

# **The Transnational Diffusion of the Occupy Movement to Germany**

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Submitted to

Central European University

Department of International Relations and European Studies

*In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts*

Supervisor: Professor Dr. Béla Greskovits

Word count:

16,152

*Budapest, Hungary*

2012

## ABSTRACT

The given thesis sets out to examine the reasons for the emergence of the Occupy movement and its diffusion. It rejects the hypotheses that the movement stems from the 1968 movement and also the suggestion that it formed itself as a Polanyian countermovement to the Tea Party. Carrying out interviews with both American and German activists and scholars provides evidence that the long believed “American” Occupy Wall Street movement found its source of inspiration actually in the Middle East and later in Southern Europe. The employment of three theoretical approaches, the political opportunity structure, mobilizing structure, and framing, reveals the reasons for the diffusion and yields two key findings. First, that Occupy’s transnational diffusion to Germany was feasible because of a strong pre-existing network consisting of individual supporters, other movements, trade and students’ unions, prominent supporters, and legal advisors. Secondly, Occupy’s successful establishment in the German political landscape is due to its characteristic of being a competence protest, notably knowing how to use societal and medial amplifiers. The thesis concludes by stating that Occupy as an identifiable movement may cease to exist, but the ideas it represents will not.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I want to express my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Professor Dr. Béla Greskovits, who provided extensive written feedback and constructive criticisms on previous drafts of this thesis. I am also especially grateful for Professor Sidney Tarrow's comments on the initial research proposal, which helped me enrich my ideas. Moreover, I thank the interview participants for their willingness to conduct interviews in the framework of this thesis. I am thankful to Central European University and its Center for Academic Writing for offering the possibility to discuss thesis drafts with the writing instructors Réka Futasz and Robin Bellers. Most importantly, I owe my gratitude to my parents to whom this thesis is dedicated to. I also thank the Rotary International Foundation for supporting me during my time in Hungary. My graduate endeavor has been one that I will cherish forever.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>12 M</b>	<i>Movement May 12, 2012</i>
<b>15 M</b>	<i>Movement May 15, 2011</i>
<b>AStA</b>	<i>General Student Committee</i>
<b>ATTAC</b>	<i>Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and for Citizens' Action</i>
<b>CDU</b>	<i>Christian Democratic Union of Germany</i>
<b>CSU</b>	<i>Christian Social Union of Bavaria, Germany</i>
<b>DGB</b>	<i>German Trade Union Federation</i>
<b>EOCB</b>	<i>European Occupy Central Bank</i>
<b>G20</b>	<i>Group of Twenty</i>
<b>GEW</b>	<i>German Education Union</i>
<b>IGM</b>	<i>German Metalworkers' Trade Union</i>
<b>NATO</b>	<i>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</i>
<b>NGG</b>	<i>German Food, Beverages and Catering Industry Trade Union</i>
<b>OECD</b>	<i>Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development</i>
<b>OSCE</b>	<i>Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe</i>
<b>OWS</b>	<i>Occupy Wall Street</i>
<b>POS</b>	<i>Political opportunity structure</i>
<b>S21</b>	<i>Stuttgart 21</i>
<b>SPD</b>	<i>Social Democratic Party of Germany</i>
<b>ver.di</b>	<i>German United Service Sector Union</i>

## INTRODUCTION

### *The origins of the Occupy movement*

*Occupy Wall Street [...] is fighting back against the corrosive power of major banks and multinational corporations over the democratic process, and the role of Wall Street in creating an economic collapse that has caused the greatest recession in generations. The movement [...] aims to expose how the richest 1% of people are writing the rules of an unfair global economy that is foreclosing on our future.<sup>1</sup>*

The Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement formed itself, according to its website, as a “people-powered movement” and started its actions on September 17, 2011 in New York City’s financial district. At first sight the movement might look like a reaction to the crises, however observers suggest that it is the countermovement to the Tea Party or a reincarnation of the 1968 movement. Therefore, the given thesis, firstly, investigates the research question: what were the exact reasons for the emergence of Occupy in the US?

Since the emergence of Occupy Wall Street in September 2011, the movement has spread to more than 100 cities in the United States of America and has expanded its activities to more than 1,500 cities across the globe.<sup>2</sup> Thus, not only is the Occupy movement currently present in North America, but also in Europe. One of the first European diffusion targets where the Occupy movement is already active is Germany. However, it is in question why the Occupy movement spread to Germany? The case is of special interest to explain the triggers that led to the emergence in the landscape of German protest movements. The proposed thesis sets therefore out to investigate the following research question: Why has Occupy diffused to Germany? This question is especially puzzling since it seems at first sight that the Indignados movement, Spanish for ‘The Outraged’, which is present in other parts of Europe, did not diffuse to Germany, while the more distant Occupy movement did emerge in Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> Occupy Wall Street (2012). Homepage – About us. <http://occupywallst.org/about/>.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

Especially in times of crises, social movements and social contention seem to be present globally. However, not much work has been carried out on this topic so far since it is a very recent phenomenon. Especially in German academia there is a huge discrepancy between the multiplicity and variety of social movements and its investigation. Since the last research institute in Germany that specifically investigated social movements closed its research group provisionally in June 2011, the importance to study and explore these social phenomena urgently remains. The Occupy movement is the most prevalent movement currently in Germany that concerns citizens, politicians and the media likewise. The fact that more than 40,000 people in 50 German cities responded to the call for protest participation, shows the importance of the issue.<sup>3</sup> Since then, the movement did not even disappear during the harsh winter, but regularly participates in big protest events, such as the human chain around the Frankfurt based European Central Bank. It is necessary and relevant for precisely this reason that the topic receive academic and empiric attention.

### ***The literature on POS***

The present work draws upon insights from three theoretical accounts: the political opportunity structure (POS), mobilizing structure, and framing. Thus, this thesis will combine the underlying context, mobilizing structure and framing in order to examine how likely it is that collective action takes place. POS comprises “specific configurations of resources, institutional arrangements and historical precedents for social mobilization”. These elements are supportive for the development of social movements in some cases, while they restrain them in others.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, the theoretical concept of POS is pivotal to explain the emergence of social movements. The concept was first introduced by Peter Eisinger. Other

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<sup>3</sup> Manager Magazin (16.10.2011). [www.manager-magazin.de/politik/weltwirtschaft/0,2828,792049,00.html](http://www.manager-magazin.de/politik/weltwirtschaft/0,2828,792049,00.html)

<sup>4</sup> H. Kitschelt (1986), *Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies*. British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Jan., 1986), 58

key scholars in the field of social movements research have built upon this, such as, Sidney Tarrow, Herbert Kitschelt, Donatella della Porta as well as Dieter Rucht.<sup>5</sup>

The most relevant articles on POS for the thesis are Tarrow's 1983 and Kitschelt's 1986 article. Tarrow defines the concept of POS as "consistent dimensions of the political environment or of change in that environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting the expectations for success or failure."<sup>6</sup> He suggests four common political opportunities, which assist in opening and closing political opportunities, namely the opening of access to the participation of new actors, the evidence of political realignment within the polity, emerging splits within the elite, and the availability of influential allies.<sup>7</sup> These mechanisms will be later applied in the case of Occupy Germany.

Kitschelt bridges the research that has been carried out until the mid-1980s with his cross-national comparison of the POS of anti-nuclear power movements in four democracies: France, Sweden, the United States and West Germany. He arranges the countries in a matrix and shows that the mobilization strategies and impacts of social movements can be to a high degree explained by the characteristics of domestic POS.<sup>8</sup> The fact that he intensively dealt with the United States and Germany, two countries which will be also analyzed in the given thesis, makes his argumentation highly relevant for this. The POS will therefore assist in making an argument why and how Occupy could emerge and establish itself in the political arena.

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<sup>5</sup> H. Kriesi, R. Koopmans, J. Dyvendak, and M. Giugni (1995). *New Social Movements in Western Europe. A comparative analysis*. London: University College London (UCL) Press, xiii

<sup>6</sup> S. Tarrow (2011). *Power in Movement*, 279

<sup>7</sup> S. Tarrow in: H. Johnston and J. A. Noakes. *Frames of Protest: A Road Map to a Perspective*. In: H. Johnston and J. A. Noakes (2005). *Frames of Protest. Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

<sup>8</sup> H. Kitschelt (1986). *Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies*, 58

## *Hypotheses*

What were the exact reasons for the emergence of Occupy in the US? This is the first research question which will be answered in the process of this Master's thesis. In order to find an explanation for the dependent variable "emergence of OWS", several independent variables have to be taken into consideration in the form of hypotheses.

"The Occupy Wall Street movement – for now it is a movement – is the most important political happening in the United States since the uprisings in 1968, whose direct descendant or continuation it is."<sup>9</sup> This is how the US sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein describes the phenomenon that will be dealt with in this thesis. Translating Wallerstein's assessment of OWS into a hypothesis, leads to this first proposed explanation.

*H<sub>1</sub>: Due to the protest legacy, Occupy movements occur in countries where 1968 movements were previously present.*

Some observers, however, suggest that OWS is the Tea Party of the left.<sup>10</sup> They argue that both Occupy and the Tea Party share their angriness – even though for different reasons. While the ultra-conservative Tea Party activists declare bailouts and the government as core problems, Occupy activists also have the financial difficulties as a main concern, but they want to find a solution with the government.<sup>11</sup> This assumption helps formulating the second hypothesis.

*H<sub>2</sub>: OWS formed itself as a Polanyian countermovement to the ultra-conservative Tea Party.*<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> I. Wallerstein (2011). *The Fantastic Success of Occupy Wall Street*. <http://www.iwallerstein.com/fantastic-success-occupy-wall-street/>.

<sup>10</sup> CNN Politics (06.10.2011). *Occupy Wall Street – The tea party of the left?* [http://articles.cnn.com/2011-10-06/politics/tea.party.left\\_1\\_tea-party-express-chairman-amy-kremer-political-movement?\\_s=PM:POLITICS](http://articles.cnn.com/2011-10-06/politics/tea.party.left_1_tea-party-express-chairman-amy-kremer-political-movement?_s=PM:POLITICS).

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Polanyian countermovements were responses to liberal market movements. The Tea Party's ultra-conservative values also include market friendliness. They favor anti-statism and demand the government not intervene in economic affairs.

While some, like Wallerstein, believe that Occupy is the reincarnation of the 68 movement, and other observers offer the reason that it is a countermovement to the ultra-conservative Tea Party, it can also be opined that Occupy was inspired by already existing movements at that time.

*H<sub>3</sub>: Occupy's source of inspiration were the previously emerging movements in the Arab Spring and Los Indignados in Southern Europe.*

In order to prove where Occupy really got its source of inspiration from, several social movement activists and scholars will be interviewed. A map will help tracing the diffusion process.

Why has Occupy diffused to Germany? This is the second research question which will be tackled in the given thesis. In order to find the triggers for the diffusion to Germany, another hypothesis has to be taken into consideration. It will be argued that Occupy Germany could only evolve because of a strong and well-established network of social movement organizations.

*H<sub>4</sub>: Occupy Germany blends with already existent movements on which Occupy is heavily dependent.*

### ***Case selection***

What were the exact reasons for the emergence of Occupy in the US? Why did OWS diffuse to Germany and not the “indignation” movement from elsewhere in Europe? Departing from these research questions, it will be also investigated how far OWS and Occupy Germany are comparable. Thus, the thesis will take a comparative look at two social movement phenomena with country cases as the unit of analysis.

There are several options for case selection: Since this research project deals with the diffusion process of social movements, this already implies that it is necessary to involve at

least two movements. Paired comparison is a reasonable approach for casing, since it involves the required origin movement and a second one. The particular cases I have chosen are the USA as origin movement, and Germany, one of the European countries where Occupy is active. Given the planned in depth country research and also pragmatic considerations, such as time, language fluency, and access to data, the strategy of paired comparison seems to be most suited and will be employed in order to give rich descriptions of two instances.

The USA and Germany have several parameters in common: both Western democratic countries currently exhibit Occupy movements, both exhibited 1968 movements before. Additionally, both are currently arguably hit by the impact of the economic and financial crises. Both countries are members in a variety of international organizations, such as G20, NATO, OECD, OSCE, and UN, and therefore required to take a leading position to solve the crises. Although in this latter respect, differences must be noted since Germany's voice as largest European country is, together with France, mostly heard on the European level, while the US is at the top, or in any case, among the top of the international field. Both countries have a comparatively good education system and rank with some of their universities, such as Harvard and Yale in the USA, and Heidelberg and Munich in Germany, among the world's best universities.<sup>13</sup> These categories, namely the similar 1968 movements, the role in crises management, and the educational system, will play an important role in the chapters to follow. Therefore, the case selection is well-suited to test the previously presented hypotheses and to tackle the research questions. These two cases serve the purpose to explain the transnational diffusion from the US to Germany.

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<sup>13</sup> Top Universities Ranking (2012). <http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings>.

## ***Interviews***

The present work draws upon insights from the methodological approach of expert interviews. In order to tackle this social movements' topic from a scholarly perspective, both activists and scholars will be interviewed. The scholars were chosen on the basis of their academic focus in the field of social movements' research. The scholars all contributed with their work to social movements' research in general, and in some cases on Occupy research in particular. The activists were selected on the basis of their involvement and position in social movement organizations, such as Occupy or the Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and for Citizens' Action (ATTAC). Both German and American activists and German and American scholars will be interviewed to attain a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon (see table 1). The ultimate aim of the interviews with Occupy core activists and scholars in the fields of social movement research is to shed light upon the reasons for the emergence of Occupy in both the US and Germany and the interplay of the movements.

**Table 1: Matrix of interview participants**

Source: Own illustration

	<b>German</b>	<b>American</b>
<b>Activist</b>	Frauke Distelrath (ATTAC)	Maria Byck (OWS, Occupy Museums)
<b>Scholar</b>	Prof. Dr. Heinz Bude (University of Kassel)	Hannah Appel, PhD (Columbia University)  Tamara Steger, PhD, (Central European University)

Frauke Distelrath is the press spokesperson of the Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and for Citizens' Action (ATTAC) in Germany. The global justice movement

and anti-globalization ATTAC was founded in December 1998 in France and diffused to Germany in early 2000. ATTAC Germany celebrated in July 2011 its 25,000<sup>th</sup> member. ATTAC belongs to Germany's largest social movement organizations.<sup>14</sup>

Heinz Bude is since 2000 a professor for macrosociology at University of Kassel. He previously worked as a Visiting Scholar at the Center for European Studies at Cornell University. Bude habilitated with a thesis about the origins of the 1968 movement. He recently published articles and interviews about the Occupy movement which makes him an expert both on Occupy and the 1968 movement.<sup>15</sup>

Hannah Appel is a post-doctoral research scholar and a member of the Committee on Global Thought at Columbia University in the City of New York. Appel graduated with a Ph.D. from the Department of Anthropology at Stanford University. Her research interests are in the daily life of capitalism, economic anthropology, and political economy.<sup>16</sup> The Columbia University researcher and OWS supporter Appel was interviewed within the framework of this thesis since she connects the scholar and activist perspective interdisciplinary.

Maria Byck is an artist-activist and member of the Occupy Museums Collective. This direct action group of OWS is "ongoing protest that calls out corruption and injustice in institutions of art and culture".<sup>17</sup> Her statements originate from a symposium on Sustainability and Contemporary Art called "Atmospheres of Protest", which took place at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, on May 11, 2012.

