

# Analyzing Predictive Power: WUNC Theory vs. The Strategy of Social Protests in the Context of Occupy Wall Street

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## Descriptive Abstract

When Social Movement scholars aim to understand the causality behind movement success, they often points to one of two theories, either Charles Tilly's WUNC theory that movements are worthy, unified, numerous and committed, or the twelve characteristics William Gamson highlights in his *Strategy of Social Protest* which contribute to protest success, such as having a centralized authority. There has been little empirical work to support either of these theories and none of the work compares the two. This case study uses both of these theories to analyze the Occupy Wall Street movement. It aims to identify which theory better explains the movement's outcomes. Each characteristic was defined with reference to the original authors and operationalized as scored excerpts which put the Occupy movement in relation to each characteristic. Scores for the Occupy movement were created for each characteristic between 0 and 1 by the researcher based on archival evidence. These scores were used both as is and as weighted by coefficients from previous studies to compare each theory independently and combined. Finally, archival evidence was used to score how successful the Occupy Wall Street movement was in gaining new advantages so that these scores could be compared with the predictive scores of the theories.

# Introduction

Charles Tilly finds four characteristics to be important in determining the success of a movement, i.e., worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment. William Gamson identifies twelve characteristics that contribute positively or negatively to the outcome of a movement, i.e., Displacement Goals, Focus on a Single Issue, Central Authority, External Support, Selective Incentives, Active During a Crisis, Factionalism, Formal Bureaucracy, Use of Violence, Subject to Violence, Use of Nonviolent Constraints, and Subject to Nonviolent Constraints. To compare these theories of social movements, we employed a mix of archival research and statistical analysis. We used archival evidence on the Occupy movement to identify excerpts that related to any of these characteristics. These excerpts were scored on a ten-point scale to develop a mean score for each characteristic. These scores were used in a continuous dichotomous and discrete dichotomous form.

The Occupy Wall Street movement began in September of 2011 as a response to the 2008 financial crisis, economic inequality, and the influence of money on politics. The movement began with the occupation of Zuccotti Park, renamed Liberty Park, and spread across the country and the globe. The movement was decentralized and operated off of anarchist principles such as democratic consensus and horizontalism. The movement popularized terminology such as “The 1%” and “The 99%”. Occupy is thought to have changed the political landscape at home and abroad but many question the material impact it has caused.

In order to develop predictive equations of a movement's success for each set of characteristics previous empirical studies were used to obtain unstandardized beta coefficients. The studies used were Wouters and Walgrave's 2017 vignette study on the WUNC theory and Frey et al.'s 1992 Ordinary Least Squares analysis. We used a variety of novel formulas to standardize these coefficients for each study to develop predictive equations for each and a combined equation. These excerpts were also used to identify goals that could be used to determine the success of the Occupy movement. Further online data collection drawing on movement archives, news reports, and first-person accounts was used to identify the outcomes of these goals and determine a score for the movement's success. From here we can use the outcome scores from our predictive equations to compare with the score for movement success.

## Methods

### Data Collection

Archival research was performed with a document titled “The Declaration of Occupy Wall Street” written by the New York City General Assembly, 6 newspaper

articles, 5 journal articles, 1 press release, 1 magazine article, and a book pertaining to the Occupy Wall Street movement. Only three sources failed to provide information relevant to any of the sixteen characteristics used and were excluded.

The goals of the Occupy movement were identified from the same excerpts. Online data collection was conducted to determine the outcomes of these goals.

## Sample Selection

Each source was read in its entirety. If an excerpt within a text described how the Occupy Wall Street movement exemplified one or more of the sixteen characteristics used in a positive or negative manner, the excerpt was extracted from the source text into a “Occupy Materials” document. This process resulted in twenty-five single-spaced pages of excerpts that could be used to determine the characteristics of the Occupy Wall Street movement. These quotes were also used to identify forty-two goals of the Occupy movement. Of these goals, twenty-nine sources were identified that could reasonably indicate the outcome of a goal.

## Coding and Scoring

### Coding Characteristics

Each quote stored in the “Occupy Materials” document was evaluated on whether or not it exemplified each of the sixteen characteristics. Each characteristic that a quote exemplified was scored on a ten point scale, with a crossover point of five in regards to each characteristic. After every quote had been evaluated and a list of scores was developed for each characteristic, the scores were averaged for each characteristic and divided by 10. This created a score between 0 and 1 for each characteristic with  $n$  observations being the number of quotes to score each characteristic.

