenda that "explores the convergence of cultural and criminal processes in contemporary social life" (Ferrell, 1999, p. 395; Finley, 2002). Ferrell et al. (2008, p.15) argue that cultural criminology attempts to "conceptualize the dynamics of class, crime, and social control within the cultural fluidity of contemporary capitalism, [as well as] attempts to understand the connections between crime, activism, and political resistance under these circumstances." More simply,

cultural criminology provides tools to understand challenges to political processes and the cultural context in which those efforts are resisted, and sometimes criminalized, by powerful entities such as the media and the state.

The study of culture is one approached from various perspectives and for different purposes (Garland, 2006). Sociologists often describe culture as the "ideational variables [of] shared norms, beliefs, identities," but in doing so, they imply that "culture stands apart from its subject" (Oren, 2000, p. 544). Garland (2001) argues that culture is a *process*, one by which norms, values, and beliefs of one generation are transmitted, reproduced, and communicated to the next. Garland (2006, p. 439), emphasized by Young (2011), argues that "cultural forms never exist outside their social context of use and the practices of interpretation that are brought to bear upon them." In particular, cultural criminology looks at definitions of deviance and those defined as "outsiders" as unfixed, ever-changing, and dependent on situated meaning construction. In other words, the concept of outsider is embedded within power relations, which become normalized. Efforts to contest those taken-for-granted associations take place at borders and points of change, rendering the processes more visible. Based on this premise, today's culture can be best understood within the historical context from which it evolved; by the structural dimensions that support it; and, from the context within which interpretation occurs. While history provides insight, this research takes place as certain changing events unfold, offering a unique opportunity to observe efforts to alter large social structures. It is at these boundaries that cultural criminology equips the research's study; it is often referred to as "edgework" (Ferrell & Hamm, 1998).

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To investigate the perception of structural constraints advanced by social, economic, and political institutions, I evaluate the current sociopolitical climate from a perspective of social control. Social control refers to those processes of a social nature that regulate individual and group behavior, leading to conformity of rules or meeting the behavioral expectations sought by society. Black (1993, p. 4) specifically defines social control as "all human practices and arrangements that contribute to social order, and in particular, that influence people to conform; [it is the way] people define and respond to deviant behavior." Similarly, Liska (1992, p. 2-3) refers to social control as "those acts, relationships, processes, and structures that maintain social conformity . . . or that contributes to social order." This research borrows generously from Garland's (2001) thesis that structural elements largely shape outcomes as states, corporations, and private citizens engage in a battle for control, or power.

Scholars often struggle to agree on a common definition of power (Haugaard, 2006). Gaventa (2006, p. 23) describes power as a "web of relationships and discourses" to which everyone is subjected. Piven and Cloward (2005) argue that laws and resistance of laws demonstrates efforts toward exerting power and gaining control. Related, power is a key concept surrounding policy formation and government processes which Weber (1968: 53) describes as "the probability that one actor . . . will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance" on the part of others. Power occurs at different levels, variable across three distinct, yet complementary, theoretical frameworks of the state. While power can be coercive – involving the threat of, or use of, force – some scholars argue that it is more often invisible. Lukes (1974) identifies three dimensions of power present in society. The first dimension of power represents the visible decision

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making process where individuals recognize and can express grievances through voting or participation in interest groups. The second dimension of power emphasizes that the level at which a "person or group – consciously or unconsciously – creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts" (p. 16) determines his or her power. Luke's third dimension of power recognizes those who control the political agenda, including the issues and interests as they perceive them to be, regardless of what may truly be in the best interest of members of society. It is this third dimension that is most potent, and it is often expressed through the concept of ideology.

Approaching a culture of control as a structural entity – a pattern of interaction with some scope and permanence – brings attention to the political processes that support it: "the conflicting interests of political actors and by the exigencies, political calculations and short-term interests that provide their motivations" (Garland, 2001, p.191). History includes many examples of groups that attempted to resist the political processes perceived as controlling some aspect of their lives in a manner they neither supported nor tolerated (Piven, 2006). Women resisted political processes that prevented them from gaining the right to vote. Conditions resulting from the Great Depression provoked protest on the part of unemployed and industrial workers to increase employment opportunities and improve working conditions (Piven & Cloward, 1979). The Civil Rights Movement elicited protest from minorities seeking equality including political rights and economic opportunities (McAdam, 1982). Organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan formed in opposition to the Civil Rights Movement (Lowndes, 2008). Mainstream conservative groups resisted what participants perceived as the attack on their traditional moral values (Allitt, 2009).

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Activism by each of these groups developed as a "collective organized attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order" (Wilson, 1973, p. 8). Activists often engage the political process as a response to various social or political circumstances that some people "find or experience as troublesome and about which they have considerable concern and often strong passions" (Piven & Cloward, 1979; McAdam & Snow, 2010: 11). Unlike previous competing protest movements, which often focused on particular social issues such as pro-life versus pro-choice movements, Occupy Wall Street and the Tea Party both underscored economic circumstances perceived as unjust, though from very different perspectives. Occupiers were frustrated with the political, military, corporate, and academic establishments, perceived to protect the interests of the one percent over everyone else. Tea Partiers were frustrated by political policies, viewed as limiting opportunities for financial success.

Understanding the Social Context of Resistance. Scholars can only truly understand political activism and progression within the context of a host of social factors (Benford & Snow, 2000). The host of factors includes the presence or absence of competing or cooperative movements (Tarrow, 1998); the style of protest, changes in law or policy, and movement goals (Piven, 2006); ideological forces (Zald, 1996); and responses toward movement participants. In a day of social networking and instant media presence (Pratt, 2007), how these groups are portrayed to the public is critical (Garland, 2001; Altheide, 2002). But it is equally important to access first-hand reports from on-the-ground participants. Regardless of the motivations and context within which activism develops, it is individual participants who seek and hope for some level of social

change to improve the quality of their lives (Hobsbawm, 1959; Piven & Cloward, 1979; Piven, 2006; Marx & Engles, 2010).

One cannot understand the motivations that promote activism, or the context within which protest occurs without identifying the meaning behind action. This study illustrates the manner in which the premises of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) – meaning, interaction, and interpretation – influence and are illustrated by Occupy Wall Street and the Tea Party. At the heart of symbolic interactionism is the idea that individuals develop meaning from everything around them including signs, symbols, objects, institutions, other people, and activities. The development of meaning incorporates a process in which an individual takes into account "all objects that are relevant in the situation" (Shibutani, 1988, p. 24). In turn, social action occurs through, and is dependent upon, an individual's interpretation of various situations and where he or she "fits" into that situation. Meaning, and consequently action, represents and reinforces one's political perspectives and ideology.

Douglas et al. (1982) emphasize the reflexive nature of social interactions where the definition of a situation results from the meaning others have developed. Goffman (1974) termed this interactive and reflective method of interpretation as framing, which occurs as individuals make sense of the world around them. Frames serve as "cognitive structures that guide perception and the representation of reality" (Kendall, 2011, p. 8). Framing also represents the process by which culture and ideology strategically foster the development of grassroots political organizations. This research incorporates framing to identify the "specific metaphors, symbolic representations, and cognitive cues" (Zald, 1996, p. 262) used by each organization to promote their cause. Furthermore, the study

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incorporates framing to recognize the manner in which media depicts the organizations

under study, as well as state responses toward their participants.

Framing serves an important role in fostering the development of grassroots

political organizations as activists must present – or frame – an issue to gain the greatest

level of support from likely participants (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Each of the

organizations studied here frames its mission or purpose around money; however, the

metaphors and representations that develop the frames differ. The Tea Party targets

anger toward an over-reaching government, described as too comfortable with "taking

hard-earned money" from the middle-class to benefit "undeserving" corporations.

Occupy Wall Street focuses anger on issues of inequality, pitting the 99 percent against

the top one percent of the nation's wealth owners. Perspective frames are necessary, not

only for generating support from likely participants, but also for gauging response from

outside the movement. Furthermore, framing influences (and reflects) ideological

perspectives advanced by organizational participants.

Theoretical contributions of cultural criminology have primarily been restricted to

"clear categories of offender or specific sub-cultures" (Fenwick, 2004, p.384). This study

expands the concept of offender, evaluating how the media and state criminalize

behaviors in the context of political protest. In addition, the literature capitalizes on

"simultaneously occurring control and resistance" (Tunnell, 2004, p.146) of everyday life

(Ferrell et al., 2008); however, this fails to capture the importance of historical influences

responsible for creating and maintaining structural conditions that constrain society.

Expanding the cultural criminology literature to include a less specific category of

offender, as well as the organizational dynamics of contemporary grassroots protest, provides important contributions to this study.

A Culture of Control

      Historical Influences and Structural Elements of Control. Formal social control, which refers to the exercise of state authority to govern the people, exists as a function of the managerial framework of the state (Neuman, 2005). The managerial framework is represented by two, competing yet complementary, models: 1) elite, and 2) statist. Within the elite model, powerful business, military, and political elites control policy decisions (Mills, 1956) without regard for public interests. An extension of this model is a class-analysis framework (Domhoff, 2010) that emphasizes the power of business or corporate elites. In contrast, the statist model views the state as an "institution with autonomy that develops its own interests and is insulated from pressures in the larger society" (Neuman, 2005, pg. 91). The primary difference between the two models represents the bureaucratic structure of the state (statist) versus individuals with power in the state (elite). Formal social control resulting from the managerial framework of the state, regardless of model, functions as a dimension of the nation-state.

      Some scholars argue the nation-state resulted when the sovereign state, a political organization, joined the people of a country, representing a specific cultural community (Jessop, 2006). Cobban (1994, p. 249) notes that prior to this conceptual shift there was not a "connection between the state as a political unit and the nation as a cultural one." With the progression of the industrial revolution, resulting in increased trade and the development and expansion of a capitalist economy, came the rise of the nation-state. Ruling elites were able to alter the current form of the state which now operated in

conjunction with capitalism (Lewin & Kim, 2004), and which, in turn, strengthened

social-economic relations (Rose & Miller, 2010).   The dimensions of power responsible

for expanding the nation-state included liberalism, formal law, state sovereignty, and

changing definitions of state citizenship (Hall, 2003).

Classical liberalism, different from modern liberalism (Dewey, 2012), represents

an ideological perspective intent on protecting individual freedoms and limiting state

authority. The protection of freedoms occurred through the development of formal law.

Formal law promotes legal concepts such as contracts and regulations. On the surface,

formal law protects individual freedoms while promoting capitalism. However, the law

becomes oppressive in nature, some argue, as those in power develop laws that protect

their own interests while limiting the freedom of those with little power. Tamanaha

(2004, p. 517) argues that the rule of law fails to promote democracy as "anti-

majoritarian" interests often take precedence over policy decisions.

Control of policy decisions often occurs by corporations perceived to have

economic control over political processes. Theorists within a class-analysis framework

view contemporary advanced societies as a system where the highest economic group

represents the ruling class (Alford & Friedland, 1985; Block, 1994; Domhoff, 2010). The

primary role of the state, within this system, is to protect capitalism and advance the

power of the capitalist class (Block, 1994; Offe, 1994; Domhoff, 2010). According to

these theorists, politics cannot be fully democratic in order for the capitalist class to

influence political processes.   This political influence limits attacks on capitalism and

blocks alternative economic institutions from infiltrating the system. Individuals from

the ruling class represent the corporate community, which "consists of all those profit-

seeking organizations connected into a single network by overlapping directors"

(Domhoff, 2010, p. 24).   The primary responsibility of these directors is to ensure that

competent executives are in key positions of power to influence government policies that

have a positive impact on the corporate community.

Support for political candidates within this framework generally results from

lobbying and campaign efforts that serve a vital function for reinforcing financial power

structures. A few examples are instructive. Corporations such as Monsanto spend

approximately $8 million per year on lobbying efforts (Faber, 2009). Corrections

Corporation of America contributed over $2.2 million to state political campaigns in

2010 to ensure that policies promoted their corporate interests (Justice Policy Institute,

2011).   The Department of Defense (DOD) paid almost $300 million in taxpayer money

to private defense companies in 2010. For example, Hedges (2009) claims that the DOD

made huge campaign contributions and intentionally placed defense industry facilities in

almost every congressional district to ensure the collaboration of elected officials.

Corporate influence of political processes (Domhoff, 2010), including the development of

laws, supports control of the citizenry by the nation-state.

In contrast to the class-analysis perspective, some argue that anti-majoritarian

interests result from extortion of corporations by political officials (Schweizer, 2013).

The Tillman Act of 1907 criminalized financial contributions to federal candidates by

corporations.   History fails to provide any clear evidence that corporations opposed the

Tillman Act. More appropriately, corporations may have supported the act as a "means

of protecting themselves from extortive threats by political leaders seeking campaign

contributions" (Sitkoff, 2002, p. 1131). Goldsmith (1999) argues that corruption of

public office limits economic growth of an emerging society.   Lapalombara (1994) argues that political corruption is most concentrated in nation-states, many of which are liberal democracies.   Many Americans believe the political system lacks "transparency, or clear procedural rules, and prone to corruption, political manipulation, and outright fraud" (Gumbel, 2008, p. 1109).   Regardless of whether political processes are influenced by corporations or corrupt politicians, the consequence is the same.   Interests of constituents are not considered in the development of formal law.

Formal law provides an exceptional amount of power over the citizenry through state-sovereignty, regardless of whose interests are served. Sovereignty represents the authority, or power, of the state to control a specific geographical territory in addition to the citizens and institutions comprising that territory (Biersteker & Weber, 1996; Benhabib, 2005). As the nation-state developed, it incorporated the rule-based practices of various institutions such as religious entities (Madeley, 2009), militant organizations (Hooks & Rice, 2005), and hierarchal corporations. These practices include the conveyance of beliefs and symbols that reinforce the system (Smith, 2008). These rule-based practices produced today's criminal justice system including law enforcement agencies and the establishment of a formal court system (Migdal, 1988). This system not only enforces laws but also acts to suppress rebellious efforts (Kriesi, 2004) directed toward those in power.

Control within a Security State. As time progressed, historical changes occurring within the nation-state fueled structural elements (Gumbel, 2008) that fostered a culture of control.   Scholars argue this transition evolved into the development of the security state, having roots as far back as President Franklin Roosevelt's administration (Hooks &

McQueen, 2010). The concept of security, promoted by this administration, was one of

economic security (Dalby, 2002), as Roosevelt claimed that his policies would ensure the

security of all Americans – men, women, and children – as his first priority. However,

the social policies enacted by the 74th Congress, through New Deal legislation, met

resistance by structural impediments including institutional (Alesina & Glaeser, 2004)

and political barriers (Huber & Stephens, 2001). These obstacles, argue Hooks and

McQueen (2010), resulted in the expansion of the military-industrial complex from which

the national security state emerged (Raskin, 1976). Following World War II and

throughout the cold war, the President and his closest staff assumed what some argue was

unconstitutional power, through agencies such as the CIA and the FBI, seizing control of

national security in regard to international risks. However, as the cold war ended, the

power structures created to promote a secure nation did not end but rather identified new

risks, such as the war on drugs, the war on crime, and terrorism among others,

completing the paradigm shift to the national security state (Andreas & Price, 2001).

David Garland (2001, p. 77-8) argues the transformation of four key factors that

aided in the transition toward a national security state, including: (1) economic; (2)

social; (3) cultural; and (4) political factors. Garland conceives the changes across these

domains as evidence of a current culture of control.   Expansion of capitalist markets

after World War II, followed by the financial crises of the 1970s, and superseded by

trickle-down policies of the 1980s, created significant economic inequality between the

"top and bottom tiers" of society (p. 82). Families, in what was regarded as "mainstream

America" experienced a considerable restructuring as mothers entered the workforce,

divorce rates sky-rocketed, and increasingly more children were born into single parent

households (2001). Dwelling patterns changed as families relocated to suburban housing developments when automobiles allowed for longer commutes. The country settled into patterns of increased individualism that included socially constructed categories of "insiders" and "outsiders." Americans, once calling for protection from the state, now demanded protection by the state (Garland, 2001, pg. 12) by those considered outsiders. Outsiders were those viewed as different or even perceived as a threat to individuals, neighborhoods, or society at large (Becker, 1963; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1994).

Especially with the advent of television, the media invaded American homes, allowing viewers to experience "more points of reference and higher standards for comparison" (Meyrowitz, 1985, p. 133; Garland, 2001). Civil unrest from the 1960s, advanced by anti-war and Civil Rights protests, created changes both socially and politically, characterized by attitudes of de-subordination (Milibrand, 1978). These attitudes challenge central authority figures and relax informal social controls often found in "tradition, community, church and family" (Garland, 2001, p. 89). Consequently, concepts of individualism took precedence over community, fueling overwhelming changes across society and social policies (2001).

The criminal justice system became a major instrument in the culture of control as the national security state criminalized an increasing number of social problems ailing society. Those individuals and groups perceived as marginal by lawmakers are identified as a threat to society. Intrusive surveillance of the population became acceptable in the name of security (Hallsworth & Lea, 2011). Consequently, efforts by the government to ensure security took precedence over any attempts at social reform (Zedner, 2009). However, the efforts made to ensure security were not in response to the kinds of *mala in*

se crimes (that is, inherently wrong acts with clear harmful outcomes such as murder and rape) but rather for the purpose of control itself – or the lack thereof – which was of paramount concern (Garland, 2001).

Control within a Welfare State. Social policies that developed within the national security state advance a culture of control, not only related to crime but across a variety of social domains. Garland (2001) identifies how policies nourish this culture, including increased regulation into the workplace, school, and home; the development of national health and safety standards across multiple domains, including health care, industry, and the environment; and policy changes in economic management (Braithwaite, 2006). According to Garland (2001), the change that may have been most responsible for creating a culture of control was the development of the welfare state.

Economic inequality resulted in policies that created welfare and social service agencies. These agencies were responsible for reducing issues of inequality and promoting a "sense of solidarity [and] a belief in shared fate" (Hacker, 2006, p. 402). There were a number of unintended consequences within the welfare state for non-recipients, recipients, and society at large. Non-recipients, responsible for funding welfare programs through taxation, identified specific categories of those who they believed were worthy of social support and those who were not. Those perceived as "deserving" of support included people who were unable to work due to age, family status, or disability. Those viewed as "undeserving" of this support were those perceived as capable of working (Steensland, 2006). Non-recipients not only had expectations of who should qualify for assistance but also believed their own lives should be better than those who were recipients.

Those whose taxes were necessary to fund the increasing variety of social programs believed they should have access to better education, housing, and healthcare than recipients of public assistance (Garland, 2001). Consequently, these attitudes represented a new level of need as more policies were implemented to support greater issues of inequality. Policies created dependency, Garland argues, as "people came to rely upon the state and its social services rather than on parents, husbands . . . or low paying jobs" (p. 93). Ironically, policies intended to promote equality created something very different. Attempts by the government to administer welfare and social service programs resulted in an unmanageable bureaucratic machine (Haveman et al., 2007). Garland (2001, p. 94) argues that the "institutionalization of the welfare state, together with the prolonged period of prosperity that it brought . . . [concealed] the economic and political problems [it] had been designed to address and [highlighted] a whole series of problems that it . . . created." Social policies expanded that provided for and relied on "various forms of state intervention" (p. 46), promoting increased control across multiple social institutions.

Efforts that promote concepts of equality, security, and protection of constituents advance a culture of control. Consequences of this control produce an "iron cage of rationality" (Weber, 1946; Garland, 2001; Owen, 2007) that imprisons the American public. Neocleous (2007, p. 142) argues that "security is the *supreme concept of liberal ideology*." On the surface, policies seem to follow partisan and ideological lines. However, legislation that fosters this culture occurs regardless of who is in the executive office (Frank, 2004; Asadi, 2011). The ideology of the right – classical liberalism – sought protection by the law. The ideology of the left – modern liberalism – sought

protection by the government. In the end, is it possible that the left and the right are advocating for protection from, or resisting the same controlling system?

History is filled with instances when individuals and groups attempted to resist the political processes that were somehow responsible for shaping their lives in a manner they no longer supported or chose to tolerate (Piven, 2006). During these times, activism in the form of grassroots political campaigns or social movement organizations developed as a "collective organized attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order" (Wilson, 1973, p. 8). Activists often engage the political process in response to social or political circumstances which some people "find or experience as troublesome and about which they have considerable concern and often strong passions" (Piven & Cloward, 1979; McAdam & Snow, 2010, p. 11). Regardless of what factors result in and advance these levels of activism, they function to promote the self-interest of those who collectively disagree with the existing power structures of society (Tarraw, 1998; Taylor, 2000; McAdam & Snow, 2010; Staggenborg, 2011). However, resistance against these power structures is often met by counter-resistance.

Power is a key concept surrounding policy formation and government processes that Weber (1968, p. 53) describes as "the probability that one actor . . . will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance" on the part of others. Efforts on the part of the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street are intended to resist a particular dimension of power. Tea Partiers attempt to resist what they perceive as a government with too much power over the people, placing the country at risk of quashing the "American Dream." Occupiers attempt to oppose what they perceive as government efforts to protect interests of the corporate class. Would the state make a visible attempt to quash

efforts of these two organizations? Would reactions to each group be similar, or will the state favor one group over the other?   Would the groups' respective tactics "warrant" different responses from the state?

State Responses toward Efforts to Resist Control. Within a culture of control, responses by state actors pose an important element in shaping the fate of most political activism and movements (McAdam & Snow, 2010). Responses to grassroots activists can take many forms, including: (1) action against participants to reduce movement activities through violence or the development of policies that quelch forms of activism; (2) support for the organization through the development of policies that meet participant demands; or (3) a "hands-off" approach. In other words, a significant degree of control is in the hands of those in power.   Consequently, their response is telling and constitutes observable social control, which is an important facet to consider for effective mobilization of grassroots organizations.

Resistance on the part of state agencies through criminal justice responses, as well as negative or limited news coverage by media sources, can dampen efforts of grassroots mobilization. Scholars have evaluated law enforcement responses toward protest, noting variances in whether police attended protest events and the actions taken against protesters. Police responses often vary along a continuum of repressive versus tolerant, according to what groups were in power and the type of action promoted by the organization (della Porta & Fillieule, 2004). Forms of protest that included riots and acts of violence were often portrayed as "criminal," legitimating law enforcement responses (McAdam, 1982).

Research by Earl, Soule, and McCarthy (2003, p. 582) found that law enforcement frequently "overreacted to and overstepped" levels of violence against political protest during the 1960s. Earl et al. (2003) identify a series of threats that result in greater use of state resistance toward protestors, including the size of the protest or use of confrontational tactics such as sit-ins, office takeovers, or disruptions of meetings. In addition, promoting a radical agenda during this era, such as racial or ethnic power, or gay rights, often resulted in greater resistance by the state. As protest size increased, the likelihood of a department sending all available units to the sight increased by approximately 21 percent. When activists employed confrontational tactics, the likelihood of a department sending all available units to the sight increased by approximately 28 percent. Clearly, increased police presence can be important for ensuring that violence does not erupt or to provide support to those in attendance; however, Earl et al. (2003, p. 599) indicated that the use of confrontational tactics on the part of protestors were "more likely than not to be met with police violence." When organizations incorporated confrontational tactics that challenged existing social institutions, these groups typically were faced with greater opposition by the state (Davenport, 2000).

Gillham and Noakes (2007, p. 342) concurr with previous research, noting that law enforcement responses often utilized "escalated force . . . to disperse protesters and break up demonstrations" during the 1960s. However, agencies took a more diplomatic approach from the mid-1970s through the 1990s as administrations protected groups' rights to protest while "limiting the scale and scope of demonstrations." Responses to politically motivated organizations took a different direction following protests of the

1999 World Trade Organization (della Porta & Reiter, 2007) when groups "declined to negotiate limits to their protests" (Gillham & Noakes, 2007, p. 341). Administrations turned to "strategic incapacitation" (2007, p.343) to control where groups could protest; and to utilize increased surveillance, use of less-lethal weapons, and arrest of protestors to control the forms of protest. Tarrow (1998) argues that when the state fears uprising, efforts to control activists would be strengthened through increased law enforcement and military efforts as well as through strict legislation that limits rights to public assembly. Would the state have any reason to fear the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street? If so, would the organizations be feared equally, evidenced by responses toward each organization? Would one group illicit more "control" by the state? If so, what actions and beliefs would provoke more control?

Symbolic Interaction and the Construction of Meaning

Symbolic interactionism emphasizes the constructed and negotiated aspects of the self and social life in the development of meaning. Blumer (1969) identifies the importance of abstract symbols for developing meaning and influencing human behavior. These abstractions often take the form of philosophical doctrines, moral principles, or concepts such as justice, compassion, or oppression (Newburn & Jones, 2005). Participation in political processes, including activities on the part of the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street, includes the pursuit of protecting, or attempting to change, what these symbols represent. Tea Partiers pursue protection of the concept they identify as the "American Dream." Occupiers attempt to change what they see as oppression, as represented by the Wall Street bull.

Symbolism that influences politics not only frames the ideas guiding individuals

personal beliefs (Edelman, 1985; Newburn & Jones, 2005), but also influences media

(Goode & Nachman, 1994) and state responses (Garland, 2001; Pratt, 2007) toward

individuals, groups, and specific behaviors. Garland (1990, p.12; 2001) argues that

"myths and symbols and contradictory emotions" are the foundation of the "cultural

context within which penal policy is developed." Hallsworth and Lea (2011, p. 145)

argue that crime policy shaped a system that provided criminal justice professionals the

"responsibility for crime prevention and 'community safety.'" More critically, the

consequence ensured efforts at controlling crime as the primary force behind social

policy.

Some argued that the historical shift from informal to formal regulation produced

more effective social control. Scott (1998) identifies this position as one that believes

"social problems are best managed by specialist bureaucracies that are directed by the

state, informed by experts, and rationally directed towards particular tasks" (Garland,

2001, p. 34). Simon (2007) supports these claims, arguing that crime control became the

central criteria for analyzing and solving social problems. Social problems often result

from myths, indicative of symbols attached to various groups and behaviors, separating

"insiders" from "outsiders" (Becker, 1963).

In 1988, the Bush campaign was instrumental in using myths and symbols

surrounding Willie Horton to frame a vision of Michael Dukakis as being "soft on crime"

(Newburn & Jones, 2005). Horton, serving a life sentence for murder in Massachusetts,

did not return to prison after leaving for a weekend furlough. While on the run, Horton

committed armed robbery, assault, and rape. Despite several contradictions regarding the

issue, responsibility for these new crimes was placed on Dukakis, governor of

Massachusetts at the time of Horton's furlough. This symbolism not only helped Bush

win the 1988 Presidential election but also brought about the new Democratic party that

would be just as "tough on crime" as their opponents (Newburn & Jones, 2005).

Democratic Governor Bill Clinton, certain not to make decisions perceived as

"mistakes," took time away from the 1992 Presidential campaign to deny Steven

Douglas' request for clemency. Clinton's actions advanced the symbolism that he was a

"different kind of democrat" (Morris, 2002, p. 114).

Politicians have continued to use symbolic language to "convey a belief, emotion,

or value without having to define a tangible policy or provide substantive changes to

existing policy" (Marion et al., 2009, p. 457). Marion et al. concluded that governors

from both political parties utilized symbolic language surrounding crime policy with as

many as 54 percent of governor's speeches containing symbolic rhetoric (one example

was a "revolving door" of prison populations, often portraying African-Americans as the

symbol). In addition, police chiefs, school administrators, and other representatives of

control across the United States use symbolic language when addressing "zero-tolerance"

policies (Newburn & Jones, 2007). Consequently, certain actors in government

institutions, which should be responsible for ensuring justice and equality for all, have

actually exacerbated injustice and inequality through their symbolic policies. Political

symbols often result from, and are reinforced by, ideology.

Ideology in America. Society consists of developed systems of ideas, beliefs, or

explanations of how the world works, referred to as ideology. McLellan (1995, p. 47)

describes ideology as the "logic of an idea" resulting from experiences and beliefs that

evolve over time and shape one's views of the world around them. Mirola (2003, p. 275)

expands on this definition, describing ideology as a "belief system which is rooted in the

culture of a specific group or class and supportive of that class's interests, but presented

as a universally true or valid understanding of the social world as a whole."   Neocleous

(2007) argues that security is the foundation of ideology, meaning individuals and groups

find comfort in their values, beliefs, and what they represent. These definitions reflect

the manner in which ideology influences culture and political processes and the security

provided.

Baldassarri and Gelman (2008) discuss how these systems of beliefs have

polarized the American electorate between economic and social issues, resulting in a

polarized society. Bellamy (2001, p. 15) argues these conflicts are "potentially

irresolvable: values are incommensurable so there is no single reasonable choice" for

resolving the differences in economic issues versus social issues.   Neuman (2005)

identifies and describes several political ideologies along a continuum from left to right

that represent this polarization of beliefs. For the purpose of this research, I will address

this continuum as it applies between modern liberalism/progressivism and classical

liberalism/conservatism, also referred to as neo-liberalism. Sanders (1986, p. 133) argues

that "people's ideological self-placement is related to their views on political issues,

particularly within the issue area they most strongly associate with liberalism and/or

conservatism." From the perspective of American politics, formal organizations

represent those with similar ideological viewpoints (Wilson, 1995). For instance, the

Republican Party is often characterized as weighted more toward conservatism, while the

Democratic Party platform is generally referred to as liberal or progressive (Neuman, 2005).

Garland (2001, p. 25) approaches ideology from this political perspective as the "way in which government officials and private actors experience and make sense of changing social circumstances and new predicaments, and the intellectual and technical means that they develop for dealing with them." Garland understands that the politicization of ideological viewpoints "suggests a polarization of positions" (p. 13). However, he argues that the disagreement more accurately addresses "'the right balance,' not . . . the range of considerations that [are] legitimately involved" (p. 37). Democrats and Republicans both promote a culture of control in their support of accountability and empowerment, but this support occurs at different levels. What follows represents a discussion of this ideological continuum.

Ideology of the right. Classical liberalism describes those who support individualism, emphasize personal responsibility, and promote the concept of limited government (Turner, 2007; Tamanaha, 2004). Individualism represents the belief that everyone can achieve the "American Dream" through hard work, dedication, and risk taking (Heywood, 2007). This perspective advances the belief that everyone has equal opportunities for success if they simply pull themselves up by their bootstraps and work hard. This claim also reinforces the importance of personal responsibility, meaning each individual is responsible to meet his or her basic needs as well as to obey the laws of the state (Tamanaha, 2004). From this ideological perspective, if an individual chooses not to obey the laws, then he or she must be willing to pay any consequences that result.

The final concept of classical liberalism insists on limited government including limited interference in the lives of citizens. Those who support this ideological framework believe individuals know what is best for their lives more than government does. One of the most important limitations on government surrounds the "preservation of [private] property" (Tamanaha, 2004, p. 520). Turner (2007, p. 71) argues a dichotomy between human freedom and government authority meaning members of society can either be free or they can be subjected to "government omnipotence" but not both. Because the exercise of power yields more power (Foucault, 1977; Garland, 2001), freedom and big government cannot exist simultaneously. The group believes the state's role should only go so far as to guarantee the "protection of life, health, liberty, and private property against violent attacks" (Tamanaha, 2004, p. 520). Politically, those who advance the beliefs of classical or neo-liberalism are identified as conservatives; however, this label is limited in scope as the literature demonstrates conservatism can take multiple forms.

Zumbrunnen and Gangl (2008) argue that conservatism in American political ideology is quite complex, varying between three different measures that include cultural, market, and limited government conservatism. Cultural conservatism emphasizes the "importance of preserving traditional values" (p. 205), and promotes the foundation of religious beliefs, including the importance of strong morals in guiding the decisions of the people. Market conservatism promotes the belief that the "market produces more favorable outcomes than does government" (2008, p. 204). The market, representing the production, sale of, and purchase of goods and services, allows consumers to purchase those things they want while encouraging businesses to compete in producing the best

product at the best price to meet these demands. Similarly, limited-government conservatism promotes a belief that government has a function in society but that its "economic, social and moral influence must be kept within very definite limits" (p. 205). Adding to the complexity of conservative ideology, these measures are more accurately described as social versus economic conservatism (2008).