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<sup>14</sup> ATTAC Germany (2012). <http://www.attac.de/aktuell/presse/>.

<sup>15</sup> University of Kassel (2012). *Heinz Bude*. <http://www.uni-kassel.de/fb05/fachgruppen/soziologie/makrosoziologie/prof-dr-heinz-bude.html>

<sup>16</sup> Columbia University (2012). *Committee on Global Thought*. [http://cgt.columbia.edu/about/scholars/2011/appel\\_hannah/](http://cgt.columbia.edu/about/scholars/2011/appel_hannah/).

<sup>17</sup> Occupy Museums (2012). <http://occupymuseums.org/>.

Tamara Steger is an Associate Professor at the Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy of Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. She holds the Chair of the Sustainability Advisory Committee and participated in several conferences and symposiums on Occupy, sustainability, and art.<sup>18</sup>

This research project draws upon semi-structured interviews. This technique fits methodologically well to the research question and problem, because it allows me to receive background information and personal experiences from knowledgeable social movement scholars and activists of transnational organizations. Due to the flexible semi-structured manner, some interviews follow a different logic depending on the background of the interviewee (activist vs. scholar) and the national and cultural background (American vs. German). In order to avoid large amounts of texts with sometimes irrelevant parts, only the core of the interviews will be included in this appendix.

For geographical reasons, most interviews with the core activists of the American and German movements as well as the American and German scholars will be conducted via internet. The author acknowledges that this way of conducting interviews can cause certain limitations, since interviewees' facial expressions are not visible for the interviewer. Nevertheless, considering the time and space limitation, this way of conducting the interviews seems to be most appropriate.

The qualitative content analysis, which will be used to analyze the gathered interview data, consists of four steps: The first two steps, the interview questionnaire (Appendix A) and the abridged interview transcripts (Appendix B), serve to collect the data. The interview

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<sup>18</sup> Central European University. Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy. *Tamara Steger*. [http://envsci.ceu.hu/profiles/faculty/tamara\\_steger](http://envsci.ceu.hu/profiles/faculty/tamara_steger).

questionnaire, indicates the general areas that were intended for discussion with the interviewees. The thinking behind the design of the questionnaire was to construct it in a way so that it would tackle the main research questions. Consequently, the main areas of the questionnaire deal with the triggers for OWS, the triggers for Occupy Germany, and the relationship between the movements. The last two steps of the methodological analysis, the extraction and the preparation, serve to analyze the data. The data will be extracted (Appendix C) in different categories. The categories were selected to receive the interview participants' answers to the research questions. Thus, the categories used in this thesis will be "triggers of Occupy", "triggers of Occupy Germany, "relations between Occupy and other movements", and additionally "Occupy's future". The analysis will be concluded by the preparation of the data as fourth step (Appendix D). After having received each interviewee's individual opinion on certain topics, the statements will be compared and contrasted.

### ***Road map of the thesis***

In order to test the presented hypotheses, the paper will continue along the following structure. The introductory part of the thesis sets out to familiarize the reader with the origins of the Occupy Wall Street movement. Moreover this part presents the literature review, research questions, and hypotheses. It also introduces the reader to the methodology. After justifying the case selection, the methods of data collection and analysis are brought forward. The method of expert interviews will assist in answering the research questions presented in the introductory chapter.

The first chapter will aim at answering the first research question why OWS emerged. It will consider the first three hypotheses concerning Occupy's potential '68 movement legacy,

possibly being a countermovement to the Tea Party and other pre-existing movements as main trigger and test their validity.

In the second chapter about the reasons for the diffusion of Occupy to Germany the political opportunity structure as well as mobilizing structure and framing will be employed. This part serves to investigate the question which underlying structure enabled the Occupy movement to diffuse to Germany. The chapter will look for the triggers that caused the protest movement to emerge in Germany. This chapter also finds answers to the following questions: How can Occupy Germany be related to the existing protest legacy? How does the Occupy movement blend with existing movements? How far is Occupy embedded in other German movements, such as ATTAC, Castor, “Stuttgart 21” (S21) and student protest movements against tuition hikes? Does Occupy recombine elements, aspects or resources of existent protest organizations?

Briefly stated, this thesis argues that Occupy neither emerged as a legacy from 1968, nor as a Polanyian countermovement to the Tea Party, but found its source of inspiration unexpectedly and primarily through the uprisings in Southern Europe. Ultimately the thesis will make the case that Occupy could only establish itself in Germany because of individual supporters, a strong network of pre-existing social movement organizations, trade and students’ unions, prominent supporters, and legal advisors.

## CHAPTER 1: REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF OCCUPY

*I was waiting for the revolution! My father participated in the 68 movement and when I told him I want to Occupy, he immediately got the old storm tent from the storage.*<sup>19</sup>

This is how one Occupy activist describes her father's first reaction to her idea to participate in the Düsseldorf based Occupy movement in Germany. Even though this quotation could easily lead to the assumption that there is a close connection between the generation "1968 movement" and the successor generation "Occupy", this section will scrutinize this presumption. It will specifically tackle the question whether Occupy really is, according to the US sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, the "direct descendant or continuation" of the uprisings in 1968.<sup>20</sup> Do Occupy movements occur due to the protest legacy in countries where 1968 movements were previously present? In what way does Occupy really resemble the 1968 movement?

"Occupy is broadly about solidarity for the 99%", describes one activist the movement to which she commits herself.<sup>21</sup> OWS is based in one of the wealthiest, most heterogeneous, and unequal cities in the United States. Even though the City of New York is a synonym for luxury and abundance, it is surrounded by the Bronx, Queens, and Brooklyn which are known for their indigent social and economic conditions. The New York based occupations began on September 17, 2011 in Zuccotti Park, in New York's financial district. The formerly called Liberty Plaza Park which was a "unique" and "transformative" space for New York City, according to one activist, became Occupy's staging ground during the protest events.<sup>22</sup> The "language of horizontality", since the movement does not have any leaders but general

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<sup>19</sup> Der Westen (15.04.2012). *Occupy Camp Düsseldorf feiert halbjähriges Bestehen*. <http://www.derwesten.de/staedte/duesseldorf/occupy-camp-duesseldorf-feierte-halbjaehriges-bestehen-id6557267.html>.

<sup>20</sup> I. Wallerstein (2011). *The Fantastic Success of Occupy Wall Street*. <http://www.iwallerstein.com/fantastic-success-occupy-wall-street/>.

<sup>21</sup> The quotation is taken from a symposium on Sustainability and Contemporary Art called "Atmospheres of Protest", which took place on May 11, 2011, at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*

assemblies, in combination with a new “language of hand signals” made the movement highly functional.

1968 is widely used as a metaphor to comprise a “variety of protest movements, protest events, and processes of sociocultural change, mainly in the period from around 1965 to the early 1970s”.<sup>23</sup> According to Dieter Rucht, the 1968 movement was an “action oriented network of persons, groups, and organizations, which in Germany almost exclusively consisted of the educated middle class and followed an anti-capitalist, anti-technocratic, and anti-authoritarian approach.”<sup>24</sup> Berlin, New York, Rome, Paris, Prague, Rio, Mexico City, and Warsaw all became arenas of outspokenly angry minds during that time. The ample history of protest and activism in the 1960s encapsulates events, such as the anti-Vietnam War protests in the USA, student protests in Germany, the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia, and Polish riots in Warsaw. All these protest events challenged the “omnipotence of the nation and the state” in the 1960s and therefore symbolize it as the year of major protest movements worldwide.<sup>25</sup>

In order to make a thorough comparison between the 1968 and the current Occupy movement, this part of the thesis will briefly refer to the most significant events in the two countries during the 1960s. An analysis of the major similarities and differences of the past and current movement will follow, before concluding that even though there are some parallels between the 1968 and Occupy movement, the differences outweigh the similarities. Thus, the first hypothesis that Occupy is 1968’s direct descendant or continuation will be rejected.

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<sup>23</sup> H. Nehring. *Great Britain*. In: M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds.) (2008). *1968 in Europe. A history of protest and activism, 1956-1977*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 125

<sup>24</sup> D. Rucht (1998). *Die Ereignisse von 1968 als soziale Bewegung: Methodologische Überlegungen und einige empirische Befunde*. In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Sonderheft, Vol. 17, 1968 – Vom Ereignis zum Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft*, pp. 116-130.

<sup>25</sup> A. Iriye and R. Mitter. *Foreword*. In: M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (eds.) (2008). *1968 in Europe. A history of protest and activism, 1956-1977*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, vii

### *1.1 Legacy from 1968*

The 1968 movement was present in both country cases of this thesis, the USA and Germany. There is a clearly identifiable connection between the 1968 movement in Germany and the USA. The key subject areas of the 1968 movement in Germany were human and citizen rights, including democratization which represented 46.1% of the reasons behind protests between 1965 and 1971. Almost one third (32.5%) of the reasons were peace issues, such as war in Vietnam., and issues of higher education contributed with 12.9%.<sup>26</sup> Thus, even the programmatic orientation of Germany's 1968 movement was massively influenced by the US decision to go to war with North Vietnam. Observers believe that the events in the USA, especially the Vietnam War, which was widely regarded as a "crime of the USA in South Vietnam in the name of peace" had a "catalytic impact" not only on the German 1968 counterpart, but even generally on the 1968 movements worldwide.<sup>27</sup> German and American 1968 protagonists were also closely connected and constantly exchanged ideas and tactics. German 1968 activists, such as Günter Amendt, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, and Karl Dietrich Wolff, spent a considerable time in the US and were arguably fascinated and influenced by Martin Luther King and the American Civil Rights Movement.<sup>28</sup> Student protest for a reform of the higher educational system played a major role not only in Germany, but also in the USA, as demonstrated by Berkeley's Free Speech Movement which marked the beginning of student protests in the USA.

After highlighting the most significant events during the 1968 era in both countries, a comparison of the 1968 and Occupy movement will investigate below whether the two movements really share common characteristics. The 1968 and Occupy movement will be

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<sup>26</sup> D. Rucht (1998). *Die Ereignisse von 1968 als soziale Bewegung: Methodologische Überlegungen und einige empirische Befunde*, 129

<sup>27</sup> W. Kraushaar (2000). *1968 als Mythos, Chiffre und Zäsur*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 24

<sup>28</sup> *ibid.*, 54

compared using the categories “transnationalism”, “structural analogy”, “membership structure”, and “ideology”. The argumentation will be supported by making reference to quotations from the conducted interviews.

On the one hand, there are three parallels between the movements, namely transnational aspiration, structural analogy, and membership structure. Although they are certainly not negligible, they are not as relevant and convincing as the differences between them, notably the different ideology. The first major characteristic of the 1968 movement is its transnational aspiration, as shown by the number of revolutionary countries. Even though it was in question whether 1968 induced “a transition point to a postindustrial modernity, a revolution in the world system, a global revolutionary movement, or a conglomerate of national movements with similar characteristics”, it was never in question that 1968 was a truly transnational movement.<sup>29</sup> In the case of the Occupy movement, there is currently no clear number of countries discernible. During the “United for global change” day on 15 October, 2011, however, almost 100 countries worldwide got involved in this protest day.<sup>30</sup> Thus, this shows that Occupy is part of a truly transnational movement. Consequently, Occupy and 1968 share the first similarity to have transnational roots.

A second characteristic which Occupy and 1968 have in common is their structural analogy. According to Heinz Bude, the simultaneous occurrence of local trigger mechanisms in combination with a global response is another commonality between the movements. The global trigger is in this regard dissatisfaction with capitalism, since people perceive that the attempt to manage the crisis had the opposite effect. Also, more and more people are affected by the increasingly difficult situation prevailing on the global labor market. The local trigger

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<sup>29</sup> M. Klimke and J. Scharloth (2008). *1968 in Europe*. In: 1968 in Europe. A history of protest and activism, 1956-1977, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2

<sup>30</sup> Global Day of Action (2012). *October 15*. <http://15october.net/where/>

can be generally identified as the change in the educational system. It has to be admitted, though, that there are different shapes of this trigger which vary from country to country. But the Occupy activists generally share their disillusionment about the experiences they have had post-graduation, notably the experience that the educational return is not worthwhile. This “dramatic realization” of the “abrupt forfeiture” of their educational returns makes them feel betrayed and leads them to commit themselves to Occupy.<sup>31</sup> Dieter Rucht confirms that the 1968 movement followed, for example in Germany, a global and national perspective at the same time. The national focus was especially on the fundamental reform of higher education and working off the country’s National Socialist period.<sup>32</sup> This past and present concurrence of local trigger mechanisms in combination with a global response is a characteristic that Occupy and the 1968ers still share.

A third connecting element between Occupy and the 1968 movement is observable in Occupy’s membership structure. Bude distinguishes three kinds of members within Occupy. The first group is comprised of the previously discussed post graduates who after investing so much time, in terms of school years, and money, in terms of tuition fees, see themselves as being betrayed by the system because of the low educational returns. The second group consists of people who are already retired, who feel connected to Occupy due to their consciousness for their grandchildren and they commit themselves to Occupy, since they feel that their grandchildren’s future is threatened by the current system. The third group is the most relevant for the analysis between Occupy and 1968. According to Bude, people who are born in the 1950s are also involved in Occupy. Due to their age, they potentially were already part of the predecessor movement 1968. Thus, the movements’ follower composition highlights the possible parallel between 1968 and Occupy.

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<sup>31</sup> Interview with H. Bude (10.04.2012)

<sup>32</sup> D. Rucht (1998). *Die Ereignisse von 1968 als soziale Bewegung: Methodologische Überlegungen und einige empirische Befunde*, 122

On the other hand, there are also certain differences between the Occupy and the 1968 movement. According to Heinz Bude, the main distinguishing feature between the Occupy activists and the 68ers is their ideology. The latter had a utopian idea about the world while Occupy has a more realistic view on things. Thus, Bude observes the different way in which life is ideologically constructed by the two movements. While the 1968 movement was strongly influenced by a utopian impulse, this is not the case for the Occupy movement. 1968ers' wish to have another kind of society and an alternative to capitalism is not applicable for the Occupy activists. This argument highlights that the transcendent 1968 movement clearly opposes the immanentist Occupy movement, which does not aim at changing the current system in a utopian way contrary to 1968.<sup>33</sup>

Another distinguishing feature between Occupy and the 1968 is the lack of leading figures in the case of Occupy. Heinz Bude emphasizes Occupy's "unheroic character" by referring to the heroes which 1968 brought up. There are clearly no Che Guevaras, no Rudi Dutschkes or no Angela Davis' so far leading the movement. Even though there are some Occupy activists whose faces get published from time to time, the movement lacks a recognized leader. This is another characteristic which clearly distinguished 1968 from Occupy.<sup>34</sup>

In sum, even though there are some similar elements between Occupy and the 1968 movement, such as the movements' transnationalism, the combination of local triggers and global responses, and the fact that some 1968ers are also involved in Occupy, the differences between the movements predominate. The fact that two of the most important features of the movements, notably the dissimilar ideological orientation and the lack of leaders, are totally

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<sup>33</sup> The adjective transcendent is defined as "surpassing the ordinary", "beyond or above the range of normal experience". It is often contrasted with "immanent", which means "existing or operating within" the limits. Oxford dictionaries (2012), <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/transcendent>.