### Coding Success

Gamson categorized new advantages into four levels: new advantages, peripheral advantages, equivocal advantages, and no new advantages. In his coding he groups peripheral, equivocal, and no new advantages as not receiving new advantages and new advantages as obtaining new advantages. This coding system will not be used because it is not precise enough to test predictive accuracy within a single case study. Instead, a similar approach used for coding characteristics will be used for coding success. Forty-two goals of the Occupy movement were obtained from quotes in the “Occupy Materials” document. Online data collection was conducted to obtain outside sources to identify outcomes for twenty-nine goals. These outcomes were scored on a ten-point scale in which a score of five meant that no change occurred, a score greater

than five was a positive outcome, and a score less than five was a negative outcome. A goal was coded as a one if a source found a positive outcome and was coded as a zero if a negative outcome or no change occurred.

## Development of Prediction Equations

### Standardized Beta Coefficient Formula

To standardize the beta coefficients obtained from Frey et al.'s analysis of Gamson's characteristics and Wouters and Walgrave's study on the WUNC characteristics we deployed the following techniques.

### WUNC Beta Standardization

To standardize Wouters and Walgrave's coefficients we divided each coefficient by the sum of the four coefficients.

$$\beta_i^* = \beta_i \div \sum_{i=1}^4 \beta_i$$

### Gamson Beta Standardization

For Frey et al. 's Gamson coefficients we needed to deal with the negative coefficients. To do this we divided the absolute value of each coefficient by the sum of the absolute value of the twelve coefficients. This allowed all the standardized coefficients to be positive and add up to one.

$$\beta_i^* = |\beta_i| \div \sum_{i=5}^{16} |\beta_i|$$

### Combined Beta Standardization

For the Standardized Combined Beta coefficients we needed to deal with the negatives in the Gamson variables and the difference in scales. To do this we divided the absolute value of each coefficient by two sums of each of the sets of unstandardized coefficients. For the Wouters and Walgrave WUNC set we needed to take the sum of each coefficient divided by 10 in order to rescale the coefficients from the ten point scale they used to a one point scale.

$$\beta_i^{**} = \frac{|\beta_i|}{\sum_{i=1}^4 \frac{\beta_i}{10} + \sum_{i=5}^{16} |\beta_i|}$$

### Variable Sign Change Formula

In order to deal with the change in sign of the negative beta coefficients during standardization, we needed to alter the corresponding variables. This was done by subtracting the corresponding characteristic scores from one.

$$X_i^* = 1 - X_i, \text{ when } \beta_i \text{ is negative}$$

### WUNC Unweighted Formula

The mean score of WUNC characteristic variables.

$$Y = \frac{\sum_{n=1}^4 X_i}{n}$$

### Gamson Unweighted Formula

The mean score of the sign-changed Gamson characteristic scores. Sign changes are performed on the variables found by Frey et al. to be negative even when Gamson demonstrated otherwise. For example, *focus on a single issue* is sign-changed.

$$Y = \frac{\sum_{n=5}^{16} X_i^*}{n}$$

### WUNC Weighted Formula

The sum of the standardized beta scores multiplied by the corresponding WUNC characteristic scores.

$$Y = \sum_{i=1}^4 \beta_i^* X_i$$

### Gamson Weighted Formula

The sum of the standardized beta scores multiplied by the corresponding sign-changed Gamson characteristic scores.

$$Y = \sum_{i=5}^{16} \beta_i^* X_i^*$$

### Combined Weighted Formula

$$Y = \sum_{i=1}^{16} \beta_i^{**} X_i^*$$

WUNC Characteristic Beta Scores	Unstandardize d Beta Scores $\beta_i$	Unstandardize d Combined Beta Scores $\frac{\beta_i}{10}$	Standardized Beta Scores $\beta_i^*$	Standardized Combined Beta Scores $\beta_i^{**}$
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Worthiness <i>i</i> = 1	.116	.0116	.10933082	.0057247199
Unity <i>i</i> = 2	.350	.0350	.3298774741	.0172728619
Numbers <i>i</i> = 3	.439	.0439	.4137606032	.0216651039
Commitment <i>i</i> = 4	.156	.0156	.1470311027	.0076987613

Gamson Characteristic Beta Scores	Unstandardized Beta Scores $\beta_i$	Standardized Beta Scores $\beta_i^*$	Standardized Combined Beta Scores $\beta_i^{**}$
Displacement Goals <i>i</i> = 5	-.3609	.187949172	.1781078814
Focus on a Single Issue <i>i</i> = 6	-.0204	.0106238933	.0100676109
Central Authority <i>i</i> = 7	.0534	.0278096032	.0263534521
External Support <i>i</i> = 8	-.0356	.0185397354	.0175689681
Selective Incentives <i>i</i> = 9	.2095	.1091032184	.103390416
Active During a Crisis <i>i</i> = 10	.1209	.0629621914	.0596654
Factionalism <i>i</i> = 11	-.3370	.1755025518	.1663129843
Formal Bureaucracy <i>i</i> = 12	.0893	.0465055723	.0440704733