Zumbrunnen and Gangl (2008) separate the measures of conservatism into two distinct categories, including social and economic conservatism. Social conservatism, most commonly referenced as conservatism, includes political agendas against social issues such as abortion and gay marriage. In contrast, economic conservatism promotes concepts of free-markets and limited government interference in all aspects of society. Zumbrunnen and Gangl found these two distinct categories of conservatism do exist; however, there were differences in terms of how social versus economic conservatives identified themselves ideologically. Social conservatives identified themselves as conservative while economic conservatives were not as clear in how they identified themselves (Hart, 2005). Evidence of the conflict between social versus economic conservatism is apparent within the Tea Party.

The Tea Party – an acronym for Taxed Enough Already – is a grassroots organization against what participants believe to be fiscally irresponsible government (Armey & Kibbe, 2010; Farah, 2010; Lepore, 2010; Zernike, 2011).   The organization was endowed with a name on February 19, 2009, when CNBC commentator Rick Santelli challenged Americans to a new "tea party" (Taibbi, 2010; Street & DiMaggio, 2011; Skocpol & Williamson, 2012). Unlike the National Democratic and Republican Committees that serve as a central point of reference for the major political parties, the

Tea Party as a whole is not centralized. Instead, the organization represents local, state, and national level affiliates that advocate for similar policy decisions. While social conservatives, and specific individuals within the Tea Party typically focus political platforms on social issues such as abortion and gay marriage, Tea Party organizations, as formal entities, emphasize economic issues such as fiscal responsibility, limited government, and free-markets (Armey & Kibbe, 2010; Farah, 2010; Zernike, 2011).

Some opponents argue that "free" markets, unfettered by structural and even social constraints, do not exist. However, Tea Partiers approach the concept of free-markets from the perspective that individuals and small businesses should have the same opportunities for economic success afforded to large corporations. The Tea Party views corporate bailouts, following the 2008 economic crisis, as protecting the corporate class and interfering with market processes, all at the expense of small businesses and the middle-class. Limited-government conservatives (Zumbrunnen & Gangl, 2008) believe social issues increase "government intrusion on personal freedom" (Zernike, 2011, p. 35). For this reason, the Tea Party organization opposes traditional conservatism, or social conservatism. Consequently, Tea Party beliefs may be more indicative of economic conservatism. In addition, efforts by Tea Partiers to "take over" the Republican Party demonstrate an organizational level competition "stimulated by conflict over autonomy" (Wilson, 1995, pg. 266). The Tea Party believes ideological differences have faded between Republicans and Democrats in Washington (Zernike, 2011).

Results from the National Survey of Tea Party Supporters (*New York Times CBS News Poll*, 2010) depict elements of economic conservatism by respondents. An overwhelming majority of participants identify the economy as the most important

problem facing the country. Specifically, 78 percent of respondents indicate economic

issues as the primary concern while only 14 percent identify social issues as a factor. Tea

Partiers place responsibility for the current state of the economy on the Bush

Administration (5 percent), Obama Administration (10 percent), Wall Street (15 percent),

Congress (28 percent), or a combination/all of the above, according to 35 percent of

respondents (2010). The results of this survey are reported in more detail in Chapter 4 –

Tea Party: Change from Within.

Whether representative of social or economic conservatism, right-wing or

moderate, Street and DiMaggio (2011, p. 23) believe the Tea Party represents a "real

challenge to the progressive forces" as evidenced by the number of Tea Party endorsed

candidates that won 2010 Congressional elections. Media reports following the 2010

Congressional elections included details of the Tea Party's electoral success. Early press

releases noted that "Republicans had picked up at least 60 seats in the House, with 11

races undecided, the biggest swing since the 1948 elections" (Baker & Hulse, 2010, p. 1).

Further reports identified "40 or so new lawmakers strongly allied to the Tea Party"

(Hulse & Herszenhorn, 2010, p. 1). Based on these reports, approximately two-thirds of

the Congressional victories in 2010 were attributed to Tea Party influence.

Ideology of the left. Nearing the twentieth century, the preeminent ideology of

classical liberalism shifted from concepts of individualism toward a "pro-collectivist

liberal creed embracing the principles of community, rational planning, and institutional

design" (Turner, 2007, p. 67). This shift, referred to as modern liberalism, resulted in

response to concerns surrounding widespread poverty, poor working conditions, and the

dislocation of large groups of people as jobs moved from the rural areas to the inner

cities. In his 1911 manifesto, L. T. Hobhouse, a liberal political theorist and sociologist,

argued that "genuine liberty is defeated by social and economic conditions" associated

with capitalism (Tamanaha, 2004, p. 522).   Reform liberals identified the government as

sufficient for meeting the needs of all members of society – not as individuals but as a

collective unit (2004). Rather than looking to the church as responsible for feeding the

hungry or providing shelter to the homeless, the government was considered more

appropriate for identifying and responding to needs through the development of social

programs (Garland, 2001).   Furthermore, ownership of private property was no longer

viewed as an individual right but rather one granted by the government that made

possession of goods possible.

After the turn of the twentieth century, progressivism entered the political arena

as a source of action to promote the beliefs of modern liberalism. Progressivism entered

the political arena in 1906 (Rodgers, 1982) as a social movement, promoting an agenda

very similar to modern liberalism.   Haveman et al. (2007) identified several values

promoted through progressivism including an attitude of anti-monopolism that resisted

and attacked the privileges afforded to large corporations. Progressives believed power

should be dispersed across society rather than held by corporations and exercised over the

general population.   Furthermore, progressives believe all members of society should

have access to the same opportunities and privileges, not because of their ethnicity or

economic background, but as a result of social changes arising from industrialization

(2007). Finally, these conditions would be created and supported through the

development of bureaucratic organizations that would ensure equal access to privilege

and power. Progressivism was intended as a safeguard to protect the interests of the

people. The consequence produced a source of power in itself, as a "movement committed to the dispersion of power had the ironic effect of triggering the centralization of power" (2007, p. 135).   Ideologically, the consequences of the progressive movement reinforced the role of government in modern liberalism as an important component in meeting the needs of the people.

Occupy Wall Street formed as a plea to the government to respond to issues of inequality. Efforts by the organization came to fruition in the U.S. on September 17, 2011 with the first Occupy Wall Street demonstration at Zuccotti Park in New York (Writers, 2011; Chomsky, 2012; Wolff & Barsamian, 2012). Occupy participants "expressed outrage with the inequities of unfettered global capitalism" (Writers, 2011, p. 5). Participants emphasized that capitalism has produced an inequitable society where one percent of the populace holds the majority of the nation's wealth, including power of the economy, politics, and the people. Occupy participants demand change in the current economic system, and some would argue that they have changed the political discourse (van Gelder, 2011; Wolff & Barsamian, 2012). According to Wolff and Barsamian (2012, p. 8), over the previous 50 years, no movement prior to Occupy has been "similarly daring in going beyond single-issue focus to make economic injustice for the 99 percent and the ruling economic system central, defining issues" despite the powerful ideology supporting the capitalist system.   Similar to the values promoted by progressives, Occupiers believe power should be restored to the people.

Results from the Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey (Occupy Research Network, 2012) depict similarities toward progressivism by participants. An overwhelming majority of participants identify issues of inequality as an

important problem facing the country. Specifically, 47.5 percent report that income inequality is the primary concern. Participants also indicate that money in politics (25.5 percent) and corporate greed (18.5 percent) fuels issues of inequality. Finally, student debt and limited access to education reinforce economic inequality, according to 17.4 percent of Occupiers (2012).   The results of this survey are reported in more detail in Chapter 5 – *Occupy Wall Street: Change through Resistance*.

The ideological continuum, as a variation between economic conservatism and progressivism, describes the key differences between the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street. Tea Partiers, labeled as conservative by pundits, advocate for a society where limited government intrusion in market processes, specifically one that steers away from protecting corporate interests, promotes an environment conducive to financial and personal success for individuals and small businesses. Occupiers, labeled as liberal or progressive by pundits, believe limited government regulation of big corporations has created a society rampant with inequality. Similarly, Garland (2001) argues that true variances in political ideology become an issue of "economic control and social liberation versus economic freedom and social control (p. 100), in which a "deeply divided society" (p. 101) has emanated. Based on this assessment, perhaps Garland's claims most accurately describe the ideological divide between members of the Tea Party versus Occupy Wall Street.

Media – the Fulcrum of Control?

Regulatory and technological changes have heavily influenced the way Americans get the news (Pratt, 2007; Butler, 2009; Morone, 2013). In 1934, President Franklin Roosevelt created the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to oversee

the American media industry. The agency was responsible to license stations that could prove they operated in public interest (2013). The FCC added an additional regulation in 1949, referred to as the fairness doctrine, which required radio and television networks to devote time to public issues and balanced perspectives. This regulation limited news coverage that may have incited political controversy. In the early 1980s, President Reagan emphasized deregulation, including the media, to encourage consumers to "use the market to enforce what they value" (p. 137). Consequently, the FCC repealed the fairness doctrine, paving the way for networks to obtain and renew licenses without regard for insuring public interests or balanced perspectives.

At the time the fairness doctrine was implemented, print media was the primary method of disseminating information to the public (Morone, 2013). Newspapers could print more stories in a daily paper than what television networks could include in a 30-minute evening newscast. Historically, newspapers were the primary source of journalism as television coverage often reported issues first published by print media. Consequently, the press seemed to be quasi-monopolized due to limited media outlets (2013). However, following deregulation by the Reagan Administration, news monopolies caved and cable television stations entered the market. By 1991, CNN introduced the "new media model: news 24 hours a day" (Pratt, 2007; Morone, 2013, p. 137).

Technological advancements that produced the Internet brought the greatest change in information dissemination, including the realm of news. Research findings by Morone (2013) indicate a reduction in the percentage of Americans that get their news from television due to widespread availability of the Internet. In 2002, 82 percent of

Americans trusted television sources for news coverage in contrast to only 66 percent by 2011. In 2002, 13 percent of Americans utilized the Internet for their source of news information. By 2011, that number had increased to 31 percent (2013). Despite increasing access to online information, approximately 48 percent of adults (Kirchhoff, 2009) continue to access news from print media – specifically newspapers.

Technological advances such as camera phones and social networking sites ensure the immediacy of information, even as it unfolds. Consequently, media affiliates not only report news but also engage in the following: 1) defining what society thinks; 2) emphasizing who or what society views as a social problem; and, 3) identifying the necessary solutions to resolve problems (Cavendar, 2004). Similarly, Compaine and Gomery argue that media outlets have the "power to convey information [as well as] the assumed ability to shape attitudes, opinions, and beliefs" (2000, p. 538-39). Media outlets can shape opinions due to the belief that reporters are credible sources of information and report only objective facts (Glasser, 1984). Deregulation by the FCC opened the door to "market-driven journalism" (McManus, 1994), which has reduced the objectivity of information. The news no longer acts as a public service but rather a commodity. Where commodities exist, so do the economic pressures associated with generating a profit (Herman & Chomsky, 2002).

Most media scholars agree that market-driven media outlets produce a limited diversity of information that, on balance, favors corporate success. Success is accomplished while disregarding the power that results from monopolistic ownership of mainstream media affiliates (McCarthy et al., 1996; Baker, 2007). "Media empires are not simply a result of the market system; they also serve as cheerleaders for it" (Gamson

et al., 1992, p. 379). Noam (2009, p. 10) compares this concentration of media

ownership to the "information-age version of the industrial-age struggle over the control

of the means of production." Control of production expanded to include control of public

interests.

In an attempt to measure media impact in controlling public interests, studies of

the media and public agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) expanded to include the

relationship between these domains and policy agendas (Rogers & Dearing, 1988).

Cappella and Jamieson (1997) argue that media influence of the public and policy

agendas occur through the frequency in which a topic is portrayed.   However, Maher

(2001) argues that media influence results according to the manner in which a particular

situation is framed. Particularly, the "frames in communication" (Chong & Druckman,

2007, p. 106), including "words, images, phrases, and presentation styles" (Druckman,

2001, p. 227), provide insight into how the media portrays the Tea Party and Occupy

Wall Street. Druckman (2001) argues that emphasizing certain elements within a

situation will guide individuals to recognize those elements, while shadowing others.

Ashley and Olson (1998) evaluated media coverage of the women's movement

from its inception through the mid-1980s. Findings indicated the media indirectly

belittled the movement through the use of frames. Particularly, media reports minimized

the organization by emphasizing lack of consistency among participant demands. In

addition, reporters focused on the physical appearance of participants to demonstrate

disconnect between those in the movement and the general public, criticizing participants

for abandoning "such practices as wearing bras, shaving, and wearing makeup" (1998, p.

268). Consequently, media choice of frames suppressed the goals of the organization.

An increasing body of similar research indicates a "protest paradigm" in response to media framing of political protest (Brasted, 2005). Studies emphasizing this particular paradigm have targeted actions of protesters rather than issues spawning protest. For instance, Boykoff (2006) analyzed media reports of 1999 protests of the World Trade Organization in Seattle and 2000 protests of the World Bank/International Monetary Fund in Washington D.C. Findings indicated media reports primarily emphasized acts of violence and disruption within both groups of protest, even though these incidents were in the minority. Similar to the women's movement, reports criticized participants for their questionable appearance and broad range of demands. Consequently, the public was led to believe activists were deviant and posed a threat to the general social order and to society as a whole.

Public opinion and institutional responses in the U.S., which separate "insiders" from "outsiders," very well may reflect who and what is defined as the problem by the media, regardless of whether statistics support this reflection. Media coverage, beginning in the early 1970s, brought about increased coverage of crime policy, at a time when society was facing great social tension. In *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, Cohen (1972) argues that media portrayals of an issue, and reactions by law enforcement, government officials, and the public create moral panic that produces perception of danger and, in turn, actual fear. Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994, p. 156-9) identify five criteria for defining moral panic, including the following:

- Concern – the behavior of a particular group or category of people must be perceived to cause concern for the general public;

- Hostility – the public must feel hostility toward those perceived as a threat, creating a separation between us versus them or insiders versus outsiders;

- Consensus – society must maintain a minimal level of agreement regarding the seriousness of the perceived threat;

- Disproportionality – a general assumption in the seriousness of the perceived threat exists, despite the lack of evidence to support the claims;

- Volatility – while moral panics can have "structural or historical antecedents" (p. 158), they often rise and fall suddenly without any long term consequences for society.

Moral panics result from the perceived threats of those viewed as guilty of violating the cultural norms held by society. Garland (2008, p. 9) reinforces Cohen's (1972) claim, arguing that moral panics occur when the "mass media regularly converge on a single anxiety-creating issue and exploit it for all it's worth." Hall et al. (1978) argue that moral panics created by the media are instrumental in distorting reality to justify increased social control by the state.

Understanding the media, including agenda (Dearing & Rogers, 1996), corporate ownership (Herman & Chomsky, 2002), news coverage (Gandy, 1982), and framing (Druckman, 2001) portrays a bias that caters to political and corporate interests. Specifically, media outlets reinforce the structural constraints of "insiders." According to media critics, the political and corporate bias of the media influences members of society to believe the ideological assumptions that support those in power. "These sources of power" are necessary "not only to control the actions of men and women, but also to control their beliefs" (Piven & Cloward, 1979, p. 1). Media outlets reinforce power structures and control beliefs through the construction of culture. Reiman and Leighton (2010, p. 191) reinforce this argument, noting that "when ideas distort reality in a way that justifies the prevailing distribution of power and wealth, hides society's injustices [while securing] . . . the existing social order," then a particular ruling ideology results.

From a cultural criminology framework, as individuals and groups begin to recognize social injustices resulting from this social order, then political activism, including grassroots participation, begins to mount against the existing power structures. How would media affiliates respond to competing grassroots organizations? Would the media focus on all activities equally or would certain behaviors garner increased media attention? Would portrayals of group activities lead communities to react differently toward participants of one organization over another?

This research addresses these questions and seeks to recognize and understand the foundational platform of each movement; identify the image that is portrayed by a variety of media sources regarding Occupy Wall Street and Tea Party movements; and analyze how this image influences state responses toward the two groups. More specifically, I will analyze the state's role in controlling these groups; further determine whether media portrayals support corporate or security state interests; and, establish whether this comes at the expense of grass roots activists. This information is important in recognizing the significant role the media has in promoting meaning, interaction, and interpretation of social life, and the implication for political activist organizations in general. In doing so, I rely on scholarly contributions of the symbolic interactionism, social control, and cultural criminology literature.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is twofold: 1) to provide an internal exploration into the activities, aims, and stated goals of the two grassroots political organizations – Occupy Wall Street and the Tea Party; and 2) to examine institutional responses to the two organizations. In particular, the study a) observes organizational dynamics and examined

internal documents; and b) evaluates institutional responses through state sponsored

reactions (such as surveillance, security, arrests) and media depictions of the two groups.

These data were collected primarily through participant observation and content analysis,

respectively. Keeping in mind that these data were gathered in the height of

contemporary social action, all within a culture of control as context, this study addressed

the following questions:

- What values and orientations, whether stated or implied, are derived from internal activities and documents of the organizations, as well as from the "face" each portrays to the public? Stated differently, what ideologies do they advance?

- Following the assumed expansion of the security state, as Garland et al. argue, is there evidence that state-sponsored activities favor or control one political group over another?

- In the current political milieu – which incorporates issues of both economic and social contestations during a presidential election campaign – is there evidence that media report favorable, unfavorable, or balanced depictions of the two political groups?

- Do media depictions of the two political groups align with the groups' stated campaign claims, including members' perceptions of their own group's platform?

- Can we find evidence that competing grassroots political organizations either resist, or alternatively reinforce a dominant, overarching ideology of power and control?

Chapter 3 - Methodology

This study was designed to examine how grassroots political organizations challenge or reinforce existing power structures. It was guided by an interest in the relationship between grassroots political participation, ideology, and mainstream media influence, all embedded in a national presidential election. One objective was to assess images and messages internal to two competing organizations and compare them to those portrayed by mainstream media; I hoped this strategy would reveal differences in perception and/or potential manipulation for ideological motives. In addition, I sought to understand the manner in which the state responded to these messages. Through a critical lens, such responses should provide indicators of whether the organizations were perceived as a threat to the existing social order and, in turn, how social control is challenged or maintained.

Social and behavioral research has experienced tremendous changes in style over the past several decades, affecting the methods for studying behaviors, programs, and social interactions (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Noaks & Wincup, 2004; Young, 2011). The most prominent method of research throughout the twentieth century was quantitative in nature with researchers seeking objective information through surveys, experiments, and aggregate databases to provide measurable and quantifiable results (Young, 2011). The influence of quantitative analysis has been so apparent in the field of criminology that over 73 percent of articles appearing from 1998 through 2002 in the five leading criminology journals utilized some form of quantitative analysis (Tewksbury et al., 2005; Barkan, 2009). Qualitative research renewed itself toward the end of the twentieth century as researchers focused their efforts on interpretive information

including how historical, cultural, and societal factors influenced behavior (Ferrell &

Hamm, 1998; Ferrell, 1999; Noaks & Wincup, 2004; Ferrell et al., 2008; Young, 2011).

Out of these two distinct styles of research evolved an approach that incorporates

both quantitative and qualitative forms of analysis. Ethnographic Content Analysis

(ECA) (Altheide, 1996) combines elements of quantitative and qualitative research into a

comprehensive analytical tool. Quantitative analysis is utilized to "determine the

objective content of messages" (1996, p. 15) in measuring the frequency of specific

symbols or themes. In contrast, qualitative analysis encompasses an interpretive and

interactive process that includes the "investigator, concepts, data collection, and analysis"

(1996, p. 16). While preliminary themes may be identified in response to the research

question(s), additional themes often evolve in the general process as the investigator

becomes engulfed in the process. The primary concept behind ECA is the "general

process of data collection, reflection, and protocol refinement" where "coding

procedures, practices, and categories do emerge" (1996, p. 17). Field research, including

participant observation, constitutes an important element in reflecting on and refining the

data as it evolves, justifying the theoretical framework that was utilized in this research.

In addition to, and complementary of, ECA, this research incorporates case

studies as part of the methodological design.   The Tea Party and OWS were selected for

this collective case study (Creswell, 2007; Berg, 2009), intended to evaluate a particular

issue: media and state responses – reflective of a culture of control – toward grassroots

political organizations. These groups were selected due to their presence in the current

political milieu, as well as absence of other grassroots organizations.   Approaching this

research as a collective case study (2007; 2009) provides comparisons of the

organizations, in terms of similarities and/or differences, as well as comparisons in how the groups are regarded by the media and the state. Results of this collective case study will include complex descriptions, retrieved through participant observations (Stake, 1978).

Returning to the theoretical framework that guides this study, cultural criminology cannot be characterized by only one methodological style. Instead, this approach analyzes the intersection between crime and symbolism that results from understanding culture, critical theories, the media, social class, and social control (Ferrell & Hamm, 1998; Ferrell, 1999). The overall goals of cultural criminology can be expressed by three dominant themes: 1) understanding the role of media in constructing the cultural context within which crime develops meaning; 2) identifying how/why others – specifically representatives of the state and/or criminal justice system – label crime and criminals; and 3) recognizing how power creates crime and social inequality (Ferrell & Sanders, 1995).

Ferrell and Sanders (1995) argue that cultural criminology examines the insider – media, state, and/or criminal justice system – and the outsider – activist, offender, and/or accused – when evaluating crime and culture. In order to effectively measure multiple aspects of grassroots political participation, media and state responses, and dimensions of power and social control, multiple methods must be incorporated. For a detailed account of how concepts are operationalized in this study, please see Appendix A – Operationalization of Research Concepts.

Qualitative Data and Methods of Observation

      Field Research. Because this study included participant observations and other

primary research involving human subjects, an Institutional Review Board (IRB)

application was submitted for approval. The Committee on Research Involving Human

Subjects approved the proposal, determining no more than minimal risk to the subjects.

The proposal (Number 6313) was approved for research conducted from 08/03/2012

through 08/03/2013. Field research, which consists of participant observations of

Occupy demonstrations and Tea Party rallies, was conducted in Tampa, Florida, Denver,

Colorado, and Phoenix, Arizona (see Appendix B – Observation Checklist).

- Occupy Tampa activists called Voice of Freedom Park – located at 2101 W. Main Street – home since spring 2012 after relocating from a downtown waterfront location after continued resistance from law enforcement (Steele, 2012). Field research occurred over 12 hours – from 8:00 a.m. through 8:00 p.m. – on Saturday, August 25, 2012 observing Occupy activists on the eve of the 2012 Republican National Convention.

- Sunday evening, August 26, 2012, field research occurred at the Unity Rally in Tampa, FL – held at the River Church, 3738 River International Drive – sponsored by Tea Party affiliates. Key speakers at this event included Michelle Bachman and Herman Cain.

- Friday afternoon, September 28, 2012, field research included attendance at a Tea Party Express bus tour rally at the Arapahoe County Fairgrounds in Aurora, Colorado.

- Friday evening, September 28, 2012, field research was conducted at an Occupy Denver sponsored general assembly at Civic Center Amphitheater – 100 W. 14th Ave Parkway.

- Saturday, September 29, 2012, field research occurred at Occupy the Debates People's Dialogue at Central Presbyterian Church – 1660 Sherman Street – in downtown Denver as a precursor to the first Presidential debate scheduled for Wednesday, October 3 at the University of Colorado.

- Friday, February 22, 2013, field research included attendance at the 2013 Local to Global Justice (LTGJ) Teach-In – held on the campus of Arizona State University in Tempe, AZ. Occupy Phoenix general assembly, which

generally meets on Friday evenings, did not convene on this particular date specifically so participants could attend the LTGJ Teach-In.

- Saturday, February 23, 2013, field research occurred at the Phoenix Day of Resistance Rally – held at the Arizona State Capital, 1700 West Washington Street in downtown Phoenix, AZ – sponsored by TheTeaParty.net.

These locations were selected for participant observations by conducting Internet searches. The study sought group functions and activities, scheduled for both political groups, within the same timeframe and within geographical proximity of each other.

Throughout the observations, an audio digital recorder was utilized to capture messages expressed during group functions. In addition, the recorder was personally utilized to make note of information that was relevant to Appendix B – Observation Checklist, as well as any additional information that appeared important throughout the observations. No efforts were made to conceal the recorder from others in attendance. At the conclusion of each observation, digital files were uploaded and saved in Windows Media Audio (WMA) format to a computer file by name of function. Field notes were compiled, following each observation, by transcribing the audio files. These notes were then analyzed for themes of ideology, social control, and power as identified in Appendix C – Content Analysis Guide.

Content Analysis. To examine the perceptions of and stated campaign claims of each perspective movement, websites sponsored by each group were evaluated. While a number of local, state, and national affiliates exist for the Tea Party, these three websites – www.teapartypatriots.org (Zernike, 2011), www.teapartyexpress.org (Armey & Kibbe, 2010), and TheTeaParty.net – represented national level affiliates.   The former two websites were selected due to references made to each organization in the literature

(Armey & Kibbe; Zernike, 2011). The latter website was selected due to sponsoring two of the Tea Party functions (Unity Rally and Day of Resistance Rally) attended during the field research stage of this study. As with the Tea Party movement, Occupy Wall Street has a number of local, state, national, and global affiliates; however, these websites – occupywallst.org (Writers, 2011) and www.facebook.com/OccupyWallSt#! – provided a central point of reference for all Occupy groups. The former website was selected due to references in the literature (Writers, 2011). The latter was selected due to references made to the site from documents internal to the organization.

To assess media portrayals of both the Occupy and Tea Party movements, a preliminary analysis was conducted, using Lexis/Nexis Academic Universe, to identify and evaluate content of articles from a variety of periodicals as follows:

- Articles were selected, using search terms "Tea Party" and "Occupy Wall Street," from the top five newspapers in the U.S. by circulation, according to the online Reference Desk resource. The papers, listed alphabetically, include: *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *U.S.A. Today*, *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post*. The *New York Post*, ranked number seven in total circulation, was also included in the preliminary analysis to provide a comprehensive overview of information coming out of New York City, due to the inclusion of three highly circulated newspapers.

- Specific dates were selected for the preliminary analysis, to identify the number of articles from each of the periodicals. Dates were selected based on reports of organizational activities important to the respective groups. For instance, the concept of a Tea Party was first introduced on February 19, 2009 so I selected the following day – February 20, 2009 – to determine whether the press provided any coverage from the event. Similarly, Occupy Wall Street infiltrated Zuccotti Park on September 17, 2011 so I selected the following day – September 18, 2011 – to determine whether the press provided any coverage from that particular event. Dates identified as important were selected as follows:

  - February 20, 2009 – marks the date after Rick Santelli challenged America to a "new Tea Party"

o April 16, 2009 – marks the date following the first tax day Tea Party rallies after grassroots political efforts were endowed with a name by Rick Santelli

o April 16, 2010 – marks the date following the one year anniversary of the first tax day Tea Party which was celebrated by a consecutive tax day Tea Party Rally

o November 3, 2010 – marks the date following the 2010 mid-term elections that resulted in several Tea Party candidate victories over incumbents

o September 18, 2011 – marks the date following the first Occupy Wall Street demonstration at Zuccotti Park in New York City

o August 27, 2012 – marks the date following the opening activities of the Republican National Convention in Tampa, Florida

o September 17, 2012 – this date marked the one year anniversary of the Occupy Wall Street movement

o November 7, 2012 – this was the day following the 2012 Presidential election

Any news report that included the noted search terms, either in the title or in the content of the article, was included in the pre-test. The preliminary analysis indicates the following numerical results, as noted in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1 ECA Preliminary Numerical Results

Dates	2/20/09	4/16/09	4/16/10	11/3/10	9/18/11		8/27/12		9/17/12		11/7/12	
	TP	TP	TP	TP	TP	OWS	TP	OWS	TP	OWS	TP	OWS
LA Times												
NY Post		2	1	7						2	1	
NY Times		4	7	12			5		1	1	4	
USA Today			2	13		1				1	4	
Washington Post		3	4	7	4		6				4	
Wall Street Journal												

Compiled from Lexis/Nexis Academic retrieved 03/15/2013: http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?:
TP represents Tea Party; OWS represents Occupy Wall Street

Interestingly, the Lexis/Nexis Academic Universe, the primary data collection tool, did

not identify articles appearing from the *L.A. Times* and the *Wall Street* Journal for the

selected dates. Theoretically, the study also was interested in narrowing parameters of the search to sources that could be comparable with regard to time and space. Based on preliminary analysis, these two newspapers were immediately eliminated from inclusion in the study. The remaining newspapers provided regular coverage of the two groups in regard to the frequency of reports and measure of articles identified.   In an effort to control for possible bias due to geographic coverage, coupled with a reasonable number of articles from the New York publications in the analysis, it was determined that the *New York Post* and *New York Times* were the most reasonable selection for this study. This methodological approach was thus able to control for geographic bias while accessing comparative coverage.

Once the preliminary analysis was completed and the *New York Post* and *New York Times* were selected, ECA (Altheide, 1996) guided the evaluation of archival research of articles dated February 19, 2009 through March 4, 2013. February 19, 2009 marks the earliest date of activity by the respective groups. Accessing articles through March 4, 2013 provided important coverage of both organizations through the 2012 Presidential election and six weeks beyond the Presidential inauguration. This strategy was designed to evaluate the impact each group may have had on election results as well as how each reacted to those results as reflected by the media and responded to by the state.

Lexis/Nexis Academic Universe served as the primary database to identify relevant articles from the previously identified newspapers.   This study utilized all articles that referenced either Occupy Wall Street or the Tea Party, including those printed on the front page, in political sections, and posted in opinion columns. Identified

articles were saved in Microsoft (MS) Word format to a computer file by name of

publication (NYTimes or NYPost) and date of the article in six digit format including

month, day, and year (021909). The key search terms, to identify the organizations, were

simply "Tea Party" and "Occupy Wall Street." Articles were reviewed for references to

the following topics (see Appendix D – ECA Guide):

- law enforcement presence and/or action to include arrests or crowd control;

- attitudes surrounding punishment and social control on the part of activists;

- reference to specific issues addresses by the respective groups to include but not limited to mention of political party support of, or resistance to the grassroots organization;

- changes to, or reinforcement of legislation in response to the organization;

- attitudes about government processes or figures;

- reference to social class either addressing participants or in support of or against specific social classes;

- issues of inequality;

- references about elites;

- references to race and gender, either addressing participants or references made by participants regarding the two elements.

Following the ECA method, as additional themes evolved throughout the research

process, then search criteria were expanded to incorporate these themes. Essentially,

what this means is that while reviewing articles for themes that supported concepts of

ideology, social control, and power, as additional references appeared, those references

were included in additional searches. Figure 3.1 demonstrates the coding tree that

evolved through the ECA process:

Figure 3.1 ECA Coding Tree

PRIMARY NODES	SUB-CATEGORIES
Accomplishments	Legislation Passed
	Organized Movement
	Political Candidates
	Political Power
Demonstrations	Disorderly
	Peaceful
	Violent
Discontent with Government	Candidates
	Legislation
Grassroots Political Organizations Platform	Occupy Wall Street
	Similarities Between OWS & TP
	Tea Party
Ideology	Conservatism
	Liberalism
	Libertarianism
Irony	Academia
	Elitism
	Government
	Occupy Wall Street
	Tea Party
Media	Social Networking
Power	Academia
	Capitalism
	Corporations
	Elitism
	Inequality
	Political
Reaction Toward Grassroots Political Organizations	Occupy Wall Street
	Tea Party
Social Control	Arrests
	Courts
	Excessive Force
	Legislation
	State

Information Request. Additional indicators of social control, beyond those

included in the field research and content analysis, were elicited through written,

telephone, and email correspondence. Efforts to contact city/community administrators –

or designated agents – were made to identify how communities have responded to

Occupy and Tea Party activists. A letter was sent (see Appendix E – Letter Requesting

Information), dated February 1, 2013, to administrators of those cities or communities,

previously identified as hosting both Occupy demonstrations and Tea Party rallies,

requesting the following information:

- Does your city/community allow (or encourage or discourage) open protest from politically motivated activists?