<sup>34</sup> H. Bude (2011). *No future war gestern. Weltweit gehen die Jungen auf die Straße. Aber erleben wir eine neue 68er-Bewegung?* <http://www.zeit.de/2011/35/P-Jugend-Protest>

different, clearly distinguishes the movements. This comparison between elements of the 1968 and Occupy movements leads to rejecting the first hypothesis derived from Immanuel Wallerstein's statement. Thus, it cannot be assumed that Occupy is 1968's direct descendant or continuation.

### *1.2 Polanyian countermovement to the Tea Party*

After rejecting the first hypothesis about Occupy's potential 1968 legacy, this section will test the second hypothesis and tackle the question whether OWS formed itself as a Polanyian countermovement to the Tea Party. In 2009, the politically conservative Tea Party movement of the USA emerged due to dissatisfaction with the government in Washington, D.C. Since then, the movement has risen to national prominence and managed to win more and more committed supporters. The Tea Party contributed largely to the Republican Party's success in the mid-term elections in 2010 and will potentially also influence further election results. Observers suggest that OWS can be considered the Tea Party of the left, since the two movements have their anger about elites, high unemployment, and the feeling of injustice in common. But while the radical right Tea Party directs its anger at the government, the leftist Occupy movement identifies corporate America as its target.<sup>35</sup> But is it reasonable to assume that OWS formed itself as a countermovement to the Tea Party in the spirit of Karl Polanyi?

In Karl Polanyi's book "The Great Transformation. The political and economic origins of our times", crisis also plays a central role. The "double movement" that "can be personified as the

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<sup>35</sup> CNN Politics (06.10.2011). *Occupy Wall Street: the Tea Party of the left*. [http://articles.cnn.com/2011-10-06/politics/tea.party.left\\_1\\_tea-party-express-chairman-amy-kremer-political-movement?\\_s=PM:POLITICS](http://articles.cnn.com/2011-10-06/politics/tea.party.left_1_tea-party-express-chairman-amy-kremer-political-movement?_s=PM:POLITICS).

action of two organizing principles in society” is the core aspect of Polanyi’s argument.<sup>36</sup> The first movement follows the logic of economic liberalism relying on the trading classes, a self-regulating market, laissez-faire, and free trade. Polanyi identifies the self-regulated market within the capitalist system as disastrous, since it commodifies men and land and therefore destroys societies.<sup>37</sup> He opines that commodification processes attack social relations and human habitat. From his point of view, commodities cannot form a society, since they are bound together by strictly materialistic rational reasons. Commodities are not enough to form a really functioning society. Only human relationships make us to that what we really are. He believes that the problem of a societal collapse was brought by the Industrial Revolution, since it undermined self-respect and led to a loss of social usefulness. Consequently, a self-regulated market would lead to a cultural catastrophe brought by the Industrial Revolution and ultimately society’s destruction.

The countermovement to the economic liberal one follows the principle of social protection. In order to prevent human deterioration as a result of human progress, Karl Polanyi imagines a pendulum swing between commodification, the movement, and de-commodification, the countermovement. He makes reference to the countermovement through which society spontaneously and simultaneously tries to protect itself.<sup>38</sup> This countermovement is not well organized, but aims at being protective, for example, in the form of protective legislation, restrictive associations, and interventional instruments.<sup>39</sup>

But is Occupy such a reactionary countermovement to the Tea Party in the Polanyian sense? According to Heinz Bude, it does not classify as such. Bude points out that Occupy activists

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<sup>36</sup> K. Polanyi. *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957 (1944), 132

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, 159

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, 130

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, 132

currently find themselves in an impasse due to their distrust of both the state and the market. The movement is far from favoring nationalization of banks. They also do not question and challenge the situation in a utopian way as the previously discussed 1968 movement would have probably done so. Thus, the Occupy activists face a simultaneous failure of the market and the state – and thus there is no Polanyi countermovement.<sup>40</sup>

Sidney Tarrow confirms this view that OWS is not the countermovement to the Tea Party. From his point of view, following a social movements' classification made by Charles Tilly, OWS resembles more a completely new type of social movement. He refers to it as a “we are here” movement which tries to raise awareness with their presence. Neither are any convincing parallels with the Tea Party observable nor with the Civil Rights movement as discussed in the previous section. This makes OWS a truly new type of social movement.<sup>41</sup>

The previous analysis allows me to reject the second hypothesis derived from Karl Polanyi's theoretical idea that the existence of a movement would automatically lead to the emergence of a countermovement. As pointed out by Heinz Bude, Occupy neither trusts the market nor the state and believes that there is currently a simultaneous occurrence of market and state failure. Thus, the second rejected hypothesis also does not provide a convincing explanation for the emergence of the Occupy movement. The next section will investigate the relations between Occupy and the European “indignation” movement.

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<sup>40</sup> Interview with H. Bude (10.04.2012)

<sup>41</sup> S. Tarrow (10.10.2011). *Why the Occupy Wall Street is not the Tea Party of the Left*. The United States' long history of protest. Foreign Affairs Online.

### *1.3 Co-Occurrence with the European “indignation” movement*

The previous section of the thesis rejected the hypothesis that OWS is the Tea Party of the left. Hence, it can be concluded so far that OWS neither shows convincing parallels with the 1968 movement nor is it the countermovement to the Tea Party. Thus, a third hypothesis has to be taken into consideration to find a reasonable explanation for the emergence of OWS. This section argues that the long believed “American” Occupy movement has in fact European roots. After scrutinizing the relations between OWS and the European “indignation” movement, the thesis finds that Occupy relies to a significant degree on Spanish techniques. Thus, the third hypothesis, namely that OWS did not originate as the name would suggest at Wall Street, but is actually inspired by the European “indignation” movement, will be accepted as will be shown throughout this section. The thesis will present the argument that the European “indignation” movement, which in turn was influenced by the uprisings during the Arab Spring, served as a source of inspiration for the Occupy movement.

*And now an international movement came out which was not from Wall Street, but it was already in the air from Tahrir Square.<sup>42</sup>*

This quotation by an OWS activist made me listen attentively. Occupy Wall Street is not from Wall Street? This food for thought that OWS could originally stem from a major square in downtown Cairo, Egypt, revolutionized the chronological sequence that I had in my head up until then. Even though the Arab Spring’s influence cannot be neglected, it turned out, however, that primarily a European movement was the source of inspiration with regards OWS’s techniques. A German social movement activist reinforces that Occupy refers to the rebellion in the Arab countries, but also to the occupation of the Spanish Puerta del Sol square.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Interview with M. Byck (11.05.2012)

<sup>43</sup> Interview with F. Distelrath (07.03.2012)

This occupation was initiated by the “indignation” movement which found its origins on May 15, 2012 in Madrid, Spain. The day of its establishment, namely “Movimiento 15M”, the Spanish abbreviation for “movement of May 15”, is used interchangeably for the Indignados movement. It consists of “outraged” people, the English translation of “Los Indignados”, who protest against the unfortunate economic situation, the increasingly difficult labor market and the seemingly desperate income situation in Spain. Consequently, the Indignados fight for social, financial, and economic reforms in their deeply indebted home country.<sup>44</sup> The Indignados movement works closely together with the movement “¡Democracia Real Ya!”, Spanish for “Real Democracy Now”. Due to their close collaboration, the difference between the movements is hardly recognizable for outsiders. “¡Democracia Real Ya!” and M15 perceive themselves, according to a press statement, as “different, but as brothers”.<sup>45</sup>

But what exactly is the relationship between the Spanish “indignation”/M15 movement together with “Real Democracy Now” and Occupy? According to the conducted interview with ATTAC Germany press spokesperson Frauke Distelrath, Occupy’s establishment in September 2011 clearly goes back to the rebellion in the Arabian countries in spring 2011 and to the occupation of the Spanish Puerta del Sol square in May 2011, namely the movement “¡Democracia Real Ya!” and the Indignados. Thus, American activists were inspired by the already existing Spanish movements, before they formed the US movement on September 17, 2011. OWS and Occupy Museums activist Maria Byck confirms this by saying that “the Spanish have greatly influenced our techniques. [...] Nevertheless, the US has been the central initiator of the crisis. Even if it has started in Spain, the US created the impetus to recognize the movement worldwide. [...] And now an international movement came out

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<sup>44</sup> Allmediany (14.10.2011). *Spain inspired Occupy Wall Street; OWS inspires upcoming occupations*. [http://www.allmediany.com/detail-news.php?news\\_artid=2107](http://www.allmediany.com/detail-news.php?news_artid=2107).

<sup>45</sup> Publico.es (30.05.2011). *Democracia Real Ya y movimiento 15-M, diferentes pero “hermanos”*. <http://www.publico.es/espana/379185/democracia-real-ya-y-movimiento-15-m-diferentes-pero-hermanos>.

which was not from Wall Street, but it was already in the air from Tahrir Square”. This statement strongly reaffirms the hypothesis that OWS is in fact not truly American, but was initially inspired by a European movement.

While OWS became known in September, it took one more month until it diffused back across the Atlantic to Europe. The first country which was reached, according to press articles and website formations, was Occupy France on October 7, 2011.<sup>46</sup> From this point on, it took one more week until Occupy Germany achieved for the first time national recognition with its demonstration on October 15, 2011, in Frankfurt. Recalling and honoring the five months anniversary of Indignados, this day was chosen for worldwide demonstrations.<sup>47</sup> It was also the Spanish who originally made a plea for this day of decentralized action according to Distelrath. This decentralized action day was already planned by the European activist network during the summer and even the day and place for the event were fixed at that time. Until then, Occupy Germany had not yet gained national prominence, thus “Real Democracy Now” and the Indignados made the call for participation.

A comparison between Occupy Germany’s official website<sup>48</sup> and the German version of “Real Democracy Now’s” manifesto highlights the close cooperation between the two movements.<sup>49</sup> On Occupy Germany’s website the activists even use the slogan “Real Democracy Now” in a German translation. Additionally, Occupy Germany’s introductory self-description corresponds word-for-word with “Real Democracy Now’s” manifesto in the German version. This underlines the fact that the Spanish movements and the Occupy movements can no

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<sup>46</sup> Occupy France (07.10.2011). <http://occupyfrance.org/cat/revue-de-presse/page/2>.

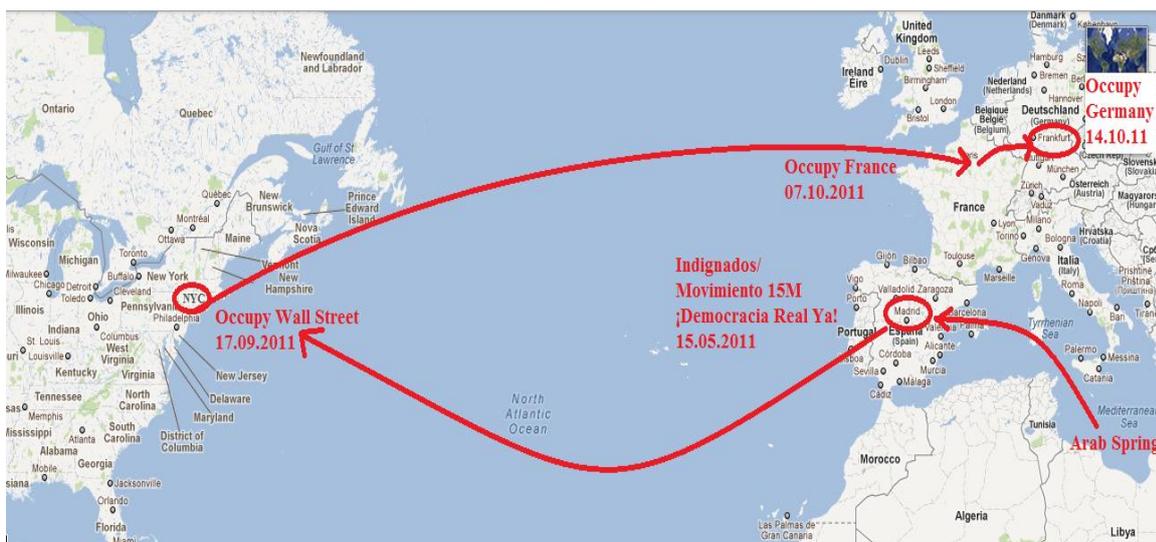
<sup>47</sup> A. Huffington (24.10.2011). *Lessons from Spain: “Los Indignados,” Occupy Wall Street, and the failure of the status quo.* [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/arianna-huffington/spain-indignados-protests\\_b\\_1029640.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/arianna-huffington/spain-indignados-protests_b_1029640.html).

<sup>48</sup> Occupy Germany (2012). *Echte Demokratie jetzt!* <http://www.occupydeutschland.de/>

<sup>49</sup> Democracia Real Ya (2012). *Manifiesto Aleman.* <http://www.democraciarealya.es/manifiesto-comun/von-democracia-real-ya-aleman/>.

longer be considered separate, but highlights the way how they mutually influence each other. On the above described decentralized action day, October 15, 2011, ATTAC was also one of the main participants; therefore it can be assumed that ATTAC's press spokesperson, who was interviewed within the framework of this thesis, has background information at her disposal, which makes this a valid argument.<sup>50</sup>

The described diffusion process can be summarized as triggered by the Arab spring, starting off then from Madrid, Spain. From there, it did not reach Western European countries before it went to the US. Only after reaching the US, it diffused back to France, then Germany, and many more Western European countries (see fig. 1).



**Figure 1: The diffusion process**

Source: Own illustration

But why did the revolutionary wave from Southern Europe not automatically diffuse to other parts of Europe? How do we possibly make sense of the milder appearance of protests, for example, in Germany? The thesis argues that the Spanish claims in Western Europe did not

<sup>50</sup> Interview with F. Distelrath (07.03.2012)

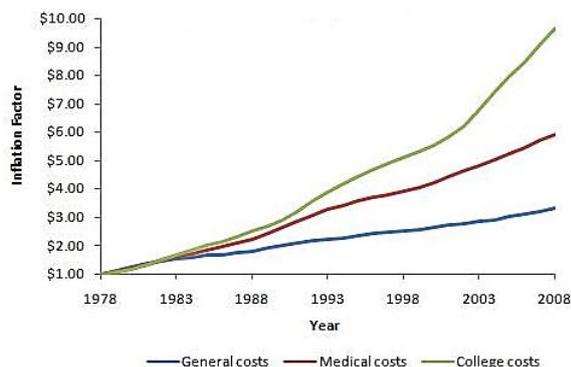
sufficiently resonate on a cultural level. There is a much milder appearance of protests, in terms of number of events, and number of participants. Recent protests in Spain broke all previous records with up to 900,000 participants in the capital Madrid, 350,000 in Valencia, and between 80,000 and 800,000 in Barcelona according to crowd estimates.<sup>51</sup> Even though some of the figures vary widely and were also not confirmed by the government, they still exceed the numbers recently reached in Germany. During the “Blockupy” protest day on May 19, 2012, activists gathered solely in Frankfurt and reached, according to estimates, between 20,000 and 25,000 people.<sup>52</sup> Thus, fewer cities and fewer people got involved in the protests.