Used Violence <i>i</i> = 13	.3040	.158316842	.1500271431
Subject to Violence <i>i</i> = 14	-.1938	.1009269868	.0956423037
Used Nonviolent Constraints <i>i</i> = 15	-.0298	.0155192167	.0147066081
Subject to Nonviolent Constraints <i>i</i> = 16	-.1656	.0862410166	.0817253121

## The Meaning of Success

Success in this study is determined on the basis of winning new advantages. Gamson describes protest success in two ways: the ability to gain acceptance from antagonists and the ability to win new advantages. Gaining acceptance can take the form of consultation, negotiation, formal recognition, and inclusion. This measure of success is not used for the following reasons. Acceptance is excluded from the multivariate analysis of Gamson's characteristics from which unstandardized beta scores were obtained. In addition, there is no comparable measure found in the study by Wouters and Walgrave from which we obtained the other unstandardized beta scores. Lastly, since Occupy was a decentralized movement it would not make sense for acceptance of some of its members to be considered a success of the movement.

New advantages are described by Gamson as the achievement of goals identified by the challenging group. New advantages are coded as being achieved regardless of whether they were caused by the challenging group. Achievement is also included even if the goals met do not actually benefit the members or beneficiaries it was believed to.

## WUNC of The Occupy Wall Street Movement

The following subsections describe the ways in which Occupy Wall Street did or did not display the characteristics Tilly describes as both defining a social movement and contributing to its success. These subsections are descriptions of the findings used by the researcher to score the movement on each of these characteristics.

## Worthiness

When Charles Tilly talks about the worthiness of a movement he's not actually talking about the cause itself, rather he is talking about the appearance, perceptions, and behavior of the protesters themselves. Tilly says that a movement is worthy if it is "disciplined", "eloquent", and "disreputable". Worthiness is found to be the least influential characteristic in Wouters and Walgrave's study. This may be due to conflicting evidence on the effectiveness of violent tactics. (Gamson, 1990)(Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013; Howes, 2013)

Occupy Wall Street had relatively high levels of worthy appearance and behavior. Most protesters were middle-class, white, young, educated, and attractive (Schneider 2012.) There were numerous instances of protesters and mothers with young children. At the same time, they were occupying a city block with tents and a decent number of people attending, especially during the second occupation, were houseless and people of color. These images were the ones the media tended to focus on which greatly damaged public perception. While the movement was largely non-violent, clashes with the police were often blamed on the protesters. At the same time, unjustified police violence occasionally garnered sympathy for the protesters.

## Unity

"Unity is a matter of message coherence and displaying this coherence by uniform gestures (applauding, chanting, walking together) and symbols (badges, colors, flags) (Tilly 2004)." Unity promotes successful outcomes by producing a clear signal and demonstrating organizational strength. (Wouters and Walgrave 2017:367).

The Occupy movement was rarely seen as unified. One of the many reasons cited for this was that the movement refused to issue demands. In fact, the issue of creating demands was a major reason for disunity within the movement. Occupy protesters were able to display unity through marches and the popularization and use of their slogan "We are the 99%!" They also consistently voiced the chant "This is what democracy looks like!" While the issues of the movement centered around Wall Street and corporations, individual protesters were there for a wide variety of reasons.

Numerous divisions occurred on the bases of socio-economic status, political ideology, and tactics. Sometimes major disagreements would be resolved through compromise. For example, leading up to the one-year anniversary of the Occupy movement there was a division arising from a difference in proposed tactics known as the "people's wall" and "the swirl". The people's wall wanted to sit down and link arms around the stock exchange while the swirl wanted to swarm in and out of financial targets. They were able to reach a compromise and initiate both tactics on the day of the anniversary. Nonetheless, the Occupy movement struggled to produce an image of unity.

## Numbers

*Numbers* refers to the size of a protest, i.e., the number of people who attend in support. There is reason to believe that protest size has a significant impact on politicians' willingness to engage in action supporting a movement. This is because a high protest size may indicate high public support. *Numbers* is also found to be the most influential factor in politicians' likelihood to commit to action by Wouters and Walgraves vignette study (2017.)

Occupy Wall Street displayed very high numbers of people turning out in support. Some reports place upwards of 30,000 people at its largest marches (Gitlin.) At one point the movement had 4000 active organizers (Holmes.) On the May Day protest which Occupy helped organize the following year, "easily 50,000" people showed up (Holmes:188.) The movement spread beyond Liberty Park with protests and occupations erupting all over the country and worldwide.