- Does your city/community require activists to limit their demonstrations to specific locations in the city? If so, where are those locations and what is the purpose for the limitations?

- What type of protest have these organizations participated in: civil or violent? What did these demonstrations "look like"?

- Did these demonstrations result in any arrests? Do you recall whether one group had more arrests than the other? If so, which group? How were these arrests handled in the court system (such as charges filed)?

- Since these demonstrations have taken place, has your city/community made in changes in terms of reducing or responding to future demonstrations?

- Do you have any comments that you would like to add?

Answers to these questions aided in analyzing the approaches that communities utilized

for controlling activities of grassroots political organizations.

A total of 93 letters were sent to cities/communities identified as having both

Occupy Wall Street demonstrations and Tea Party Express Bus Tours as confirmed from

Guardian News and Media Limited DataBlog and by the Tea Party Express bus tour

schedule.   This list was not exhaustive of all Tea Party and Occupy assemblies but just

those that could be confirmed as previously noted.   Locales representing 42 states and

the District of Columbia, from the seven geographical regions depicted in figure 3.2, were included in the information request.

Figure 3.2 U.S. Geographical Regions
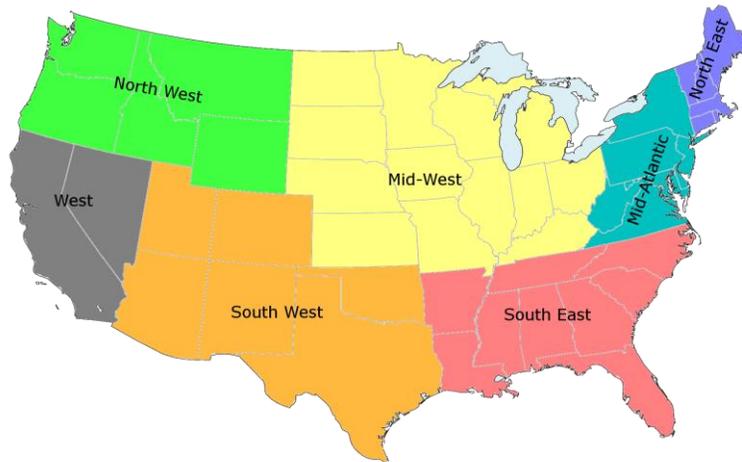
Sixteen responses were initially received through mail, phone contact, and email by the noted deadline of March 15, 2013.

In an effort to increase the overall response rate, a second letter (Appendix F – Follow-up Letter Requesting Information) was sent to those administrators who had not responded to the previous attempt for information.   The second letter, dated June 1, 2013, included the request for information as well as directions that an email from tjlynn@ksu.edu would follow, on or about June 15, 2013, to promote ease of response. An additional eleven responses were received through email contact resulting from the second request. A total of 27 responses – 29 percent – were received from the community request for information. Table 3.2 indicates the number of requests submitted, as well as the number of responses received, from each region, depicted in figure 3.2.

Table 3.2 Information Requests per Geographical Region

Information Requests Submitted to – and Received from – Geographical Regions		
Region	Information Requested	Response Received
Mid-West	30	11
Mid-Atlantic	11	1
North East	4	2
North West	8	2
South East	18	3
South West	15	6
West	7	2
Total	93	27

Compiled from responses received from Community Request for Information: Appendix E & F

The information indicates the greatest number of responses was received from states in the mid-west region. However, the greatest percentage of responses was received from the north east region. In contrast, the fewest number of responses, as well as the lowest percentage, was received from Mid-Atlantic States. Responses were received from rural and suburban communities, as well as metropolitan cities. Though responses cannot ensure representativeness, nor account for why non-respondents did not contribute, information gathered represents unique anecdotal evidence of how reporting communities respond to protest organizations. This method provides data to assess social control efforts, at least in some communities.

Analysis

Analysis was conducted by repeated combing of qualitative data, derived from observations, field notes, and recordings, as well as systematic content analysis, guided by the ECA methods described above. Once patterns were established and similarities repeated again and again, one could assume saturation of the data. In addition, guidelines offered by Garland (2001:22), which provide a list of methodological rules, primarily regarding the analysis of information, were used:

- "Do not mistake short-term movements from structural change." Many different types of resistance arise out of collective action (Schneiberg, 2002), including efforts to pass or repeal laws (Ingram & Rao; 2004); however, these efforts, even when successful, do not necessarily create structural changes. When evaluating the efforts of OWS and TP groups, I needed to refrain from assumptions that activity and policy changes equaled structural changes.

- "Do not mistake talk for action." Just as activity does not equal change, talk does not equal action. Did participants of OWS and the TP simply engage in talk or did they implement action? If evidence of action existed, were there indications of differences in practices and ideological viewpoints?

- "Do not assume talk is inconsequential [as] political rhetoric [has] symbolic significance and practical efficacy [has] real social consequences." While I was evaluating action as noted above, I also could not undermine the impact of the message(s) portrayed by each group. Did the conveyed message have consequences and if so, for who and in what manner?

- "Do not confuse means with ends." Talk, action, and resistance represent examples of the means for arriving at a specific goal. Often, these occur as small steps to a much larger outcome. It was crucial to refrain from assumptions that means for achieving change equated success.

- "Do not conflate separate issues . . . [such as] political representations of public opinion [versus] the actual beliefs and attitudes of the public." Did the press portray what actually "is"? Did each group portray what actually "is"? Responses to "each one involves analytically distinct questions that require quite different methodologies and data if they are to be properly addressed," reinforcing the need to conduct a content analysis of media reports while engaging in field research to evaluate each specific group.

- "Do not lose sight of the long-term." While this study did not intend to determine the long-term impact OWS and the TP would have on public policy, consequences of each organization's current activities held implications for future research. In addition, it was necessary to refrain from the assumption that current changes in policy would result in long-term success of each organization's goals.

The extent to which findings of this study apply to similar research and settings is important, specifically surrounding generalizability of the data. Lieberson (1985: 4) argues that most "empirical social research is based on non-experimental situations."

This emphasizes the importance of clarity in methods to ensure a credible study (Esterberg, 2002), with the results being strengthened by an extensive literature review (Latour, 1987). Incorporating detailed findings, including relevant quotes from both field notes of participant observations and material obtained in the content analysis (Esterberg, 2002) are important. Providing a clear analysis that tells a credible story (Williams, 2006; Kang, 2010) while providing a clear comparison of perspectives (Wacquant, 2002) strengthens the results. It was the aim of this study to consider each of these challenges; therefore, the methodology of this research was designed to provide multiple perspectives, a variety of sources, and a balanced portrayal of each group, as well as consideration of a number of contextual issues.

Chapter 4 - Tea Party: Change from Within

> The discovery of truth is socially and historically conditioned.
> *The Sociology of Knowledge,* Volker Meja

As this quote implies, this chapter aims to examine the historical relevance of values and orientations, specifically those advanced by the Tea Party, internally and also as portrayed to the public.   In other words, I wanted to know the Tea Party from its own internal perspective.   The chapter begins with a general description of Tea Partiers as reported from the *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters, then continues with a brief description of the group's mission statement, stated goals, and objectives. Group activities, identified through content of web pages, documents, and participant observations, address the manner in which the Tea Party responds to the current political milieu.   While the Tea Party, as an umbrella-type entity, represents a host of organizations across the country, three specific affiliates were the focus of this research, including: Tea Party Express, TheTeaParty.net, and Tea Party Patriots.   These independent affiliates function as a resource to local, state, and national groups across the U.S. (Armey & Kibbe, 2010; Zernike, 2011; Rich, 2011). Primary concepts evaluated through this study include ideology, social control, and power. Themes that developed out of these concepts, including subthemes, follow: 1) identifying the "enemy" and utilizing emotion; 2) managing image; and 3) dictating tactics to promote power from within. Analysis of the noted concepts and themes revealed the underlying ideology that directed the ideas and actions of the organization. Essentially, the messages advanced through these themes will indicate either resistance

toward – or alternatively reinforcement of – an overarching cultural ideology of power and control that supports the status quo in society.

Who is the Tea Party?

In an effort to understand the Tea Party, both as an organization and compilation of individual participants, I sought to uncover the answer to this question. *The New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters provides a basic overview of individual participants including average age, race, socio-economic status, political affiliation, and political perspectives. The mission statements, from the identified Tea Party organizations, provide insight into organizational goals and objectives. This information was important as I engaged in the field research phase of the study to determine whether these sources of information were an accurate response to the question: Who is the Tea Party?

Survey Depictions of Participants. Table 4.1 portrays survey results, from the *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters, depicting those who self-identify as Tea Party supporters as follows:

Table 4.1 Survey Results Depict Demographics of Tea Party Supporters

Demographics of Tea Party Supporters

	Percent
Sex	
• Male	59
• Female	41
Age	
• 18-29	7
• 30-44	16
• 45-64	46
• Over 64	29
Race	
• White	89
• Black	1
• Asian	1
Marital Status	
• Married	70
• Widowed	7
• Divorced	9
• Separated	1
• Never Married	11
Household Annual Income	
• Less than $15,000	5
• $15,000-$29,999	13
• $30,000-$49,999	17
• $50,000-$74,999	25
• $75,000-$99,999	11
• $100,000-$250,000	17
• Over $250,000	12
Education	
• Not a High School Graduate	3
• High School Graduate	26
• Some College	33
• College Graduate	23
• Post Graduate	14
Employment Status	
• Currently Employed	56
• Temporarily out of Work	6
• Not in the Market for Work	5
• Retired	32
Social Class	
• Lower	5
• Working	26
• Middle	50
• Upper-Middle	15
• Upper	3

Reported from *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters

The data indicates that 89 percent of responders identified themselves as white and 59 percent were male; 70 percent of the responders were married. The majority of responders were over the age of 45, with 46 percent between the ages of 45 to 64 and 29

percent over age 64.   The majority of responders, 71 percent, earned under $100,000 in 2008. Of those making less than $100,000, 49 percent made less than $50,000. Responses to inquiries of social class indicated that 81 percent identified themselves as middle, working, or lower class. The results indicated that older, middle-class, white men would be the primary participants at Tea Party functions.

Field observations of the Unity Rally and Winning for America Rally produced results similar to those from survey depictions. Those in attendance at both rallies were generally "older." As an early 40s female, the majority of those in attendance appeared near my parents or grandparents age. There appeared to be an approximately equal number of males and females. The majority of participants were Caucasian; however, there were participants of African-American, Hispanic, and Middle-Eastern descent. The Day of Resistance Rally yielded very different results. Those in attendance ranged in age from infant to the very elderly, including families with small children to teenagers, young and middle-aged adults, and elderly adults. Similar to the previous functions, the majority in attendance was Caucasian, but participants of other racial and ethnic backgrounds were also in attendance.   The Hispanic population was represented at a higher rate at this particular rally, which was held in Phoenix, Arizona.

Turning to political viewpoints, table 4.2 portrays survey results, from the *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters, depicting those who identify themselves as Tea Party supporters as follows:

Table 4.2 Survey Results Depict Political Views of Tea Party Supporters

Political Views of Tea Party Supporters	
Political Affiliation	**Percent**
• Democrat	5
• Independent	36
• Republican	54
Disapproval Rating	
• Congress	96
• President Obama	88
Most Important Problem Facing the Country	
• Economic Issues	78
• Social Issues	14
Most Responsible for Current State of the Economy	
• Bush Administration	
• Obama Administration	5
• Wall Street	10
• Congress	15
• All of the Above	28
• Combination of the Above	15
	20

Reported from *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters

54 percent consider themselves Republican while 36 percent identify as Independent.

The majority of respondents (91 percent) expressed discontent with President Obama's

performance, and with the performance of Congress (at 97 percent). When asked about

important issues facing the country, 78 percent identified economic issues as the primary

concern, including the current state of the economy, budget deficit, high unemployment,

and lack of jobs. In contrast, 14 percent identified social issues, such as abortion and

same-sex marriage, as the primary concern. Despite survey results, political pundits

frequently identified the Tea Party with social issues. Organizational mission statements

supported findings associated with concern over economic issues. References to those

goals and objectives follows.

Organizational Mission Statements. This section identifies and discusses key

components of each mission statement of three Tea Party affiliates. The Tea Party, as an

organization, is not managed by a central point of contact. Unlike the Democratic or

Republican National Committees, the Tea Party encompasses a number of affiliates and

community level groups, absent of national leadership. One particular affiliate specifically states that "there is no single national 'TEA PARTY' organization" (TheTeaParty.net), and cautions readers not to believe otherwise. The three affiliates identified in this research represent separate entities that support common themes of limited government, Constitutionalism, and fiscal responsibility. These groups also manage nationally recognized websites and host high publicity Tea Party functions across the U.S. For these reasons, state and local groups often turn to the larger affiliates for resources or to advertise events on websites.

The Tea Party Express began as part of "Our Country Deserves Better Committee" during the 2008 Presidential election in response to what members describe as an out-of-control government. The Tea Party Express identifies itself as the most "aggressive and influential national Tea Party group in the political arena," with a mission that is "committed to identifying and supporting conservative candidates and causes that will champion Tea Party values and return our country to the Constitutional principles that have made America the 'shining city on a hill'" (www.teapartyexpress.org). The principles that Tea Party Express purportedly stands for include: ending corporate bailouts; reducing the size and intrusiveness of government; bringing an end to tax hikes; repealing Obamacare; ceasing out-of-control government spending; and, bringing back American prosperity. This organization takes credit for Scott Brown's victory in the Massachusetts senate race as well as the election of "27 Tea Party conservatives to the freshman class of the House of Representatives" (www.teapartyexpress.org) in the 2010 midterm elections.

Corporate support of the Tea Party Express may have influenced the message promoted during sponsored bus tours. Our Country Deserves Better Political Action Committee (PAC) was instrumental in the development of the Tea Party Express affiliate (www.teapartyexpress.org). This PAC receives substantial funding through conservative think-tanks, Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks, funded by some of America's wealthiest families, including the Koch Brothers foundations (Fang, 2009). Critical of lack of voter participation in the 2008 Presidential election, David and Charles Koch tapped into the "ideological power [of] trying to shape and control and channel the populist uprising (Tea Party) into their own policies" (Mayer, 2010: 2). Dollars filtered through think-tanks and PACs is crucial for supporting the national bus tour as well as supporting political campaigns of Tea Party endorsed candidates. Consequently, the Tea Party Express can boast 96 percent of all Tea Party expenditures in recent elections (www.teapartyexpress.org) while corporations can (potentially) control the results at the ballot box.

TheTeaParty.net, a division of Stop This Insanity, Inc. Political Action Committee, was created in 2009 to promote constitutional values that represent the Tea Party movement. TheTeaParty.net believes that "government has ignored the Constitution that defines us; invaded the liberty from which our nation was born; and daily drains away the individuality and entrepreneurial spirit of Americans in order to advance a radical, socialist policy built on the back of American taxpayers" (www.theteaparty.net). The mission of TheTeaParty.net is to "recruit like-minded Americans to the Tea Party Movement in order to advance the principles of limited government, fiscal restraint, and individual liberty at all levels of government through

promotion and education" (www.theteaparty.net).   The mission is accomplished through

two phases: 1) increasing awareness of current policies; and 2) providing tools that will

promote political involvement of citizens at the local level.   Organizers of

TheTeaParty.net describe these phases as necessary to develop a strong foundation of

participants vital for returning America to what they believe to be core values that "made

this nation great."

The Tea Party Patriots serves as an umbrella organization that provides support to

Tea Party chapters across the U.S. Unlike Tea Party Express that indirectly receives

substantial corporate funding, this group has been touted as the only "spontaneous,

bottom-up, grass roots organization" (Rich, 2011). Tea Party Patriots currently operates

free from influence of corporate elites and the political establishment in Washington,

D.C., reinforcing their claim of being "100% grassroots, 100% of the time"

(www.teapartypatriots.org).   The mission statement of Tea Party Patriots is to "restore

America's founding principles of Fiscal Responsibility, Constitutionally Limited

Government and Free Markets" (www.teapartypatriots.org).   This affiliate believes a

fiscally responsible government, limited by the Constitution, with a renewed emphasis on

"free markets," is necessary to reduce unemployment and to maintain the standard of

living that Americans have come to rely upon, historically, today, and for future

generations (www.teapartypatriots.org).

The mission statements, as well as direct observations of Tea Party functions,

indicate the organization advances key concepts representative of the nation-state.

Classical liberalism, formal law, state sovereignty, and definitions of state citizenship are

believed to reflect Tea Party values. In addition, beliefs and rule-based practices of

religious and militant organizations provide the framework to guide the lives of its participants. These so-called "traditional" concepts are highly valued among Tea Partiers.

In general, then, when Tea Partiers talk about "traditional American values," they refer to the following beliefs:

- human rights are endowed by a Creator; belief in God is important;

- government's role is to protect rights at home and abroad, reinforcing the need for a strong military;

- families know what is best for raising their children and should be allowed to do so with no government intrusion;

- everyone can achieve success through hard work, dedication, and risk taking; equal opportunity does not mean equal outcomes as everyone makes different choices with the personal talents they have been endowed with;

- individuals are responsible to meet his or her basic needs, and those of their family; social programs should help people become independent, leaving only those incapable of caring for themselves due to age or disability to receive long-term benefits;

- business and competition are important for society as they create jobs and wealth; wealth creates a better life for everyone;

- individuals are responsible to obey the laws of their Creator, which can be found in the Christian Ten Commandments;

- individuals are responsible to obey the laws of the state and serve consequences if they do not.

For Tea Partiers, then, "traditional values" is a core component of their ideological identity and sets them apart, in their mind, from others outside the realm of what they see as moral imperatives.

Noted concepts crucial for the advancement of the nation-state are also those that promote and reinforce the ideological perception of the American Dream. Based on the average age of Tea Party supporters, as reported in the *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters, and confirmed at the Unity Rally and Winning for America bus tour, most supporters had parents or grandparents who survived the great depression. Furthermore, many participants' families successfully overcame the economic and personal hardships that resulted from the great depression. In turn, many Tea Partiers believed their families had achieved this economic concept of the American Dream in terms of attaining financial security.   Similarly, many participants had also worked to achieve personal and financial success indicative of this ideological concept of the American Dream.   However, financial success is relative.   Restating previously mentioned survey results, 71 percent of Tea Party supporters reported an annual household income of less than $100,000, identifying a subjective goal to equate to success.   Participants advance a belief that efforts to persevere and overcome one's circumstances can result in success, despite hardships that may occur in the process.

From the perspective of Tea Partiers, an over-reaching government – one that spends too much money to finance corporate bailouts and expanding social programs – is a detriment to the hope of the middle and working classes to maintain or achieve a higher standard of living. Tea Partiers support those concepts of the nation-state for returning to "better times," which will, in turn, continue to make the American Dream attainable for all. They do not see the American Dream as a classist myth and controlling tool of the ruling elite – as is articulated by scholars such as Messner and Rosenfeld (2007) – but as a symbol of capitalist goals and achievement. For Tea Partiers, the American Dream

represents attainable wealth as a result of hard work and personal freedom; barriers to those goals are largely regarded as irrelevant. Again, just as "traditional values" become a taken-for-granted part of the Tea Party ideology, so does their version of the "American Dream."

The next section identifies themes that developed from the data attained during field research, reflecting the ideological perspective advanced by Tea Party organizations.

Themes

With reference to the overarching concepts of ideology, social control, and power, several themes emerged from the data. In general, these themes represent ideas and strategies that reinforce beliefs advanced by Tea Party organizations. The first theme to develop was **"identifying the 'enemy.'"** A certain pattern of messages promoted during Tea Party functions tended to demonize those officials, and or policies, that detract from their organizational beliefs. A subtheme that reinforced this theme was the use of emotion to garner participant support. The next theme was **"managing image"** that identifies efforts by the organization to separate itself from negative press and optimize issues more broadly appealing. The final theme to develop was **"dictating tactics to promote power from within."** This theme encompasses efforts of the Tea Party to become part of, and change, the political structure the organization resists. The following section addresses each theme, followed by a discussion of how each incorporates the political beliefs, or ideology, of the organization.

Identifying the "Enemy." Observations made during Tea Party functions, and analysis of organizational materials, uncovered efforts by the organization to identify an "enemy." According to speakers at Tea Party functions, this was not only an adversary

of the Tea Party but to their allegiance of traditional American values, including hope for

achieving the economic "American Dream" goal, individual freedom and liberty, and

what they see as core (or purist) assumptions concerning the U.S. Constitution.   Tea

Partiers indicated that the greatest threat to these values and concepts could be found in

Washington: politicians who advanced policies perceived as limiting the freedoms of the

American people. A number of approaches were utilized to identify these enemies of the

organization, including the following: 1) use of historical quotes; 2) expressions of anger

toward corporate bailouts; and 3) criticism of "liberal policies," specifically those

advanced by President Obama. Expressions that identify an enemy provide insight into

the ideology advanced by Tea Party organizations, fueled by feelings of discontent

toward the exercise of formal social control by the power structure represented by the

state.

The first approach, important for identifying the enemy, included the use of

quotes from historical figures and documents to demonstrate the perception that current

leaders have turned away from traditional values the nation was founded on. For

example, at the Unity Rally in Tampa, Florida, Herman Cain, author, CEO, and former

presidential candidate, described the attitude coming out of Washington as destructive to

core American values of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as described by

Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. At the Day of Resistance Rally in

Phoenix, Arizona, J.D. Hayworth, television personality and former state senator, shared

an original quote by Thomas Jefferson, emphasizing a "government powerful enough to

give people everything they think they want is dangerous enough to take away everything

you have." Matt Salmon, Arizona Congressman, shared an original quote by Benjamin

Franklin, stating "those who are willing to trade their freedoms for security deserve neither and will probably lose both." Dr. Lance Hurley, historian and recipient of the prestigious George Washington Medal of Honor, portrayed Patrick Henry in costume and person at the Phoenix Rally. "Henry" shared the historical account of the development of the Second Amendment of the Constitution and why the Amendment was a necessary protection against a tyrannical government. Use of historical quotes in this manner, demonized those considered a threat to these values, considered original to the founding of the U.S.

The second approach incorporated by Tea Partiers to identify an enemy included expressions of anger toward legislation resulting in corporate bailouts following the economic crisis occurring in October, 2008. At the Unity Rally, speakers identified out-of-control spending as a problem, dating back to the increased spending policies of President George W. Bush and escalating with the Obama administration. Tea Partiers viewed these policies as protecting the interests of Wall Street over those of the middle and working class. Promoting this theme, Amy Kremer, founder and chair of the Tea Party Express, argued during the Winning for America Rally, "these people go to Washington and get caught up in the power . . . then their objective becomes keeping that power and they forget who they work for . . . we the people." However, participants were not against corporations generating a profit but rather the idea of rewarding poor investment decisions with government handouts. The organization believed that corporate elites had privatized their profits but socialized the losses, resulting in higher taxes for middle and working class Americans to cover the differences through increased taxation. More succinctly, Tea Partiers believed the market should be allowed to work

freely, without intervention from Washington.   Simply, Tea Partiers believed those who achieved economic success should enjoy the rewards associated with that success.

The final approach advanced by the Tea Party for defining an enemy was criticism toward those in Washington responsible for advancing "liberal policies," or more appropriately, "socialist policies." The organization was critical of both Republicans and Democrats, perceived as promoting policies that increased government control over the lives of Americans.   Tea Party sponsored websites included banners that read, "I'm neither Republican nor Democrat. I'm an American and want my Country Back!" This was consistent with messages promoted at each of the rallies. Speakers expressed concerns with military cuts, viewed by Tea Partiers as increasing the risk of foreign nations infringing upon, and attacking, American "traditional values."

Spending policies, partnered with tax increases and unsuccessful efforts by government to stimulate the economy, generated a number of concerns. Herman Cain argued that if nothing is done regarding pending income tax increases, the U.S. will slip into a deep recession and depression in 2013 that will continue for years. Cain referred to this pending crisis as "tax-maggedon." He continued the argument, emphasizing that with 23.5 million Americans still unemployed and only 89,000 jobs created the previous month, government efforts to promote jobs failed. Cain, and other Tea Partiers, believed the private sector was a more appropriate outlet for promoting jobs; therefore, government efforts to interfere would continue to be unsuccessful. Herman Cain was not the only speaker to address concerns with, and the consequences of, "liberal" economic policies.

Ron and Kay Rivoli– from the Rivoli Revue – Masters of Ceremonies of Winning

for America Bus Tour hosted by Tea Party Express, opened the rally with the *Tea Party*

Express Theme Song, which included the following except from their lyrics:

> The people they are standing up all across this land,
> and they're sending you a message that we hope you understand.
> Those bailouts have to stop. That stimulus must end.
> No universal healthcare. No cap and trade my friends.
> They're spending too much money, it's gotten too extreme.
> We're taxed enough already . . .
>   Music and Lyrics written by Ron and Kay Rivoli

These lyrics targeted a number of policies viewed as having negative consequences for

the nation.

Other speakers dissatisfied with policies coming out of Washington identified

high taxes, excessive regulation, government subsidies and control of medical care,

deficits, and unemployment burdens for Americans.   The following quote expresses a

number of these concerns:

> Our government is going broke because it spends too much money. We
> have deficits of 1.3 trillion dollars annually . . . We have the smallest
> work force participation since the 90s . . . One reason next year is going to
> see a recession is all the taxes coming January first. Obama-care alone has
> 21 taxes in it.
>   Howard Kaloogian, Tea Party Express co-founder

Kaloogian's address, which accentuates the Tea Party platform, can be read in its'

entirety in Appendix G – Howard Kaloogian's Address to Winning for America Rally.

With the 2012 Presidential election just months and even weeks away, anger

expressed at the Unity Rally and Winning for America Bus Tour was specifically critical

of President Obama.   Speakers believed the President's policies promote a radical liberal

agenda, resulting in bigger government and producing increased attitudes of entitlement.

Policies viewed as promoting socialism resonated as speakers at the Winning for America

rally emphasized, what they considered to be, the "real threat" of the President's policies

Tea Partiers believed the consequences of these policies would be harmful for the

average American who would be left to pay the bill through increased taxation and

decreased opportunities for success.

Howard Kaloogian identified the negative impact of these policies on Americans

as follows:

> What have Obama's policies actually produced? We have deficits of 1.3
> trillion dollars annually; we have over a million fewer payroll jobs than
> when Obama took office; we have the smallest work force participation
> since the 90s. We have 23 million Americans who are either out of work,
> given up on looking, or under-employed. That is a national tragedy . . . for
> the rest of us who actually have jobs, we are on average earning four
> thousand dollars a year less and we have lost, on average, about forty
> percent of our net worth.

Kaloogian criticized the President further, stating "he actually views the government as a

critical source for economic vitality in America."   While Kaloogian and others were

critical of the President's policies and view of the government's role in society, others

were more critical of the attitudes of entitlement that would result from the policies.

Kremer warned of consequences from increased attitudes of entitlement in the following

statement:

> Nothing [is] more dangerous to our national security than the instability of
> our debt . . . his (President Obama) objective is to drive this country into
> the ground financially to get us closer to his goal of socialism and
> redistribution of wealth. Obama has said repeatedly that he wants to turn
> this land of opportunity into the land of entitlement.

Kremer encouraged attendees to view the YouTube video, *Obama's Phone*.   She

believed this video demonstrated why an entire generation of Americans risk lack of

aspiration "to be anything else" because of the entitlements they are receiving through the President's policies.

Liberal, or even socialist, policies coming out of Washington and the growing sense of entitlements, as described by Tea Partiers, were in complete opposition to the message advanced by the organization. The Tea Party's message promoted values of a government limited by the Constitution and members' concept of free markets. Any representative from Washington – Congressional member or President – who supported policies in opposition to these values was targeted as the enemy of the organization. But the Tea Party could not simply "tell" people their message and expect support.

Emotion is Power. The Tea Party took advantage of emotional responses as a powerful tool for promoting the organization's message. This was accomplished by three approaches, including: 1) formal structure of organizational functions; 2) use of entertainment; and 3) use of "doomsday" messages. Tea Party functions included a wide array of activities, such as formal programs; town hall meetings and political forums; and picketing outside Congressional offices in Washington and across the U.S. The functions most apt to be promoted on organizational websites, as well as likely to yield the greatest attendance, were formal programs. It seemed apparent that organizers of the events intended to elicit an emotional response from attendees the moment they arrived at a rally.

Efforts to elicit emotional responses from the crowd included stimulation of the visual and auditory senses as part of a formal program. This was evident from my personal observations, as described here:

- As I reached the location of the Unity Rally, I felt as though I was approaching the county fairgrounds back home in Kansas rather than a

political rally. After parking the car, I converged upon the "festivities," which included trailers housing food vendors, canopies covering tables with informational brochures and memorabilia items – such as coffee cups, t-shirts, buttons, and ball caps – for sale or to give away. The crowd was chanting, U.S.A. and other patriotic phrases.

- Approximately thirty minutes before the Winning for America Rally was scheduled to begin, two very large tour buses pulled into the event site. Painted on the side of each bus included a U.S. map and tour schedule highlighted from state to state; the preface to the Declaration of Independence; the U.S. Capitol rotunda; and the Tea Party Express name and theme. People systematically exited the busses and commenced to setting up a stage, sound system, and tables with various items including books, CDs, posters, and brochures. Once the sound system was in place, music began playing in the background, including lyrics that referenced the Tea Party and its stated platform of limited government and fiscal responsibility.

- The location of the Day of Resistance Rally was on the south grounds of the Arizona State Capitol. I observed a number of flags such as the American, State of Arizona, Confederate, and "Don't Tread on Me" flags. A large old-style school bus, painted in red, white, and blue, embellishing the phrase "We Will Not Comply," was parked directly in front of the capital. The rally began to the sound of a drum cadence south of the capitol grounds. Several men, wearing historical patriot gear and carrying flags, marched in a formation along the sidewalk toward the crowd. The men were followed by the Freedom Riders, a motorcycle club made up of primarily veterans. Following from behind, the 'Fire up Freedom' Truck – a ladder fire truck painted like the American flag – pulled up behind the stage, serving as the back drop for the afternoon rally.

The atmosphere created by the formal structure of each rally was intended to elicit emotion from those in attendance.

Emotion was elicited further through the use of entertainment during the rallies. Entertainment was an important tool utilized by Tea Party organizations to promote the formal structure of the rallies while encouraging an emotional response from participants. Rusty Humphries, national talk radio host, served as Master of Ceremonies for the Unity and Day of Resistance rallies. Humphries, somewhat of a celebrity to many Tea Partiers, elicited an emotional response simply by speaking at the events. Consistent with his

radio show, he incorporated humor to describe his disdain for policies and politicians perceived as countering Tea Party values. Expressing disdain that crossed party lines, Humphries, opened each rally with the following: "I have a message for President Obama, Nancy 'Pe-lousy,' Harry Reid, the RINOs in Washington – Republicans in Name Only – and Bill Clinton's WINO, Hillary – Wife in Name Only."   Humphries also "fired up" the crowd by engaging them in chants that included messages for those in power. At the Unity Rally, the message was, "it's not your money . . . it's not your money" in reference to the perception of excessive government spending.   At the Day of Resistance Rally, the admonition was "you're not taking my guns . . . you're not taking my guns," referring to efforts which participants viewed as attempts to infringe on Constitutional rights, specific to the Second Amendment.