But why are the Spanish protests visited in considerable higher numbers while only a fraction of those people march on German streets? The Spanish demands seem less appealing to Germans and more appealing to Americans for two reasons: the grievances in the educational system and welfare system. Firstly, the uncertainty among the American youth due to the tuition and fee hike makes them more susceptible to Occupy’s claims about social inequality and fairness. Student loans have doubled in the past decade in the USA. The graph in billions shows the increasing costs of education compared with increasing overall costs (see fig. 2). It highlights that not only college costs, but also general and medical costs increased extraordinarily during the past decades.

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<sup>51</sup> BBC News (29.03.2012). Spanish general strike protesters clash with police.  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17545174>

<sup>52</sup> Welt Online (17.05.2012). *Frankfurter Demonstranten ignorieren Versammlungsverbot*.  
<http://www.welt.de/aktuell/article106329944/Frankfurter-Demonstranten-ignorieren-Versammlungsverbot.html>.



**Figure 2: Inflation factors: General, medical, and college tuition**

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and College Board

The steep increase of college costs in the USA does not reflect the situation in most European higher educational systems. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the comparative country case of this thesis, the tuition fee is a highly controversial and highly politicized issue. Germany's Federal Constitutional Court adjudicated in 2005 on the regulation of tuition fees and paved the way in favor of tuition fees. Since then, every German federal state can decide independently on the actual amount of the fees. Nevertheless, a majority of Germany's federal states have not charged any tuition fees at the moment depending on the federal government's opinion on this issue.<sup>53</sup> This is the first reason why more extreme demands by Southern European countries are less appealing to Western European countries since, for example, German students seem to be much better off with regards college tuition compared with their American counterpart. In Spain, the tuition fees are not as exorbitantly high as in the USA, but Spanish students still need to pay fees on a per-credit basis.<sup>54</sup>

The second argument why Southern European activists' claims about social and economic justice were probably more appealing to Americans is related to the welfare system. While the

<sup>53</sup> German Federal Constitutional Court (26.01.2005). [http://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/entscheidungen/fs20050126\\_2bvf000103.html](http://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/entscheidungen/fs20050126_2bvf000103.html).

<sup>54</sup> Study in Europe (2012). <http://www.studyineurope.eu/tuition-fees>.

Western European welfare system is quite established and standardized, this is not the case for other parts of the world, such as Southern Europe and North America. The Danish sociologist, Gøsta Esping-Andersen, classifies three kinds of welfare states, the liberal, corporatist-conservative, and social democratic welfare state. Influenced by Karl Polanyi, Esping-Andersen distinguishes the three types by their degree of de-commodification.<sup>55</sup> The social democratic welfare state, which is often found in Scandinavia, offers the most generous assistance to their neediest citizens and therefore the highest degree of de-commodification, but this type is not too relevant for the following analysis. The second type, the liberal welfare state, such as the USA and Canada, provides very little assistance for de-commodifying their citizens from the labor market. This means that only means-tested assistance and only modest universal transfers are provided.

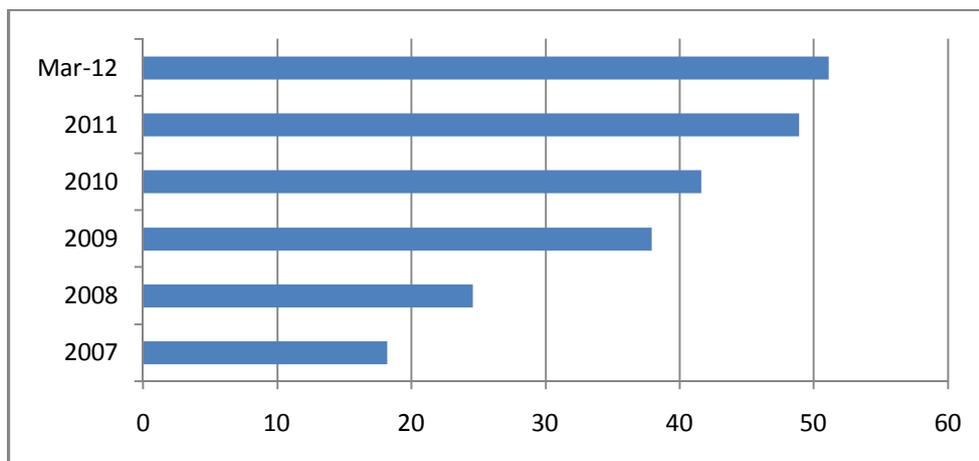
It is more difficult to categorize Spain in Esping-Andersen's analysis. In the mid-1970s, the Spanish system was considered to be rather conservative-corporatist, since it put emphasis on the family as central actor, and especially on the male breadwinner model. But this "conservative familialist" character was not pronounced enough to prevent reforms in the decades to follow. As a result of the trajectory of reform, the Spanish welfare state comprised in 2008 "a very interesting mix of traditional models à la Esping-Andersen".<sup>56</sup> The male breadwinner model seems to be outdated and instead collectively negotiated rights for all workers are in place. In 2008, the system turned out to be rather social democratic, since the principle of universal access as citizenship right applied in health care and education.

However, most recent changes seem to affect this principle dramatically. Spain's Foreign Minister, Jose Manuel Garcia-Margallo, admitted on May 1, 2012 that "the government has

<sup>55</sup> G. Esping-Andersen (1993). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

<sup>56</sup> A. Guillén (2008). Defrosting the Spanish Welfare State: the Weight of Conservative Components . <http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/conferences/nordic/papers/aguillen.pdf>.

found that it has no money to be able to guarantee the welfare state.”<sup>57</sup> The Spanish people, and in particular the youth, find themselves currently in an especially desperate situation. Spain has at the moment the highest unemployment rate in the European Union (EU). According to official data of the Spanish national statistics agency, the Spanish unemployment rate hit a new record in 18 years, reaching 5.64 million which corresponds to almost 25% of the working population. The situation for young Spanish citizens under the age of 25 is even worse. The increasingly difficult employment situation affects more and more young Spanish citizens, who become outsiders because of the decreasing number of and possibilities for insiders. Youth unemployment exceeds 50 percent and marks an all-time record as well (see fig. 3).<sup>58</sup> Thus, like the USA the Spanish citizens cannot rely very much on their welfare system.



**Figure 3: Youth unemployment in Spain between 2007 and March 2012, in percent**

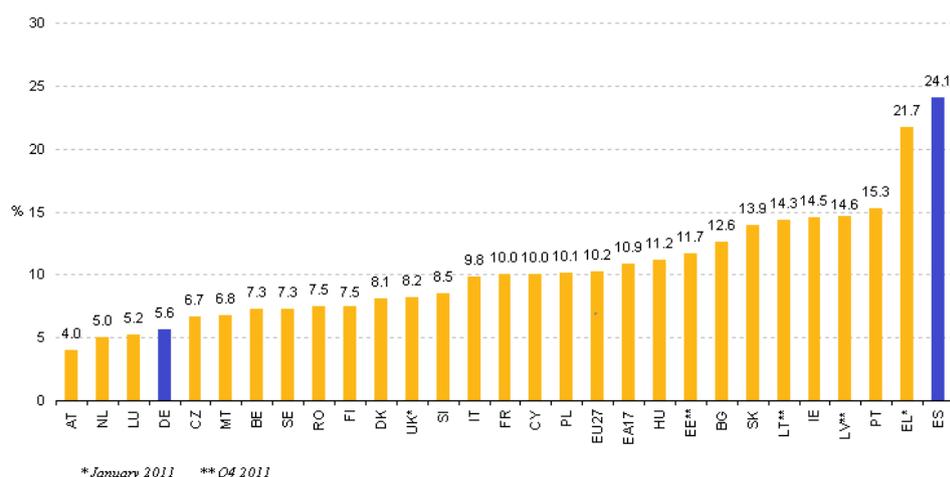
Source: European Commission Eurostat (March 2012), own illustration

One country example for the third type of welfare state, the corporatist welfare state, is Germany. This type tries to preserve the current population stratification and helps to improve

<sup>57</sup> Global Research. Centre for Research on Globalization (01.05.2012). <http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=30618>.

<sup>58</sup> BBC News (27.04.2012). *Spanish unemployment hits record 5.64 million*. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-17866382>.

citizens' de-commodification to some degree. Thus, the extreme situation in Spain and the USA as described above is not comparable with the situation in such a corporatist country. Examples, such as the differences in unemployment rates or the housing market, underline the degree to which Spanish citizens would be more reliant on their state. These key structural differences between Spain and Germany exemplify why the Spanish claims did not resonate sufficiently in Germany. The unemployment rate, for example in Germany, has been constantly falling and now stands at 5.6%. Less than 3,000,000 million people in Germany were unemployed in April 2012.<sup>59</sup> Thus, the German job market is slowly but steadily recovering from the economic and financial crises. Figure 4 visualizes the differences in the unemployment rates in the EU member states in March 2012, especially highlighting the differences between Germany and Spain.



**Figure 4: Unemployment rates in the EU member states in March 2012**

Source: European Commission Eurostat (March 2012).

The “unaffordable Spanish housing market” makes the citizens also much more dependent on their state compared to German citizens. This unfortunate situation on the Spanish housing market also underlines why the “indignation movement” was probably less attractive for

<sup>59</sup> Federal Employment Agency (02.05.2012). <http://statistik.arbeitsagentur.de/Navigation/Statistik/Statistik-nach-Themen/Arbeitsmarkt-im-Ueberblick/Arbeitsmarkt-im-Ueberblick-Nav.html>.

Western Europeans. Heinz Bude stresses that the Spanish and German housing situation is incomparable. The Spanish would see themselves as a “homeless generation” which has to face a massive increase of housing prices. They find themselves in a “hopeless” situation concerning their jobs and can barely find affordable apartments. This feeling of being a “homeless generation” and not having much security to get assistance from the state is in that extreme form not applicable to the German case.<sup>60</sup>

This analysis still does not answer the question why Occupy returned to Europe after it went to the USA and why it did not diffuse to Western Europe from its Southern neighbors. This thesis argues that the USA served as an amplifier of the protest movement for two reasons primarily. Firstly, the USA naturally captures the attention of observers unlike medium size, less financially strong European countries. With the size of the third biggest country worldwide and more than 300,000,000 inhabitants, the USA historically raised and continues to raise awareness. Contrary to the USA, Spain ranks with less than 50,000,000 inhabitants only among the medium size European countries.<sup>61</sup> Thus, it seems that this is one of the reasons why Western European countries pay more attention to things that happen in the US than to its Southern European neighbors.

The second reason why occurrences and events in the USA naturally raise more attention than in its Southern European counterparts is the American use of mass media and mass communication. According to an assessment of the Central Intelligence Agency, the USA has “a large, technologically advanced, multipurpose communications system” at its command. Additionally, the USA has the second highest number of main telephone lines in use and thus

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<sup>60</sup> Interview with H. Bude (10.04.2012)

<sup>61</sup> Central Intelligence Agency Factbook (2012). *Country comparison population*.

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html?countryName=United%20States&countryCode=us&regionCode=noa&rank=3#us>

ranks after China and before Germany<sup>62</sup> and the second largest number of internet users worldwide after China.<sup>63</sup> A study also shows that more than half of the American population age 12 or older uses Facebook at least once a month.<sup>64</sup> Thus, the American citizens are both virtually and telephonically very well connected. This system enables the activists to network both nationally and internationally on the highest level. Moreover, news which occurs in the US quickly and conveniently reaches other countries worldwide.

This section demonstrated the clear relationship between the Spanish “indignation” movement and Occupy. Even though Occupy Wall Street’s name could suggest that it was originally just inspired by New York’s financial district, the thesis opposed this widespread assumption. Instead, it provided the reasons why Americans are more likely to be susceptible for the Spanish claims. These claims were more appealing to American activists due to the grievances in their own educational and welfare system. This section nevertheless clarified why the American Occupy movement still diffused back to Europe. It has shown that it is mostly due the size of the USA and the United States’ ability to dispense news. Those characteristics facilitated and amplified Occupy’s range of coverage and influence after it spread from Southern Europe to the USA and enabled the movement to gain ground in Western Europe.

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<sup>62</sup> Central Intelligence Agency Factbook (2012). *Country comparison main lines in use*.  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2150rank.html?countryName=United%20States&countryCode=us&regionCode=noa&rank=2#us>.

<sup>63</sup> Central Intelligence Agency Factbook (2012). *Country comparison internet users*.  
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2153rank.html?countryName=United%20States&countryCode=us&regionCode=noa&rank=2#us>.

<sup>64</sup> While 51% used Facebook in 2012, this number used to be just 8% in 2008. eMarketer (24.02.2011). *Facebook reaches majority of US web users*.

This chapter answered the question how the US functioned as an amplifier, but it raised at the same time the question what triggers within the Western European countries specifically contributed to Occupy's establishment there. Thus, the next chapter will elaborate on the reasons for Occupy's diffusion back to Europe by looking at the specific case of one Western European country, namely Germany. Europe's largest and financially strongest country finds itself in the center of Western Europe and is therefore perfectly suited for the analysis. The political opportunity structure (POS) which enabled Occupy to emerge in Germany will be investigated. The chapter will also analyze Occupy's ability to mobilize in order to see how it was possible for them to attract more and more followers. The chapter's aim is to show that Occupy was relying on and blending with a strong network of already existing social movement organizations. The thesis makes the case that without these already established movements, Occupy Germany would have never achieved its magnitude.

## CHAPTER 2: REASONS FOR THE DIFFUSION TO GERMANY

*The existence and activities of social movements, on the one hand, and social-scientific study of them, on the other, are usually linked closely together. The flourishing of social movements is likely to promote, although with some delay, a corresponding boom in research on social movements. West Germany did not follow such a pattern, though, for a long period of its existence.*<sup>65</sup>

This is how Dieter Rucht commences his 1989 article about the relation between activism and social science in the field of social movement research in West Germany.<sup>66</sup> He assesses the situation and finds that research on social movements was largely neglected and abandoned for many decades. The reasons are to be found among Germany's National Socialist past and the fact that people were generally skeptical about activist research in the post-war period. Only starting in the late 1970s, the perception of social movement phenomena changed. During this period, both activists and scholars started to perceive the movements as part of a "more encompassing ensemble".<sup>67</sup> In Rucht's analysis, which was originally presented in the late 1980s, he observes that social movements' research continues to flourish, even though it abated in the years before the publication. He also acknowledges, however, that although "an impressive body of literature" had been published until then, this body is qualitatively less than convincing. Rucht identifies a number of deficits in this literature, such as an "unsystematic use of methods and sources", lack of resources to develop more ambitious and costly projects, and too narrow projects in terms of spatial, temporal, and/or sectoral scopes.<sup>68</sup>

Nevertheless, Rucht finishes his article with a rather optimistic view and assumes that social

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<sup>65</sup> D. Rucht. *The Study of Social Movements in West Germany: Between Activism and Social Science*. In: D. Rucht (ed.) (1991). *Research on Social Movements. The State of the Art in Western Europe and the USA*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 175

<sup>66</sup> Rucht defines a social movement used in West Germany as "a collective effort at promoting fundamental societal change" which is not necessarily linked to the category of class. He admits that this relatively broad definition is difficult to distinguish from political and cultural movements. D. Rucht (1991). *The Study of Social Movements in West Germany: Between Activism and Social Science*, 180.