## Commitment

"According to Tilly (1994), demonstrators show commitment by persisting in costly activity and showing readiness to endure. Committed protestors convince elected representatives that the activity is not simply a fad but that dissatisfaction is deeply rooted. Because committed people pursue their goals at the expense of other potential activities and interests (Hunt and Benford 2004), committed protestors will likely persist and vote accordingly" (Wouters and Walgrave.)

Examples of commitment can include persisting against violence and repression, conducting multiple events, protesting during severe weather and traveling to protest.

The Occupy movement showed high levels of commitment in several ways. Occupy Wall Street was able to occupy a park in the heart of New York City's financial district for nearly two months; Occupy D.C. lasted over nine months. They erected tarps to protect against the rain, wind, and snow. They consistently faced a high level of police repression that had not been seen since the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle in 1999, despite protesters engaging in far less militant tactics themselves. Even after their eviction, the movement continued to organize around other issues, attempt more occupations, and turn out high numbers in subsequent protests.

## Gamson's Characteristics of Occupy Wall Street

The following subsections describe the ways in which Occupy Wall Street did or did not display the characteristics which Gamson describes as contributing to a protest's

success. The archival evidence described in this section is what is used by the researcher to score the movement on each of these characteristics.

## Displacement Goals

*Displacement Goals* are protest goals that seek the destruction or replacement of one or more targets of change or antagonists. A group may criticize and commit actions that harm its antagonists without necessarily seeking to displace them, rather the group may only hope to change the policies or organization of the antagonist(s). Having displacement goals is the single greatest influence on a protest's outcome, causing a strong negative effect on protest outcome.

It can be difficult to determine whether Occupy Wall Street had displacement goals because it is difficult to determine what goals the movement had. Of the forty-two goals we identified, only three were displacement goals and they were all in one quote by one protester shouting "Capitalism must go! And pigs must go! Smash the state!" (Holmes). Protesters were divided on whether or not they should make demands because many did not want to recognize the existing institutions of power as legitimate. Some people were less concerned about the change that Occupy would cause and more concerned with creating new social life within the movement – they wanted to show through prefigurative politics what society could look and function like.

## Focus on a Single Issue

*Focus on a single issue* is whether or not a protest or movement is focused on a single issue. When Gamson wrote about this characteristic, he intended and demonstrated through univariate analysis that it had a positive effect on a protest gaining new advantages. When Scott Frey, Thomas Dietz, and Linda Kalof performed a multivariate analysis, they found it had a relatively small negative effect. They hypothesized that this was the result of collinearity. I believe there is also the possibility that focus on a single issue has a truly negative effect on outcomes. Occupy protester Michael Ellick said "As soon as there's one issue, then I alienate the two of you who don't have my issue." Since our findings show the *numbers* characteristic has a combined beta score which is over twice the size of *focus on a single issue* and slightly larger than unity, it is plausible that the damage single issues have on member size is more important than the positive effect it has on *unity*. More research is needed to determine if this is true.

Occupy Wall Street is often characterized as not being focused on a single issue and this was coded as such. Some protesters in the movement claimed it was focused on a single issue. For example, Wall Street Protester Stephen Lerner stated "There was total clarity on who the bad guys were. The fact that it was Occupy Wall Street, in Wall

Street, was critical,” (Milkman.) One might argue Wall Street is a target of change and not an issue in and of itself. Quotes claiming this single issue stance resulted in a continuous score of 0.4, slightly larger than expected.

## Central Authority

Gamson argues that centralization of power is a mechanism for managing internal disputes and preventing factionalism. He also demonstrates that decentralized groups are able to be successful if they can avoid factionalism through bureaucracy. In fact, decentralized bureaucratic groups were identified by Gamson as the most likely to gain acceptance, and fifty percent of these groups were able to win new advantages.

Occupy Wall Street was decentralized in nature and the centralization of power was perceived as a threat. The perceived threat of centralization arose in a few contexts. Some were worried that the New York City General Assembly (NYCGA) and the Spokes Council would centralize power. Both of these governing bodies operated through consensus models which dropped to 9/10 majority votes at an impasse. This meant that they would try to get total agreement on decisions and when people chose to block a decision they would be given the chance to speak. If consensus was not possible on an issue they would attempt to get 9/10 of the members to vote in support. The Spokes Council operated through a rotating body of representatives from the movement’s working groups. Nonetheless, some supporters worried that meeting facilitators would centralize power, others argued that the process of consensus itself was undemocratic. Another threat of centralization was perceived in the form of external support. Organizations that donated money to the movement would try to wield this support as an instrument of power and influence. For example, Ben Cohen, one of the founders of Ben and Jerry’s, helped establish the Movement Resource Group which would create a board of five members of the Movement Resource Group and five occupiers to evaluate and fund grant proposals for the movement.