Other speakers provided entertainment based on their celebrity status, specific to location of the rally and from the perspective of Tea Partiers. Some of the most widely known "celebrities" included Herman Cain and Michelle Bachman at the Unity Rally; Trevor Louden, blogger and political pundit, at the Winning for America Rally; and Matt Salmon, J.D. Hayworth, and a message pre-recorded by Ted Nugent at the Day of Resistance Rally. All of these speakers elicited strong emotion evidenced by the reaction of the crowd, including cheers, standing ovations, and drawn out applause.   Because of their celebrity status, the message advanced by these speakers would surely "solidify" the belief in an enemy.

In the event that celebrity status was not enough to elicit an emotional response from the crowd, other forms of entertainment possibly would.   The Winning for America Rally structured the program in a manner that alternated speakers with musical

entertainment.   Rivoli Revue opened the program performing the National Anthem,
followed by the *Tea Party Express Theme Song*.   Other songs were performed
throughout the rally by the couple, as well as by one of the speakers. Polatik, youth
group director, community activist, and rapper, performed a song that included lyrics
with messages similar to those from songs performed by Rivoli Revue.

The final approach utilized by the Tea Party to elicit an emotional response from
participants included the use of "doomsday" messages. Statements ranged from those
implying a reason to be concerned with the current political climate to those intended to
instill fear. Examples of quotes, ranging from expressions of concern to reasons to be
afraid, follow:

> Freedom is always one step away from tyranny . . . [so] we need to always
> be vigilant.
> > Michelle Bachman, Minnesota Representative

> Little by little, bit by bit, they [politicians] are stripping our freedoms from
> us.
> > Kay Rivoli

> Do you want the government in control of your life and making decisions
> for you, or do you want to make the decisions for you and your family?
> > Amy Kremer

> Either expand government control over our lives or expand your freedom.
> It seems to me as if it comes down to that divide on every issue, every
> time. Either the government controls your life or you control your life.
> > Howard Kaloogian

> We need protection from our federal government because in the name of
> safety, they are trying to take and steal our liberties.
> > Paul Babeu, Sheriff of Pinal County, Arizona

> The Second Amendment . . . is about our freedom. It's about our freedom
> from tyranny. It's about the freedom of this country and everything we
> hold dear.
> > Matt Salmon

> Nothing [is] more dangerous to our national security that the instability of our debt.
>> Amy Kremer

> [The] number one agenda of the left [is to] destroy the U.S. military . . . [the] U.S. can recover from depression [but] cannot recover from a disarmed military.
>> Trevor Louden

Each of these speakers, from the perspective of the Tea Party, attempted to elicit an emotional response by portraying actions on the part of government officials as detrimental to the very freedoms and security that Americans "deserve."

The Rivoli Revue performed *U.S.S. of A.* that included lyrics describing the consequences of a government that achieved too much control over the people, as noted in the following excerpt:

> They are taking all the power up in Washington, D.C.
> Pretty soon they'll own us all; they'll control you and me.
> They'll tell us when to work and play; they'll tell us when to pray.
> We'll no longer be the United States; we'll be the U.S.S. of A. . .

> They'll own our banks, our healthcare too;
> they'll own our houses; they'll own our food.
> They'll own the care we all will drive;
> They'll own every aspect of our lives.
> They'll own our churches; they'll own our school.
> They'll own everything so they'll make the rules.
> They'll take away our liberty; it's a nightmare don't you see?

> Chorus: We better standup, wake up, look around.
> There's a new world order coming to your town.
> They're taking our freedoms away; we'll no longer have any say.
> We better stand together – one and all –
> or our Constitution is going to fall.
> We'll no longer be the United States; we'll be the U.S.S. of A.
>> Music and Lyrics written by Ron and Kay Rivoli

The lyrics described policies and values in contradiction to those advanced by the Tea Party as indicated in the organizational mission statements.

Speakers at the Unity and Winning for America rallies expressed urgency in regard to the upcoming election. Specifically, messages supporting Mitt Romney took a desperate turn during the Winning for America rally, indicated by comments that described the upcoming election as "critical" and "must win." Some speakers expressed their desperation as follows:

> This is truly the most important election – not only in our lifetime but in our nation's history.
> Amy Kremer

> 39 days and counting to the most serious day in our lifetime, in our history. . . the decision of good versus evil.
> Ray Marsh, Winning for America tour bus driver

These phrases indicated a bona fide urgency for the future of the country, similar to those heard during the 1896 Presidential campaign (Brands, 2010). Complacency was blamed for the outcome of the 2008 election, which resulted in victory by Barak Obama. This message advanced the impression that if people were aware of the consequences of the policies coming from the current administration, they would head to the ballot box in droves to reverse the unprecedented destruction facing the U.S.

Managing Image. The Tea Party made a concerted effort to manage the image of the organization in response to media portrayals connecting the group's platform with social issues. Some individuals associated with the Tea Party did possess strong views regarding a variety of social issues, specifically regarding abortion. However, the Tea Party as an organization, which promoted concepts of economic conservatism, did not want to be associated with social issues.   At the Winning for America rally, Kremer emphasized that the success of the organization resulted from staying focused on the key issues of "fiscal responsibility, limited government, and free markets."   Kremer

continued, stating "they [liberals] are focused on gay marriage, birth control, foreign policy . . . we are never going to agree on all those things . . . that's why the Tea Party movement has been so successful."   Kremer credited the efforts to refrain from social issues in the organizational platform as important for gaining participation from Democrats and Independents who held similar views regarding the state of the economy.

Dictating Tactics to Promote Power from Within. Returning to the mission statement of TheTeaParty.net, the organization seeks to "recruit like-minded Americans to the Tea Party Movement in order to advance the principles of limited government, fiscal restraint, and individual liberty at all levels of government through promotion and education" (www.theteaparty.net).   This quote emphasizes the approach advanced by the Tea Party to encourage political participation through the efforts of all participants. Forms of political participation, advanced by the organization, includes: 1) voting; 2) contacting state and national congressional offices; and 3) becoming active at the local precinct level of government in members' respective communities. The final approach advances Tea Party efforts to promote change from within the system. A discussion of each approach follows.

Speakers at each of the rallies emphasized the importance of voting. At the Day of Resistance rally, Kelly Townsend, Arizona State Representative, emphasized that attendees must register to vote, admonishing the crowd that if they are not voting, they are "part of the problem."   Rebecca Kleefisch, Wisconsin Lt. Governor, noted that "just as those from the State of Wisconsin made a statement at the polls, so would Americans make a statement in November," in reference to protecting Governor Scott Walker in the recall election. Michelle Bachmann added that "freedom is always one step from tyranny

. . . [so] we need to always be vigilant." She closed by explaining that vigilance means voting which is "how we'll take our country back . . . out at the ballot box." Neal Boortz, radio host, indicated to the crowd that "Democrats, looters, moochers, and parasites . . . would vote for access to our pocket [but] you're going to vote to put a zipper on your pocket." Boortz went on to encourage everyone in the audience to find one registered voter who "thinks like you do" but does not believe their vote counts. He concluded by emphasizing their vote does count and Tea Partiers have the responsibility to get them to the ballot box.

Due to lack of enthusiasm for both Romney and Obama speakers had the important task of convincing Tea Partiers why they still must vote. At the Unity Rally, Jason Chaffetz, Utah State Representative, had the important job of convincing attendees at the Unity Rally why they should vote for Romney. Chaffetz was selected because of Romney's position as President of the Salt Lake Organizing Committee, responsible for coordinating the 2002 Winter Olympics. Chaffetz emphasized how a Romney victory would produce important implications for the future, stating "at some point, I do hope that Paul Ryan . . . becomes a President of the United States of America." Similarly, Herman Cain argued that Paul Ryan energized the Republican ticket. Cain continued that choosing Ryan as a running mate spoke highly of Romney's leadership, demonstrating that he did not make a safe choice but rather a bold choice. It was this "bold choice" that warranted the support of Tea Partiers at the ballot box. Both men expressed support of Romney to promote Paul Ryan, for becoming Vice President would increase his chances of becoming President later, which was much more important to Tea Partiers than having Romney as President.

At the Winning for America rally, Kay Rivoli implied that November's election

was not about the best candidate but rather about choosing between the lesser of two

evils. Rivoli stated, "a lot of people say they aren't going to vote for either candidate

because they don't like either one of them." To those not planning to vote, Rivoli argued,

"they may as well vote for Barak Obama and fly their white flag for socialism." She

continued the scolding, stating that "others say they are going to look at that third-party

candidate." Rivoli admonished those looking at write-in or third-party candidates, as

follows:

> In the history of our nation, a write-in candidate has never been elected
> President . . . Never in the history of our nation has a candidate been
> elected from a third party. It is NOT GOING TO HAPPEN (emphasis by
> speaker). It will be a wasted vote. If you march in to those polls and do a
> write-in or third-party . . . stay home. Don't do that though. You need to
> look at where we're at right now and look at the two candidates you've
> got. You're either going to vote for Barak Obama or you're going to
> march to those polls and vote for Mitt Romney and Paul Ryan.

Rivoli continued, explaining why Romney was in fact a good choice – or more

appropriately, the better choice:

> Based on our beliefs, we can enthusiastically and energetically march to
> those polls. We will vote for freedom and liberty . . . we will vote for the
> Constitution and the Bill of Rights . . . we will vote for Mitt Romney and
> Paul Ryan.

Rivoli completed her diatribe by assuring the crowd that she and her husband "love this

candidate and want your help promoting his campaign." The Rivoli Revue then

performed a song titled, *Romney and Ryan 2012*. Access to the song, through an online

link, was provided so everyone in the crowd could influence friends and family to vote

for Romney in November.

Despite the emphasis on voting, speakers at each of the rallies identified other

forms of civic engagement viewed as more important for long-term political success. A

number of speakers emphasized that public officials do not work for corporations but

rather the people. Tea Partiers were encouraged to make their voices heard, as noted in

this pre-recorded message by Ted Nugent that included specific directions, intended for

not only those in attendance but for all Americans:

> Every day of the year, we should be telling our elected officials that you
> work for us. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights is your work order.
> You will adhere to it or we will fire you.

Similarly, Dave Kopp, President of the Arizona Citizens Defense League, reminded the

crowd that "legislators work for you." Townsend encouraged attendees to be aware and

informed of all bills going through Congress. As each bill approaches a vote, every

person should email his or her congress person to express support for, or resistance to, an

issue. While email correspondence is important, Townsend encouraged the crowd to take

the time to pick up the phone and "inundate Congress with phone calls [for] one call has

the weight of fifty people." These messages, and others, were intended to fuel demands

for change by overwhelming legislators with communication.

The final approach for promoting long-term change is active involvement by Tea

Partiers at the local precinct level of government in their respective communities.

Precinct delegates engage in a number of important functions in the political process.

Speakers at the Unity Rally and Day of Resistance rally identified a number of these

functions, including: 1) identifying issues of importance at the local level; 2) increasing

networking opportunities for those with common interests and beliefs; 3) assisting in the

implementation of government programs; 4) aiding in selection of political candidates for

key positions; and 5) coordinating Get-Out-The-Vote programs. Townsend emphasized that participation at the level of precinct committee is important for bringing "strong leadership with conservative values" to the party. She acknowledged that political participation can be tedious and time consuming but admonished the crowd to refrain from being "patriot[s] of convenience." Townsend ended her address with the following directive: "if you don't like the parties, take them over . . . be a patriot lobbyist." This directive to "take over the parties" was both clearly stated and implied by speakers at each of the rallies. Civic engagement, as a form of active participation in the political process, was portrayed as the most important tool for Tea Partiers to become a part of the political system, in an effort to change America from the inside out.

Analytical Summary

A major concept advanced by cultural criminology is the embeddedness of power in everyday social relations. As another example, Garland (2001) approaches political views as a form of ideology. From this perspective, ideology guides government and private actors as they "experience and make sense of changing social circumstances and new predicaments, and the intellectual and technical means that they develop for dealing with them" (p. 25). Ideology is an abstract concept, implied through one's communication and behavior, and reinforced over time across cultures and within groups. A fundamental concept of ideology is the security that can be found in one's values and beliefs (Neocleus, 2007), while separating those who share a particular belief system from those who do not. Certainly, many observations of ideology construction are evident among the Tea Party interactions. Organizational mission statements, websites,

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and internal documents, as well as messages exerted during group functions, provide an indication of the political views, or ideological beliefs, advanced by the Tea Party.

References to limited government, constitutional values, and fiscal responsibility, advanced through mission statements of the Tea Party affiliates, clearly promote the political ideology of economic conservatism, as described by Zumbrunnen and Gangl (2008). Tea Partiers advocate for free-markets, ideologically viewed as producing "more favorable outcomes than does government" (p. 204) and necessary for achieving the American Dream. Tea Partiers recognize government as a necessary institution, but its "economic, social and moral influence must be kept within very definite limits" (p. 205). Tea Partiers believe political officials operate outside of these limits, which some construe as corruption. Tea Partiers perceive corporate bailouts as interfering with market processes. Corporations, viewed as responsible for poor business dealings that resulted in negative ramifications for the market, were rewarded with government "handouts" according to Tea Partiers. Furthermore, Tea Partiers are frustrated with policies viewed as destroying the economy, such as out-of-control spending, high unemployment, income tax increases, and the Affordable Care Act. Participants perceive these policies as infringing on Constitutional rights by restricting freedom of future generations resulting from the creation of unsustainable debt.

Traditional views of the nation-state, including belief in the rule-based institutions seen as crucial to its development, provide the ideological basis of the Tea Party. From this political perspective, the organization claims to resist power and control in their efforts to promote a more "traditional" system. Frustration with "liberal policies" indicates, in their minds, a concerted effort to resist what they describe as an over-

reaching government.   According to Tea Partiers, big government correlates to oppressive power and control. Tea Partiers believe that increased bureaucratization actually reinforces the role of government in society. Tea Partiers subscribe to and fear this particular concept that increased government is equated to decreased freedom, explaining their frustration with government.   These very efforts demonstrate a cultural criminology framework as Tea Partiers – portrayed as outsiders – attempt to resist efforts by the state – insiders – to exert a culture of control over the middle and working classes.

The progression of the industrial revolution, resulting in increased trade and the development and expansion of a capitalist economy, promoted the nation-state. During this era, ruling elites altered the form of the state that now operates in conjunction with capitalism (Lewin & Kim, 2004). Returning to 1896, J.P. Morgan demonstrated why government "needed" capitalism. Had President Cleveland not entered the agreement with Morgan to purchase gold through government bonds, the consequences for the U.S. may have been catastrophic.   In turn, corporations needed government, as political officials' exerted efforts to gain corporate support through the development of policies that would protect economic interests – of both groups.

State sovereignty, another concept of the nation-state, reinforces efforts by the state to control those people that it is responsible to protect. In the "name of protection," the federal government has instituted regulations to protect its citizens.   Increased regulations of the auto and food industries, energy corporations, healthcare providers, and the education system result in power and control over the citizens of the nation. In addition, increased regulations coincide with higher prices of goods and services to consumers.   While Tea Partiers are not resistant to safe vehicles and food, or licensed

healthcare providers and teachers, they are frustrated by costs associated with increased regulations.   Analyzing this frustration by the Tea Party from a cultural criminology framework, increased financial costs incurred by Americans can be equated to increased control by insiders. Simply, increased control by the state limits opportunities for economic success – and consequently personal success – by the middle and working classes, according to the Tea Party.

Tea Partiers believe a reasonable solution is to reduce government regulations, which participants perceive as creating an economic disadvantage for small business owners. More appropriately, participants believe that only large corporations and elites can afford to implement mandated regulations, leaving small businesses unable to compete in a global market.   These constraints are viewed as quashing access to the American Dream – an ideological construction per se, and one in direct contradiction to how some scholars view the term. Decreased regulations may support the development and sustainability of small businesses; however, this type of political and economic environment also promotes corporate expansion. Consequently, corporations gain increased power and control over social, economic, and political processes, reinforcing the power structure that Tea Partiers claim to resist.

Tea Party organizations encouraged participants to engage in the political process. Levels of civic engagement promoted through mission statements and during Tea Party functions included voting, contacting legislators, and pursuing precinct committee positions. Ironically, Tea Partiers are encouraged to become part of the system they criticize. Messages advanced during Tea Party functions, and through organizational websites, emphasize that change needs to occur through a combination of education and

involvement. Organizational functions are intended to "educate" participants of the

"principles of limited government, fiscal restraint, and individual liberty"

(theteaparty.net). Tea Partiers are then encouraged to become involved in political

processes to advance these principles across all levels of government, including local,

state, and federal offices, to promote change from within the system. Quite simply, Tea

Partiers believe that if enough candidates, with similar values, are elected to public office,

then these officials will be able to pass a budget, reduce the national debt, and reverse

policies viewed as increasing government bureaucracy and limiting individual freedoms.

Here, we see a curious conflation of ideology and behavior: Tea Partiers are encouraged,

and indeed embrace, the opportunity to become insiders of a power structure they deeply

criticize, while at the same time they are often rebuked by the same insider structure.

Tea Partiers are not opposed to government. The group believes the state is

necessary for guaranteeing the "protection of life, health, liberty, and private property

against violent attacks" (Tamanaha, 2004, p. 520). Based on these views, Tea Partiers

believe government should protect citizens from global threats (such as other nations) or

local threats (such as those who attempt to exert harm against individuals or property).

However, as long as corporate and financial elites, in partnership with public officials,

control political processes, Tea Party members will struggle to promote lasting change in

Washington. As Amy Kremer stated during the Winning for America rally, "these

people go to Washington and get caught up in the power . . . then their objective becomes

keeping that power and they forget who they work for." Here we observe the power of

an ideology that gathers subscription from its advocates, becomes a bedrock of its

policies and efforts, yet relinquishes authority and control back to the status quo.

Cultural criminology demands that we move away from secondhand information and instead engage in on-the-ground observations, which allow an insider view of meaning construction. This research has done that. Tea Party functions have provided a wealth of data that demonstrate ideology manufacturing (e.g., government is the enemy of the American Dream), strategy building (e.g., avoid social issues at all costs), and election goals proposed to build and insider presence. A number of freshman Tea Party candidates made it to Washington during the 2010 mid-term elections. Will they be any different than the previous officials, or will they succumb to the same system of insiders? If these new congressional members resist corporate influence and economic greed, how will they overcome the current system that reinforces itself through promoting candidates that protect the current system? Or, will these political officials, with big aspirations for change, become part of the system they sought to resist? A full discussion in the final chapter will attempt to answer these questions.

Chapter 5 - Occupy Wall Street: Change through Resistance

> What politician in this success-worshiping country really wants to be the
> voice of poor people? . . . the things that liberalism once stood for –
> equality and economic security – will have been abandoned completely.
> Abandoned, let us remember, at the historical moment when we need them
> most.
> > *What's the Matter with Kansas?* Frank, 2004

> The power to invest or not invest, and to hire and fire employees, leads to
> a political context where elected officials try to do as much as they can to
> create a favorable investment climate to avoid being voted out of office in
> the event of an economic downturn.
> > *Who Rules America? Challenges to Corporate and Class*
> > *Dominance,* Domhoff, 2010

As these quotes imply, this chapter aims to evaluate the values and orientations

advanced by Occupy Wall Street (OWS), both internally and as portrayed to the public.

In other words, I wanted to know OWS from its own internal perspective.   The chapter

begins with a general description of Occupiers, as reported from the Occupy Research

Network (2012), Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey, then

continues with a description of the organization's *Call to Action* and *Declaration of*

Occupation. Group activities, identified through content of web pages, documents, and

participant observations, address the manner in which OWS responds to the current

political milieu.   While OWS represents a host of organizations, both nationally and

globally, two specific domains, which represent the organization as a whole, were the

focus of this research, including: www.occupywallstreet.org and

www.facebook.com/OccupyWallSt#!. Paralleling the study of the Tea Party, I utilized

concepts outlined in the theoretical model, including ideology, social control, and power.

Themes that emerged from the data included: 1) identifying the enemy; 2) ask me why I

occupy; and 3) promoting resistance and considering arrest.   Analysis of the noted

themes reveals motivations of OWS participants, providing insight into the ideas and actions of the organization. This information guides the understanding of conscious efforts, promoted by the organization, to resist the status quo.

Who is Occupy Wall Street?

The Occupy Research Network, *Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey* (2012), provides an overview of participants including average age, race, socio-economic status, political affiliation, and political perspectives. The *Call to Action* and *Declaration of Occupation* provide goals and objectives. Upon entering the field research phase, this information provided important comparison as I sought to determine: Who is Occupy Wall Street?

Survey Depictions of Participants. Table 5.1 portrays some results from the Occupy Research Network (2012), Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey, depicting those who self-identify as OWS participants as follows:

Table 5.1 Survey Results Depict Demographics of Occupy Wall Street Participants

Demographics of Occupy Wall Street Participants

Sex	Percent
• Male	43.7
• Female	52.9
Age	
• 18-24	12.5
• 25-44	45
• 45-64	33.9
• 65 and Over	7.6
Race	
• White/Caucasian	80.8
• Latino/Latina	5.3
• Native American/Indigenous	4.3
• Asian	4
• Black, African, or African-American	2.9
• Biracial/Multiracial/Mixed Race	4.4
Marital Status	
• Have Partner/Married	46.8
• Single	38
• Divorced	10.9
Household Annual Income	
• Less than $10,000	10.6
• $10,000-$19,999	13
• $20,000-$29,999	11.7
• $30,000-$39,999	10.2
• $40,000-$49,999	8.9
• $50,000-$59,000	7.1
• $60,000-$69,000	5.4
• $70,000-$79,000	5.3
• $80,000-$89,000	4.1
• $90,000-$99,000	3.0
• Over $100,000	12.6
Education	
• Not a High School Graduate	1.7
• High School Graduate	4.4
• Some College	23
• College Graduate	41.1
• Post Graduate	29.8
Employment Status	
• Currently Employed	60.8
• Temporarily out of Work	7.6
• Not in the Market for Work	8.7
• Retired	7.9
Social Class	
• Working	29.7
• Lower Middle	19.5
• Middle	37.1
• Upper-Middle	12.5
• Upper	1.2

Compiled from Occupy Research Network (2012), Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey

80.8 percent of responders identified themselves as white and 52.9 percent were women. Marital status indicated that 46.8 percent of respondents were married. Most responders (57.5 percent) were younger than 45. The majority of responders, 79.3 percent, earned less than $100,000 in 2011. Of those making less than $100,000, 54.4 percent made less than $50,000. Responses to inquiries of social class indicated that 86.3 percent identified themselves as working, lower-middle, or middle class. Over 70 percent of respondents reported having a college degree, as follows: 41.1 college graduate and 29.8 post-graduate degree.

While the survey provided a statistical portrait of OWS participants, the results were merely averages of total responses. In reality, Occupiers did not fit any particular mold. As noted in in the December 31, 2011 edition of *Occupy the Press: An Independent Grassroots Publication*, "one of the beautiful aspects of the Occupy movement is that each city is free to approach Occupy in whatever manner it feels is appropriate" (p. 7). This statement was indicative of participants and activities as no two observations produced a typical Occupier or function.

Despite some differences, early analysis of survey results hinted at a number of similarities between Occupy and Tea Party participants. On average, Occupiers were somewhat younger than Tea Partiers, less apt to be married, and more apt to be women. However, participants of each group reported similar annual incomes and of similar socio-economic status. Interestingly, almost 40 percent of participants, from each organization, reported political affiliation as Independent. In addition, a majority of Occupiers and Tea Partiers agreed that economic issues were a major concern facing the nation.

Field observations of Occupy Tampa yielded conflicting results compared to those from survey depictions.   Occupiers in attendance consisted of two distinct groups: 1) those in their early 20s who identified themselves as college students; and 2) those in their mid-40s and older. Those in attendance at Occupy Denver and Occupy the Debates were primarily over the age of 30 although there were younger participants at each function. There appeared to be more men at Occupy Tampa and Denver; however, there appeared to be more women at Occupy the Debates. The majority of participants at each function were Caucasian, however, there were participants of African-American, Hispanic, and Middle-Eastern descent at Occupy Denver and Occupy the Debates. At Occupy Tampa, two African-Americans joined the function later in the day. Prior to that, the only other attendees of African-American decent were neighborhood children who entered the park to eat during meal times. The 2013 Local to Global Justice (LTGJ) Teach-In – held on the campus of Arizona State University in Tempe, AZ – yielded very different results.   Occupy Phoenix general assembly, which generally met on Friday evenings, did not convene on this particular date specifically so participants could attend the LTGJ Teach-In. Those in attendance varied between a large group of traditional undergraduate and graduate students, under the age of 30, and a large group of college professors, over the age of 40. Attendees were primarily women.   Similar to the previous functions, the majority in attendance was Caucasian but participants of other racial and ethnic backgrounds were also present.

Turning to political viewpoints, table 5.2 portrays results, from the Occupy Research Network (2012), Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey, depicting those who identify themselves as OWS participants as follows:

Table 5.2 Survey Results Depict Political Views of Occupy Wall Street Participants

Political Views of Occupy Wall Street Participants	
Political Affiliation	**Percent**
• Democrat	37
• Independent	38
• Republican	1.9
• Other	17.2
Most Important Problem Facing the Country	
• Income Inequality	47.5
• Money in Politics	25.5
• Corporate Greed	18.5
• Student Debt/Access to Education	17.4

Occupy Research Network (2012), Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey

37 percent identify with Democrats, while 38 percent identify as Independents or not aligned with a particular party. However, OWS as an organization reports that participants "express no allegiance to any political group" (Parramore, 2011, p. 209). The majority, 76 percent, reported voting for President Obama in 2008 but only 45 percent planned to vote for him in 2012 (Occupy Research Network, 2012). When asked what led respondents to support OWS, several issues were identified as areas of concern: 47.5 percent identified inequality and anger with the one percent; 25.5 percent identified money in politics and frustration with Washington D.C.; 18.5 percent identified corporate greed; and 17.4 percent expressed concerns with student debt and access to education (Milkman et al., 2013). OWS *Call to Action* and *Declaration of Occupation* would support findings associated with issues of income inequality, and frustration with corporate and political corruption. References to those goals and objectives follows.

Call to Action **and** *Declaration of Occupation*. Occupy Wall Street, as an organization, lacks a formal mission statement, indicated by web content, internal documents, and participant reports. Instead, OWS promotes a *Call to Action* (occupywallst.org) that states the organization's purpose. This section identifies and discusses key components of the *Call to Action*. This statement was posted to the

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organization website September 17, 2011, concurrent to the first demonstration at

Zuccotti Park in New York City (Writers, 2011; Wolff & Barsamian, 2012). OWS is

represented by a conglomeration of groups worldwide and describes itself as a "leaderless

resistance movement with people of many colors, genders and political persuasions. The

one thing we all have in common is that We Are the 99% that will no longer tolerate the

greed and corruption of the 1%" (occupywallst.org). Corporations and elites represent

the one percent that OWS professes to resist in the *Call to Action*.

The OWS *Call to Action* identifies several core facts to justify their resistance

toward corporations, including: 1) corporations control society through the electoral

arena; 2) due to economic control that corporations hold, they are able to maintain

political control; and 3) implementing term limits will not resolve this issue as "many in

the political class already leave politics to find themselves part of the corporate elites"

(occupywallst.org). The *Call to Action* identifies a "need to retake the freedom that has

been stolen from the people" (occupywallst.org). Occupiers describe freedom as the

right to communicate, live, be, go, love, and do without being burdened by others; the

right to maintain the fruits of one's labor; and, the right of all "workers" to engage in a

democratic decision-making process at their place of employment. OWS argues that

"freedom for some is not the same as freedom for all, and that freedom for all is the only

true freedom" (occupywallst.org). The *Call to Action* identifies two specific barriers that

prevent access to freedom: 1) ideas that promote property as more valuable than life; and

2) oppressive power. OWS describes the state and corporations as "two sides of the same

oppressive power structure" (occupywallst.org), preserved by the mainstream media.

This pursuit of freedom against the oppressive power structure prompts the *Call to Action*.

OWS calls on the people to act through multiple approaches. First, OWS calls for the organization of protests and assemblies in cities and communities – nationwide and globally – to disrupt the system. Second, OWS calls for democratization of American culture. This will be accomplished, as noted in the call to action, at two levels: a) as workers seize or occupy control and reorganization of the workplace; and b) as students and teachers seize or occupy the classrooms in a collective partnership to free minds and teach democracy. Third, OWS calls for those who are either neither employed nor students, to use their skills in the development of democratized communities. Fourth, OWS calls for the people to seize or occupy abandoned buildings and land to promote their use for freedom and democratization. The *Call to Action* ends with a "call for the revolution of the mind as well as the body politic" (occupywallst.org) against social injustices.

The revolution against social injustice took form of a written declaration, modeled after the U.S. Declaration of Independence (Parramore, 2011), and accepted by the New York City General Assembly, September 29, 2011. Similar to the *Call to Action*, the declaration promoted a united front of the people to rise against a corrupt system plagued by corporate influence of government (www.facebook.com/OccupyWallSt#!). The general assembly compiled the declaration in an effort to inform the world of the facts, according to Occupiers, demonstrating abusive economic power by the corporate elite. The *Declaration of the Occupation of New York City*, which can be read in its entirety in Appendix H, closed with the following charge to the people to assert their 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 . . . Join us and make your voices heard.
www.facebook.com/OccupyWallSt#!

This charge appeared to lead OWS demonstrations across the U.S. as participants

expressed frustrations with perceived injustices throughout society.

Themes

With reference to the overarching concepts of ideology, social control, and power,

several themes emerged from the data. In general, these themes represent ideas and

strategies that reinforce beliefs advanced by OWS organizations. The first theme to

develop was **"identifying the 'enemy.'"** A certain pattern of messages promoted during

OWS functions tended to criticize those individuals, groups, or institutions viewed as

oppressive to the 99 percent. The next theme was **"ask me why I occupy,"** which

identifies why individual participants chose to become involved with OWS. The final

theme to develop was **"promoting power through resistance,"** which identifies efforts

by the organization to resist the state, visibly representative of the oppressive enemy

identified in the first theme. A sub-theme that demonstrated efforts by OWS to promote

power was the conscious effort to either be arrested or avoid arrest.   The following

sections address each theme, followed by discussion identify the political perspectives of

the organization.

Identifying the 'Enemy.' The OWS *Call to Action* and *Declaration of*

Occupation clearly identify frustration with corporate elites, viewed as blocking

democracy by Occupiers. These communications tie all social injustices to corporate and

economic influence. According to OWS, true democracy cannot be attained when

political processes and the people's voice is blocked by what appears to be extremely

unbalanced economic power (www.facebook.com/OccupyWallSt#!; www.occupywallst.org). Observations made during OWS functions, and analysis of organizational materials, tended to reinforce these claims. A number of messages advanced by Occupy Tampa, at Voice of Freedom Park, aligned with the OWS *Call to Action* as evidenced by anti-corporate attitudes displayed on signs throughout the encampment. Some of the signs expressing discontent with corporations – directly as well as indirectly – read as follows:

> When mutual aid is before profit and self-interest . . . that is community!
>
> We the people. No kings – corporate or otherwise – the Founding Fathers never intended for the 14th Amendment to apply to 'Corporate Personhood.'

Anger expressed directed at 'corporate personhood' seemed to guide OWS. Discussion of this concept follows.