The definition Rucht uses in his 1998 article builds upon this definition, but is much more precise. There he defines a social movement as "an action which is organized for certain duration and supported by a collective identity consisting of a mobilized network of groups and organizations, which induce, prevent or reverse societal change by means of protest, if necessary even by violent means". D. Rucht (1998). *Die Ereignisse von 1968 als soziale Bewegung: Methodologische Überlegungen und einige empirische Befunde*. In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. 1968 – Vom Ereignis zum Gegenstand der Geschichtswissenschaft*, 116-130.

<sup>67</sup> D. Rucht (1991). *The Study of Social Movements in West Germany: Between Activism and Social Science*, 178.

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, 183

movement research in Germany will eventually find a better balance between activism and scholarly research.

More than twenty years after the publication of Rucht's article, the assessment of the current relation between activism and social science turns out to be not as promising and flourishing as Rucht's final projection was hoping. The last German research institute that investigated social movement phenomena and which was also headed by Rucht, provisionally closed its doors in June 2011. The discrepancy between the multiplicity of social movements in Germany and its investigation at research institutes and universities remains. This discrepancy even strengthens the importance of investigating social movement phenomena in the German context. Therefore, the thesis seeks to make a contribution to the social science research which has been undertaken so far in the case of Occupy by adding the German component to it.

Occupy Germany officially emerged, as stated in the previous chapter "The reasons for the emergence of Occupy", on October 15, 2011. Not only OWS's main staging ground Zuccotti Park, the formerly called Liberty Plaza Park, but also Occupy Germany's main staging ground was consciously chosen. Germany's and Europe's financial center, the European Central Bank in Frankfurt/Main serves as Occupy's main arena in Germany. The Frankfurt based activists describe their aims very broadly by stating that "we want to set limits to the sway of capitalism, money banks, markets and governments."<sup>69</sup>

After analyzing the reasons for the emergence of the Occupy movement in general, this chapter aims at explaining the reasons for the diffusion of Occupy to one Western European

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<sup>69</sup> Occupy Frankfurt (2012). *Unsere Ziele*. <http://www.occupyfrankfurt.de/unsere-ziele/>.

country, namely Germany. In order to find an explanation for the emergence of Occupy Germany, the political opportunity structure (POS), mobilizing structure, and framing will be investigated. All three central theoretical instruments of social movement research serve to open up and make specific dimensions of social movements accessible. The different dimensions will each make contributions in analyzing in how far Occupy Germany can be related to the existing protest legacy. Thus, Occupy's blending with already existing movements will be examined. The thesis will demonstrate that Occupy blends with already existing social movement organizations. Moreover, Occupy recombines resources of existing protest organizations to a high degree without which Occupy could never have achieved its establishment in the political landscape of Germany.

### ***2.1 The political opportunity structure***

This part of the thesis analyzes the political opportunity structure (POS) that enabled the Occupy movement to gain ground in Germany. The POS deals basically with "external political factors which support or impede the degree of mobilization and possibly the impact of social movements". According to Sidney Tarrow, the concept of political opportunities is defined as "consistent dimensions of the political environment or of change in that environment that provide incentives for collective action by affecting the expectations for success or failure." Tarrow notes that objective opportunities do in fact not exist, since they have to be perceived and attributed in order to become the source of mobilization. He emphasizes that "political opportunities are seized and transformed by a variety of challengers under many different conditions."<sup>70</sup> He proposes four common political opportunities, namely the opening of access to the participation of new actors, the evidence of political realignment

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<sup>70</sup> S. Tarrow (2011). *Power in Movement*, 279

within the polity, emerging splits within the elite, and the availability of influential allies.<sup>71</sup> Those four comprehensive mechanisms assist in opening and closing political opportunities.

The contribution of a German scholar, Herbert Kitschelt, cannot be ignored either. While rich detail of several case studies on anti-nuclear power movement already existed in the mid-1980s, Kitschelt tries to close the gap concerning cross-national comparisons of these social movements. His 1986 article on POS and political protest analyzes the POS of anti-nuclear movements in four democracies: France, Sweden, the United States and West Germany. He differentiates the countries in a matrix and shows that the mobilization strategies and impacts of social movements can be significantly explained by the characteristics of domestic POS. He concludes that the general characteristics of domestic POS allow explaining social movements' mobilization strategies and their future impacts.<sup>72</sup>

With regards this POS, it is of interest whether these four dimensions introduced by Tarrow accounting for opportunities explain the emergence of Occupy Germany. What triggered this window of opportunity? The following paragraphs will answer this.

The first mechanism is called increasing access to participation of new actors, which implies that gaining some access to participation can provide people with incentives. Tarrow cites Peter Eisinger, who describes the relationship between protest and political opportunity as curvilinear, namely neither full access nor its absence produce the greatest degree of protest.<sup>73</sup>

The new actor, Occupy, was already active in other parts of the world before it diffused to

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<sup>71</sup> S. Tarrow in: H. Johnston and J. A. Noakes. *Frames of Protest: A Road Map to a Perspective*. In: H. Johnston and J. A. Noakes (2005). *Frames of Protest. Social Movements and the Framing Perspective*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

<sup>72</sup> H. Kitschelt (1986). *Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies*. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Jan., 1986), 58

<sup>73</sup> P. Eisinger in S. Tarrow (2011). *Power in Movement*. Revised and Updated Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 283.

Western Europe. Intensive media coverage about OWS in German newspapers, starting from early October 2011 on, increased Occupy's chances to establish itself in Germany as well.

It has to be remarked that all the factors are usually "arrayed differently in different systems and change over time". Although they are usually independent from each other, it is also possible that they are sometimes arrayed closely.<sup>74</sup> It seems that in the case of Occupy, the second and third mechanisms are closely related. The second mechanism, namely shifting alignments and instability of political alignments, such as electoral instability, also encourages contention. Most important for the second mechanism is Occupy's simultaneous emergence with an international crisis of representative democracy, especially a crisis of its representatives. Peter Mair identifies a growing incompatibility between representative and responsible government. While the government has to take the external constraints and legacies into consideration, it is often impossible to make it compatible with public opinion.<sup>75</sup> It seems that citizens worldwide lost more and more confidence in their representatives, but especially Germany was affected by and concerned with it during 2011.

2011 was marked by two particular scandals: two top-ranking politicians of Germany's federal level, the Minister of Defense and Germany's first statesman, the Federal President, resigned from their offices. Germany's Federal President was under accusations of corruption within eight months in office, after his predecessor also surprisingly resigned.<sup>76</sup> Even though

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<sup>74</sup> S. Tarrow (2011). *Power in Movement*, 285

<sup>75</sup> P. Mair (2009). *Representative versus Responsible Government*. Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne. <http://www.mpifg.de/pu/workpap/wp09-8.pdf>.

<sup>76</sup> Horst Köhler resigned to "avert further damage to his office". After his statement about Germany's security and economic interests with regards the Afghanistan mission, he was verbally attacked by the media. He considered the criticisms as "outrageous" and "not justified". *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (08.06.2011). <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/horst-koehler-ueber-seine-ruecktrittsgruende-die-angriffe-auf-mich-waren-ungeheuerlich-1.1106466>.

the Federal Convention normally assembles only every five years, three different Federal Presidents held the position within the last three years.<sup>77</sup>

The plagiarized doctoral thesis and ultimate resignation of Germany's former Federal Minister of Defense also triggered European wide discussions even months after. Especially after the resignation of Germany's former Federal Minister of Defense and member of the Christian Social Union (CSU) of Bavaria, whose sister party is called Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in other states of Germany, conservative supporters became uncertain which party would deserve their votes. The former Federal Minister of Defense was regarded as its party's star and potential candidate for chancellorship. Thus, both the CSU and its sister party's election success were arguably affected by his resignation in February 2011. This was especially apparent in the state elections of Baden-Württemberg which followed soon after in March 2011. After almost 60 years of a conservative-liberal government in the state of Baden-Württemberg, a historic change has taken place, since a green-red coalition now governs the state. The different regional election results were arguably due to the national plagiarism affair, the hotly debated railway project Stuttgart 21, which will be discussed later, and the international nuclear accidents in Fukushima. This and other elections, such as in the state of Berlin and North Rhine Westphalia, led to a political realignment within the polity. Therefore the realignment also contributed to the opening of the POS for Occupy, since citizens' trust in their representatives was shaken and many were looking for an alternative.

There is also a "tectonic" process of loss of democracy's representatives going on. German politicians are considered least trustworthy compared with other professional groups in

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<sup>77</sup> Deutscher Bundestag (2012). *Election of the Federal President*.  
[http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs\\_e/bundestag/elections/federal\\_convention/index.jsp](http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs_e/bundestag/elections/federal_convention/index.jsp).

Germany. Only 9 of 100 survey participants trust them, according to the GfK Group survey. The value decreased even five percentage points within only one year (see table 2).<sup>78</sup>

**Table 2: Extent to which Germans trust individual professional groups (in %)**

Source: GfK Trust Index 2011, GfK Custom Research

<b>Professional group</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2010</b>
Fire service	98	97
Doctors	89	87
Police	85	86
Judges	79	83
Lawyers	71	72
Bankers	57	57
Managers	20	17
Politicians	9	14

The survey was conducted in 19 countries which allows a comparison of international levels of trust in individual professional groups. The international comparison reveals that politicians generally remain at the bottom of the ranking. While in the Czech Republic and Romania esteem is lowest with 8 percentage points, Germany is just slightly above that with 9 percentage points. The fact that German politicians' esteem even deteriorated between 2010 and 2011 and that German politicians remain in the second last place internationally, shows the serious image difficulties from which Occupy possibly benefitted (see table 3).

<sup>78</sup> GfK Trust Index 2011, GfK Custom Research (17.06.2011).  
[http://www.gfk.com/group/press\\_information/press\\_releases/008190/index.en.html](http://www.gfk.com/group/press_information/press_releases/008190/index.en.html).

**Table 3: Extent to which citizens of the Czech Republic, Germany, Romania, Sweden, and all countries trusted politicians in 2011 (in %)**

Source: GfK Trust Index 2011, GfK Custom Research

	<b>Czech Republic, Romania</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>All countries</b>	<b>Sweden</b>
<b>Politicians</b>	8	9	17	39

Tarrow lists conflicts within and among elites as the third factor which can encourage the rise of contention. Those divided elites could then bring resources to emerging movements.<sup>79</sup> Seeing the established parties as elites, would relate this third factor to factor one and two. Disagreement between the major parties makes the voters look for an alternative. The results of the previously described elections often led and still lead to exactly those symptoms.

The most recent election results in the state of North Rhine Westphalia provide evidence for all three mechanisms: the opening of access to participation to new actors, the political realignment within the polity and the emerging splits within elites. New actors, such as the Pirate Party, jumped from 1.6 percent in 2010 to 7.8 percent in the current elections and increased their result fivefold, gaining 20 of 237 seats in the state parliament.<sup>80</sup> Political realignment within the polity has taken place, since the conservatives received the worst election result since 1985 and lost more than 10 percentage points since then (1985: 36.5%; 2012: 26.3%).<sup>81</sup> This negative result for the conservatives led to disputes between the elites of CDU, CSU and the Liberals, as well as Leftists not being represented in the new legislature period due to the five percent clause (see. fig. 5).<sup>82</sup> The state of North Rhine Westphalia is just

<sup>79</sup> S. Tarrow (2011). *Power in Movement*, 284

<sup>80</sup> Wahlergebnisse North Rhine Westphalia (13.05.2012).

<http://www.wahlergebnisse.nrw.de/landtagswahlen/2012/aktuell/dateien/a134lw1200.pdf>.

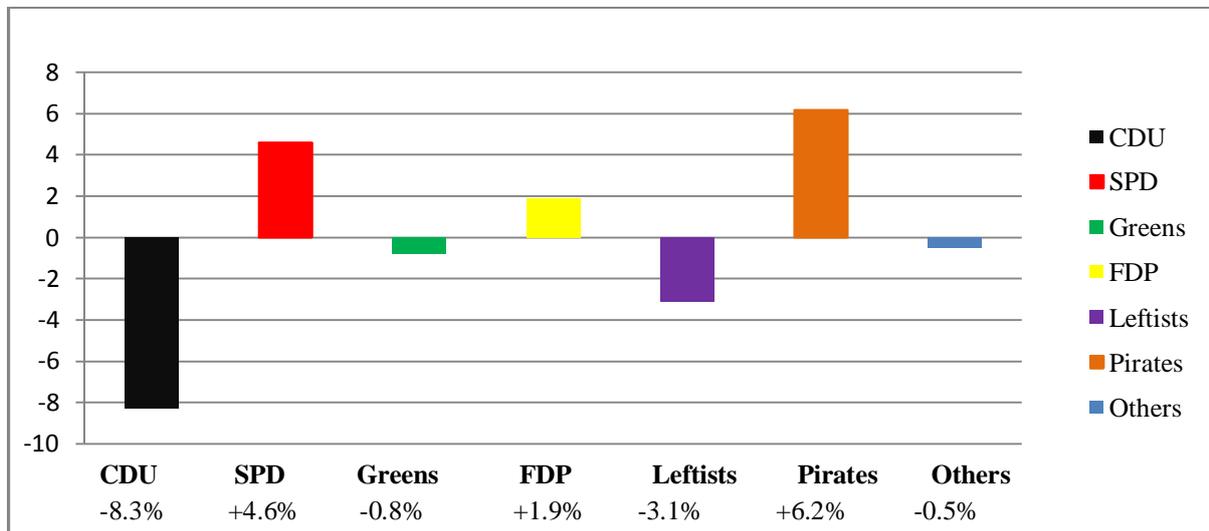
<sup>81</sup> Tagesschau (13.05.2012). *State election North Rhine Westphalia*.

[http://tagesschau.de/multimedia/bilder/uvotealbum112~\\_mtb-1\\_pos-14.html#colsStructure](http://tagesschau.de/multimedia/bilder/uvotealbum112~_mtb-1_pos-14.html#colsStructure).

<sup>82</sup> Tagesschau (15.05.2012). *Wahldebakel sorgt für Zoff bei Schwarz-Gelb*.

<http://tagesschau.de/inland/nrwwah1274.html>

one of many states within Germany where in the not too distant past, elections took place which affected the mechanisms one to three. This example underlines once more the German citizens' dissatisfaction with the status quo and the previously discussed crisis of representative democracy.



**Figure 5: Party winnings and losses during the state elections of North Rhine Westphalia, 13.05.2012**

Source: Tagesschau Online, Own illustration

The fourth mechanism which influences the window of opportunity is influential allies. Once challengers find allies by whom they are supported and backed, they are more likely to engage in collective action.<sup>83</sup> Kriesi also refers to the possibility of building potential alliances between new social movements and the left. He states that they are not only possible competitors, but also possible allies.<sup>84</sup> In the case of the Occupy movement this fourth dimension is applicable in various ways, because Occupy Germany blends with existing social movement organizations and formed several alliances.