## Formal Bureaucracy

Gamson makes a clear distinction between bureaucracy and centralization of power. For Gamson, bureaucracy has more to do with “formality of procedures, record keeping and some complexity of role differentiation.”

“Three minimum characteristics are used here to define bureaucratic challenging groups:

1. The group possesses a written document, a constitution or provisions for operation. A written document stating only purposes –for example, a manifesto– is insufficient if it contains no provisions for how the group will conduct its business.

2. The group maintains a formal list of members, thus distinguishing members from mere supporters and sympathizers.
3. The group possesses three or more levels of internal divisions –for example, officers or executive committee; division, committee, or chapter heads; and rank and file. Groups that have only officers and rank and file do not meet this criterion.”

Occupy wrote and utilized a number of documents described by the first characteristics but none described the entire movement. The NYCGA had the least qualifying documents in the form of meeting agendas and positions decided hours prior to each meeting. The Spokes Council required a proposal to the NYCGA which described its processes and relation to the NYCGA, including a mechanism for the NYCGA to dissolve the Spokes Council. Working groups required detailed proposals and approval from the Spokes Council in order to be a part of it. In regards to the second characteristic, the NYCGA did not appear to keep a formal member list while the Spoke Council and Working Groups did appear to. These lists themselves were not found in archival evidence but there was evidence in the description of the working group proposals and counts of active organizers. The last characteristic is also ambiguous in regards to Occupy because although the Spokes Council appeared to conduct the Working Groups, membership in the Spokes Council was a rotating body of Working Group members. Occupy is certainly ambiguous in regards to its status as a bureaucratic movement and it was likely scored higher than Gamson may have, given that most quotes describing the structure were likely to emphasize processes and organization rather than its lack thereof.

## External Support

External support is defined as help from outsiders that aids the movement’s ability to win acceptance or new advantages. By helping Gamson meant more than verbal support. It is another characteristic Gamson demonstrated as having a positive effect on outcomes, while Frey, Dietz, and Kalof found it to be negative in two samples, including the one used in this study. The reason for this may be that external support is used as a tool for outsiders to influence the tactics and goals of a movement. Gamson was clear that the positive effect was much greater for smaller groups than for larger ones.

Occupy Wall Street received high levels of external support. The movement in New York received roughly a million dollars in donations and gained alliances and support from dozens of unions and organizations. Occupiers became wary of the external support they were receiving because they believed it was being used as a method of influence and causing centralization around money.

They also received high levels of external opposition. For example, J.P. Morgan Chase donated \$4.6 million to the NYPD, a donation which paid off on May 1st 2012 at “Chase Plaza, where the fence was still erected and a line of cops posed around the perimeter, with zip ties wrapped around their waists and hands on their guns” (Holmes.)

## Selective Incentives

*Selective incentives* are methods a movement uses to overcome the free-rider problem. In a movement where the number of potential beneficiaries is very large, some potential supporters may choose to let other people do the work for them. A movement tries to prevent this by offering incentives to people who are willing to support the movement. These incentives range from statuses and jobs, to money and food. Selective incentives are more than the fulfillment a person might get from supporting a cause.

Occupy Wall Street provided a plethora of selective incentives in the form of the make-shift economy it created in Liberty Park. According to the Wall Street Journal:

“In less than four weeks, Occupy Wall Street managed to erect what looks and functions like a cross between a high-tech folk festival and a Canadian logging camp. At least for now, there's a lending library on one end and a man doling out cigarettes on the other. There are stations for first aid, phone charging and poster-making. There's even a guy who walks around handing out, yes, free money... In the Occupied Kitchen, a half-dozen volunteers chop carrots and man the buffet line... At the Comfort Station, workers dole out toothpaste, deodorant and sleeping bags; neatly labeled bins ("pants," "sweaters," "men's undies") offer clothes for the taking. Every day, a group of older women ("grandmother types," explains one volunteer) come by to pick up laundry and later return it freshly cleaned and folded. Mark Knowles says he's spent less than \$20 on subway fare, pizza and a breakfast sandwich. Over the weekend, he met a Brooklyn man who paid him \$75 for an afternoon of apartment painting. The Occupied lifestyle, says Mr. Knowles, is a lot cheaper than real life: 'I might go home with more money than I had.'”

## Active During a Crisis

Gamson mentions two types of crises. The first being a war, and the second being a financial crisis. It is reasonable to think that both of these were true of 2011. The United States was engaged in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Occupy also occurred only a couple years after the end of the Great Recession and the bank bailouts were a major issue in the movement. Protesters often chanted “Banks got bailed out! We got sold out!”.