'Corporate personhood' dates back to a 19th century Supreme Court case that challenged the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause. The case – *Santa Clara County v. Southern Pacific Railroad* (118 U.S. 394, 1886) – afforded corporations the same constitutional protections as individuals (Hartmann, 2010). More than 100 years later, the Supreme Court decision in *Citizens United vs. Federal Election Commission* found that corporations, associations, and unions have the same First Amendment rights as individuals in regard to political speech (558 U.S. 310, 2010). This decision overturned a previous ban on corporations making election related independent expenditures. Consequently, Occupiers believe that corporate dollars would have more power to influence political processes, limiting the voice of the 99 percent. *Occupy the Press: An Independent Grassroots Publication,* a regular newspaper printed for the OWS

organization, published a number of articles referencing corporate personhood. One

article, published in the November 12, 2011 edition, emphasized that the "heavy hand of

corporate capitalism was enriched by 'laissez-faire stalwarts' on the Supreme Court . . .

ushering in a period of corporate monopolization protected by the due process clause."

Chomsky (2012, p. 55) reinforces this argument, emphasizing that the "concentration of

wealth leads almost reflexively to concentration of political power, which in turn

translates into legislation, naturally in the interests of those implementing it." Following

frustration with corporate and economic elites, advanced by corporate personhood,

Occupiers also target capitalism as supporting the enemy.

Efforts by OWS to target capitalism reinforce frustration with corporate and

economic elites. OWS functions and organizational materials demonstrated the belief

that unfettered capitalism supports the one percent. Occupiers were not anti-capitalists

but rather angered by political policies that promoted increased wealth acquisition by the

one percent.   One particular sign at the Occupy Tampa campsite read, "Today capitalism

has outlived its usefulness – MLK." Back issues from *Occupy the Press: An Independent

Grassroots Publication* included a number of articles identifying frustration with the

capitalist system. Articles primarily targeted social wrongs perceived to be created by

corporations.   Topics included the negative impact corporate farms have had on the

agriculture industry; use of child labor in Malawi in tobacco procurement; and profits

generated for incarceration by the private, for-profit business industry. Occupiers view

unfettered capitalism as supporting and reinforcing corruption along corporate lines.

An additional enemy portrayed by OWS is a combination of the political,

military, corporate, and academic establishments. Anger expressed toward these entities

portrays OWS as advancing an anti-establishment attitude. Most expressions of

discontent noted during observations and from organizational materials reinforce this

particular viewpoint. Signs at Occupy Tampa, expressing discontent with the

establishment, read as follows:

> Rise up. The system is broken!
>
> Foreclosures, money-laundering, HFT's & bond bid-rigging, exchange
> rate manipulation, the whole London, whole sensation. These trillions in
> white collar crime steals directly from me and mine. 5 years and 2
> elections as we suffer as they buy mansions, their accomplice, the state,
> stands by. This is why we occupy.

These messages support the OWS *Call to Action* claiming that "state and corporation are

merely two sides of the same oppressive power structure" (www.occupywallst.org) as do

materials made available at demonstrations.

Internal documents retrieved at the Occupy Tampa campsite and Occupy Debates

in Denver described the state and corporations as oppressive. Materials targeted toward

the state expressed frustration equally between Democrats and Republicans, described as

"two faces, one monster." An informational packet provided for Occupiers arriving in

Tampa for the Republican National Convention, indicated the following need:

> . . . for a world free of violence, domination, and exploitation. The
> message of the Republican Party (and the Democratic Party, for that
> matter) is more economic, political, and ecological destruction. IT IS UP
> TO US TO INSPIRE CHANGE – and – support the transition to a POST
> CAPITALIST future.

The quote implicates both political parties for advancing policies that benefit corporate

and personal interests while oppressing the people.

Expanding on criticism targeted toward both political parties, materials retrieved

at Occupy the Debates in Denver described the national presidential debates as the

"Grand Puppet Show." A flier pictured one face, portraying Republican candidate Mitt Romney on the left – identified as "Robama" – and President Barak Obama on the right – identified as "Obomney." The face, controlled by a hand guiding a marionette, was intended to represent corporate influence over the candidates. Other materials, promoted by OWS as an organization, addressed similar frustrations toward the political establishment.

An article published in the November 12, 2011 edition of *Occupy the Press: An Independent Grassroots Publication* focused on the history of the Federal Reserve and the role of the U.S. government in its protection. Tina, the author of the article, noted that many Occupiers believe "both political parties have used the power of the Federal Reserve to secure the wealth of the top 1%." Similarly, an article written by Tom, in the December 31, 2011 edition of the publication stated the following:

> What I know is that while the two-party system has sold us out, Occupy cannot be purchased. Both parties have been so wrapped up in beating each other up on CNN and Fox News that they have forgot the rest of us. They are supposed to stick up for our social causes. They could care less that so many of us have no health care, jobs, education or the opportunity to alleviate our situation. They only care about getting theirs.

Frustration toward corporations and political processes gave way to further anti-establishment sentiments.

Materials provided at Occupy the Debates included a flier that read, "Stop the empire before it destroys us all." Pictured under the slogan was a man dressed as both Uncle Sam and a professional. "Academia" and names of corporations were printed on the man's hat. He held a cannon launcher in one hand and shook the money from a much smaller man's pockets in the other. The flier implicated political, military, corporate,

and academic establishments as the empire, acting collectively to oppress the 99 percent. Some Occupiers believed that academic institutions were the training grounds for the political, military, and corporate elites. Messages such as these, expressing frustration across the system, gave way to assertions of discontent targeted toward specific groups or individuals.

Several signs and displays at Voice of Freedom Park in Tampa, Florida expressed discontent with the Republican Party. Chains wrapped around a gold painted paper mache' elephant implied the connection between the Republican Party and corporate interests as a target of discontent. A very large banner, displayed at the main exit of the park read: "Republican National Convention: Coming to a Police State Near You." Additional signs were displayed late in the afternoon by a couple, appearing in their mid-50s, who reported "joining the protest against the convention." The signs contained messages of discontent targeted toward three specific groups: 1) conservatives and their stance on a variety of social issues; 2) Republican officials and their connection to corporate interests; and 3) Wall Street. The signs implicating conservatives and Republicans read as follows:

- Tea Parties are for Little Girls with Imaginary Friends;

- Keep your Mitts off our Birth Control;

- It's my Body. It's my Vagina. Get over it GOP, you Patriarchal Woman Haters;

- Keep Your Mittens off My Vagina;

- Want to See Pussy Riot? Elect the GOP;

- GOP 2012. Your Grand Old Party on Koch;

- Romney has a Koch Problem. Billionaires buying Millionaires for Tax & Regulation Relief;

- If you wouldn't let Dick Cheney raise your kids . . .Why would you let his corporation dictate their future? End Citizens United.

Occupy Tampa was the only location where observations identified criticism aimed directly at the Republican Party. With the City of Tampa hosting the Republican National Convention, it was no surprise that anti-Republican sentiments were expressed.

The OWS newspaper included a limited number of articles that targeted high profile conservatives. An article in the January 14, 2012 issue, titled "How 90 Voters Can Rig a Presidential Election," explained the Supreme Court ruling in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* that allowed for "independent political broadcasts in candidate elections." Ken, the writer of the article, identified Newt Gingrich's connection to Citizens United. In addition, the article identified a number of former aids of Mitt Romney who developed a Political Action Committee (PAC) that would take advantage of the Court's ruling in the 2012 presidential election. Beyond this particular article targeting high profile conservatives, the publications I had access to generally included anti-establishment rhetoric.

Mainstream media outlets were quick to label OWS as a leftist or liberal organization. Survey results reported at the beginning of this chapter seemed to reinforce this label to some extent. For these reasons, I was surprised by the number of participants, and references in organizational materials, that directly criticized President Obama, or more specifically his policies. Parramore (2011, p. 211) acknowledged that anyone who spends five minutes at an Occupy campsite will "notice that many of the

protesters are openly critical of Obama – as they are of a whole swath of politicians."

Materials provided at, and speakers who shared during, Occupy the Debates were highly

critical of the President. A brochure that was available at the workshop negatively

targeted the President's war record. The brochure, picturing Barak Obama and former

President Bush, criticized the President for authorizing acts of war in six countries. In

contrast, former President Bush had authorized acts of war in four countries. In addition,

several speakers throughout the event stated that "President Obama is not the best

candidate . . . but the lesser of two evils." The President was criticized for additional

corporate bailouts, his environmental policies, and the Affordable Care Act. Occupiers

viewed each of these policies as "corporate-friendly" and oppressive to the 99 percent.

Messages advanced during OWS functions and through organizational materials

identified an enemy of the group. Participants expressed frustration with unfettered

capitalism, believed to promote corporate and elite interests of the one percent, while

oppressing the remaining 99 percent. Furthermore, many Occupiers believed the

political, military, corporate, and academic establishments worked together to advance

corporate interests while oppressing those not part of the system. Attitudes advanced by

the organization provide insight of the overarching ideology representing OWS.

Ask me why I Occupy. Individual Occupiers supported OWS and participated in

organizational functions for a variety of reasons. Each set of observations yielded

different explanations for participant involvement with the organization. Participants of

Occupy Tampa believed it was their responsibility to "provide information to, educate,

and inform the masses of the injustices committed by the status quo," as scripted in the

OWS *Call to Action*. Participants at Occupy Denver and Occupy the Debates reported

personal hardships due to actions on the part of the one percent. Those attending the

L2GJ Teach-in were prepared to learn a variety of tools they could use to make the world

a better place. Participants from each location supported OWS but participated in a

different manner and for different reasons. Based on this information, I do not believe

there was a "typical" OWS participant or type of activity to advance the organization.

Occupy Tampa was represented by a small group of participants that I describe as

professional protesters. While these individuals were not paid to protest, they travelled

from city to city to engage in OWS encampments including, but not limited to, New York

City, Boston, Washington, D.C., Charlotte, North Carolina, and now Tampa. A common

denominator of this group was lack of responsibility tying them to a household, family, or

career. One participant, who appeared to be in his 50s, reported retiring due to a

disability encountered on the job. Retirement allowed him to survive on his company

pension and disability while serving as an active protester for OWS. Others reported

being college students, participating in OWS encampments during summer break. The

fall semester was set to begin shortly after field observations at this site, indicating a

potential closure of the OWS camp at the Tampa location.

Participants at Occupy Tampa engaged in a wide range of activities and meetings,

as they occupied Voice of Freedom Park, to express anger with the one percent. Posters,

paper mache' masks, and other works of art were made at the arts and crafts section, an

important component of the campsite. Masks were used for a variety of skits

demonstrating political and corporate oppression of the 99 percent. Meetings focused on

a diverse group of topics with most providing information about mass movements,

activist training, and individual rights if arrested. This group believed they were

successful in their efforts to increase awareness of the 99 percent. Conversations focused on making the world a better place and ensuring justice for the people.

Individuals attending Occupy Denver general assembly were a much different group than those at the Occupy Tampa encampment. Those in attendance included a diverse group of participants, self-identified as academics, professionals, college students, homeless individuals, and others. Following the OWS structure for assemblies, a few members of the group took the lead, conducting an organized forum for attendees to share their story and express frustration with those perceived as responsible for their personal oppression. Topics included, but were not limited to the following:

- negative lending practices on the part of mortgage institutions, resulting in foreclosure of one participant's home;

- excessive student debt;

- inadequate public education system;

- lack of expendable income in correlation to hours worked, preventing several participants from overcoming debt;

- concern for future generations and the lack of opportunities afforded America's youth;

- endless wars that negatively impact Americans and people in war torn countries;

- corporate greed on American soil and abroad.

Many participants spoke of situations through personal experience, sharing hardships they had endured. Others spoke in more generic terms, describing social injustices of a broad nature. Most speakers expressed lack of hope for the future, primarily due to lacking hope in their own situations.

Occupy the Debates in Denver was a structured workshop intended to introduce a dialogue of issues that participants believed should be the focus of the upcoming Presidential Debate. One of the speakers described the debates as a "great performance by great actors," whose scripts were written specifically for the performance. In contrast, the people of America did not have their scripts written but rather demanded a dialogue around the real issues facing the 99 percent. Several participants in the workshop described their interest in OWS and identified specific issues that the "candidates should be debating." Each participant seemed to have a different experience, but each identified situations perceived as lacking justice, reinforcing their purpose for participating in OWS. An explanation for why some of the participants "occupy" follows.

A young man, identified as a masters' student, expressed frustration regarding an endless cycle facing his generation's limited access to success. To get a job, one must have a college education, but to have an education, one must have money. To get money, one must have a job, but to have a job, one must have an education, and the cycle continues. He noted urgency for social change as follows:

> Unless something is done . . . to shift the way that we interface with society, the way that we enter relationships with the broader spectrum of the economy, of the world, and find our place . . . unless we do something to change the way that systematically happens in society . . . me and my little brother and sisters and the whole lot of us are going to become slaves to debt . . . the same way that Greece and the people of Greece are being crushed under the heal of international finance. The same way the rest of the world will follow that fate if we don't do something. I occupy because I know it's going to take people acting now rather than waiting for things to get worse . . . if we're ever going to see over this horizon and actually see something good on the other side.

Several attendees must have clearly understood what the young man was sharing, for they gave affirmative statements and nodded in agreement.

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An Iranian woman, who had achieved naturalization in the U.S., identified herself as a teacher in the Denver public school system. She provided an historical reflection of King Cyrus of Persia, dating back to 500 – 600 B.D., a time referred to as the "dawn of human rights." She emphasized the King's respect for human dignity and his effort to "liberate Jews and others from captivity" and oppression. She identified similarities between King Cyrus "declaration of human rights and the U.S. Constitution." She went on to explain how corporate corruption violates human rights, implicating U.S. oil companies specifically, as follows:

> Every time the people rise to elect a democratic government [in Iran], they (U.S. oil companies) corrupt yet another dictator . . . [through] a military coup, wars, or revolution . . . our recent revolution was orchestrated by these corporations . . . and we were given the gift of religion this time so people do not turn into socialists/communists or they don't try to nationalize the oil. Did you know that the world of nationalization is nastier than the world of communism and socialism to these corporations? If they nationalize our oil, that means people are in charge of it and they cannot get anything out of it. So, the recent disagreement between the U.S. and Iran is not about nuclear weapons. It is all about Iran not wanting to sell their oil to the west.

She went on to explain the consequences of war in Iran including the death of children. Furthermore, her son, who is a member of the U.S. military, would be deployed to kill her sisters and brothers who remain in Iran, or to be killed himself. These actions would all be in the name of preserving corporate interest in oil.

Several other participants discussed their reasons to occupy and why the Presidential debates should address the real issues facing Americans. At the conclusion of the opening session, a woman introduced as the workshop coordinator thanked all who shared, emphasizing the following:

> People occupy for so many different reasons . . . [but] all of our issues are connected . . . all of us that are struggling for a better world . . . meet the

same obstacles . . . and it's this corporate control of our political process, the corporate control of the media. The debates are just one more expression of what's going on in this country, where we have a private corporation that calls itself a commission . . . and they decide who gets to debate and then what topics will be allowed to be talked about within a very narrow spectrum . . . but Occupy the Debates is about showing that there is so much more depth and breadth to the people of this country . . . people who have wisdom to solve the real issues.

Similar to those who attended the Denver general assembly, most workshop participants expressed concerns with the current state of affairs based on their own experiences. These were individuals who had lost their homes in the housing crisis, taken on considerable amounts of student debt to earn a college degree, or experienced hardships resulting from forced unemployment. These were real people looking for real solutions to the injustices in their lives. The remainder of the workshop provided an opportunity for attendees to identify solutions to the problems facing Americans through an open dialogue.

Occupy Phoenix cancelled the weekly general assembly in order for participants to attend the annual L2GJ Teach-In at Arizona State University in Tempe, Arizona. Correspondence with a representative of Occupy Phoenix noted the "teach-in identifies issues of injustice" similar to OWS. The theme of the 2013 teach-in was 'Justice for Women, Justice for All' that "reflects persistent struggles of women in the U.S. and internationally for equity, control of their bodies and lives, equal pay, and voice in matters affecting everyone," as noted in the event program.   Attendees included a combination of university faculty, graduate, and undergraduate students from a variety of majors. The sessions addressed many topics from self-improvement to social and criminal justice.   Sessions that most closely supported the OWS *Call to Action* included: 1) Media Justice for Arizona: What it is and How to Reclaim the Media; 2) Creating a

Worker-Owned Business; 3) Industrial Unionism; and 4) Creating Communities of Awareness. The sessions were conducted in a variety of formats ranging from educational to skills-based, all providing tools for participants to make positive changes in their communities.

Field observations of OWS functions identified that individuals participated in OWS for a variety of reasons.   Explanations varied among those who wanted to protest what they perceived as oppression by corporate and economic elites; those who had experienced personal hardship; and those who hoped to bring about positive change in their communities, states, or even globally. Regardless of reasons for participating in the organization, field observations indicated that none of the participants or functions yielded what could be characterized as a "typical" Occupier.

Promoting Power through Resistance. Effective mobilization of grassroots political organizations occurs as participants agree on specific ways to engage in collective action (McCarthy, 1996). OWS, as an organization, boasts the use of the "revolutionary Arab Spring tactic to achieve our ends and encourage the use of nonviolence to maximize the safety of all participants" (www.occupywallst.org). An article in the November 12, 2011 issue of *Occupy the Press: An Independent Grassroots Publication* describes nonviolent action the "collective pursuit of social or political objectives without using physical force or the threat of physical force." The article goes on to emphasize that nonviolent action involves the use of "economic, social, emotional, moral, and political pressures in face opposition."   Acts of nonviolent protest can include "symbolic acts of peaceful opposition" such as lobbying, contacting legislators, or signing a petition. A tool of nonviolent protest frequently used by OWS included acts of

noncooperation, described as "refusal to carry on normal social relations with people or groups regarded as doing injustice." Non-cooperative tools of mass protest, advanced through OWS demonstrations, primarily included sit-ins that impeded traffic and prevented citizen access to public offices. Other activities comprised of general assemblies, rallies, and workshops.

In an effort to increase awareness, some participants advocated for educating those within their personal groups of the oppressive tactics of the one percent. Occupiers identified members of one's personal group as friends, family, neighbors, co-workers, classmates, and professional and religious affiliations. Participants would increase awareness informally by sharing the OWS call to action. More formal options for educating members of one's personal group included invitations to participate in a sit-in or march, or to attend a general assembly or workshop. While these approaches were generally non-confrontational, other participants preferred an entirely different approach for increasing awareness.

OWS, as an organization, encouraged sit-ins and marches as a means of expressing discontent with the status quo. Efforts during these activities served two functions: inconvenience and publicity. Occupiers created an inconvenience by blocking access to transportation resources and office buildings in an effort to prevent members of the corporate class from reaching their place of employment. Additional attempts at inconvenience were directed at the state, including state offices and law enforcement agencies, as occupiers blocked access to roads, state capitals and office buildings, all while refusing to follow direct orders.

The second function included efforts to promote the OWS message: We are the 99 percent. There was limited to no mainstream media coverage in the first week of protest activity. Occupiers utilized social media, including live video feeds to Facebook and Twitter to advance their message. However, video coverage of an incident involving Occupy U.C. Davis generated widespread anger toward law enforcement for pepper-spraying a group of seated Occupiers. When Participants remained seated, officers then forcibly removed and arrested the group (Stelter, 2011). This particular incident, and a number of similar law enforcement responses across the nation, did not garner coverage by the mainstream media. Lack of coverage brought a barrage of complaints against the media for failing to report on the organization and state reactions (Writers, 2011). During the next twelve months, OWS would be the focus of many headlines, although the content would not always reflect positively on the organization. Further discussion regarding content follows in chapter 6. Efforts to utilize the press, on behalf of occupiers, led to the following subtheme: to be or not to be – arrested.

To be or not to be – arrested? Media coverage of OWS participants reported a number of arrests at events across the nation. Mass arrests occurring in New York City, such as on the Brooklyn Bridge, spawned much of the publicity. While the arrests certainly increased coverage of the organization, participants played an important role in whether arrests occurred. Internal documents, provided at OWS events, and field observations at OWS functions, indicated efforts of planning and decision making that served as precursors to one's arrest. Discussion indicated that participants clearly understood what actions would result in their arrest as well as actions to avoid for preventing one's arrest. References were made to arrest, as reported by Kimberly in the

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December 31, 2011 edition of *Occupy the Press: An Independent Grassroots Publication:*

> They tell us not to be afraid to get arrested. Well, I am not afraid to be arrested, but being arrested is not my goal when I attend an Occupy event. Sending a message is my goal.

This was a common attitude by a number of participants within OWS. Several believed their message resonated much more loudly when they were arrested. Consequently, the organization took great strides to ensure the protection of those who chose to "cross the line," which would inevitably result in their arrest.

Observations during Occupy Tampa provided a number of opportunities to "listen" to conversations between small groups of participants. One particular discussion occurred between four men, all of who reported "working shifts" during the day rather than residing at the park. The men reviewed what actions would and would not lead to their arrest during the Republican National Convention as provided by the Tampa Police Department.   During this conversation, one man stated, "I have no reservations about getting arrested."   A handout provided at the campsite, compiled by the National Lawyers Guild, provided arrest information for those attending the Republican National Convention. Some actions that would ensure one's arrest included actions that promoted violence, such as yielding a weapon and engaging in, or encouraging, any form of violence.   The handout also included information about state and local laws that Occupiers should be aware of, including, but not limited to the following: traffic laws, unlawful assembly, resisting arrest, assault or battery on a law enforcement officer, disorderly conduct, and sidewalk obstruction. In addition, the following statement and supporting information was included:

Under the new temporary Tampa RNC ordinance, law enforcement may also subject people to citation or arrest on a sidewalk if you are carrying any of the listed prohibited materials: masks; sleeping and camping gear; photography, videotaping and audio-recording equipment; signs, banners and stick supports.

Other actions that would ensure one's arrest included entering a prohibited location, indicated by the presence of barriers. Those who did not have access to a prohibited location – viewed and treated as outsiders – clearly did not have the same privilege to be a part of what was taking place with insiders.

Regardless of reasons for arrest, OWS ensured participants had access to information to protect their individual rights through written materials and workshop presentations. The National Lawyers Guild (NLG) served as an important resource for OWS participants (Chomsky, 2012). The NLG website describes the organization as follows:

The National Lawyers Guild is a national non-profit legal and political organization comprised of lawyers, legal workers, law students, and jailhouse lawyers . . . [representing] progressive political movements, using the law to protect human rights above property interests and to attain social justice.
(www.nlg.org/)

During observations at Occupy Tampa, an attorney representing the NLG conducted a "Need 2 Know" workshop. The attorney provided those in attendance with a small booklet entitled, *You Have the Right to Remain Silent: A Know Your Rights Guide for Law Enforcement Encounters*. The workshop trained participants in a number of issues including: 1) participant responses to law enforcement; 2) how to gain the attention of media outlets; 3) how to contact the NLG for representation when arrested. Occupiers also had the opportunity to ask questions of the attorney. Reinforcing the group's status as outsiders, discussions implicated "when" arrests occurred as opposed to "if" they

occurred. The information provided would be most relevant to those participating in marches and events scheduled during the Republican National Convention. The presence of law enforcement was not a factor at the Voice of Freedom Park. Unlike those who were arrested for blocking the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City or blocking the entrance to the New York Stock Exchange, participants of Occupy Tampa did not engage in any activities that inconvenienced the state, as noted through observations at the campsite.

Similar discussions, with similar responses, were noted at the conclusion of Occupy the Debates in Denver. At the conclusion of the Occupy the Debates workshop, occupiers planned to march from the workshop location to the Colorado State Capital building. The location of the capital was approximately two blocks from the workshop. One man directed a discussion focused on actions for participants to take in the event law enforcement became involved. Because the march took place on a Saturday evening, outside of traditional business hours, when workers and citizens would not be attempting to enter or exit the capital, law enforcement had no interest in the OWS activities. Participants were not an inconvenience to anyone and therefore, police responses were unnecessary and not a factor. However, as occupiers planned to make a presence during the first Presidential Debate, scheduled the following week, law enforcement responses would more than likely be a factor.

OWS plans, to increase awareness of the oppressive efforts of America's elite against the 99 percent, guided the organization's *Call to Action*. Efforts to inconvenience the status quo were instrumental in demonstrating discontent with the current state of affairs. The media was an important element, not for publicizing the efforts of those

eager to rebel against the system, but for increasing awareness of the organization, leading to increased access to online resources provided by the organization. This combination of factors, as well as the collective attitudes behind the actions, reinforced the political views of the organization. These views will be discussed in the following section.

Analytical Summary

Returning to cultural criminology, a major concept approaches how power is embedded in everyday social relations, through ideological constraints. Garland (2001) argues that ideology is a basic tenet of political views. This section addresses observations of the cultural – and hence political – perspectives constructed by OWS. The OWS *Call to Action* and *Declaration of Occupation of New York City*, websites, internal documents, and messages observed during group functions, indicate the political views, or ideological beliefs, advanced by the organization. Occupiers promote a system of democracy; however, participants believe the U.S. currently functions as an elitist democracy where groups of "insiders," represented by corporate and political elites, amidst competition with one another, rule society while participation by the public – "outsiders" – is limited (Neuman, 2005). Efforts to resist an elitist democracy are intended to make way for a participatory democracy that advances a system where "active, equal participation by all people in nonpolitical institutions has a powerful educational function that fosters, and may be a critical precondition for, a genuine political democracy" (2005, p. 42). OWS believes participatory democracy promotes social responsibility and integration. Social responsibility refers to the mutual relationship an individual has with others, where everyone works together for the

common good of all. Social integration describes the unity individuals share with other

members of the community. OWS believes that only through a participatory democracy,

can the U.S. truly be a civil society.

Some pundits reported that OWS functions and encampments advanced

communism due to participants engaging in quasi-communal lifestyles. However,

Occupiers believed organizational efforts demonstrated the effectiveness of a

participatory democracy.   Observations of Occupy Tampa indicated the campsite was

organized in a manner that was both comfortable and practical for all participants.   Every

Occupier was encouraged to have a voice in, and responsibility to complete, daily tasks,

keeping the site neat, serving meals, and advancing the OWS *Call to Action*. Participants

wanted to be free; free from corporate influence; free from state intervention; free from

social constraints advanced by these "insiders."   These encampments demonstrated that

people could function successfully in a participatory democracy.

Reports correlating OWS with communism would lead one to believe that the

organization resisted capitalism; however, this assumption was not accurate. Occupiers

did not resist capitalism but believed greater constraints on corporations would reduce the

disparity between the one percent and everyone else.   Some participants in Occupy

Tampa events and Occupy the Debates were successful by the nation's standards, either

as business professionals or academics. This group clearly did not represent the one

percent but had achieved some personal level of success based on discussions with

others. The business professionals indicated, through conversations with other occupiers,

and during general assemblies, that political policies were "creating a financial hardship"

for their companies.   Similarly, those representing academia, expressed concerns with

"the influence of lobbyists on the political class." The message by those representing the professional and academic classes implied that efforts to achieve success were negated by the current political climate; therefore, greater economic control of corporate interests would reduce the barriers to their own success.

Occupy functions provided a wealth of data that demonstrate resistance of an overarching ideology advanced, and reinforced by, a capitalist structure (e.g., capitalism has benefitted the corporate and economic elite through oppression of the 99 percent); strategy building (e.g., with enough resistance, the current system with crumble); and development of a new system, indicative of participatory democracy, to replace the existing system once it fails. These perceptions of a participatory democracy, absent of influence by the corporate and political elites, advances the political beliefs advanced by OWS. The organization promotes the political ideology of modern liberalism, described by Turner (2007) and Tamanaha (2008). In general, Occupiers advance the following beliefs:

- communities must work together to raise families;

- wealth promotes class warfare and should be equalized through redistribution of wealth;

- society must be tolerant of all lifestyles; however, those who possess absolute standards of right and wrong should not be tolerated;

- all people of all nations call the world home; state or national sovereignty interferes with globalism;

- members of society should work collectively to maintain communities.

Most importantly, the organization believes that a "concentration of wealth yields concentration of political power" (Chomsky, 2012, p. 28). For democracy to function in the manner Occupiers believe the founding fathers intended, money cannot be part of the equation.

The primary message promoted by OWS, identifying the economic disparity between the elite class and the rest of the population, introduced a national dialogue critical of the current conditions of inequality. Despite the emphasis by Occupiers – labeled as outsiders – for government to disperse power and wealth across society, I do not believe participants recognize how these principles reinforce an ideology of power and control. Progressivism entered the political arena after the turn of the twentieth century to promote the same objectives advanced by OWS. Values promoted then included limitations to privileges afforded corporate interests and emphasis on equality of power and wealth (Haveman et al., 2007). The intentions of the progressive movement were to create a society where everyone had equal opportunity for success. The consequences of the movement created something very different through the development of bureaucratic organizations, which reinforced and even produced a new group of insiders, that became a source of power themselves (2007). This very power continues to constrain the 99 percent today.

The welfare state developed to promote equality throughout the U.S. Garland (2001) argues that the development of the welfare state was instrumental for producing a culture of control. As more people needed support of social programs, the bureaucratic machine increased, resulting in greater control over the lives of Americans receiving support. Consequently, as more programs and opportunities to expand equality are

introduced, larger bureaucratic agencies will follow. In addition, efforts to reduce

inequality have actually produced the opposite as the one percent produces greater wealth

and the 99 percent loses. For these reasons, OWS efforts may have the unintended

consequence of reinforcing political control throughout society.

OWS organizations encouraged participants to resist insiders, represented by the

political (state), social (media), and economic (corporate) institutions, through sit-ins,

marches, and campouts, all primarily targeted toward inconveniencing the state. Efforts

to resist the state resulted in acts of greater opposition toward participants by the state.

Simply, the more resistance exerted by OWS participants, the greater response – or

reaction – by the state.   Consequently, efforts of resistance by OWS were intended to

crumble the structural constraints of the status quo. Counter efforts included negative

framing by media outlets and criminalization of behavior by the state. All the while,

corporate and economic elites remained in the one percent. Political protest on the part of

OWS, and counter resistance on behalf of the current power structures identified here,

demonstrate the cultural criminology framework, including the structural constraints of

culture, and the development and reinforcement of meaning.

Chapter 6 - Media and State Responses: It is about Control

> I hate to be a kicker, I always long for peace,
> But the wheel that does the squeaking, is the one that gets the grease.
> Josh Billings, *The Kicker*

As this poem implies, those individuals or groups that act in a manner most contradicting to social norms will generally garner the most attention. This chapter aims to examine the manner in which the media and state, representing "insiders," respond to activities of competing grassroots political organizations, representing "outsiders" – namely the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street (OWS). Specifically, the chapter compares each organization's campaign claims as depicted by the *New York Post* (NYP) and *New York Times* (NYT). Analysis determines whether each media affiliate provides a balanced depiction of the two groups and whether one group demands more attention. Several themes developed from the data. The first theme, **"Occupy Wall Street starts strong; Tea Party wins by a landslide,"** responds to the number, and consistency, of media reports referencing each organization. The next theme that developed from the data is **"Media portrayals acknowledge frustration of grassroots organizations,"** which represents coverage of issues internal to each organization. **"Misfits, vagabonds, and nincompoops"** identifies efforts by the media to describe participants as outsiders. **"Have a quiet, orderly, and polite revolution"** identifies media efforts to criticize acts of protest. The final theme that developed from the data is **"The self-righteous versus the misguided,"** which describes media efforts to criticize efforts by grassroots organizations to change the status quo. The latter three themes demonstrate media efforts to frame grassroots organizations in a negative manner, which reportedly influenced state responses toward participants.

The chapter continues with a comparison of state responses toward each group as follows: 1) media reports of state responses; and 2) reports made by city officials in communities where both groups coordinated rallies or demonstrations. Analysis determines whether state-sponsored activities favor or control one group over the other. Two primary themes developed from the data. The first theme, **"insider or outsider,"** addresses media portrayals of arrests of group participants. The second theme, **"you can have your revolution within our guidelines,"** identifies efforts by the state (specifically communities) to manage protest by grassroots organizations. The chapter ends with discussion demonstrating this presence of an overarching culture of control, within a cultural criminology framework, stemming from structural impediments that resist efforts to change the status quo. Despite differences in approach by each organization, media efforts to frame acts of protest negatively promote – or reinforce – state responses to members of each organization.