<sup>83</sup> S. Tarrow (2011). *Power in Movement*, 285

<sup>84</sup> H. Kriesi. *Movements of the Left, Movements of the Right: Putting the Mobilization of Two New Types of Social Movements into Political Context*. In H. Kitschelt, P. Lange, G. marks, and J. D. Stephens (eds.) (1999) *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 411

According to a sociology professor, Heinz Bude, the Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and for Citizens' Action (ATTAC) in Germany and students and post-graduates in the form of student movements play an important role in Occupy's success. From Bude's point of view, ATTAC plays a constructive role behind the scenes. He points out, however, that Occupy mainly helped ATTAC to focus again in order to improve their institutional set-up and strength. Even though he holds the view that ATTAC contributed to Occupy's success, he does not opine that it was an "automatic slide" which ATTAC initiated.<sup>85</sup>

ATTAC Germany's press spokesperson, Frauke Distelrath, confirms that ATTAC and Occupy Germany built alliances not only nationally, but also on the different regional levels. She believes that there is a relatively close contact between ATTAC and Occupy, since both organizations hold protest events together, such as on the global protest day October 15, 2011 when they occupied the European Central Bank. Distelrath explains that even music and technical facilities were shared by the two groups, so that the first part of the demonstration was announced as an ATTAC event and the second part as an Occupy event.<sup>86</sup> A detailed description of ATTAC's blending and resource sharing with Occupy will follow in the next section about the mobilizing structure.

Another existing social movement organization with which Occupy blends, according to Bude, is the student movement. Even though Germany's educational system in terms of tuition fees is comparably well developed, one core group which is actively involved in Occupy are students and fresh post-graduates. Several joint co-operations between Occupy and the German General Student Committee (AStA) at the Free University of Berlin,<sup>87</sup> the

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with H. Bude (10.04.2012)

<sup>86</sup> Interview with F. Distelrath (07.03.2012)

<sup>87</sup> General Student Committee Free University of Berlin (2011). <http://www.astafu.de/node/105>.

University of Münster, and the University of Darmstadt,<sup>88</sup> to name just a few, organize events, such as seminar room and library occupations, and a series of critical lectures about mass unemployment, the impasse of economics and politics, and the crisis on the financial market.<sup>89</sup> These examples show that Occupy can rely on a strong network of already existing social movement organizations.

## ***2.2 The mobilizing structure***

After analyzing the POS which enabled Occupy to emerge in Germany, this section analyzes Occupy's mobilizing structure. The targets of mobilization are those individuals or groups whose resources and energy the group seek in carrying out its efforts to change.<sup>90</sup> There are several groups which contribute to Occupy's successful establishment in Germany: individual donors, movements, trade and students' unions, and social media providers.

According to Occupy Frankfurt's own information, 1,000 to 1,200 individuals support the camp every day.<sup>91</sup> The running costs for the camp, excluding food, amount to 1,500 Euro per week. Occupy Frankfurt relies therefore highly on micro-donations of equipment and financial support, which they collect at the entrance of their camp and via bank transfers. Especially needed is, apart from financial resources, food, kitchen utensils, materials, hardware, and more. Occupy makes this list of required goods and products available on their website to bring it to the attention of individual supporters. While looking at Occupy's list of required goods, their emphasis on sustainable products becomes striking. They explicitly call for biological and vegan food and gardening products, such as seeds, plants, soil, gardening

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<sup>88</sup> General Student Committee University of Darmstadt (2011). <http://www.asta.tu-darmstadt.de/cms/de/news/singlenews/ansicht/einladung-zur-premiere-von-occupy-justus-liebig-haus/corts/>.

<sup>89</sup> General Student Committee University of Münster (2012). <http://www.occupy-muenster.de/index.php/termine-a-aktionen/34-termine/103-occupy-muenster-und-der-asta-der-universitaet-muenster-starten-mit-kritischer-vortragsreihe>.

<sup>90</sup> W. A. Gamson (1990). *The Strategy of Social Protest*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 15

<sup>91</sup> Occupy Frankfurt (2012). *Die Menschen*. <http://www.occupyfrankfurt.de/camp-info/kleine-camp-geschichte/>.

tools, and gloves.<sup>92</sup> From this, we can draw the lesson that the Occupy activists not only demand food, but also have definite ideas about what kind of food they prefer. Occupy demonstrates with its own area under cultivation their environmental consciousness, ecologically awareness and sympathy for “green” ideas.

The second group of people who help Occupy mobilize resources are other social movement organizations: aCAMPada, Alex11, Campact, Indignados, PACE, Real Democracy Now, to name just some of the most prevalent movements. The previously presented anti-globalization movement ATTAC organizes carpools and busses to increase the number of attendees at the Blockupy protest for Occupy.<sup>93</sup> A member of ATTAC who is responsible for the connections between Occupy and ATTAC in his organization, also participates by giving a presentation at an Occupy event.<sup>94</sup> The other movements mainly interact with Occupy during their protest events. The more groups gather, the more influential and powerful Occupy appears.

The third group of people actively supporting Occupy consists of trade unions, such as The German Trade Union Federation (DGB), The German Metalworkers’ Trade Union (IGM), The Food, Beverages and Catering Industry Trade Union (NGG), The United Service Sector Union (ver.di), and the The German Education Union. All these trade unions were involved, for example, in the Occupy Blockupy action days in Frankfurt in mid-May. The trade unions offer accommodation in the DGB house Frankfurt, coordinate the busses via ver.di, or contribute to the overall organization. Additionally, also students’ unions, such as the

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<sup>92</sup> Occupy Frankfurt (2012). *Unsere Infrastruktur*. <http://www.occupyfrankfurt.de/camp-info/kleine-camp-geschichte/>.

<sup>93</sup> ATTAC (2012). *Mitfahrbörse*. <http://www.attac.de/aktuell/eurokrise/maiproteste/anreise/mitfahrboerse/?L=2>

<sup>94</sup> Occupy Biennale (2012). <http://occupybb7.org/calendar/2012-05>

previously mentioned German General Student Committee (AStA), which is established at German universities, help mobilize supporters during their joint events with Occupy.<sup>95</sup>

Fourthly, prominent supporters also assist Occupy in attracting new followers. While in the US many stars, such as George Soros, Alec Baldwin, and Michael Moore officially support Occupy, German stars seem to be more cautious. Nevertheless, Occupy considers politicians, such as Oskar Lafontaine (the Leftists) and Heiner Geißler (CDU) as their supporters.<sup>96</sup> Occupy also started a petition against speculation on food in March 2012, which was supported by the politicians Sahra Wagenknecht (the Leftists) and the Lord Mayor of the city of Frankfurt, Peter Feldmann (SPD). Even though prominent supporters in Germany seem hesitant in backing Occupy, there is a growing support for them, which is mostly, but not exclusively, to be found among Social Democrats and politicians of the Leftists.<sup>97</sup>

Last but not least, the committee of inquiry provides legal support to Occupy.<sup>98</sup> This legal assistance is particularly vital, so that Occupy activists know what to do and what not to do before and during the protest events, but also in the case of arrest, repression, interrogation, after the release, and in the case as witness before the court.<sup>99</sup> The committee of inquiry is represented in all major cities where Occupy is active, namely Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt, Gorleben, Hamburg, and Münster.<sup>100</sup> All the relations between Occupy and its supporters are illustrated in figure 6.

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<sup>95</sup> Blockupy Frankfurt (2012). <http://blockupy-frankfurt.org/de/service/busse>.

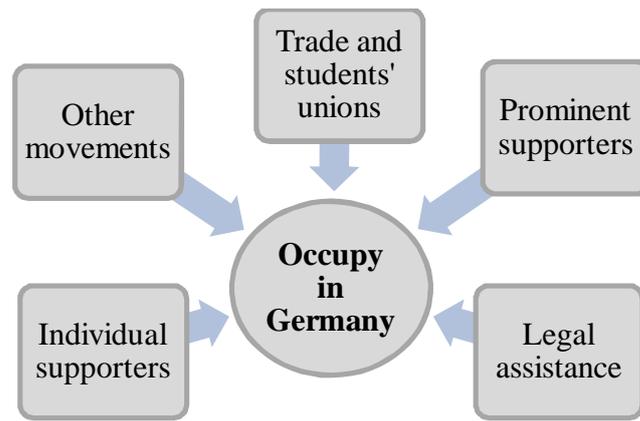
<sup>96</sup> Occupy Germany (2012). <http://occupygermany.wordpress.com/2011/10/08/occupy-gewinnt-prominente-unterstutzer/>.

<sup>97</sup> Occupy Germany (26.03.2012). Press release. [http://occupy-occupy.de/press/20120326\\_Pressemeldung.pdf](http://occupy-occupy.de/press/20120326_Pressemeldung.pdf).

<sup>98</sup> Occupy Hamburg (2012). <http://www.occupyhamburg.org/>.

<sup>99</sup> Committee of Inquiry Frankfurt (2012). <http://ea-frankfurt.org/hilfetips>.

<sup>100</sup> Committee of Inquiry Frankfurt (2012). <http://ea-frankfurt.org/links>.



**Figure 6: Mobilizing resources of and for Occupy Germany**

Source: Own illustration

### **2.3 Framing – “yes, we camp!”**

The previous section of the thesis underlined the importance of individual supporters, other movements, trade and students’ unions, prominent supporters, and legal advisors for Occupy’s establishment in Germany. This section will elaborate on Occupy Germany’s specific framing which was and still is appealing to many supporters. The aspect of “framing” seems to be of major importance in the case of Occupy Germany’s success. The concept of framing can originally be traced back to Erving Goffmann’s 1974 book.<sup>101</sup> A frame can be defined as “selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment”.<sup>102</sup> How are Occupy Germany’s claims framed and articulated in the media?

The following brief analysis is based on an evaluation of photographs, posters, videos, and websites of local Occupy groups in Germany. It is generally notable that many claims are not written in German, but in English to reach a wider audience. Even though there are variations in the framing, the analyzed local groups seem to follow a certain pattern which will be

<sup>101</sup> McAdam, D., S. Tarrow, and C. Tilly. *Towards an Integrated Perspective on Social Movements and Revolutions*. In Lichbach, M. and A. Zuckerman, ed. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Structure, and Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press 1997: 142-73.

<sup>102</sup> S. Tarrow (2011). *Power in Movement*, 246

subsumed as claims of Occupy Germany. Occupy Germany's main claims can be summarized in the categories "Political issues: Arab Spring, Greece, and Spain", "Economic issues: Banks, capitalism, and financial issues", and "Social issues: Sustainability, world, peace, and love" (see table 2). The first framing is reminiscent of the indignation movement and the Arab Spring. Occupy Germany calls their general assemblies "asamblea", the Spanish translation of assembly, like the Spanish movement. Occupy Germany also makes use of the translation of the "¡Democracia Real Ya!" movement's German translation "Echte Demokratie Jetzt" on the starting page of their website.<sup>103</sup> The Occupy activists also encourage people to participate in the framework of 12 M and 15 M in the "global spring like the people of Spain did one year ago".<sup>104</sup> Additionally, claims, such as "We are all Greeks" are used in its German translation. All these examples provide evidence for the fact that German Occupy activists directly refer to the movement's origins in the Arab world and in Southern Europe.

The identification with the Greeks in Germany where the majority of the Germans are against bailing out Greece could also be an indicator of the movement's rather modest importance. According to a representative poll from March 2012, 62 percent of those who participated in the survey demand the German Bundestag stop the rescue package for Greece amounting to 130 billion Euros, 33 percent were in favor of it.<sup>105</sup> Even though there is a high number of Germans against bailing out Greece, the German Bundestag still voted in favor of a new financial package for Greece. Nevertheless, there was no consent among the members of parliament represented in the German Bundestag, since 90 voted against. The German Minister of the Interior even suggested that Greece should voluntarily leave the monetary

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<sup>103</sup> Occupy Deutschland (2012). <http://www.occupydeutschland.de/index.html>.

<sup>104</sup> Indignad@s Occupy Biennale (2012). <http://occupybb7.org/node>.

<sup>105</sup> Poll conducted by Emnid at the request of the weekly newspaper "Bild am Sonntag" in: Zeit Online (09.03.2012). Umfrage: *Mehrheit der Deutschen gegen neue Hilfen für Griechenland*. <http://www.zeit.de/news/2012-03/09/d-umfrage-mehrheit-der-deutschen-gegen-neue-hilfen-fuer-griechenland-09180257>.

union. Additionally, Chancellor Merkel could not reach the so-called Chancellor majority, consisting of at least 311 votes of her coalition: only 304 members of CDU, CSU and FDP voted in favor of bailing Greece out. Even though overall 496 parliamentarians supported the project, the low turnout within the coalition is considered by critics a symbolic failure for Merkel.<sup>106</sup> This underlines not only the division among citizens, politicians, and parties, but also why Germans do not feel well represented by their parliamentarians. The fact that a majority of Germans is actually against bailing out the Greeks may be one reason why Occupy has relatively small support.

The second framing category related to economic issues mainly concerns banks, capitalism, and financial issues. Occupy movements in Germany created numerous wordplays and rhymes about banks ("Bankfurt"), education ("Education instead of Banks") and the Euro and European Stability Mechanism. It becomes obvious that the German Occupy activists see democracy as under threat, since they refer to the financial market as "dictatorship" and see the need to "defend democracy". This frame also reveals a lot about Occupy's relationship with the government. One could expect explicit demands directed at the German government, but what one finds instead is the call to defend democracy internationally. In addition, Occupy Germany demonstrated in mid-May 2012 against the restrictions on the right of assembly in Spain.<sup>107</sup> This example emphasizes once more the close relationship with and solidarity for the Spanish citizens and the indignation movement.

The activists do not only see the political order in jeopardy, but also their "lives" and therefore demand: "Let the banks bleed." Occupy Germany directs its anger mostly at the European

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<sup>106</sup> Focus (28.02.2012). *Angela Merkel verfehlt die symbolische Kanzlermerheit*.  
[http://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/staatsverschuldung/euro-krise-bundestag-stimmt-hilfspaket-fuer-griechenland-zu\\_aid\\_718436.html](http://www.focus.de/finanzen/news/staatsverschuldung/euro-krise-bundestag-stimmt-hilfspaket-fuer-griechenland-zu_aid_718436.html).

<sup>107</sup> Occupy Frankfurt (12.05.2012). *Defending Democracy*.  
<http://www.occupyfrankfurt.de/?s=Regierung&submit=Search>.

Central Bank, since the Frankfurt-based activists demonstrate in front of it. But to a smaller degree also national banks seem to belong to Occupy's target. Most of the time, however, Occupy Germany does not specify what banks they exactly protest against, but just refers to them as "the banks". The Frankfurt based Occupy activists do not simply criticize the banks, but also offer a less serious alternative to the European Central Bank and the currency Euro: the European Occupy Central Bank (EOCB) with the Occupy global currency. The EOCB's monetary policy would, in Occupy Frankfurt's imagination, benefit the people and the state.

The third framing category deals with the topics sustainability, world, peace, and love. It is remarkable that many photographs, posters, and claims show the globe, the peace sign, a heart and the word love. German Occupy groups demand "a better world" and "freedom for the world". With claims, such as "Revolution", "Occupy Frankfurt", and "Occupie 100% Love, Peace, Happiness. \*No additives from politics", they also see love at the core of their requirements. This emphasizes once more Occupy's affinity to various aspects of sustainability and their longing for freedom in a better world. Overall, Occupy's framing suggests that it is truly a new form of protest culture which integrates symbols of social networks and the web 2.0 community.