It is difficult to place Occupy Wall Street in respect to these crises because there are no equivalents in his study. When Gamson talks about war time challengers, he compares groups who begin their challenging period before the start of the war and continue through it with groups that existed during peaceful times. He does not mention movements such as Occupy who begin their challenge during war times. It does not matter if war is an issue of the movement. Similarly with the Great Depression, he mentions groups who began and continued through the Depression with groups that began during the Depression. He does not include movements such as Occupy that began their challenge shortly after the Depression. Ultimately, Occupy was coded as being *Active During a Crisis*.

## Factionalism

Factionalism is about whether a movement is born out of and/or experiences factional splinters caused by internal disputes. It is the second most influential characteristic in determining protest success according to both Frey's findings and our own. When a movement experiences factionalism, not only do they lose members and solidarity but they often end up competing for resources and spending time fighting each other. Gamson notes that there may be two-way causality between factionalism and failure because groups that are failing may be more likely to factionalize.

Occupy Wall Street is coded as not engaging in factionalism. While the movement was not unified and faced various internal disputes, they were able to prevent factionalism through a decentralized bureaucratic structure. After the eviction at Liberty Park, the Direct Action Working Group split off to plan the #D6 and #D17 occupations separately, although archival evidence does not suggest the two groups were at odds with each other.

## Used Violence

When Gamson talks about violence he is describing "deliberate physical injury to property or persons. This does not embrace such things as forceful constraint – for example, arrest – unless it is accompanied by beating or other physical injury"(Gamson 1990:74.) Gamson does not distinguish between the provokers of violent altercation, only whether a party is an active participant in the violent altercation.

There is very little evidence to suggest that the Occupy movement actively or regularly engaged in violence. There are a few instances where violence emerged, but it was not a typical movement tactic. For instance, in Liberty Park, there was one incident where protesters charged a police line to which a white shirt officer responded by swinging his baton at the crowd. A woman was sexually assaulted by an officer during the #M17 #Re-Occupy attempt and was later charged with assaulting an officer and sentenced to three months at Rikers and five years of probation (Holmes:178). In

Occupy Oakland windows were smashed by some protesters, others in Seattle smashed some of the same corporate windows from the 1999 WTO protests (Graeber 2012).

## Subject to Violence

The same description for violence is used here but this characteristic is about the violence protesters face from antagonists and outsiders.

The Occupy movement faced an extraordinary level of violence at the hands of police which had not been seen in over a decade. There were a shocking number of violent altercations uncovered through the archival process but the most comprehensive account was a collaborative report from the Global Justice Clinic and the Walter Leitner International Human Rights Clinic at Fordham University. The report found a number of international human rights violations as well as 130 incidents in New York City which warrant investigation by authorities. This includes 97 alleged instances of pushing, shoving, tackling, throwing backwards to the wall or ground, dragging along the ground, hair pulling, hitting, punching, and kicking. The report finds 41 alleged incidents of police using batons, pepper spray, barricades, scooters, and horses against protesters, journalists, and bystanders. One of the most common reasons cited across sources for police violence was attempts by protesters, journalists, and researchers to document other cases of police violence and wrongful arrest.

## Used Nonviolent Constraints

Nonviolent constraints are nonviolent methods a group uses to disadvantage targets or antagonists. This can include boycotts, strikes, barricades, use of legal constraints, and attempts to discredit individual antagonists.

The Occupy movement used a high level of nonviolent constraints against its antagonists. The Occupation of a privately owned public space was not only a central tactic of the movement, it was central to its ideology as well. Police were consistently filmed by protesters, especially when they attempted to engage in violent and unlawful activity. In some instances this content was used to identify officers responsible for certain incidents such as the pepper spraying of a group of girls which was identified to Deputy Anthony Bologna who received the loss of 10 days vacation time and precinct transfer, the only reported case of an officer being held accountable for misconduct (Suppressing Protest.) The movement also contained members of the National Lawyers Guild who instructed protesters to share their name and birthday with a buddy who could identify them if they were arrested and to shout this out as they were being arrested. When the eviction occurred, “the National Lawyers Guild rushed over to the Supreme Court (across the street) and Jen Waller, a white woman who was a paralegal, petitioned for a temporary injunction on first amendment grounds asking for: 1.