Media Responses toward Grassroots Organizations

> Media outlets have the "power to convey information [as well as] the assumed ability to shape attitudes, opinions, and beliefs."
> *Who owns the Media*, Compaine & Gomery, 2000

As this quote implies, this section addresses the impact of media sources for influencing public perceptions of participants of grassroots political organizations. Despite the fact that an increasing number of people access news information online (Morone, 2013), approximately 48 percent of adults (Kirchhoff, 2009) still retrieve information from newspapers. This demonstrates the importance of the print media for constructing the development of meaning through influencing public opinion. A series of pre-tests were conducted that included a number of print media, as identified in chapter 3.

In an effort to control for possible bias due to geographic coverage, coupled with a reasonable number of articles from the New York publications in the pretest, I determined that the *New York Post* and *New York Times* were the most reasonable selection for this study.   The following discussion addresses how these particular print media portray the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street.

Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) (Altheide, 1996), within a cultural criminology framework (Ferrell & Hamm, 1998; Ferrell, 1999; Ferrell et al., 2008) provided the methodological tools to analyze how the media portrayed the Tea Party and OWS.   Quantitative analysis was utilized to "determine the objective content of messages" (p. 15) in measuring the frequency of media coverage for the two organizations.   In addition, qualitative analysis was utilized to evaluate the specific content of media coverage. Themes emerged from print media as I reflected on content and how it compared to internal organizational materials and participant observations. Full citations of articles referenced in this chapter, from the *New York Post* and *New York Times*, can be viewed in chronological order in Appendix I – Citations: Content Analysis. Discussion of each theme follows.

Occupy Wall Street Starts Strong; Tea Party Wins by a Landslide. Tables 6.1 and 6.2 illustrate the total number of articles from the NYP and NYT that made mention of OWS from September 17, 2011, and the Tea Party from February 19, 2009, both through March 4, 2013. The tables do not reflect content or quality of the reports. Calculations in each table reflect the increase or decrease in coverage from the previous period.   While the organizations were not competing for publicity, per se, the frequency of reports alluded to which group was creating the greatest "noise" at a particular time

frame. The tables demonstrate that OWS garnered the greatest amount of media

coverage early in organizational activities while the Tea Party had twice as many

references overall.   The Tea Party captured more reports due to the organization being

active more than twice as much time as OWS. However, the type of activity promoted by

each group garnered different types of publicity, at different periods of time during

organizational functions.

Table 6.1 demonstrates that OWS garnered the greatest increase in media

coverage early in organizational activity.   Little attention was paid to participants until

live video, streaming police responses posted online by the organization, raised curiosity

of the press. Coverage then exploded into the third and fourth weeks and remained fairly

consistent throughout the remainder of the first year of activity.

Table 6.1 Newspaper Coverage of OWS September 17, 2011 – March 4, 2013

Period of newspaper coverage	NYP	NYT	Percent of Change from Previous Period
First two weeks of organizational activity September 17, 2011 – October 1, 2011	2	35	_
Second two weeks of organizational activity October 2, 2011 – October 17, 2011	62	222	667.5
First two months of organizational activity September 17, 2011 – November 17, 2011	244	679	225
First three months of organizational activity September 17, 2011 – December 17, 2011	338	955	40
Six months of organizational activity September 17, 2011 – March 17, 2012	423	1234	28.1
Nine months of organizational activity September 17, 2011 – June 17, 2012	506	1398	14.9
First year of organizational activity September 17, 2011 – September 16, 2012	539	1542	9.29
Second year of organizational activity (first six months) September 17, 2012 – March 4, 2013	47	123	-91.8
Total number of articles published during research period: September 17, 2011 – March 4, 2013	584	1660	

Calculated from Lexis/Nexis Academic retrieved 03/15/2013: http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?

Success by the organization, as one reporter noted, was the "significant influence on American politics, making economic inequality – and specifically the top "1 percent" – a major issue in the national dialogue" (NYT, April 1, 2012). However, evaluating press coverage from the perspective of a "protest paradigm" (Brasted, 2005) would indicate reports were focused more on the protestors than issues of inequality that spawned protest. OWS did not maintain consistent media coverage of organizational functions beyond the first year of protest. Coverage decreased tremendously going into the second year. This may be attributed to the crumbling of the organization. However, a more appropriate consideration is a change in the type of functions engaged in by participants. OWS has continued to remain active, specifically in terms of maintaining the organizational website and Facebook page. Functions including marches and broad scale sit-ins, which blocked entrances to transportation outlets and public offices, did not continue into the second year. Consequently, as acts of active protest were brought to an end, media coverage plummeted as well.

Table 6.2 illustrates the greatest increase in media coverage of the Tea Party occurred during the second year of organizational activity. In the final weeks of the Tea Party's first year, Scott Brown defeated Martha Coakley in Massachusetts' special election to fill the late Ted Kennedy's senate seat. The significance of this victory resulted in ongoing coverage into the second year as the Tea Party supported candidate defeated the Democratic candidate in a seat that had been occupied by Mr. Kennedy for nearly 47 years (NYP, January 20, 2010; NYT, January 21, 2010). Furthermore, the 2010 mid-term elections reflected the influence of the Tea Party. As noted by Zernike (2010, p. 195), "138 candidates for congressional offices ran on a Tea Party platform"

resulting in 47 "elected to the House of Representatives, and five to the Senate." More

than half of the freshman class in the House was represented by Tea Party candidates.

Consequently, media coverage of the Tea Party remained consistent into the third year as

political processes felt the impact of the Tea Party through debate surrounding the debt

ceiling, the Affordable Care Act, and sequestration.

Table 6.2 Newspaper Coverage of TP February 19, 2009 – March 4, 2013

Period of newspaper coverage	NYP	NYT	Percent of Change from previous period
First month of organizational activity February 19, 2009 – March 19, 2009	3	8	–
First two months of organizational activity February 19, 2009 – April 19, 2009	4	16	81.8
First three months of organizational activity February 19, 2009 – May 19, 2009	10	46	180
Six months of organizational activity February 19, 2009 – August 19, 2009	14	68	46.4
Nine months of organizational activity February 19, 2009 – November 19, 2009	20	103	50
First year of organizational activity February 19, 2009 – February 18, 2010	44	207	104
Second year of organizational activity February 19, 2010 – February 18, 2011	182	1148	429.8
Third year of organizational activity February 19, 2011 – February 18, 2012	183	1429	21.2
Fourth year of organizational activity February 19, 2012 – February 18, 2013	63	1049	-31
Total number of articles published during research period: February 19, 2009 – March 4, 2013	471	3865	

Calculated from Lexis/Nexis Academic retrieved 03/15/2013: http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?

In addition, references to the organization continued in the press due to affiliations of

particular members of Congress with the Tea Party.

Returning to the methodological framework of this study, ECA included an

interpretive and interactive process that guided the qualitative analysis of key concepts.

The concepts of ideology, social control and power structured early analysis of media reports. Additional concepts important to the overall analysis focused on the following in regard to the Tea Party and OWS: 1) how the media shaped the "attitudes, opinions, and beliefs" (Compaine & Gomery, 2000, p. 539; Cavendar, 2004) of readers; 2) how the media viewed issues of discontent and methods of civic engagement by the organizations; and 3) whether the media identified solutions to each group's grievances (2004). Several themes developed from these concepts. The first theme, "media portrayals 'acknowledge' frustration of grassroots organizations" identifies references by the media that reflect grievances expressed by each organization. However, as the remaining themes indicate, acknowledging grievances does not equate to understanding or empathizing with participants. The next theme, "misfits, vagabonds, and nincompoops" describes efforts by the media to label Tea Party and OWS supporters as "outsiders," dismissing the goals of each organization. The third theme, "have a quiet, orderly, and polite revolution" identifies media efforts to criticize acts of protest that divert from reporters perceptions of "reasonable" activities. The final theme, "the self-righteous versus the misguided" indicates the media's approach for separating "insiders" – the self-righteous – from "outsiders" – the misguided. Outsiders, or the misguided, reflect the perception portrayed by media of grassroots organization participants. Discussion of each theme follows.

Media Portrayals 'Acknowledge' Frustration of Grassroots Organizations.
Information reported in chapter 4 about the Tea Party and chapter 5 about OWS sets the framework for understanding each organization's political platform. Grievances expressed by each group provide insight as to why the organizations initially formed.

Simply restated, Tea Party participants were frustrated with an over-reaching federal government, viewed as limiting free-market opportunities for the middle and working class, as indicated in organizational mission statements and expressed during functions. OWS participants were frustrated with corporate influence of the political establishment and society in general, contributing to economic inequality and quashing democracy, as noted in Web content, organizational documents, and expressed during demonstrations. The construction of meaning that developed these grievances, targeted toward those institutions that represented the current power structures, guided efforts of political resistance by Tea Party and OWS participants.

Media attempts to capture grievances of each organization are demonstrated in Table 6.3. Data coded by topics of discontent seem to accurately reflect Tea Party grievances, particularly when noting the number of references to discontent with government, candidates, legislation, and political structure. References made to discontent with the political structure in correlation with OWS are quite similar to the Tea Party; however, the number of references to discontent with government, candidates, and legislation are significantly lower for OWS. This is inconsistent with the "anti-establishment" attitude OWS portrayed in many of the materials distributed at organizational functions. In contrast, topic coverage clearly captured OWS' frustration with issues of inequality as demonstrated in the table. Similarly, OWS' frustration with corporations is also indicated by the data.

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Table 6.3 Media Coverage of Topics of Discontent

Topic of Discontent	Tea Party	OWS
Discontent with Government (does not fit a specific category below)	20	7
Discontent with Specific Candidates	50	4
Discontent with Specific Legislation	50	5
Discontent with Concepts of Power (does not fit a specific category below)	4	6
Discontent with Academia	4	4
Discontent with Capitalism	3	6
Discontent with Corporations	15	25
Discontent with Inequality	10	47
Discontent with Political Structures	34	33

Calculated from Data Coded in NVIVO 10 Qualitative Software

The Tea Party provides some indication of discontent with corporations, although to a lesser extent than that portrayed by OWS. This is consistent with the message conveyed on Tea Party affiliated web sites, and expressed during Tea Party functions. Tea Partiers were not as frustrated with corporations as they were with government policies viewed as protecting corporations in spite of what participants believed were poor decisions.

Besides capturing the topics of discontent expressed by grassroots organizations, specific reports also reflected grievances from participants of each group. Reporters from both the *New York Post* and *New York Times* seemed to grasp participant demands from each organization. Early analysis indicates specific reports accurately reflected Tea Party grievances as indicated in quotes from the following articles:

> Call it the ballot-box confirmation of the Tea Party movement, a growing sign that voters are in revolt when it comes to sky-high taxes and bloated, unchecked government spending (NYP, November 4, 2009).

Tea Party events exploded last winter, as increasingly large gatherings protested the federal stimulus bill, government bailouts and proposed health care legislation (NYT, January 26, 2010).

Tea parties . . . people who oppose unrestrained spending, government takeover of health care and the unrestricted idea of borrowing against our future (NYP, April 15, 2010).

The center of the Tea Party argument is that Congress has usurped powers it was never granted in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, which contains what is commonly referred to as the commerce clause. The section mentions roughly 20, including the power to collect taxes, to pay debts, to 'provide for the common defense and welfare of the United States,' and to regulate commerce 'with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes.' . . . It is not that they want no government regulation; Tea Party supporters believe that much of what the federal government regulates should be left to the states, where voters hold a shorter leash (NYT, July 3, 2010).

A startling 40 percent of voters across the country said they now back the Tea Party movement's push to lower taxes and shrink government (NYP, November 3, 2010).

They are sticking to the Tea Party principles that got them elected: Control spending, cut deficits and debt, keep taxes low, shrink government (NYP, April 25, 2011).

As indicated in the selected quotes, both the NYP and the NYT captured grievances of

Tea Party organizations similar to those expressed by the organization.

Just as the Tea Party garnered accurate publicity from the NYP and NYT, so did

OWS, as indicated below:

Protesters are angry about the 2008 Wall Street bailout that they say allowed banks to reap huge profits while average Americans have suffered through high unemployment and job insecurity . . . demonstrators are also campaigning against other perceived social and economic inequalities, including the gap between rich and poor, as well as what they regard as a corrupt political system (NYP, October 9, 2011).

At this point, protest is the message: income inequality is grinding down that middle class, increasing the ranks of the poor, and threatening to create a permanent underclass of able, willing but jobless people . . . the initial outrange has been compounded by bailouts and by elected officials' hunger for campaign cash from Wall Street, a toxic combination that has

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> reaffirmed the economic and political power of banks and bankers, while ordinary Americans suffer (NYT, October 9, 2011).
>
> Occupy Wall Street . . . a movement protesting wealth inequality and urging more government action against banks and corporations, which are seen by the protesters as being responsible for the current economic downturn (NYT January 1, 2012).
>
> . . . the sheer magnitude of the gaps between rich and the rest – the theme of the Occupy Wall Street protests, which emphasize the power of the privileged to protect their interests (NYT January, 5, 2012).

Again, early analysis reveals the media recognized and accurately portrayed grievances expressed by OWS as indicated in these quotes.

Early results reported above indicate accurate portrayals of both the Tea Party and OWS by the NYP and NYT. However, if "market-driven journalism" (McManus, 1994) creates a situation favorable for generating profits rather than reporting objective news (Herman & Chomsky, 2001), results of media depictions could be misleading, or even inaccurate. Further analysis supports McManus' concept of "market-driven journalism" as the media demonstrates interest in profits. Although media reports do not necessarily lack objectivity, stretching Herman and Chomsky's claims, many reports are misleading. When media attention focuses on the most dramatic claims about a topic, the context of the information is often lost (Pratt, 2007). The following analysis demonstrates how the context of the message promoted by the Tea Party and OWS is lost due to the manner in which media portray each group.

Misfits, Vagabonds, and Nincompoops. As an "insider," the media has an important role in constructing culture through the development of meaning. Simply, how a particular issue is framed will influence whether the public views the situation positively or negatively. Articles in the NYP and NYT reported a wide array of reactions

toward the Tea Party and OWS. Coverage of each organization varied from those critical of political platforms or participants to a recognition of the organization's frustration but critical of participant's efforts to change the social order. In addition, both newspapers included quotes by others who were critical of the organizations. The following discussion approaches this theme as reported by the NYP and the NYT.

Media outlets frequently quoted those who were critical of the Tea Party organization and its followers. Some critics lacked substance in their complaints, resorting to name-calling to describe the Tea Party and participants. The NYP quoted those engaged in name-calling as follows: Janeane Garofalo "slandered Tea Partiers as 'rednecks,' 'racists,' and dummies" (NYP, April 15, 2010); The NYP quoted NYT columnist Joe Nocera in describing "Tea Party Republicans as 'terrorists' who are on 'jihad' against America and wear 'suicide vests'" (NYP, August 17, 2011). The NYT joined in, reporting that "Keith Olbermann called Scott Brown, the senator-elect from Massachusetts, 'an irresponsible, homophobic, racist, reactionary, ex-nude model, teabagging supporter of violence against women and against politicians with whom he disagrees'" (NYT, January, 23, 2010).

Media outlets also included quotes from those who were critical of OWS and its participants. Similar to reports of the Tea Party, some resorted to name-calling to describe participants. Articles from the NYP reported several criticisms of OWS participants. A frustrated bystander of the protests stated, "There is no cohesive message. They want gay rights, animal rights – they're talking about the bank bailout – and they're not doing anything about it. They're nincompoops" (NYP, October 9, 2011); others described participants as "leftist, lazy losers" (NYP, May 5, 2012); and, Susanah Corey, a

Wall Street worker, described OWS participants as "stupid people . . . [and] lazy bastards" (NYP, September 18, 2012). The NYT also criticized participants as one reporter noted after visiting Zuccotti Park, "it became clear to me that Occupy Wall Street, which began with a small band of passionate intellectuals, had been hijacked by misfits and vagabonds looking for food and shelter" (NYT, September 15, 2012). In addition to name-calling, reports were also very critical or organizational tactics, specifically toward OWS, as identified in the next theme.

Have a Quiet, Orderly, and Polite Revolution. Writers from the NYP and NYT – acting as insiders – were often critical of those portrayed as outsiders. Specifically, articles that depicted OWS participants as "lacking control" had the consequence of negatively influencing public opinion, and even criminalizing efforts of resistance. Reports criticized participants for methods of protest, as follows:

> Newly sprung ex-cons and vagrants rousted from other parks are crashing the Occupy Wall Street protest, where gourmet meals are free and boozy, drug-fueled parties are on tap (NYP, October 26, 2011).

> Nearby merchants – who have complained of vandalism, theft and threats from the squatters – welcomes the increased police presence (NYP, November 10, 2011).

> This squalid, crime-infested sleep-in would be intolerable in any part of town, but in Downtown Manhattan, it's unforgivable (NYP, November 11, 2011).

> These anarchists are turning the city into a circus. I applaud the actions of the NYPD. Enough is enough (NYP, November 18, 2011).

> If you have something, really, to say, that would be a great contribution, nobody can hear you when everybody's yelling and screaming and pushing and shoving (NYT, March 20, 2012).

> Almost from the beginning, when the movement began gaining steam, it was hijacked by anarchists who thought that destroying things and other people's property was some form of protest. It is not, and most Americans with common sense recognize that. What began as a good idea was

quickly turned into a joke that was highlighted by criminal acts and numerous arrests (NYP, May 5, 2012).

While we are sympathetic to many of the O.W.S. protesters' stated goals, we do not support the seizure of private property (NYT, June 19, 2012).

Reports, such as these, characterized the organization in a negative manner. Negative publicity was effective for generating profits (Herman & Chomsky, 2001). As noted in the NYT, "the movement's first days did not receive much news coverage, it soon turned into a media frenzy" (NYT, September 15, 2012). Bad news sells (Pratt, 2007) as media outlets emphasized the conflict generated between OWS and law enforcement. A writer from the NYT captured this claim, reporting that "media coverage has tended to focus on civil disobedience because that is where the action is" (NYT, October 10, 2011). Reports such as these lost the context of the message that many participants felt so strongly about.

The Self-Righteous versus the Misguided. Reporting quotes such as these in reference to the Tea Party and OWS kept the dialogue from the real issues. Whether intended to criticize those quoted or one of the organizations, the results were the same. In reference to the reports of name-calling, readers either focused on the immaturity of those quoted or they identified members of the Tea Party or OWS by the names reflected in the quotes. In reference to the reports describing "lack of control" during OWS protests, readers were led to view participants as violent and acting outside of the law. Regardless of how readers approached the articles, the real issues – perceptions of an out-of-control federal government or economic inequality – were lost in the context of the messages.

Other reports, while more accurate in describing each organization, were also misleading. A number of articles accurately portrayed what the Tea Party represents but

cautioned against the political perspective, or world-view, of participants.   Reporting on

the organization's first national convention, one writer shared the following:

> Folks here at the Tea Party . . . talk about all the good America stands for in the world, how their country is under constant threat from terrorists, and how they are completely fed up with a tax-addicted federal government that is out of touch and out of control. These are principled people who are quick to point out that even worse than being a liberal of the enemy Democratic camp is being a Republican unfaithful to conservatism. But they have a big problem. Outside this protected political snow globe, all their idealism crashes and falls apart against the rocky shoals of reality. The political world they want to influence is a world of compromise and accommodation. It is no place for 'purity' and that is precisely how the American Founding Fathers designed it (NYP, February, 6, 2010).

Similarly, a number of reports emphasized a non-compromising approach on the part of

Tea Partiers in the political realm.

> Republicans today see opposition as a way back to power in November, and their party is more ideologically anti-tax than in the past, especially now that it is courting the Tea Party movement. Conservative activists so oppose compromise of any sort . . . (NYT, February 17, 2010).

> It's hard to imagine how the kinder, gentler Boehner will control his 87 freshmen, many of them lacking government or legislative experience, let alone the gene for compromise (NYT, February 27, 2011).

> The grass-roots protesters in the Tea Party and elsewhere have certain policy ideas, but they are not that different from the Republicans in the 'establishment.' The big difference is that the protesters don't believe in governance. They have zero tolerance for the compromises needed to get legislation passed . . . It's grievance politics, identity politics (NYT, February 28, 2012).

> Being a Tea Party supporter is more a religion than a political philosophy. They believe so deeply and fervently in it that they see no need for either message massage or actual compromise. While most Democrats and Independents want politicians to compromise, Republicans don't . . . For this brand of Republican, there is victory in self-righteous defeat (NYT, February 9, 2013).

These reports demonstrated a consistency of behavior among the Tea Party, from early in

the movement through more recent reports. The media seemed to capture participant

grievances. In addition, congressional members, with Tea Party affiliations, had approached legislative processes with minimal regard for compromise.

Media reports do not capture an explanation of why Tea Partiers view "victory in self-righteous defeat." Analyzing this non-compromising attitude within a culture of control clarifies such an approach. Compromise, in the eyes of the Tea Party, does nothing to reduce the amount of control exercised by what they see as an overreaching government. Tea Partiers believe that once programs or spending in a particular domain are implemented, they remain a part of the social and political spectrum. More simply put, participants believe that once a particular form of legislation is passed, it does not seem to go away or come to an end. As Tea Partiers see it, engaging in compromise would result in new legislation, thus supporting government expansion and fiscal irresponsibility. Again, regardless of how readers approached the articles, the real issue central to the Tea Party was lost in the context of the messages: participant beliefs of an out-of-control federal government.

A number of articles accurately portrayed what OWS represents but questioned whether any true change would result from participant efforts, as indicated by the NYP and NYT:

> Gov. Cuomo has said he understands the protesters' anger but that he has to balance it with the economic importance of Wall Street to the state (NYP, October 9, 2011).

> Six months after the Occupy movement first used protests and encampments to turn the nation's attention to economic inequality, the movement needs to find new ways to gain attention or it will most likely fade to the edges of the political discourse (NYT, April 1, 2012).

> Occupy Wall Street did not have a plan . . . which was its downfall. 'It's well intentioned . . . but occupying a small park in downtown New York is

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pure symbolism. It doesn't change the distribution of wealth' (NYT, September 9, 2012).

Occupy Wall Street simply would not engage with the larger world. Believing that both politicians and corporations were corrupt, it declined to dirty its hands by talking to anyone in power. The takeover of the park – especially as the police threated to force the protesters out – became an end in itself rather than the means to something larger. Occupy was an insular movement, whose members spoke mainly to each other (NYT, September 15, 2012).

While some reports questioned the hope of true change, others questioned the consequences of change.

Media portrayals, questioning the consequences of OWS efforts, reinforced the structural constraints of the status quo.   Some reports had the consequence of dividing society between the "real outsiders" – OWS – and the "real insiders" – the middle class. For instance, several articles reported doubt whether OWS participants understood the ramifications for the middle-class if the organization was successful in meeting its demands. Many representing the 99 percent were not a part of the organization. However, protest by Occupiers was described as inconveniencing, or even hurting, those who were not part of the one percent. These concerns are noted in the following quotes:

Mr. Bloomberg also suggested that the protesters were misguided, emphasizing that financial institutions employ large numbers of New Yorkers – many of them not wealthy executives. 'The protestors are protesting against people who make forty, fifty thousand dollars a year and are struggling to make ends' meet – that's the bottom line' (NYT, September 30, 2011).

One officer told a protester the group was hurting the people they were supposedly rallying for by shutting down the bridge. 'Who do you think you're inconveniencing?' the cop asked. 'The 99 percent! The 1 percent are watching this from their penthouses' (NYP, October 2, 2011).

'This isn't an occupation of Wall Street. It's an occupation of a growing, vibrant residential neighborhood in lower Manhattan, and it's really hurting small business and families . . . we've worked hard to protect the

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> demonstrators' First Amendment rights, but other people have rights, too'
> (NYP, November 3, 2011).

> OWS has often hurt the same people it says it wants to help. During the
> Zuccotti days, a mom and pop cafe's bathroom was ravaged and its owner
> was left with thousands of dollars in damages (NYP, February 19, 2012).

Other reports, in contradiction to OWS, addressed the importance of the one percent in

providing the tax base important for funding social institutions necessary for the 99

percent.

> The infamous 1 percent already contributes 40 percent of all taxes paid.
> Contrast that with the 46 percent who pay no taxes, many of whom are
> heavily dependent upon entitlement programs. It is billions in taxes on
> profits, income and bonuses that Wall Street companies and their
> employees pay that fund many essential public services. Wall Street is the
> financial engine that drives our economy (NYP, May 5, 2012).

> 'They're trying to take away the tax base we have, because none of this is
> good for tourism' . . . 'If the jobs they're trying to get rid of in the city –
> the people that work in finance, which is a big part of our economy – go
> away, we're not going to have any money to pay our municipal employees
> or clean the parks or anything else' (NYP, September 18, 2012).

Regardless of whether the above reports were based on objective facts or subjective

claims, the consequence was the same. Regardless of how readers approached the

articles, the real issue central to OWS was lost in the context of the messages: economic

inequality.

Within a cultural criminology framework, media outlets are a crucial component

in developing culture, by constructing meaning, and reinforcing the status quo,

represented by the state and corporate elites. Media portrayals influence public opinion

according to how an issue is framed, positively or negatively. Media portrayals that

negatively frame the Tea Party and OWS as "outsiders" demonstrate and reinforce the

role of insider status of current power structures. Additional consequences of media

coverage were also noted in analysis of how the state responded to Tea Party and OWS

organizations around the country.

State Responses toward Grassroots Organizations

> The mass media regularly converge on a single anxiety-creating issue and
> exploit it for all it's worth.
> > *On the Concept of Moral Panic,* Garland, 2008

> The use of confrontational tactics increases the probability that police will
> take some action.
> > *Protest under Fire? Explaining the Policing of Protest*,
> > Earl et al., 2003

As these quotes imply, this section addresses state responses toward grassroots

political organizations as reported by the media and the state.   Quantitative analysis was

utilized to "determine the objective content of messages" (Altheide, 1996: 15) in

measuring state responses toward the organizations. Two data sets were evaluated,

including: 1) media reports from the NYP and NYT; and 2) correspondence with

communities/cities where both OWS and TP functions took place. Furthermore, this

research included an interpretive and interactive process that guided the qualitative

analysis of the community correspondence.   Themes developing from this analysis

include: 1) insider or outsider; and 2) you can have your revolution, within our

guidelines.

Insider or Outsider. Law enforcement reactions, as reported by the press, served

as the most visible state response, and evidence of a culture of control, to Tea Party and

OWS participants.   Table 6.4 indicates the number of articles, reported by the NYP and

the NYT, that make reference to each of the organizations and arrests. Data indicates a

total of 116 articles about the Tea Party and 518 articles about OWS made reference to

arrests. Calculations indicate that 346.5 percent more articles mentioned arrest of OWS

participants than the Tea Party. Media portrayals that correlate OWS with criminal

arrests negatively influence public perception of the organization, reinforcing the status

of participants as "outsiders."

Table 6.4 ECA Media Reports of Arrests in Conjunction with TP and OWS

Grassroots Political Organization	Tea Party		OWS		Percentage of difference in number of arrests reported
Media Source	NYP	NYT	NYP	NYT	_
Articles referencing arrests	17	99	123	395	346.5

 Calculated from Lexis/Nexis Academic retrieved 03/15/2013: http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?

While these statistics are significant, content analysis indicates a much greater

significance in references to actual arrests of participants resulting from, or occurring as

part of, demonstrations. The percentage of difference when accounting for content of

media reports reveals references to arrests made during OWS demonstrations is

approximately 2,450 percent higher than arrests at Tea Party rallies.   Content analysis

identified a variety of themes surrounding arrests associated with each group.

Media reports about arrests related to the Tea Party primarily focused on one of

the following explanations. First, the media identified arrests of individuals affiliated

with the Tea Party but arrested for activities not connected to the organization.   For

instance, honorably discharged ex-marine, Ryan Jermone was arrested for failing to turn

in his handgun to security during a visit at the Empire State Building. Similarly, a nurse

from Tennessee was arrested after attempting to turn in her hand gun during a visit to the

9/11 memorial, and Mark Meckler was arrested at La Guardia Airport after presenting his

hand gun in a locked gun box to security (NYT, February 29, 2012). Second, individuals

arrested for violent crimes, were implicated as either having connections to the Tea Party or their actions were perceived to be fueled by Tea Party political rhetoric. Specifically, after Jared Loughner was arrested for shooting 20 people in Tuscon, Arizona, including Representative Gabrielle Giffords, pundits were quick to target the Tea Party for Loughner's actions (NYP, January 10, 2011). Investigations later indicated no connection between Loughner and the Tea Party but criticism continued to resonate in the press. Finally, media reports identified individuals being disruptive at town hall meetings. Reports indicate these individuals were encouraged to be disruptive through Tea Party affiliated websites. However, few to no arrests resulted from these disruptions.

The majority of articles mentioning arrests of OWS participants included activities that occurred in direct conjunction with organization demonstrations. Media reports about arrests related to OWS focused on one of the following explanations. First, reports indicated that individuals were arrested for behavior described as disorderly, or a nuisance. Second, reports described individuals who were arrested for criminal behavior. One could argue that all arrests resulted from criminal behavior; however, those made in response to participants acting as a nuisance were minor misdemeanors including disorderly conduct and interfering with governmental administration. A number of participants were arrested for resisting arrest, although this category varied between participants who were simply a nuisance and those who were violent. Arrests for criminal behavior included terroristic threats, trespassing in combination with burglary, and assaults including aggravated and sexual. Some of the arrests for assault occurred as participants attacked other Occupiers. This was true in regard to arrests for sexual assault.

Differences in media coverage regarding arrests affiliated with Tea Party versus

OWS participants resulted from the types of protest that occurred.   While both

organizations exercised their Constitutional right to assemble, the groups engaged in very

different activities.   Reports of the Tea Party generally focused on legislation, elections,

and influence of political processes.   Reports of OWS generally focused on protest and

resistance toward the state resulting in arrest of participants.   Increased media exposure

of these arrests affected the way communities across the U.S. responded to the

organization.

You can have Your Revolution, Within Our Guidelines. Information

requested from communities/cities across the U.S., where participants of the Tea Party

and OWS engaged in political assembly, yielded varying results.   Table 6.5 provides an

overview of initial responses from those surveys received from the community

information request, which can be found in Appendix E – Letter Requesting Information

and Appendix F – Follow-up Letter Requesting Information.

Table 6.5 Community Responses toward Grassroots Organizations

| Survey Questions	Percent Responding Yes	Percent Responding No
Does your city/community allow open protest from politically motivated activists?	100	-
Does your city/community require activists to limit demonstrations to specific locations in the city?	74	26
Did demonstrations result in arrests?	55.6	44.4
Since these demonstrations, has your city/community made any changes in responses to future demonstrations?	26	74

Calculated from official responses received in request for information: Appendices E and F

The data were calculated according to the initial yes/no response to the survey questions

which indicated the following: 1) all communities allow groups to engage in politically

motivated activism; 2) the majority of communities limit where political protest can occur; and 3) most respondents have made no changes in managing political demonstrations.