<p>Arab Spring, Greece, and Spain</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Echte Demokratie jetzt!" (Real Democracy Now)</li> <li>• "Empört euch!" (Los Indignados)</li> <li>• "Primavera global" (Global Spring)</li> <li>• "Solidarität mit Ägypten" (Solidarity with Egypt)</li> <li>• "Wir sind alle Griechen" (We are all Greeks)</li> </ul>
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<p>Banks, capitalism and financial issues</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Banken in die Schranken" (Rhyme about controlling the banks)</li> <li>• "Bankfurt" (word game with "Frankfurt")</li> <li>• "Bildung statt Banken" (Education instead of Banks)</li> <li>• "Diktatur der Finanzmärkte brechen" (Break the dictatorship of the financial markets)</li> <li>• "European Occupy Central Bank" (EOCB)</li> <li>• "€SM - Europa sicher malträtiert" (Surely Maltreating Europe)</li> <li>• "ESM abschaffen - Demokratie verteidigen" (Abolishing European Stability Mechanism - defending democracy)</li> <li>• "Ihr spekuliert mit unserem Leben" (You speculate with our lives)</li> <li>• "Lasst die Banken bluten" (Let the banks bleed)</li> <li>• "Rettungsschirme für Menschen statt Banken" (Rescue mechanism for humans not banks)</li> <li>• "Zwischen Hoffen und Banken" (Between hopes and banks)</li> </ul>
<p>Sustainability, world, peace, and love</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "A best taste in the mouth: Occupie 100% Love, Peace, Happiness. *No additives from politics"</li> <li>• "Für eine bessere Welt" (For a better world)</li> <li>• "Freiheit für die Welt" (Freedom for the world)</li> <li>• "Liebe ist alles" (Love is everything)</li> <li>• "R□VO□ution" (Revolution and love)</li> <li>• "Occ♥py Frankfurt"</li> <li>• "♥ &gt; €"</li> </ul>

Figure 7: Framing of Occupy movements in Germany

Source: Own illustration

But in how far do the social media opportunities assist Occupy in spreading the claims? Tarrow opines that it is the impact of the internet, and in general of electronic communication, that has brought the most dramatic change in social movement organization in the last decade.<sup>108</sup> From his point of view, “the internet has opened up new windows of opportunity to movement groups with the strategic vision and the tactical skills to use it effectively”.<sup>109</sup> Indeed, the Occupy activists use the medium of the internet much more extensively than

<sup>108</sup> S. Tarrow (2011). *Power in Movement*, 234

<sup>109</sup> *ibid.*, 236

conventional movements. Occupy is present in a variety of social media channels, such as IRC Webchat, Fora, Facebook, Google+, Twitter, and Youtube.<sup>110</sup> The Occupy activists not only professionally use social media platforms, but also the more traditional media, such as radio, television, and telephone. Occupy Frankfurt offers, for example, an information hotline which is accessible by telephone seven days a week, eleven hours per day.<sup>111</sup> The activists also provide, in cooperation with the live stream channel for anti-nuclear activism “Castor TV”, a live news stream on the internet. Moreover, the live stream is also suitable for chats between activists. Live cameras are installed in Occupy’s main staging grounds, such as Berlin, Düsseldorf, and Hamburg. Another live camera was installed in the city of Gorleben. Even though Gorleben has less than 1,000 inhabitants, it is nationally known as a nuclear waste disposal facility.<sup>112</sup> Thus, there is another alliance between Occupy and the anti-nuclear protest activists of Castor TV.<sup>113</sup>

Additionally, Heinz Bude argues, Stuttgart 21 (S21) also contributed to Occupy’s establishment in Germany’s political landscape. The idea for this railway and urban development project in Southern Germany was already launched in the 1980s, but the construction did not start before 2010. Apart from questioning the general costs and benefits of this project, the debate revolves around issues of external costs and environmental concerns, such as water, trees, air, noise level, and security. S21 raised national awareness through the television mediation procedure lasting several weeks and its citizen referendum in November 2011 in which 58.9% of the eligible voters were in favor of the project.<sup>114</sup> Thus, S21 and Occupy share the characteristic to be “competence protests”, in the sense of being

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<sup>110</sup> Occupy Frankfurt. *Social*. <http://www.occupyfrankfurt.de/social/>.

<sup>111</sup> Occupy Frankfurt (2012). <http://www.occupyfrankfurt.de/>.

<sup>112</sup> Landesbetrieb für Statistik und Kommunikationstechnologie Niedersachsen. <http://www1.nls.niedersachsen.de/statistik/html/parametereingabe.asp?DT=K1000014&CM=Bev%F61kerungsfo rtschreibung>.

<sup>113</sup> Castor TV (2012). [http://castortv.de/occupy\\_germany\\_livestreams.html](http://castortv.de/occupy_germany_livestreams.html).

<sup>114</sup> Railway project “Stuttgart 21” (2012). <http://www.bahnprojekt-stuttgart-uhl.de/details/umwelt/>.

competent in using media. They are, according to Bude, not “wild protests”, but competent protests which know how to use societal and medial amplifiers.<sup>115</sup>

This chapter about “The reasons for Occupy’s diffusion to Germany” elaborated on the political opportunity structure (POS), mobilizing structure, and framing which assisted in Occupy’s establishment in Germany. The POS showed that Occupy Germany’s emergence goes along with a crisis of national and international democracy, and particularly a crisis of its representatives. The analysis of the mobilizing structure argued that Occupy Germany relies on a strong network of individual supporters, other already existing protest movements, trade and students’ unions, prominent supporters, and legal advisors. All listed groups provide resources in terms of time, legal assistance, money and material donations, which are essential for Occupy’s activists. Notably the existing protest legacy and Occupy’s blending with movements, such as aCAMPada, Alex11, Campact, Castor TV, Indignados, PACE, Echte Demokratie Jetzt (Real Democracy Now), contributes to its successful establishment. Occupy activists make extensive use of the internet medium and are active in a variety of social media channels. Without this strong network of supporters and Occupy’s media competence, Occupy arguably could never have achieved its establishment in the political landscape of Germany.

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with H. Bude (10.04.2012)

## CONCLUSION

The given thesis presented the argument that the emergence of the Occupy movement was neither caused by the 1968 movement nor the Tea Party. Instead, the thesis has shown that the Occupy movement found its inspiration not as the name would suggest at Wall Street, but through the uprisings in the Arab region and Southern Europe, namely the European indignation movement. After the US served as an amplifier, Occupy could also spread to other parts of Europe.

The triggers that caused the protest movement to emerge in Germany are to be found in the specific political opportunity structure (POS) as well as mobilizing structure and framing of Occupy Germany. An analysis of these three theoretical approaches showed that the international crisis of democracy and its representatives, a strong network consisting of individual supporters, other movements, trade and students' unions, prominent supporters, and legal advisors enabled the Occupy movement to gain ground and sympathy in Germany. Occupy Germany's relation to the existing protest legacy is clearly pronounced as it is embedded in other German movements, such as ATTAC, Castor, and student protest movements against tuition hikes. The movement recombines resources of these organizations, such as time, money, and material donations. Occupy's appealing and constructively critical framing about the situation in Arab countries and Southern Europe, capitalism and financial issues, and sustainability continues to attract many supporters. The German Occupy movements phrase their issues in a similar way to the indignation movement and even use Spanish words for framing their claims. Thus, not only the American OWS activists, but also the German Occupy movement clearly refers to the movement's original source of inspiration in Southern Europe.

Certain limitations within the framework of this thesis have to be acknowledged. There currently are a variety of events and movements going on, such as 12 M, 15 M, aCAMPada, Arab Spring, Blockupy, Campact, Indignados, Indignados Occupy Biennale, Occupy, Real Democracy Now, Sternmarsch, Zeitgeist, which makes a clear distinction of the movements virtually impossible. The numerous movements are therefore often wrongly projected in the news. The media is frequently not familiar with the differences, which also easily causes confusion on the viewers' and readers' side. Besides, the question arises whether the activists themselves are not unsettled and still know how to draw distinctions between the movements. This is another reason why this work was even more needed to introduce and distinguish the main movements and its origins. Nevertheless, it has to be acknowledged that the distinctions are still frequently blurred. Our modern, highly interconnected and fast-paced times also have a significant degree of influence on the fact that social movements are mutable, easily assimilating and resemble each other.

Owing to the limited time and geographical constraints, diffusion processes to other countries, apart from the chosen country cases, had to be widely neglected. For these reasons, only a limited amount of experts could be interviewed. Despite several enquiries, it was not possible to conduct interviews with the Occupy activists in Germany. Nonetheless, the interviews with the remaining scholars and activists provided insightful information which was very valuable for the thesis' argument. Future projects should start out exactly from here with a more extensive study, more individual interviews and additional focus groups. Since there were and still are no leaders of the movement identifiable, the focus groups could ensure that the opinions are properly taken and come closest to the movement's opinions.

Many areas would deserve much more attention and open up opportunities for further research. It would be interesting to see not only in how far the ideas coming from the Arab Spring and Southern Europe influenced the further stages of the movement, but also in how far the movement could ideationally spill back to its origins, namely in how far activists in Spain and in the Arab region make use of Occupy's current techniques and claims. The suggested interviews and focus groups would therefore need to cover the main countries concerned with this phenomenon to generate reliable data. Especially in the case of the Arab region, it would be of interest to see whether a possible spill-back could strengthen the so far limited success of breakdowns of dictatorships in only few countries, namely Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, and Yemen. Thus, the question arises what role external actors and social movements from the West could take in the future in order to support regime changes in authoritarian countries.

But how does Occupy's future projection look like both in the US and Germany? Heinz Bude identifies a "movement impasse" in the United States which is due to its historical American two-party-system. He brings forward the argument that Occupy and the Tea Party activists are antagonist towards each other which has a strong influence on the US election campaign. This movement impasse between Occupy and the Tea Party raises the question whether society will find its unity in the future again or whether the antipoles will lead to a social divide. Time will show which of the two poles wins.<sup>116</sup> Tamara Steger opines that the American Occupy movement so far successfully transcended any party discourse and sensitive issues, such as gay and pro-life/ pro-choice discussions. Such hotly debated issues could easily divide the movement. Moreover, Occupy does not want to be co-opted by parties and their politics. Occupy wants to push the agenda, but they neither want to support political parties nor

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<sup>116</sup> Interview with H. Bude (10.04.2012)

candidates, since all these issues could possibly divide them. Nevertheless, the question remains how they will resist co-optation in the long run.<sup>117</sup>

This is, however, not the case for the German Occupy movement. In the German multi-party system, there is an adaption and absorption of Occupy ideas by established parties taking place, according to Bude. Firstly, there is the Pirate Party, which belongs to the non-governmental organization Pirate Parties International. The German Pirate Party was founded in September 2006 and can be considered a hybrid, namely both an unconventional movement and a party that is about to establish itself. This is the case since they try to sustain their decentralized and non-binding structure within the structure of the electoral system of running parties. Political disaffection with the more established parties, the multicultural city-state Berlin, an unconventional election campaign, and the appeal to non-voters and others made the Pirate Party the winner of the Berlin state election in 2011.<sup>118</sup> The parties are about to establish themselves nationally and therefore try to attract Occupy activists with their liberal party program and their proposal to offer a guaranteed basic income, according to Bude. Secondly and thirdly, Bude believes that not only the establishment of the German Pirate Party, but also the renewal within the leftist party and the social democrats, could lead to an absorption process, which would eventually let Occupy disappear from the German political sphere.<sup>119</sup>

Most recent happenings in mid-May 2012 confirm that Occupy's future projection in Germany does not look too bright and promising. Occupy's main staging ground in Germany in front of the European Central Bank is likely to be closed by August 2012. The city of

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<sup>117</sup> Interview with T. Steger (17.05.2012)

<sup>118</sup> Tagesschau Online (19.09.2011). *Der Wahlerfolg der Piraten: Ein Berliner Phänomen?*  
<http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/piratenparteilandtagswahlberlin100.html>.

<sup>119</sup> Interview with H. Bude (10.04.2012)

Frankfurt established a “security zone” and a ban on most protests around the European Central Bank. Even though freedom of assembly is guaranteed by article 8 of the German Basic Law, the Federal Constitutional Court confirmed that the ban on this protest was lawful, since the police expected about 2,000 activists ready to use violence. In order to ensure a high degree of safety the ban had to be respected by the activists. Nevertheless, more than 20,000 activists demonstrated at least on May 19<sup>th</sup>, 2012, in order to give a sign against the city of Frankfurt’s decision.<sup>120</sup> On the one hand, this enormous capacity of the protest shows Occupy’s strength and willingness, but on the other hand it also demonstrates that the city of Frankfurt is in a better position before the law. Thus, if the activists have to shut down their main activities in Frankfurt, the movement does not have very good chances to establish itself permanently in other cities and in the German political landscape.

Occupy itself does not agree with this rather pessimistic view on the movement’s future existence. The New York based Occupy activist Maria says:

*My relationship to the city has changed significantly the last eight months. New York has been directly built up on capitalism, and I do not think this is the case in this extreme form anymore. But I do not want to say at the same time that everyone is involved in OWS obviously. We definitely see potential that eventually a change will take place. And we are here to stay.*<sup>121</sup>

Even if the movement itself will most likely fade away from politics and cease to exist in the long run, the set of ideals and ideas that it represents about sustainable management will definitely not. The extent and intensity of the Occupy protests suggest that truly a new level of civic participation has been reached. This is maybe just the beginning of a paradigm shift of the long-desired economic and societal change.

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<sup>120</sup> Welt Online (17.05.2012). *Frankfurter Demonstranten ignorieren Versammlungsverbot*.  
<http://www.welt.de/aktuell/article106329944/Frankfurter-Demonstranten-ignorieren-Versammlungsverbot.html>.

<sup>121</sup> The quotation is taken from a presentation within the framework of a symposium on Sustainability and Contemporary Art called “Atmospheres of Protest”, which took place on May 11, 2012, at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary.

## APPENDICES

### *Appendix A: Interview questionnaire*

This interview questionnaire indicates the general areas that were intended to discuss with the interviewees. Due to the fact that the interviews were conducted semi-structured, some interviews follow a different logic depending on the background of the interviewee (activist vs. scholar) and the national and cultural background (American vs. German).

#### **1. Triggers of Occupy**

At first sight the Occupy movement might look like a reaction to the crises, however some observers suggest that it is the countermovement to the Tea Party or a reincarnation of the 1968 movement. What is your explanation for the emergence of Occupy in the US?

#### **2. Triggers of Occupy Germany**

What triggered the Occupy movement in Germany?

#### **3. Relation of Occupy and other movements**

3a. Which role do already existent protest movements play?

3b. In how far does Occupy Germany blend with existent protest movements?

#### **4. Occupy's future**

4a. What influence does Occupy have on the US election campaign?

4b. What kind of influence will Occupy Germany have?

## ***Appendix B: Abridged interview transcripts***

The contact to the interviewees was established through e-mails. All interviewees showed great interest in the research topic and were willing to conduct an interview. Most interviews were conducted via Skype. After introducing the interviewer and the research topic in detail, the interviewees were asked whether they agree to record the interview. All interviewees confirmed their declaration of agreement.

### **Frauke Distelrath (ATTAC Germany)**

March 7, 2012

Janina Mangold (J.M.): Was löste Ihrer Meinung nach in Deutschland die Occupy Bewegung aus?