Enjoining the respondents from evicting lawful protestors from Liberty Park/Zuccotti Park, 2. Permitting all protestors to re-enter the park with tents and other gear previously utilized; 3. Returning all property seized from protestors; and 4. Granting such further relief as may seem just and proper (Supreme Court, New York County). Judge Lucy Billings granted it at 6:30 am, and legally, we could re-enter. It was a small window, only lasting until the next court hearing at 11:30 am (Holmes.) The city and Brookfield Properties did not comply with the order and police refused to accept the papers when protestors tried to hand them to them. Occupy also attempted a general strike on May 1st, 2012.

## Subject to Nonviolent Constraints

Similarly to violence, nonviolent constraints take the same meaning prior except this characteristic describes the extent to which protestors are subjected to nonviolent constraints by their antagonists.

The protestors faced a very high number and variety of nonviolent constraints by police and other antagonists. Hundreds, if not over a thousand protestors were arrested and arrests were often seen as unwarranted. Many protestors were offered Adjudgment Contemplating Dismissal or ACDs which drop the first charge after six months of no other arrests. The use of ACDs likely discouraged protestors from continuing to engage in protest out of fear of another arrest, especially in conditions in which protestors believed they could be arrested at any moment without cause. Kettling was used at least one time but less than expected considering the size, duration, and use of other constraints against protestors. Video surveillance was used by the NYPD Technical Assistance Response Unit almost constantly. "In an effort to derail the organization of OWS, the FBI and DHS engaged in widespread surveillance both online and in person, infiltration of planning meetings, disruption of actions, and miscommunication. The agencies utilized over 70 Fusion centers run by DHS, sharing information between local, state, federal agencies, and the private sector in real time (Timm, October 9, 2012). Each of these physical locations had full-time staff evaluating data and providing intelligence reports that could be used across all levels of law enforcement" (Holmes.) The NYPD Intelligence Division interrogated protestors who were arrested and protestors described these interrogations as discomforting and intimidating. Additionally the police posted a wanted poster for two Occupy activists, describing them as professional agitators because the protestors filmed police on the street – a legal activity– the poster includes pictures of the protestors, their names, and their addresses. There were at least two instances of entrapment. Two Chicago Police Department officers convinced protestors from Occupy Miami to make molotov cocktails and bought them supplies such as fuel, knives, tactical vests, pvc pipe and a bow and arrow. In one instance an FBI informant befriended some young men in Occupy circles,

gave them drugs, and convinced them to meet with an arms dealer to purchase 8 bricks of C4 explosives and blow up a bridge on May Day (Holmes.)

## Results

### Coding

WUNC Characteristic Scores	N=	Continuous Dichotomous $X_i$	Discrete Dichotomous $X_i$
Worthiness	14	0.514	1
Unity	13	0.385	0
Numbers	8	0.913	1
Commitment	9	0.855	1

Gamson Characteristic Scores	$n$	Continuous Score $X_i$	Discrete Score $X_i$	Sign-Changed Continuous Score $X_i^*$	Sign-Changed Discrete Score $X_i^*$
Displacement Goals (-)	5	.66	1	.34	0
Focus on a Single Issue (-)	6	.4	0	.6	1
Central Authority	9	.433	0	.433	0
External Support (-)	16	.806	1	.194	0
Selective Incentives	3	.867	1	.867	1
Active During a Crisis	4	.675	1	.675	1

<b>Factionalism \ (-)</b>	6	.45	0	.55	1
<b>Formal Bureaucracy</b>	7	.8	1	.8	1
<b>Used Violence</b>	8	.238	0	.238	0
<b>Subject to Violence (-)</b>	11	.9	1	.1	0
<b>Used Nonviolent Constraints (-)</b>	4	.975	1	.025	0
<b>Subject to Nonviolent Constraints (-)</b>	25	.96	1	.04	0

## Success

Through the archival data and the entirety of the Declaration of Occupy Wall Street, forty-two goals were identified by various supporters of Occupy Wall Street. A source was identified to indicate the outcomes of twenty-nine of these goals, which are listed below. A goal is coded as zero if either no change or a change averse to the desired outcome of the goal occurs between 2011 and the present. If any positive change occurs since 2011, the goal outcome is coded as a one.