Despite these results, open-ended discussion following initial responses provided somewhat different, or more complicated, answers. While 100 percent of respondents reported allowing open protest from politically motivated activists, open-ended responses resulted in the following complexity to Question 1 (do you allow protests): 1) allow politically motivated protest without conditions; 2) allow protest to the extent participants follow the law; and 3) allow protest but do not condone any actions which become disruptive. Chart 6.1 demonstrates the responses along a continuum of minimal social control to increasing levels of control:

Figure 6.1 Community Tolerance of Politically Motivated Protest
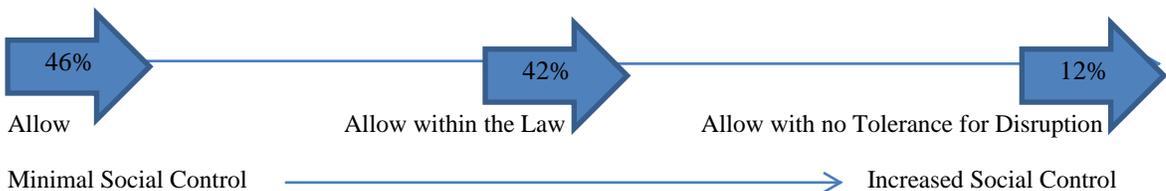
Calculated from official responses received in request for information: Appendices E and F

Further analysis regarding limitations on protest yielded the following results. Quantitative results, in reference to limitations on protest, changed from 75 percent yes and 25 percent no to 93 and 7 percent when adjusting for open-ended responses. Limitations included a broad range of explanations, including one, or a combination of, the following:

- protesters must respect posted curfews in city parks;

- protesters must meet requirements to secure a permit to protest in a public park;

- groups are prohibited from camping on public property;

- groups must refrain from protest on private property;

- participants must leave if asked to do so;

- groups are prohibited from protesting in city parks or city owned property;

- large groups must secure a permit;

- protest events must be scheduled with city hall.

The latter two limitations, noted by multiple communities, included the following explanation:

> A larger demonstration and/or march requires participants to seek an event permit. This allows the city to work with protestors to block traffic, etc. On some occasions, protestors are required to adjust their permits. For instance, if they have requested to block the busiest street during the busiest hour of the day, then the permit will be adjusted to either move to a different location or for a different time.

The most popular limitations, indicated by 38 percent of respondents, included the following: 1) protesters may not block building entrances, pedestrian and vehicular traffic; and 2) activities cannot unreasonably risk the safety of "demonstrators and non-demonstrators."

Several communities provided additional discussion points regarding limitations. These communities described their efforts in "managing protest" as diplomatic. Efforts of diplomacy were initiated through developing a "relationship with politically motivated groups." One particular community described this process as follows:

What our department did/does with these protests is to make contact with the leader of these groups, meeting with the group of leaders regarding ground rules, expectations, etc. We want to protect their Constitutional rights but to do so without any violence so law enforcement does not have to get involved. We also include the media in these meetings where we are able to express our concerns while focusing on how to protect their right. Oftentimes, the media is quick to participate under the assumption that meetings will evolve into conflict; however, that does not occur. We need to be able to protect protestors as well as the community in general and make this message clear during these initial meetings.

Efforts of diplomacy did not mean absence of limitations. Communities taking a pro-active approach to managing protestors intended to make sure organizations clearly understood the limitations in place, as follows:

We have communicated to groups what activity is permitted.

Our city does not place limitations on groups. In meeting with group leaders beforehand, we can make suggestions regarding effective locations that work for both the group and law enforcement. We also see that leaders are aware of local laws, allowing groups to respond according. Pre-meeting have been absolutely crucial for getting everyone on the same page, allowing us to work with them to meet their goals rather than working against them.

Knowing who to contact and have a dialogue with these individuals, letting the leader know that their group has every right to be here but to do so without violating city ordinances. These groups have all been responsive to city requests. Relationships go a long way in preventing problems.

We often try to get as much background on the group and/or planned demonstration to make sure there are no indicators of potential violence. We will often have the watch commander touch base with the group organizer and remind them of potential activities that could get protesters into trouble such as blocking pedestrian/vehicular traffic. This is done in an effort to let the individuals protest and express their opinions without running afoul of the law.

Communities that approached political protest diplomatically did not report any arrests. Diplomatic efforts by community leaders did not prevent arrest because leaders were more tolerant of political protest. Instead, community leaders chose to engage in

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proactive efforts of control prior to acts of protest occurring. In addition, representatives of grassroots organizations submitted to the authority of the community leaders to ensure that participants adhered to all regulations and expectations set forth. As long as members of each organization were willing to follow those "rules of conduct" then arrests were unnecessary.

Acts of violence by law enforcement in response to active protest by participants, specifically aligned with OWS, were available by live video-stream on social networking sites. If OWS had not taken the initiative to stream these incidents, the American public may have never known about the violence taking place, on the part of the state. Analyzing this lack of media coverage from a cultural criminology framework, it appears that "insiders" hoped to conceal the message advanced by OWS, as well as state responses toward participants. While maintaining confidentiality of those who responded to the community survey, most cities, where extreme acts of violence occurred, did not reply. Consequently, there is minimal feedback regarding the particular approach used by those cities toward Occupiers. Therefore, the sample is not entirely representative of all cities and communities where OWS and Tea Party functions occurred.

The final question yielding further analysis addressed whether communities made any changes in responding to future demonstrations due to interactions with the Tea Party or OWS. Quantitative results changed from 25 percent yes and 75 percent no to 38 and 62 percent when adjusting for open-ended responses. Several communities did not identify specific changes but noted openness to improving policies while protecting the right to protest as follows:

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> The city is committed to providing a safe, visible and open forum for political demonstration. It tries to learn from each event and reaches out to organizers to better and safely accommodate proposed public demonstrations.
>
> We are always looking to improve our process on how we respond to demonstrations. We do not look to reduce the right to peacefully assemble.

Similarly, one community did not identify specific changes in managing protest but provided a copy of the city ordinance that guides "organized events." The specific ordinance was unanimously adopted by the city council in mid-2013, indicating recent policy changes. However, without additional explanation, there is no way of knowing whether these changes resulted from interactions with the Tea Party and OWS or due to other issues.

One community identified changes due to other issues, not as a "direct result of the Occupy/Tea Party movements." Prior to 2009, due to increasing financial costs incurred during the Presidential caucuses, a policy was adopted providing for recovery of "all costs of the event (such as electricity, parking revenue, water) from political candidates." The policy impacts not only campaign events but also other forms of demonstrations as follows:

> We have a risk-based assessment tool to measure all types of events (political or not) and determine if special conditions might need to be met before they can be held. These include whether it is hosted by an organization based in the community or out of town, the size of the group expected, whether it has been successfully held in the community before, and other factors. The intent of this policy is not to reduce the number of activities occurring, but make sure that those that are planned include necessary precautions to assure they are safe and respect the neighborhoods in which they occur.

While policies such as this were not the direct result of grassroots political organizations, other communities adjusted procedures or enacted ordinances due to recent forms of protest.

Reinforcing the role of the media for influencing public opinion and constructing culture, some community responses indicated that negative media coverage of OWS activities in other cities led to changes in how they managed political protest. One particular response identified that efforts of diplomacy were an effort to be pro-active to avoid issues similar to those in other cities, as reported by the press.

> The city was very pro-active in responding to members of OWS and the TP in response to much of the negative publicity that arose from other cities. The city protects groups 1st Amendment rights to protest and were very responsive in 'front end' measures that included requesting invitation to protests to educate members of both groups as to what actions are tolerated and what lines cannot be crossed. Protestors were notified what types of actions would result in arrests or trouble for the groups. Both groups were very responsive and have been completely cooperative.

The adjustment in responding to political protest identified both the Tea Party and OWS as targets of diplomacy.

Other responses indicated changes resulting solely from one organization. Several communities specifically identified OWS as the reason for implementing changes in managing political protest. Two communities enacted city ordinances in 2012 that prohibit camping, described in one response as, "unauthorized camping in/on private or public property with the express permission of the owner or agency having control management, or supervision of the property." Other responses, noting changes resulting directly from OWS, indicated the following:

City officials are careful to make certain public protest follows very closely all laws and we don't find ourselves in an environment where we encourage 'give an inch and take a mile.'

The 'Occupy' protests have assisted us in developing an effective template in dealing with same. It comes down to establishing effective lines of communication when possible. It is important for protesters to understand that we respect their right to protest, but we ask that they respect the law and ordinances.

These comments contributed to the 46 percent which addressed only OWS in the content of community responses. Some officials indicated no awareness of Tea Party events in their respective communities despite reports to the contrary. Differences in awareness and reactions toward Tea Party and OWS groups indicate implications for a broad, and often selective, culture of control.

Analytical Summary

Security is the supreme concept of liberal ideology.
    Security, Liberty and the Myth of Balance, Neocleous, 2007

As this quote implies, cultures and groups often find security – albeit false security – in their values and beliefs. In addressing liberal ideology, the quote accurately identifies the importance of security for both classical and modern liberalism. Within a cultural criminology framework, resistance toward the social, political, and economic institutions with insider status resulted as grassroots participants perceived threats to their sense of security. From the perspective of Tea Partiers, participants engaged in political protest to resist government attempts to destroy access to the American Dream. Security could be found in the belief that success was available to anyone willing to work to achieve it, assuming government policy did not block access. From the perspective of Occupiers, participants engaged in political protest to reduce inequality. Security could be found in the hope that one day all Americans could have access to a lifestyle free from

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corporate oppression. The form of protest exerted by each group differed, and in turn, media and state responses differed.

Tea Party groups generally engaged in peaceable activities as noted in observations and reported by the press. Tea Party functions included a wide array of activities, including: 1) formal programs, similar to those attended during this research; 2) town hall meetings and political forums; and 3) picketing outside Congressional offices in Washington and across the U.S. The venue where activities were most likely to sway from "peaceable" was town hall meetings. During these events, participants were directed to challenge statements made by political leaders. While acts of protest were important, methods most encouraged by Tea Party organizations was involvement in political processes, specifically at the level of local precinct committee person. Gaining access to these political positions, on the part of Tea Partiers, resulted in confusion regarding their status as outsiders. While the media continued to criticize organizational approaches, the election of candidates, with Tea Party affiliations, to seats in the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate provided limited insider status to the organization.

Action by OWS groups varied between those engaged in regular meetings, referred to as general assemblies, and those that disrupted the social order. Those who attended meetings shared grievances about some social wrong they had personally experienced or perceived to be an issue. Those intending to disrupt the social order understood what limits to push to garner media coverage and state responses. Some participants pushed limits only far enough to ensure attention of others while preventing arrest. For instance, many Occupiers who camped out at Zuccotti Park were interested in creating a scene. Similarly, those who protested outside the New York Stock Exchange

also intended to gain the attention of the media and the 99 percent. Others very clearly intended to get arrested, pushing limits beyond those considered safe. This particular group believed messages of inequality were more apt to be addressed when those protesting its effects were placed in handcuffs.

From a cultural criminology framework, the press framed articles to portray both Tea Partiers and Occupiers as "outsiders" due to participants' efforts to resist the status quo. Participants of each group were criticized for their political views and approaches to protest. However, the disorderly approach advanced by members of OWS had an additional effect: criminalization of behavior. Media reports targeted the "unruly" behavior of certain participants, even when this behavior did not represent the organization as a whole. As reported by a writer of the *New York Times*, "media coverage has tended to focus on civil disobedience because that is where the action is" (NYT, October 10, 2011). Returning to the poem that opened this chapter, members of the Tea party and OWS created waves across society. Their efforts resulted in much attention by the media and law enforcement agencies throughout the U.S.

Continuing to demonstrate cultural criminology, political resistance on the part of grassroots organizations was a "response to societal strains, conflicts, and injustices" (Taylor, 2000, p. 221), perceived by members as limiting their concept of security. The Tea Party infiltrated Washington with a non-compromising approach to political processes. OWS engaged in visible protest that inconvenienced, and possibly threatened, existing power structures. Media coverage emphasized inconveniences caused by protesters as activities prevented the public from accessing transportation or places of employment. In addition, reports identified those whose businesses were negatively

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affected as potential customers avoided areas frequented by protesters. In the policy arena, media outlets portrayed how the public was affected, either directly or indirectly, by sequestration or government shutdown due to the efforts by those outsiders who had achieved insider status.

According to cultural criminology, the construction of meaning, regarding definitions of deviance and those labeled as outsiders, evolves over time. In other words, the concept of outsider is constructed by those that represent social (media), political (state), and economic (corporations) institutions. Resistance of these structural constraints, by the Tea Party and OWS, was met with varying forms of counter-resistance. Media outlets portrayed the organizations and participants negatively through name-calling and criticism. The state, represented by the visible apparatus of law enforcement agencies, reacted specifically to acts of protest by OWS. Actions on behalf of grassroots organizations and the institutions with power demonstrate ongoing, and simultaneous, efforts to reinforce and resist a culture of control.

Chapter 7 - Opposition within a Culture of Control

> There's always been groups of people that could never see eye to eye. . .
> an' I always thought if they'd get the chance to sit down and talk face to
> face they might realize they got a lot in common . . ."
>   Lyrics from *This Old Cowboy's Hat*, performed by Chris LeDoux

These lyrics open a country song, performed by the late Chris LeDoux, describing

how a cowboy was not really any different than the members of a motorcycle gang.

Despite superficial differences in appearance and mode of transportation, similarities

could not be ignored. Both had family, experienced love, lost dear ones, and had

"things" important in their lives.   Listening to these lyrics, I could not help but think,

despite differences, there were important similarities between participants of opposing

grassroots political organizations – the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street (OWS).

This chapter begins with discussion of the organizations, including similarities as

well as differences, in demographics of participants and political perspectives advanced

by the Tea Party and OWS.   The chapter continues with a recap of how an economic

crisis, and political responses to such, created a social milieu favorable to the

development of competing grassroots organizations. Key findings, in addition to barriers

experienced by the organizations – both internal and external – follow. The chapter

concludes with discussion of limitations to this study, implications for further research,

and a final discussion of lessons learned.

Grassroots Political Organizations

Comparison of grassroots political organizations will begin with similarities in

basic demographics, as reported in the *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National

Survey of Tea Party Supporters and the Occupy Research Network (2012), Occupy

Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey, and depicted in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Survey Results Depict Demographics of Tea Party and OWS Participants

Demographics of Grassroots Organizations' Participants	TP	OWS
Sex		
• Male	59	43.7
• Female	41	52.9
Age		
• 18-44	23	57.5
• 45-64	46	33.9
• Over 64	29	7.6
Race		
• White	89	80.8
• Black	1	2.9
• Asian	1	4
Marital Status		
• Married	70	46.8
• Divorced	9	10.9
Household Annual Income		
• Less than $50,000	35	54.4
• $50,000-$100,000	36	24.9
• Over $100,000	29	12.6
Education		
• Not a High School Graduate	3	1.7
• High School Graduate	26	4.4
• Some College	33	23
• College Graduate	23	41.1
• Post Graduate	14	29.8
Employment Status		
• Currently Employed	56	60.8
• Temporarily out of Work	6	7.6
• Not in the Market for Work	5	8.7
• Retired	32	7.9
Social Class		
• Working	26	29.7
• Middle	50	37.1
• Upper-Middle	15	12.5
• Upper	3	1.2

Reported from *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters and Occupy Research Network (2012) Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey: TP represents Tea Party; OWS represents Occupy Wall Street.

Survey results identified 89 percent of Tea Partiers and just over 80 percent of Occupiers

as white. The majority of participants from both groups (71 percent Tea Partiers and 79.3

percent Occupiers) made an annual income of less than $100,000. Responses to inquiries

of social class indicated that 76 percent of Tea Partiers and 66.8 percent of Occupiers

identified themselves as working or middle-class.

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The slight variances indicated for income and social class may be attributed to differences in response to sex, marital status, and average age of participants. Tea Party supporters indicated that 59 percent were men, 70 percent were married, and most were over the age of 45. In contrast, Occupy supporters indicated that 53 percent were women, 47 percent were married, and most were under the age of 45. Men generally garner, on average, higher income than women. In addition, the combined household income for married couples has the potential to surpass that of single households. Finally, older individuals often have a greater earning capacity due to the likelihood of a longer employment history.   In contrast, a larger difference between groups of participants was in education level. Over 70 percent of Occupiers indicated having a college degree or post-graduate degree while only 37 percent of Tea Parties possessed a college degree, leading to questions of which career fields participants were employed.

Comparisons did not end with basic demographic information. Tea Partiers were asked to identify the most important problem facing the country today (*New York Times*, 2010), of which 78 percent identified economic issues as the primary concern, including the current state of the economy, budget deficit, high unemployment and lack of jobs. Occupiers were asked to identify the greatest issues facing the country (Occupy Research Network, 2012), with most responses connected to the economy.

Table 7.2 Survey Results Depict Political Views of Tea Party and OWS Participants

Political Views of Grassroots Organizations' Participants

Political Affiliation	TP	OWS
• Democrat	5	37
• Independent	36	38
• Republican	54	1.9
Most Important Problem Facing the Country		
• Economic Issues	78	
• Income Inequality		47.5
• Money in Politics		25.5
• Corporate Greed		18.5
• Student Debt/Access to Education		17.4
• Social Issues	14	

Reported from *New York Times CBS News Poll* (2010) National Survey of Tea Party Supporters and Occupy Research Network (2012) Occupy Research Demographic and Political Participation Survey: TP represents Tea Party; OWS represents Occupy Wall Street.

For instance, 47.5 percent expressed concern with inequality; 25.5 percent money in politics; 18.5 percent corporate greed; and 17.4 percent excessive student debt and limited access to education. With more than 70 percent of Occupiers having a college or post-graduate degree, limited access to education more than likely was not as much of a factor as excessive student debt. Regardless, Tea Partiers and Occupiers were primarily concerned with economic issues facing the nation.

Additional comparisons between participants involved political affiliation. A similarity was those identifying themselves as Independents: 36 percent of Tea Partiers and 38 percent of Occupiers. This has important political implications for national elections. Because primary elections are organized around the traditional two-party system – Democrat and Republican – Independents are not afforded the same opportunity to vote. Consequently, over one third of Tea Partiers and Occupiers are limited from political participation at various stages of the political process.

Despite the similarities between those who identified themselves as Independents in the respective surveys, greater differences in political affiliation were present: 54 percent of Tea Partiers aligned themselves with the Republican Party while 37 percent of

Occupiers aligned with the Democratic Party. Participants of each organization primarily

followed party lines while a very small percentage of members supported the opposing

party. Political perspectives swayed ideological viewpoints of participants. However,

just as the opening lyrics imply about cowboys and motorcycle gangs, the Tea Party and

OWS observed a common enemy.

Participants were angered by corporate bailouts. Many had personally

experienced repercussions of the mortgage crisis and/or losses to retirement accounts

resulting from record-breaking losses in the stock market. In addition, a number of

participants from both organizations were either unemployed or underemployed due to

the economic downturn. The final similarity between the organizations is that

participants represented the 99 percent, reportedly oppressed by corporate and economic

elites that represent the one percent.

Competing ideologies, advanced by the organizations, keep the groups separated.

Tea Partiers seek a social, economic, and political climate that promotes personal and

financial success. Many of the policies that participants believe promote such an

environment also advance the interests of the elite corporate class over Tea Partiers –

advancing an elite model (Domhoff, 2010) of the state. In contrast, Occupiers seek a

social, economic, and political climate that promotes equality across the constituency.

The progressive movement sought a similar outcome; however, efforts expanded the

power of the political class – advancing a statist model (Neuman, 2005) of the state.

These ideological constraints advance a sense of "false consciousness" (Marx,

2010[1848]) and ultimately disempower both organizations. Competing ideologies

prevent class consciousness from occurring, and, in turn, reinforce the existing social order.

A Perfect Storm

A brief foray into conditions preceding the 2012 election is instructive, setting the stage for the two grassroots organizations and their specific positions and actions. The U.S. was in the shadows of an economic depression as 2008 came to a close. Many Americans were left in shambles following the subprime mortgage crisis. In the years leading up to this crisis, the federal government expanded access to at least a part of the American Dream by working with lenders to increase home ownership. Subprime – or negative amortization – loans seemed to make dreams come true. Families only paid half the interest accruing on the loan for the first five years. The remaining half of the interest accumulated during this time and was added to the original principal of the loan. After five years, the mortgage was transferred to a traditional loan, including the full interest rate, original principal, plus the additional interest that had accumulated (Morgenson & Rosner, 2012). Consequently, many loans had surpassed the 90 percent loan-to-value, requiring families to purchase mortgage insurance. What had started as a $200-$300 per month payment now surpassed $1000, leaving families unable to make payments and at risk of losing their homes (2012), perceived as criminal to some.

Fueling a major economic breakdown, the subprime crisis could be felt across the U.S., including Wall Street and Washington. Late in September, 2008, approximately $1.2 trillion vanished from the U.S. stock market in one day of trading. The House of Representatives failed to pass a $700 billion rescue of the financial industry, as 205 voted yes (140 Democrats and 65 Republicans), 228 voted no (95 Democrats and 133

Republicans), and one did not vote (Republican) (Bajaj & Grynbaum, 2008).   Members

of both parties agreed that the nation's economic conditions were in a shambles. Still, the

two parties could not agree on how to respond.

Many Americans experienced atrocities through loss of careers, homes, and/or

retirement accounts.   But not all experienced the same struggles. Several days after

Congress was unable to pass legislation to protect the financial industry, President

George W. Bush signed the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP). Financial firms, and

other struggling industries, were protected from utter ruin. Wall Street, believed

responsible for the recession, was protected. Frustration began to mount as many

Americans were left to question the logic behind rewarding those responsible for the

nations' near collapse. Was Wall Street really too big to fail? Would the consequences

for the nation have been more devastating if legislation was not enacted to protect the

economy? Or perhaps, from a cultural criminology framework, the insider status of a

faltering Wall Street was protected by the state.

Confusion would lead to greater frustration as 2009 brought reports that financial

executives on Wall Street received multi-million dollar bonuses from funds allocated

through TARP. Money intended to protect the nation from collapse seemed to reward

not only corporations but also individuals who were responsible for questionable lending

practices and poor management.   Many Americans struggled with the idea of rewarding

failure. Discontent with Washington and Wall Street brewed as the perfect storm

percolated.

Only weeks after President Obama's inauguration, on February 17, 2009, he

signed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act into legislation.   This new

stimulus bill, described as the "porkulus bill" by some pundits, provided additional

corporate "bailouts" while expanding a number of social programs.   Some Americans

understood the need to prevent major economic institutions from total collapse.

However, many American tax-payers believed they – and generations to come – would

be responsible to pay the bill. The perfect storm would soon be unleashed.

In the days, weeks, months, and years to follow, Americans would express anger

with the economic struggles facing the nation and its citizens. Grassroots organizations –

in particular, the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street – developed in response to these

"societal strains, conflicts, and injustices" (Taylor, 2000: p. 221). Anger and frustration

from each group, identified in chapters four and five of this dissertation, was accurately

summarized by Presidential Candidate Mitt Romney, printed in the *New York Times*

(September 19, 2012):

> The government in Washington right now is permeated by cronyism,
> outright corruption . . . . Our regulatory agencies that are supposed to
> protect the public are protecting the people that they're supposed to be
> regulating . . . It doesn't matter whether you are in the Tea Party or
> Occupy Wall Street. People see that the government is working for the
> powerful interests . . . and not for the common person . . . when the
> government is no longer seen as an honest agent and when our tax dollars
> are not really being put to work for us but for the people who are plugged
> in politically.

Similarly, Frank (2004, p. 243) questions, what politician in this success-worshipping

country really wants to be the voice of poor people? Domhoff (2010, p. 211) offers a

response, noting the cooperation between the corporate and political class to protect each

group's interests as follows: "Elected officials try to do as much as they can to create a favorable investment climate to avoid being voted out of office in the event of an economic downturn." Approaching these claims from a cultural criminology framework, the dimensions of power and culture, represented by political (state), social (media), and economic (corporations) institutions, seek to advance their interests over those of the public. More appropriately, key actors protect their status as insiders.   Anger and frustration toward these insiders found a voice in the Tea Party and OWS.

Continuing from a cultural criminology framework, efforts on the part of the Tea Party and OWS demonstrate activism against political processes. Activism by each of these groups developed as a collective organized attempt to bring about change in the current social, political, and economic climate. Participants attempted to resist the political processes perceived as protecting the class interests of political and corporate elites. Despite these efforts, structural barriers would limit early success of the organizations.

Key Findings Indicate Barriers to Change

Cultural criminology explores how political (state), social (media), and economic (corporations) institutions – acting as insiders – constrain society, influencing the development of meaning that reinforces culture. Activism, on the part of grassroots organizations – labeled as outsiders – occurs as participants begin to recognize and challenge these structural constraints. The Tea Party and OWS formed in response to what they viewed as partnerships between political officials and corporate elites. Such partnerships were believed to protect the interests of Washington and Wall Street while disregarding constituents.   However, ideological differences between the organizations

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shielded participants from acknowledging a common enemy. Consequently, a solution to

the woes facing America would not come easy.   This section describes key findings,

identified as barriers to change, that were noted during this study. These barriers, fueled

by the media, created an environment that would limit – or even prevent – opportunities

for social change. Barriers include: 1) polarization of American's two-party political

system; 2) outside influences; 3) organizational tactics; and 4) limited success.

   A Polarized Nation. Baldassarri and Gelman (2008) argue that America's two-

party system is polarized between economic and social issues. Bellamy (2001, pg. 15)

describes the conflicts arising from this polarization as "potentially irresolvable."   Some

pundits place the Tea Party as ideologically far right of the Republican Party, and

correlate the organizational platform with social issues.   Because some high-profile

individuals affiliated with the Tea Party – such as Michelle Bachmann – are regarded as

social conservatives, due to their strong social convictions, the organization as a whole is

viewed similarly. However, as Zumbrunnen and Gangl (2008) argue, conservatism

represents both cultural (social), and economic (limited government and free-market)

perspectives. As noted in chapter 4, the Republican Party, represented by conservatives,

is divided between those who are social conservatives versus those who are economic

conservatives.   Tea Party approaches to political policy are far right of mainstream

conservatives; however, those underscored are not due to social issues. Leaders within

the movement consistently emphasized the importance of economic issues. Those who

embraced social issues in connection with Tea Party activities were often scolded for

diverting the focus from the economy and, instead, pointing to divisive social issues.

Following a speaker at the Winning for America Rally who made reference to abortion, Amy Kremer corrected him, stating:

> They [liberals] are focused on gay marriage, birth control, foreign policy . . . we are never going to agree on all those things . . . that's why the Tea Party movement has been so successful . . . because we stay focused on fiscal responsibility, limited government, and free markets.

Efforts by the media to continually bring the focus back to social issues polarized those Americans who held views opposite of social conservatives. Resistance to these views found solace in OWS (Gitlin, 2011).

If the Tea Party, representing "the right," could boast tremendous success following the 2010 midterm elections, then perhaps OWS could bring the same level of success for "the left." Perhaps, in hopes of replicating the energy of the Tea Party, leading Democrats – including President Obama, Vice President Biden, and Nancy Pelosi – empathized with Occupiers (Lightblau, 2011). Empathizing with OWS would potentially not be enough to change the system and reduce inequality, because most multiple-term politicians in Washington, whether Democrat or Republican, owe their re-election to corporate interests. For instance, Senator Harry Reid criticized Republicans for negotiating with Wall Street despite holding a fundraiser organized by the president of Wall Street firm Goldman Sachs (Schweizer, 2013). Similarly, Speaker John Boehner hinted at considering changes in tax rates on capital gains. Shortly after disclosing this consideration, Boehner received almost $300,000 in contributions, including several donations from elite corporations that had not supported him previously (Schweizer, 2013). In addition, portraying the organizations as representative of opposing party politics by the media kept the dialogue away from the topic of identifying a common enemy.

Two-party politics in the U.S. promote polarized constituents. While distinct differences in viewpoints do exist, the variances actually extend along a continuum as opposed to polar opposites. However, because competing two-party ideologies cannot seem to find a middle ground, most Americans fail to note the similarities between the two camps. The media fuels the divide by heavily influencing public opinions (Compaine & Gomery, 2000), perhaps partly because conflict sells and partly because of corporate influence. Corporate ownership of the media (Herman & Chomsky, 2002), which controls the news agenda (Gandy, 1982; Dearing & Rogers, 1996), tends to portray a nation divided through partisan politics, camouflaging a bias that caters to political and corporate interests. Such action on the part of the media helps to support those in Washington and on Wall Street.

Unintended Consequences. Influences outside of the Tea Party and OWS had negative consequences for each organization. Messages targeting anger toward a common enemy were lost as other factors undermined the message and reputation of group participants on both sides. Media reports consistently criticized members of each organization, advancing the outsider status of participants. Themes portrayed by the media, as identified in chapter 6 – "misfits, vagabonds, and nincompoops," "have a quiet, orderly, and polite revolution," and "the self-righteous versus the misguided" – demonstrated these efforts. Unintended consequences for OWS resulted from influences that reinforced the outsider status. However, unintended consequences for the Tea Party had an opposite effect, labeling participants as insiders – though just enough to be part of the status quo that they were resisting. Both groups were discredited. Discussion of unintended consequences for each group follows.

Hints of corporate support would lead to questions regarding the legitimacy of the Tea Party.   Political Action Committees (PACs), financed by corporate interests, had diverted funds to support the organization. Specifically, Our Country Deserves Better PAC was instrumental in the development of the Tea Party Express affiliate (www.teapartyexpress.org). This PAC received substantial funding through the conservative think-tanks, Americans for Prosperity and FreedomWorks.   Each of these organizations is funded by some of America's wealthiest families, including the Koch Brothers foundations (Fang, 2009).   While the funds indirectly support this particular Tea Party affiliate, media coverage leads to the assumption that the Tea Party as a whole benefits from corporate sponsorship. However, because the Tea Party is not a centralized organization, similar to the Democratic and Republican National Committees, some affiliates do purportedly exist independent of corporate support. The Tea Party Patriots, an umbrella organization that provides guidance to a number of local level affiliates, has been touted as the only "spontaneous, bottom-up, grass roots organization" (Rich, 2011). Still, some pundits would claim that Tea Partiers are simply the puppets used to "protect" the interests of America's wealth (Fang, 2009; Mayer, 2010). These claims portray Tea Partiers as "insiders," and hence, part of the same corporate and political elites perceived as the status quo. Consequently, claims such as these would undermine efforts by Tea Party participants.

Protest on the part of OWS began as an encampment in Zuccotti Park in New York City. Similar campsites, in cities across the nation, soon followed.   Homeless individuals, including recently released convicts, took up residence in these "tent cities." While these particular individuals may not have engaged in behaviors outside of what

other Occupiers were promoting, the homeless and former convicts were targeted by the press. Because bad news sells (Pratt, 2007), the media provided coverage of violent acts occurring at the campsites. Several acts of violence occurred against other Occupiers by some participants, either independently, or while engaged in other criminal behavior (Celona et al., 2011; Schram, 2011; Taylor, 2011). In addition, some participants, negatively portrayed as homeless, could provide no explanation for OWS and the purpose of the encampment, when interviewed by the media. Consequently, media outlets converged on these issues, focusing on these outside influences that undermined the message of Occupiers nationwide.

Evaluating these unintended consequences from a cultural criminology framework, the media constructed images of the organizations, including specific categories of participants and influence of insiders. These images had the potential to negatively influence public opinion of the organizations. In addition, media portrayals labeled participants – particularly OWS – as criminals, hence justifying state responses, discussed more in the following section.

Resisting the System. Key findings of this study demonstrate how the roles of the Tea Party and OWS are not always in conflict, such as the media often portray. For example, while on the surface these groups appear to promote quite different messages, I observed how the motivation of each group is similar. For instance, each group expressed frustration with corporate bailouts. Participants' voiced anger with government policies perceived to protect the interest of Wall Street over those of constituents. Nevertheless, tactics used by each group, as well as different media images,

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seem to emphasize differences and blur similarities, suppressing commonalities and underscoring polarizing viewpoints.

Cultural criminology demonstrates the power of media outlets for influencing the development of meaning. This occurs as market-driven media outlets control information (McCarthy et al., 1996; Baker, 2007) that supports political and corporate insiders. Negative media portrayals of grassroots political organizations reinforce participants' status as outsiders. Media coverage of Tea Partiers initially portrayed participants as outsiders; however, as political candidates, with Tea Party affiliations, won elections, most with corporate backing, the press began to criticize the organization as part of the status quo. Outsiders became insiders and vice versa. In contrast, media coverage portrayed OWS participants as outsiders. Specifically, protest by OWS seems to be criminalized by the press and by the state – something that did not happen with Tea Party participants. Consequently, state responses toward participants of each group differed significantly.   Discussion of these differences in organizational tactics, media portrayals, and state responses follows.

Tactics used by Tea Partiers included participation in formal programs, town hall meetings and political forums, and picketing outside Congressional offices in Washington and across the U.S. The venue where activities were most likely to sway from "peaceable" occurred at town hall meetings. Political pundit Sean Hannity encouraged participants to "become part of the mob" by challenging statements made by political leaders (Urbina, 2009). Tea Party supporters have been referred to as "tea-baggers" (Leibovich & Barrett, 2009), or "rednecks . . . terrorists and fringe freaks of the KKK" (Peyser, 2010, p. 15). Placards and signs expressing discontent with President

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Obama and his policies at Tea Party rallies led mainstream media affiliates to describe participants as racist (Campo-Flores, 2010).

The Tea Party encouraged followers to become part of the very system that frustrated members. The organization believed that if enough people, with common values and beliefs, were elected to political office, then the organization could promote change from within. As Tea Party affiliated officials were elected and began to assume power in Washington, media portrayals – while still critical – began to change. Tactics of Congressional members with Tea Party affiliations were frequently described by the media as lacking any "gene for compromise" (Rich, 2011, p. 8). Political officials, such as Ted Cruz and Rand Paul, demonstrated lack of compromise in their efforts to bring about broad scale political and economic changes. In addition, efforts by these officials, as well as others, kept the Tea Party organization in the media.

Tactics used by OWS participants varied between two formats: 1) those engaged in regular meetings, referred to as general assemblies; and 2) those that worked to disrupt the social order. Those who attended meetings often shared grievance about some social wrong they perceived or had experienced personally. Those intending to disrupt the social order were generally aware of what limits to push in order to ensure media coverage and state responses. The latter group garnered more media attention that tended to "focus on civil disobedience because that is where the action is" (Carr, 2011, p. 1). Their particular acts resulted in criticism as participants were described as "stupid people" (Freund et al., 2012, p. 4) or "leftist, lazy losers," as written in a letter to the editor in the *New York Post*. After visiting Zuccotti Park, one reporter noted that, "Occupy Wall Street, which began with a small band of passionate intellectuals, had been

hijacked by misfits and vagabonds looking for food and shelter" (Sorkin, 2012, p. 1), regardless of how minute this group of participants may have been.

OWS encouraged followers to resist the system represented by the political, military, academic, and corporate establishment. The entire system, which Occupiers believed was already broken, would completely crumble given enough resistance.   From a cultural criminology framework, the system represented dimensions of power and cultural constructs that reinforced insider status. Efforts by OWS to resist this status resulted in the labeling of participants as outsiders, through symbolic interaction.

The approaches of the Tea Party and OWS garnered criticism from the media, negatively influencing the "attitudes, opinions, and beliefs" (Compaine & Gomery, 2000, p. 539) of Americans.   The media converged on these efforts of resistance and exploited them (Garland, 2008). Because bad news sells (Pratt, 2007), the threats to America's false sense of security, stemming from the Tea Party and OWS, made for "bad news" and "big profits." Media depictions, within a cultural criminology framework, presented participants of each group as outsiders due to participant efforts to resist the status quo. Tea Partiers were mocked for efforts to promote change in political policy. Occupiers were criticized for behavior viewed as outside of social norms.   In addition, the mission of each organization was often lost in media reports. Consequently, these reports that detracted from the intended message may quash the common theme and limit the impact each organization could hope to achieve in promoting social change.

Participants of each group were criticized for their political views and approaches to protest. However, the specific approach advanced by members of OWS had an additional effect: criminalization of behavior. State responses toward Occupiers differed

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significantly compared to those of Tea Partiers. Tea Party functions often occurred in communities, without city officials having any knowledge of the events. Beyond town hall meetings, protests near congressional offices, and formal functions, Tea Party efforts were generally targeted toward formal political processes. The Tea Party sought to make changes in local, state, and federal politics: participants sought change from the inside out. In contrast, Occupiers were often viewed and treated as a nuisance, as well as criminalized for their actions. Participants blocked traffic and building entrances; they took over local parks with tent cities. The greater an inconvenience Occupiers became, the greater the efforts of opposition by the state. Participants sought change from the outside in.

Limits to Organizational Success. Members of the Tea Party and OWS formed with hopes of changing perceived strains, conflicts, and injustices resulting from political and corporate relationships. Goals for changing the system seemed to indicate the greatest difference in political perspectives between the organizations. Tea Partiers were not anti-corporate, despite their frustration with bailouts. Tea Partiers were opposed to legislation construed as protecting corporations over small businesses. Specifically, major policies enacted by Presidents Bush and Obama were viewed as protecting failing corporations, all at the cost of the middle and lower classes who would experience increased taxation. Occupiers were not anti-establishment, despite their frustration with oppression seen as stemming from political, military, corporate, and academic institutions. Occupiers were opposed to political officials serving interests of the establishment over those of the people. Specifically, Occupiers sought a democracy "of the people," where government enacted policies that would promote equality and protect

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constituents rather than corporations. Tea Partiers desired an economic system – with limited government intrusion – that provided opportunities for everyone to achieve success. Occupiers desired a political system – indicative of participatory democracy – that provided opportunities for everyone to achieve success. Herein, lies the greatest difference between the two organizations: Tea Partiers sought change in economic opportunities; Occupiers sought change in political opportunities.

Tea Partiers promoted change from the inside out. Despite structural constraints of the system, Tea Partiers demonstrated that it can be penetrated, evidenced by the number of Tea Party candidates that won 2010 midterm elections. However, penetrating the system is not the same as changing the system. The partnership between corporate elites and politics creates and maintains the career politician, all while reinforcing the self-sustaining system that limits change when penetrated by outsiders, as demonstrated from a cultural criminology framework. For instance, Rand Paul, who embraced the Tea Party, won a Senate seat in the 2010 mid-term elections. With PACs spending over one million dollars on Paul during the 2012 election cycle (Schweizer, 2013), one could question whether corporate donations would take precedence over his allegiance to the Tea Party, or vice versa. Political officials need money to win elections. Corporations need legislation to protect their interests. Corporate money diverted to political officials maintains the permanent political class and ensures that corporations do not fail. Consequently, efforts by the Tea Party to change the system from the inside out may fail to produce any lasting change. For this reason, I do not believe Tea Partiers were considered a threat by the state, because their efforts would not produce lasting change to the status quo. Tea Partiers can be bought.

Occupiers promoted change from the outside in. Participants were encouraged to resist the system and given enough resistance, the system would crumble. Then, the 99 percent would rise up and advance a true democracy, representative of the people rather than political and corporate elites. However, the structural constraints of the system, which is designed to maintain the status quo, responded with a counter opposition that limited efforts by the organization, as demonstrated within a cultural criminology framework. Furthermore, criminalization of OWS behaviors as reported by the press depicted participants as outsiders while state responses reinforced this label.   Many Americans could empathize with the message of inequality but moral panics created by the press constrained the message. Consequently, efforts by the organization to change the system from the outside threatened the status quo and reinforced the system. Occupiers can be suppressed.

Limitations of this Study

As with all research, there were limitations to this study.   Field observations, specifically of OWS, were not conducted at the height of formal protest.   Consequently, I did not have the opportunity to observe, first hand, actions on the part of Occupiers and responses by the state that provoked violence.   In fact, I observed no instances of violence affiliated with the OWS functions that I attended. A further limitation, directly in conjunction with state responses, was the survey of city and community administrations.   While the initial sample – those receiving the surveys – was representative of locations that included OWS and Tea Party protest, only 27.5 percent responded. Response rate limited the representativeness of the sample. In addition,

minimal responses were received from those cities with reported instances of violence, on the part of the state.

A further restriction of the study was limited opportunities to conduct full interviews with participants. Occupy Tampa was the only field observation that provided sufficient time and opportunity to interview individual participants. While I was able to "visit" with participants prior to and after formal Tea Party rallies and Occupy functions, limited time and opportunity, due to the nature of the events, restricted my ability to engage in formal interviews. Consequently, I received limited insight into the views of individual participants.

Print media has historically been an important part of American culture. Since the advent of the Internet, many of the news articles printed in newspapers also are published online. Still, Americans retrieve information from so many more sources today, including social networking sites, a variety of online news sites, and cable television, just to name a few. Consequently, media portrayals of Tea Party and OWS functions, by other forms of media may portray the organizations very differently. Expanding the research to include other forms of media will strengthen the study.

Finally, the scope of this study was limited by the amount of time each organization was followed. While this was a strength in terms of evaluating the impact of each organization in the height of a presidential election, it also limited the broader scope of each group. Would each group continue to have an impact on the social climate? Would each group meet the criteria of a formal social movement? These questions were not answered due to limitations of this research.

Implications for Future Research

The findings and limitations of this study provide an agenda for future research. The emphasis on "insiders" – represented by the state, media, and corporations – demonstrated media portrayals and state responses toward grassroots political organizations. The relationship between corporations and political officials was reflected in the literature review as well as in key findings for identifying an enemy. However, research questions did not target corporations specifically. Gaining access to corporate figure-heads produces challenges, but these individuals may hold valuable information in terms of reinforcing a culture of control. In addition, corporate expenditures geared toward political processes, including lobbyists and donations to PACs, would also be instructive.

State responses toward grassroots organizations were evaluated, specifically in terms of the criminal justice system. However, the state also includes the policy development arena at the local, state, and federal levels. This arena deserves further attention to gauge legislative and executive responses toward grassroots organizations at all levels of government.

Portrayals of grassroots organizations were evaluated according to reports by print media. Limited studies have evaluated media framing of the organizations separately; however, a comparative study of the organizations, from the perspective of other media forms would yield potentially useful results.

Finally, the organizations of the Tea Party and OWS per se deserve further attention. It is rare to hear reports of either organization since the 2012 presidential election. Most reports that include reference to the Tea Party often have to do with

congressional leaders with ties to the organization. It is almost as though OWS does not

exist any longer. However, both organizations remain active, particularly online,

alluding to a variety of functions scheduled at various times and places. Consequently,

these groups are still a factor in today's social milieu. Each organization deserves further

study to determine whether they meet the criteria of formal social movements and what,

if anything, will bring them back into contemporary. In addition, the form of each

organization, in terms of lacking central leadership at the national level, warrants further

attention. Is the decentralization of the organizations enough to keep them active?

Further, OWS is organized differently beyond decentralization; what are its purposes and

trajectory? These avenues warrant further attention to determine whether a more "pure"

form of democracy of the people could survive.

Lessons Learned?

This study engaged the actual process of, and battle for, control as it unfolded in

the context of a presidential election. Previous research approached the issue of political

protest as a form of new social movement activity (Snow et al., 2004), contested by

groups such as the pro-life versus pro-choice movements, and other movements formed

in response to divisive social issues. This work evaluated what appeared to be competing

attitudes and approaches, portrayed by Tea Party and OWS participants, toward

economic conditions facing the nation.

A brief review of the conceptual model (Figure 7.1) that guided this study

portrays a cultural criminology framework, which incorporated elements of both culture

of control and symbolic interactionism. The dimensions of power and culture represent

the political (state), social (media), and economic (corporate) institutions that constrain

society through a culture of control. Key actors of these institutions represent insiders that possess power over outsiders.

Figure 7.1 Conceptual Map Demonstrating Theoretical Framework
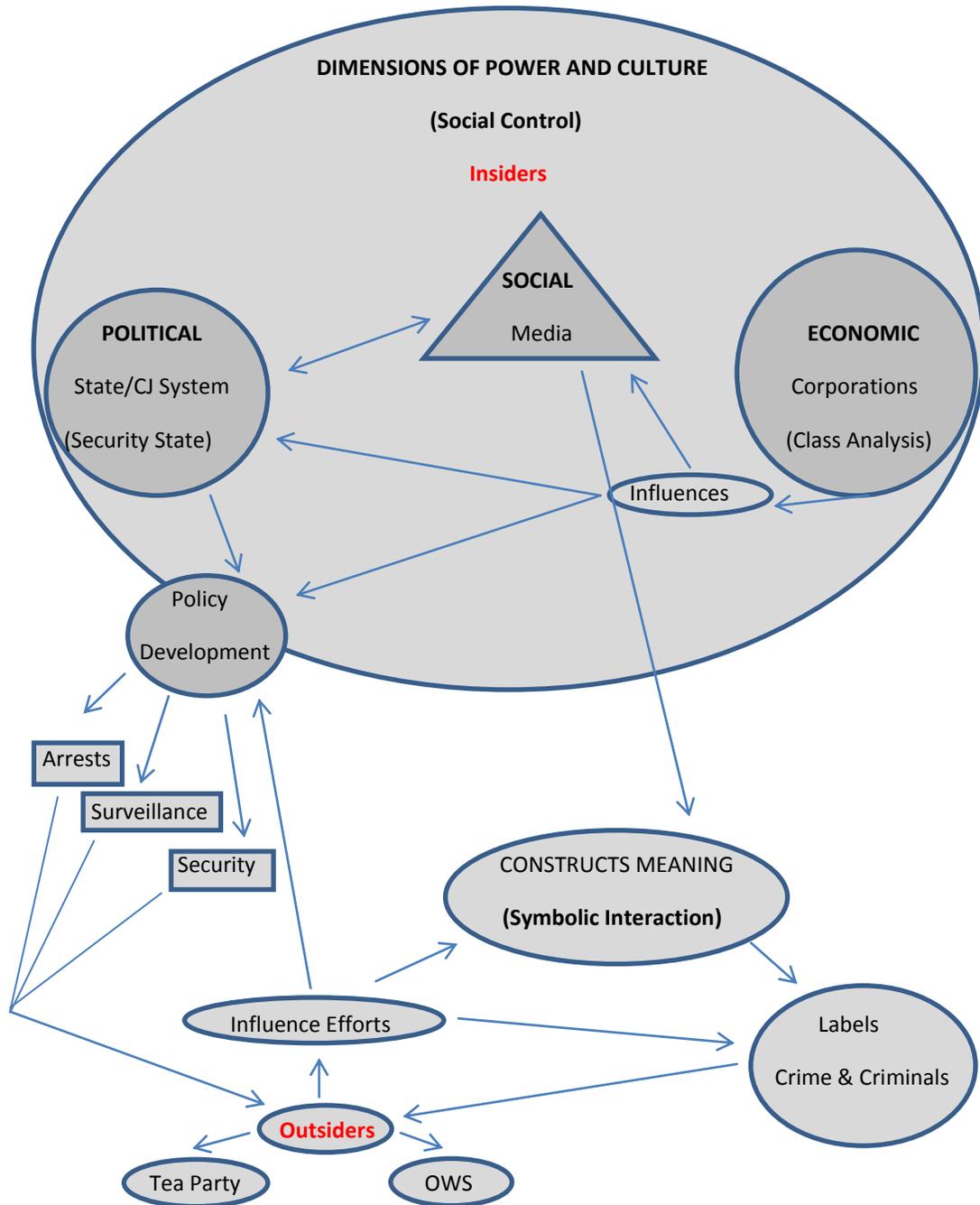
Outsiders represent those individuals or groups labeled, through symbolic interaction, as deviant, dangerous, or, at best, "weird," due to their efforts to resist the status quo. Labels result from, and are reinforced by, the cultural constructs set in motion by insiders.

Previous contributions of cultural criminology were restricted to "clear categories of offender or specific sub-cultures" (Fenwick, 2004, p. 384). This research expanded the concept of offender, evaluating how the media labeled grassroots participants as outsiders, and consequently criminalized behaviors in the context of political protest. While cultural criminology capitalizes on the "simultaneously occurring control and resistance" (Tunnell, 2004, p. 146) of everyday life (Ferrell et al., 2008), this study captures the historical influences responsible for creating and maintaining structural conditions that constrain society. Ultimately, this study has expanded the cultural criminology literature, demonstrating a less specific category of offender in the context of grassroots political protest.

The pursuit of freedom brought opposing grassroots political organizations to action. The Tea Party formed to "restore America's founding principles of fiscal responsibility, constitutionally limited government and free markets" (www.teapartypatriots.org). Occupy Wall Street sought an end to income inequality that divides the top one percent from the rest of society. Pursuit of these basic freedoms, through the resistance of formal power structures, may be limited by an overarching culture of control (Garland, 2001). Ironically, efforts by the Tea Party and OWS initially reinforced the dimensions of power that exercise control.

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Structural constraints, resulting from the culmination of more than 100 years of co-mingling between corporate and capitalist classes, have been reinforced over time. The partnership between political (state), social (media), and economic (corporate) institutions seeks to protect their interests, including their status as insiders. Government passes legislation that benefits corporations. Media outlets, claimed by many to represent interests of the political and corporate classes, frame news coverage that guides public opinion, and fosters a culture of control through several approaches: 1) defining what society thinks; 2) determining what or who society views as a social problem; and 3) presenting solutions to these problems in a manner that maintains the reigning form of power and control (Cavendar, 2004). Corporations make financial contributions to ensure elections of government officials that will protect insider status of the elites. The consequence is an ongoing cycle of power yielding more power, and control more control (Foucault, 1977; Garland, 2001).

History includes a number of instances when the American people were successful in bringing about broad social changes, after years of hardship and toil. The women's suffragist movement resulted in signing of the 19th Amendment, which gave women the right to vote, demonstrating success of picketing President Wilson's administration during World War I. Passage of the Civil Rights Act criminalized racial segregation, demonstrating success of the Montgomery bus boycotts and other efforts by civil rights activists. While this represents only a two examples of success by Americans in demanding change in the social order, many other instances have occurred. Success did not result immediately but after many years of effort on the part of those who sought change. Initial efforts by these competing organizations seem to indicate that both the

Tea Party and OWS reinforce existing power structures. However, as the previous examples demonstrate, success did not occur immediately. Similarly, efforts by the Tea Party and OWS may reflect great success years, or even decades, beyond the completion of this study.

Despite media portrayals that polarized participants of each group, pitting Tea Partiers against Occupiers, these organizations desired much the same thing: a social, political, and economic environment that was conducive to success by the bottom 99 percent. However, participants were labeled as outsiders by the media due to their efforts to resist the status quo. Actions by OWS were criminalized due to outward protest that visibly challenged the state. Efforts of political resistance advanced by the Tea Party and OWS, media portrayals of each organization, and increased acts of formal social control on part of the state, demonstrate a cultural criminology framework that "conceptualizes the dynamics of class, crime, and social control within the cultural fluidity of contemporary capitalism" (Ferrell et al., 2008, p. 15). Because Tea Partiers were able to achieve "insider status," perceived as reinforcing the status quo, the state did not exert formal control against participants. In contrast, the status of "outsiders" placed on Occupiers, perceived as resisting the status quo in their efforts of visible resistance, resulted in increased control by the state. Consequently, OWS participants became a new category of offender, treated very differently than Tea Partiers.

Returning to the lyrics that opened this chapter, Tea Partiers and Occupiers both desired to change the current political milieu. The organizations sought to reduce corporate influence in Washington which, in turn, would garner economic security now and for future generations. Rather than polarizing interests based on political affiliation,

Americans should welcome the opportunity for an open dialogue, introduced by each of

these organizations, and unfettered by media bias. The time has come to put labels

aside, including conservatism, progressivism, insider, and outsider, and seek a resolution

to the social, economic, and political woes facing the nation.

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Appendix A - Operationalization of Research Concepts

THEORECTICAL FRAMEWORK	RESEARCH CONCEPT	RESEARCH METHOD
1) Symbolic Interaction (Ideology)	1a – Values and orientations portrayed by Occupy Wall Street and the Tea Party?	1a – Field research including participant observations of OWS demonstrations and Tea Party rallies in Tampa, FL , Denver, CO, and Phoenix, AZ. See Appendix B for Observation Checklist. 1a – Content analysis of the following websites affiliated with the perspective groups (see Appendix D for Content Analysis Guide): www.teapartypatriots.org (Zernike, 2011) www.teapartyexpress.org (Armey & Kibbe, 2010) www.TheTeaParty.net occupywallst.org (Writers, 2011) www.facebook.com/OccupyWallSt#!
	1b – Do media affiliates report favorable, unfavorable, or balanced depictions of OWS and the Tea Party?	1b – ECA (Altheide, 1996) evaluating newspaper articles dated February 9, 2009 through March 4, 2013 in conjunction with ECA for comparative analysis (see Appendix C for Content Analysis Guide and Appendix D for ECA Guide).
2) Social Control	2a – Responses toward OWS and Tea Party participants?	2a – Field research including participant observations of OWS demonstrations and Tea Party rallies in Tampa, FL, Denver, CO, and Phoenix, AZ. See Appendix B for Observation Checklist. 2a – ECA (Altheide, 1996) evaluating newspaper articles dated February 19, 2009 through March 4, 2013 in conjunction with EPA for comparative analysis (see Appendix C for Content Analysis Guide and Appendix D for ECA Guide). 2a – Information retrieved from contact with administrators from cities/towns/municipalities where both OWS demonstrations and Tea Party rallies have been held. See Appendix E and Appendix F for Letter Requesting Information.

THEORECTICAL FRAMEWORK	RESEARCH CONCEPT	RESEARCH METHOD
3) Power	3a – Are OWS and Tea Party participants resistant toward or reinforcing of existing power structures?	3a – Field research including participant observations of OWS demonstrations and Tea Party rallies in Tampa, FL, Denver, CO, and Phoenix, AZ. See Appendix B for Observation Checklist. 3a – Content analysis of the following websites affiliated with the perspective groups: www.teapartypatriots.org (Zernike, 2011) www.teapartyexpress.org (Armey & Kibbe, 2010) www.TheTeaParty.net occupywallst.org (Writers, 2011) www.facebook.com/OccupyWallSt#! (See Appendix C for Content Analysis Guide)
	3b – Do media affiliates report favorable, unfavorable, or balanced depictions of OWS and the Tea Party?	3b – ECA (Altheide, 1996) evaluating newspaper articles dated February 9, 2009 through March 4, 2013 in conjunction with ECA for comparative analysis (see Appendix C for Content Analysis Guide and Appendix D for ECA Guide).

Appendix B - Field Research Observation Checklist

Date/Time_____ **Location** _____

- Presence/absence of rally/demonstration leadership?

- General description of participants?

- Presence/absence of specific activity?
  - Speaker(s)?
    - Message being delivered?
    - Issues being addressed?
      - Social?
      - Economic?
      - Crime/legal?
    - Pro or anti American rhetoric?
    - Pro or anti-government rhetoric?
  - Crowd involvement?
    - Chanting/singing?
    - Posters?
    - Camping?
    - Peaceful/protesting?
    - Presence/absence of those opposed to the group?
    - Law-abiding/law-breaking?
    - Violence/violence-inciting?

- Presence/absence of law enforcement? Other security?

- Role of law enforcement?
  - Peace-keeping?
  - Public service/directing crowds?
  - Patrol?
  - Arrests?
  - Antagonistic/friendly/neutral?

- Conditions of the grounds/location?
  - Organized?
  - Tidy?
  - Presence of trash?
  - Campout?
  - Weather?

Appendix C - Content Analysis Guide

Ideology	Issues Party Platforms Social Class Indicators American Dream Morals/values Christianity/Religiosity
Social Control	Arrests Law Enforcement State Issues Legislation Gender/race
Power	Arrests Issues Party Platforms Legislation Security Finance Corporations Social Class Inequality

Appendix D - ECA Guide

PERIODICALS	KEY WORDS	THEMES
New York Times	Occupy Wall Street • Occupy • OWS • 99 Percenters	Law enforcement presence Arrests Crowd control Attitudes regarding punishment/social control Political issues Party resistance to or support of grassroots political organizations Republicans Democrats
New York Post	Tea Party • Tea Baggers • Tea Party Patriots • Tea Party Express	Social/Fiscal Conservatives Liberals Progressives Legislation Activist attitudes toward government/officials Social class/inequality/elites American Dream Race/gender

Appendix E - Letter Requesting Information

February 1, 2013

To Whom It May Concern:

My name is Tamara J. Lynn and I am a graduate student from Kansas State University – in Manhattan, KS – working toward completion of my Ph.D. in Sociology.   I am writing this letter to request information that will support my dissertation research regarding Occupy Wall Street and the Tea Party movements.   You are receiving this letter because members from both movements have engaged in demonstrations and/or rallies in your city.

I have provided a brief list of questions that seek the specific information that I am requesting.

1. Does your city/community allow (or encourage or discourage) open protest from politically motivated activists?
2. Does your city/community require activists to limit their demonstrations to specific locations in the city? If so, where are those locations and what is the purpose for the limitations?
3. What type of protest have these organizations participated in: civil or violent? What did these demonstrations "look like"?
4. Did these demonstrations result in any arrests? Do you recall whether one group had more arrests than the other? If so, which group? How were these arrests handled in the court system (such as charges filed or dismissed)?
5. Since these demonstrations have taken place, has your city/community made any changes in terms of reducing or responding to future demonstrations?
6. Do you have any comments that you would like to add?

After reviewing the questions, if you have any concerns, please feel free to contact me at 785-432-2112 and I will be happy to clarify the information being sought.   If there are no concerns, would you, or a designated official, please submit a response in the enclosed, self-addressed, stamped envelope.

All responses are kept completely confidential and stored in a locked file cabinet. No identifying information, such as city or responding personnel, will be reported unless permission is granted with your response to release this information.   My hope is to receive your completed response **no later than March 15, 2013**. I look forward to hearing from you and thank you in advance for your efforts in furthering my research and degree completion.

Sincerely,

Tamara J. Lynn, Ph.D. Candidate

Appendix F - Follow-up Letter Requesting Information

June 1, 2013

To Whom It May Concern:

My name is Tamara J. Lynn and I am a graduate student from Kansas State University – in Manhattan, KS – working toward completion of my Ph.D. in Sociology. I previously contacted your office earlier this year requesting information that will support my dissertation research regarding Occupy Wall Street and the Tea Party movements. In an effort to increase the ease of responding, I wanted you to know that I will be sending an email to your office on or around June 15 requesting the information noted below:

1. Does your city/community allow (or encourage or discourage) open protest from politically motivated activists?
2. Does your city/community require activists to limit their demonstrations to specific locations in the city? If so, where are those locations and what is the purpose for the limitations?
3. What type of protest have these organizations participated in: civil or violent? What did these demonstrations "look like"?
4. Did these demonstrations result in any arrests? Do you recall whether one group had more arrests than the other? If so, which group? How were these arrests handled in the court system (such as charges filed or dismissed)?
5. Since these demonstrations have taken place, has your city/community made any changes in terms of reducing or responding to future demonstrations?
6. Do you have any comments that you would like to add?

The email address from which I will be contacting you follows: tjlynn@ksu.edu. You – or a designated representative from your office – may simply reply to this email with responses noted in the body of the original contact. All responses are kept completely confidential and no identifying information, such as city or responding personnel, will be reported unless permission is granted with your response to release this information. My hope is to receive your completed response **no later than July 15, 2013**. I look forward to hearing from you and thank you in advance for your efforts in furthering my research and degree completion.

Sincerely,

Tamara J. Lynn, Ph.D. Candidate

Appendix G - Howard Kaloogian Address to Winning for America Rally

Our government is going broke because it spends too much money and the economy stinks . . . the Obama economic policies have failed and he wants to blame Bush, still . . . the never ending gripe of what Obama inherited. He even blamed failed foreign policy on a YouTube video. It is embarrassing to have a President whose best ability is in finding blame in others . . . Every President before Obama has fixed the recessions that they inherited. Jimmy Carter's term was worse than this. We had double-digit unemployment, double-digit interest rates, double-digit inflation. Reagan came along and eliminated the gas lines and created a booming economy that lasted a generation. Reagan did it in less than four years and he created 20 million new jobs. *IT CAN BE DONE* (enunciated by speaker).

. . . Obama's excuse is that this was so bad . . . the worst it's been since the great depression, yet historically, the worse the recession, the stronger the recovery. This recession started 57 months ago (which would have been at the beginning of 2008) and according to Obama, it ended in June 2009. You have been living in the recovery since June 2009 and that's the best Obama can do but is that the best America can do?

What have Obama's policies actually produced? We have deficits

of 1.3 trillion dollars annually; we have over a million fewer

payroll jobs than when Obama took office; we have the smallest

work force participation since the 90s. we have 23 million

Americans who are either out of work, given up on looking, or

under-employed. That is a national tragedy . . . for the rest of us

who actually have jobs, we are on average earning four thousand

dollars a year less and we have lost on average about forty percent

of our net worth and gas has doubled in price. *THIS IS*

(enunciation by speaker) an Obama recovery but it's not the best

America can do.

What disappoints Obama about all of this . . . was failing to get

immigration reform through during his first term. *REALLY?*

(enunciation by speaker)

What comes next with Obama? The CBO projects that under our

policies with Obama, the economy is going to return to recession

next year, unemployment is going up above nine percent. Is this

really the best America can do?

One reason next year is going to see a recession is all the taxes

coming January first. Obama-care alone has twenty one taxes in it.

Some apply to doctors, hospitals, and insurance companies but

there are twelve taxes in Obama-care that affect every one of us –

people who make less than $250,000 per year. Obama-care was

supposed to decrease insurance premiums. He promised it would

go down by twenty five hundred dollars a year. Instead, what has

happened? Since he took office, insurance has gone up twenty

four hundred dollars per year. It is time we appeal Obama-care

starting with electing Romney and Ryan.

Did you hear Obama say the private sector is doing just fine? He

said it with a straight face too. I can't even quote it with a straight

face. This actually reveals how Obama thinks. It's not just a

gaffe. He actually views the government as a critical source for

economic vitality in America. That's why he keeps pouring

money into Solandra – or whatever that solar power company

name was. And he keeps pouring money, thinking government

incentive is what is going to cause a market to occur . . . He

believes that if you tax more of you, spend more on them, regulate

more of you, subsidize them, then economic prosperity will flow.

But it has never happened anywhere in the world that way and if

Obama gets what he wants, *HIS* projections once he gets *HIS* tax

increases *HE* projects government spending under *HIS*

(enunciation by speaker) plan is going to grow to one hundred

forty percent of Gross Domestic Product and America becomes

Greece in eighteen years. Is that what we want?

A vote for Obama is a vote for more debt, more tax, more

spending, more deficits, more borrowing, until finally, we're living

in some American version of Europe with low, slow growth. High,

permanent unemployment and blame, shame, complain speech

making from Obama . . . *BUT* (enunciation by speaker) . . . a vote

for Romney-Ryan is a vote for energy independence, attacking the

deficits through spending cuts, not tax increases, having small

businesses be promoted instead of demonized. That's going to

grow the economy by twelve million new jobs in the next four

years. Electing Romney-Ryan restores prosperity to the country

and that's what we want.

So, either expand government control over our lives or expand

your freedom. It seems to me as if it comes down to that divide on

every issue, every time. Either the government controls your life

or you control your life.

Appendix H - The 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 undermind the farming system through monopolization.

- They have profited off of the torture, confinement, and cruel treatment of countless animals, and actively hide these practices.

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- 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 works' healthcare and pay.

- They have influenced the courts to achieve the same rights as people, with non 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, who are responsible for 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 or provide relief in order to protect investments that have already turned a substantial 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 abroud.

- 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.

Appendix I - Citations: Content Analysis

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