<b>Goal</b>	<b>Coding</b>	<b>Source Used for Coding</b>
<b>Illegal Foreclosures</b>	1	Attom Data Solutions
<b>Bailouts</b>	1	Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget
<b>Executive Bonuses</b>	1	Economic Policy Institute
<b>Workplace Discrimination</b>	1	U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
<b>Poisoned Food Supply</b>	0	USDA – Statista
<b>Monopolized Farming</b>	0	MacDonald, Dong, Fuglie – USDA Economic Research Service

<b>Right to Negotiate</b>	0	Walter, Karla. American Progress Action
<b>Student Loan Debt</b>	0	Hanson, Melanie. – EducationData.org
<b>Corporations Given Same Rights as People</b>	0	Pruitt, Sarah – History.com
<b>Commodified Privacy</b>	0	Vagle, L. Jeffery.
<b>Freedom of the Press</b>	0	Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index
<b>Corporate Lobbying Economic Policy</b>	0	Opensecrets.com
<b>Oil &amp; Gas Lobbying</b>	1	Opensecrets.com
<b>Generic Medicine</b>	1	IQVIA – Statista
<b>Cover Up Oil Spills</b>	0	Ragoonath, Reshma. Guardian Trinidad & Tobago
<b>Cover Up Inactive Ingredients</b>	0	Trafton, Anne. MIT News Office
<b>Accept Death Penalty Contracts</b>	1	Death Penalty Information Center
<b>Perpetuate Colonialism</b>	0	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
<b>Weapons of Mass Destruction</b>	1	Federation of American Scientists
<b>Fund Public Services</b>	1	Usaspending.gov
<b>Tax the 1%</b>	0	Congress.gov 2017
<b>Glass-Steagall Act</b>	0	Congress.gov 2015
<b>G20 Robin Hood Tax</b>	0	Podimata, Anni. Legislative Train Schedule
<b>Ban Flash Trading</b>	0	Moyer, Liz. Forbes.com
<b>Break Up Big Banks</b>	0	Institute for Local Self Reliance
<b>Arrest 2008 Fraudsters</b>	1	U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission

<b>Military Spending</b>	1	Peter G. Peterson Foundation
<b>Public Transportation</b>	0	Burrows et al. American Community Services
<b>Transfer \$ From Big Banks</b>	1	Marisa, Holmes.
<b>Success Score</b>	.413793 1034	XX XX

### Equation Predictions

The outcome predictions of six equations on continuous and discrete scores are listed in the table below. There are a couple of things to consider. Discrete scores are likely to be more objective but potentially less precise and continuous scores are likely to be more subjective and potentially more precise. This is because continuous scores rely on the researchers ability to reliably score characteristics on a ten-point scale while some variance in scoring is less likely to alter a dichotomous variable. Likewise, a discrete score is not as likely to capture the reality of a characteristic which lies near the crossover point. Weighted scores are more likely to be generalizable and in four out of six comparisons between a weighted equation and its unweighted counterpart, the weighted equation was a better predictor of success.

<b>Equation Predictions</b>	<b>Continuous Scores</b>	<b>Discrete Scores</b>
<b>WUNC Weighted Equation</b>	.6866738925	.6701225547
<b>WUNC Unweighted Equation</b>	0.66675	0.75
<b>Gamson Weighted Equation</b>	.420389438	.4046974272
<b>Gamson Unweighted Equation</b>	.405166	.4166
<b>Combined Weighted Equation</b>	.4229214333	.4185954696
<b>Combined Unweighted Equation</b>	.4705625	0.5

## Discussion

Through statistical analysis of previous empirical work we were able to develop equations that could compare and combine the abilities of Tilly's WUNC theory and Gamson's characteristics in *The Strategy of Social Protest* to predict the outcome of a movement. This paper is described as a case study because we use one movement to determine the accuracy of these equations; the equations themselves are generalizable. The most accurate prediction was the Gamson Unweighted Discrete Equation, however, there is no reason to think this would be the case if repeated with other movements because the characteristics are not thought to have the same impact on outcome. Neither Gamson nor Frey, Dietz, and Kalof demonstrated these characteristics to hold equal weight; the unstandardized beta score of *Displacement Goals* is more than seventeen times greater than *Focus on a Single Issue*. The second most accurate prediction was the Combined Weighted Discrete Equation, which is expected and more likely to be applicable elsewhere. The Gamson Weighted equation was the only weighted equation to output an overestimate for the continuous scores and an underestimate for the discrete scores, for this reason it is possible that it is more accurate than the Combined Weighted Equation which overestimated for both scores. Gamson's characteristics were a better predictor of success than WUNC characteristics in every equation. One explanation for this is that the coefficients in Wouters and Walgrave's study are not measuring protest outcomes but the willingness for politicians to commit action towards a protest. Coefficients that are more comparable could be obtained through future work examining the impact WUNC has on a sample of protests, potentially Gamson's. Also, work should be done to determine the true effects of *external support* and *focus on a single issue* since Frey's findings that these characteristics had a negative effect on outcome conflicted with Gamson's beliefs and their own expectations. Within the Occupy movement protesters expressed possible explanations for the negative impact of these characteristics, i.e., support being used as a method of influence by outsiders and alienation of other members respectively. Researchers should continue to create, test the accuracy of, and refine equations that can predict a movement's outcome.

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