Frauke Distelrath (F.D.): Für die Occupy Bewegung Deutschland ist Occupy Wall Street ausschlaggebend, die Besetzung der Wall Street und das Camp dort und die zunehmend intensivere Medienberichterstattung von Occupy Wall Street. Zum einen hat sich Occupy ja auf die Rebellion in den arabischen Ländern berufen, aber auch die Besetzung des spanischen Placa del Sol, also auf die Bewegung Demokratie jetzt und die Indignados in Spanien. Über den Umweg nach USA ist die Bewegung nun auch in Deutschland angekommen ist. Es gab natürlich auch vorher schon Kontakte und Aufmerksamkeit für das, was in Spanien und Griechenland passiert, aber interessanterweise übergesprungen ist der Funke dann erst mit der Bewegung in den USA. [...] Es gab und gibt Kontakte der sozialen Bewegungen und der globalisierungskritischen Bewegungen in Deutschland, es gibt natürlich auch Kontakte zu den Bewegungen in Spanien und Griechenland. Im Falle von ATTAC gibt es ein europäisches Netzwerk in den anderen Ländern, den Austausch gab es schon vorher, aber einen zusätzlicher Funke ist erst im vergangen Herbst übergesprungen. Und dieser Funke ging von Occupy Wall Street aus.

J.M.: Welche Rolle spielen die bereits bestehenden Bewegungen, wie zum Beispiel ATTAC?

F.D.: Es gibt einen verhältnismäßig engen Kontakt, wir haben einige Sachen zusammen gemacht. Chronologisch gesehen lief es folgendermaßen ab: Occupy Deutschland wird vor allem mit der Kundgebung und Demonstration am 15. Oktober in Frankfurt zum ersten Mal größer in Erscheinung getreten an einem dezentralen Aktionstag, der ursprünglich von Spanien aus aufgerufen wird. Das europäische Netzwerk hat sich daran von vorne herein beteiligt, das stammte schon aus dem Sommer, das Datum und auch der Ort EZB (Europäische Zentralbank). Zu diesem dezentralen Aktionstag hat man neben lokalen Bündnissen in vielen Städten erstmals eben mit lokalen Demokratie jetzt und Indignados Gruppen, wo Occupy erstmal noch gar nicht in Erscheinung getreten ist. Und dann die Planung von ATTAC Deutschland für ein Hearing in Berlin und die Aktion in der EZB. Dann kam die Aufmerksamkeit und Dynamik von Occupy Wall Street eben auch nach Deutschland, so dass lokale Occupy Gruppen entstanden sind, und hier in Frankfurt, haben Occupy auch am 15. Oktober zur EZB aufgerufen zu unserer Aktion. Wir sind dann eben sehr schnell in Kontakt gekommen und haben überlegt, wie man das zusammen hinkriegt. Die praktische Lösung: erster Teil der Demonstration war angemeldet als ATTAC Veranstaltung, und danach war formal die ATTAC Veranstaltung zu Ende, aber wir haben Occupy dann zum Beispiel unsere Anlage überlassen, dann ging es über in die Hände der Occupy Gruppe, die die Kundgebung dann noch weiter mit dem offenen Mikrofon gemacht hat.

J.M.: Kam Occupy auf ATTAC zu oder andersherum, um die Veranstaltung auf die Beine zu stellen?

F.D.: Ich glaube, dass Occupy auf ATTAC zukam, aber das weiß ich nicht mehr genau. Aber das mussten wir ja im Prinzip auch, da die Kundgebung schon angemeldet war von ATTAC. Formal ist das aufgrund der Regelungen des Ordnungsamtes auch nicht möglich, zwei Kundgebungen zum gleichen Thema am gleichen Ort ab abzuhalten. Da sagen die

Ordnungsbehörden: Tut euch zusammen, sprecht euch ab. Das waren erst mal auf einer sehr pragmatischen Ebene die ersten Kontakte. Das Camp in Frankfurt ist sehr nah am Bundesbüro von ATTAC, sodass ATTAC sich immer mal wieder an Asambleas im Camp beteiligt hat und man kennt sich inzwischen. Das ging dann weiter, dass ATTAC mit Campact im November in Frankfurt und Berlin diese Umzingelung gemacht hat unter dem Motto „Banken in die Schranken“, wir haben in Frankfurt das Bankenviertel mit einer Menschenkette umzingelt. Das war eine Aktivität, die auf Initiative von ATTAC und Campact gestartet wurde, da waren dann eben auch Leute von Occupy mit dabei. Da hat sich Occupy eher ein bisschen zurückgehalten, die Organisation lag bei ATTAC, aber Occupy hat es mit unterstützt und mit mobilisiert. Bei den europäischen Aktionstagen im Mai in Frankfurt beteiligen sich ATTAC, linke Gruppierungen und auch viele von Occupy sind dabei.

J.M.: Inwiefern mischen sich die Mitglieder?

F.D.: Zu diesem dezentralen Aktionstag hat man neben lokalen Bündnissen in vielen Städten erstmals eben mit lokalen Demokratie jetzt und Indignados Gruppen, wo Occupy erstmal noch gar nicht in Erscheinung getreten ist. Das lässt sich nicht so scharf abgrenzen, aber es ist jetzt auch nicht wirklich deckungsgleich. Occupy hat schon einen anderen Ansatz als ATTAC. Und über das Pfingstwochenende Mitte Mai findet eine Blockade der EZB in Frankfurt statt. Ich würde sagen, dass Occupy nur einer der Akteure ist. Die Initiative zu diesem Protesttag ging nicht von Occupy aus. Das ist jetzt also nicht Occupy und andere, sondern das ist wirklich ein breites Bündnis.

J.M.: Wie schätzen Sie Occupy's Zukunft ein?

F.D.: Ich finde es etwas schwierig, das auf Occupy zu begrenzen. Mich würde eher interessieren: Wie geht es mit sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland weiter? Ich denke da ist die Dynamik so nicht absehbar. Es gab im letzten Herbst klare Anzeichen, dass es eine Bewegung gibt, dass das Occupy Camp, wenn man das mal so als Symbol nimmt, den harten

Winter hier überstanden hat und immer noch unvermindert vor der EZB steht, ich denke, das ist ein starkes Zeichen dafür, dass es weitergeht. Aber wie groß und stark die Dynamik wird, das hängt, glaube ich, auch ganz stark von den aktuellen Entwicklungen ab. Ich finde es ganz schwierig da im Moment eine Prognose abzugeben.

**Prof. Dr. Heinz Bude (University of Kassel)**

April 10, 2012

Janina Mangold (J.M.): Manche argumentieren, dass OWS in direkter Verbindung zu den 68er Bewegungen steht, andere sehen die Krise als Auslöser und wiederum andere die Tea Party Bewegung. Was ist Ihre Erklärung für die Entstehung von OWS?

Heinz Bude (H.B.): Ich glaube, es gibt einen wesentlichen Unterschied zu den 68ern, obwohl es eine gewisse Strukturanalogie gibt, die auch 68 auffällig war, nämlich, dass es an unterschiedlichen Orten eine Antwort auf relativ lokale Bedingungen in einer gewissen Gleichzeitigkeit einen Protestausdruck gegeben hat. Das war ziemlich überraschend und ist auch von heute aus eine relativ überraschende Angelegenheit. Wenn man sich das genauer ansieht, dann ist das immer eine merkwürdige Verbindung von lokalen Auslöserkonstellationen und globaler Resonanz gewesen. Das hat sicherlich etwas mit den Medien zu tun. Diese Struktur finden wir jetzt auch wieder bei der Wall Street Geschichte. OWS ist natürlich ohne die mediale Unterstützung gar nicht vorstellbar, das ist ein ganz wichtiges Verbindungselement. Es ist nur, wenn Sie so wollen, von der ideologischen Konstruktion des Lebensgefühls eine ganz andere Geschichte. Meiner Meinung nach war 68 am Ende doch von einem utopischen Impuls getragen, nämlich dass es eine Alternative zu unserer Art von Gesellschaft gibt, die man als kapitalistisch gekennzeichnet hat. Dieses utopische Alternativbewusstsein sehe ich bei der Occupy Bewegung ehrlich gesagt nicht. Man weiß, dass in der Struktur des Kapitalismus etwas schief laufen muss, aber es fehlt das

politisch gesellschaftliche Vorstellungsvermögen, sich ein ganz anderes System der gesellschaftlichen Wertschöpfung zu denken. Das, finde ich, ist ein entscheidender Unterschied. Occupy ist ein immanentistischer Prozess und 68 war ein transzendentaler Protest, der von der Idee ausgehen konnte, es gibt eine andere Art zum Kapitalismus und Occupy versucht intern eine Veränderung des Kapitalismus hervorzurufen. Gleichzeitig ist von den Strukturelementen natürlich im Personal der Übergangsbewegungen, also vor allen Leute die in meinem Alter, also so Mitte 50 sind, die sind in der Organisationsstruktur von Occupy gar nicht so unwichtig. Wenn sie also den Impuls der 68er in der Jugend mitbekommen haben. Die utopische Unsicherheit ist das interessante Unterscheidungsmerkmal zu 68, obwohl es auch gewisse Parallelen gibt.

J.M.: Sie hatten gerade eben die globalen Auslöser erwähnt, zu denen sicherlich auch der Kapitalismus zählt. Was sind denn Ihrer Meinung nach die lokalen Auslöser, sowohl bei OWS als Occupy Deutschland?

H.B.: Das Globale ist sicherlich die Ernüchterung darüber, dass der Kapitalismus in sich selbst ein Krisenzusammenhang ist. Die Erkenntnis darüber, dass die Krisendämpfungslogik eher Verstärkung erzeugte. Das war so ein bisschen nach einer 25-jährigen neoliberalistischen Regierung eine Wahnsinnserkenntnis. Es gibt einen Generationen- und Kohorteneffekt, der sieht in Chile etwas anders aus als in den USA und in den USA wiederum anders als in Deutschland, aber es gibt ein gewisses Merkmal, das mit der Veränderung des Bildungssystems zu tun hat. Viele der Occupy Aktivisten haben doch so eine unglaubliche Ernüchterungserfahrung lebensgeschichtlich gemacht mit der dramatischen Erkenntnis, dass die Bildungsrendite sich für sie deutlich nicht auszahlt. Das heißt sie haben hohe Investitionen in Bildung getätigt und sowohl im Sinne eines privatisierten Keynesianismus, in dem man die eigenen Kosten für Bildung per Kredit auf sich geladen hat, als auch Anstrengungen unternommen hat, von Deutschland her gesehen in einem hoch institutionalisierten

Bildungssystem, die Kenntnis gemacht, dass einen das möglicherweise gar nichts bringt. Also dieser schlagartige Verfall von Bildungsrenditen, das ist der entscheidende Zusammenhang. Eine Art basaler Ernüchterung, dass man sich betrogen fühlt.

J.M.: Bei der 68er Bewegung haben ja vor allem Studentenproteste eine große Rolle gespielt. Kann man sagen, dass Occupy eine Studentenbewegung ist? Sie sagten ja, dass vor allem die Mittfünfziger eine große Rolle spielen. Also mischt es sicher eher oder wie lässt sich das Phänomen genau greifen?

H.B.: Das ist ein sehr interessanter Punkt. Ich glaube, die Kerngruppe, das sind Postgraduierte, die also das Studium schon hinter sich haben und möglicherweise erste Berufserfahrungen gesammelt haben und merken, dass das Statusversprechen durch Bildung nicht einzulösen ist. Das merkt man während des Studiums noch gar nicht so genau. Und da gibt es natürlich eine zweite Gruppe, die für die gesamte Bewegung bedeutend gewesen ist, die jetzt eher in den Jahrgängen der 50er beheimatet sind, die von dem Bewusstsein geprägt sind, dass immer schon etwas mit dem Kapitalismus nicht in Ordnung gewesen ist. Also so eine Art systemisches Misstrauen dem Kapitalismus gegenüber. Jetzt haben sie die politische Möglichkeitsstruktur gefunden, um ihr systemisches Misstrauen zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Die verbinden sich nun mit der Postgraduiertenkerngruppe und eine dritte Gruppe, die jedenfalls in Deutschland ziemlich auffällig ist, sind Leute im Rentenalter, die also schon eher in die 40er Jahrgänge gehen und die eine merkwürdige Art von Enkelbewusstsein haben. Also das Gefühl, dass die Zukunft der Enkel bedroht ist durch eine Lebensweise, aus der sie selbst keinen Ausweg mehr sehen. Es ist eine merkwürdige Melange aus Enkelverantwortung, schlagartige Realisierung fallender Bildungsrendite und gleichzeitig ein systemisches Misstrauen, was den Gelegenheitsraum für gesellschaftlichen Ausdruck gefunden hat. Irgendwie so reime ich mir das zusammen.

J.M.: Und welche Rolle spielen bereits existierende politische Gruppierungen bei dieser Melange, wie beispielsweise ATTAC Deutschland oder in Süddeutschland zum Beispiel Stuttgart 21? Inwiefern haben diese Gruppierungen damit zu tun, dass Occupy Deutschland sich etablieren konnte?

H.B.: Das ist interessant. ATTAC spielt im Hintergrund immer noch eine gewisse Rolle, aber ATTAC war eigentlich dabei institutionell zu verholzen. Die waren also dabei ihren Drive zu verlieren. Aber dieser basale ATTAC-Impuls hat durch diese Occupy Geschichte und durch das Gefühl, dass man eine epochale Krise des Kapitalismus erlebt, hat das noch einen Auftrieb bekommen. Wobei ich nicht sagen würde, dass die ATTAC Strukturen auf eine Laufbahn in die Occupy Bewegung hineingegangen sind – jedenfalls nicht in Deutschland. ATTAC ist eher eine Hintergrundgeschichte gewesen, aber es ist keine Rutschbahn gewesen, also dass man nur etwas entsichern musste, das dann von selber lief. So, glaube ich, kann man das nicht sehen. Natürlich, was sie mit Stuttgart 21 ansprechen, spielt auch eine gewisse Rolle, nämlich, dass man bei Occupy auch einen Kompetenzprotest beobachten kann. Das war auch schon deutlich bei den Protesten gegen Stuttgart 21. Also die Struktur des kompetenten, insbesondere medienkompetenten, Protests. Das ist wirklich auch eine ganz wichtige Geschichte. Das ist also keine wilde Protestform, die die Straße für sich reklamiert, sondern ein kompetenter Protest, der relativ gut weiß, wie man mit gesellschaftlichen Verstärkerinstrumenten umgehen muss.

J.M.: Sie hatten vorhin noch die politische Gelegenheitsstruktur angesprochen. Gibt es da in Deutschland noch weitere Auslöser, sogenannte Trigger, die mit reingespielt haben könnten, wie beispielsweise Wahlen, Ämterwechsel, oder wie erklären sie sich die Reaktion der Bevölkerung?

H.B.: Glaube ich irgendwie nicht. Meine Vorstellung ist eher das Auftreten eines ideologischen Vakuums. Ich habe den Eindruck, dass wir eigentlich für Deutschland sagen

können, dass die allermeisten Leute, die das auch politisch verfolgt haben und eine gewisse Sympathie für Occupy haben, sich im Grunde in einer Art Patt-Situation befinden, dass sie weder dem Markt noch dem Staat zu vertrauen vermögen. Die Occupy Bewegung ist ja auch keine offensive Verstaatlichungsbewegung für den Bankensektor. Obwohl es solche Vorstellungen natürlich gibt für die Verstaatlichung von Banken. Aber es gibt ja kein fröhliches Staatsvertrauen in der Occupy Bewegung gegen das Marktversagen. Ich glaube, das meine ich mit ideologischem Patt, dass man plötzlich zu dem Bewusstsein kommt, dass eine Gleichzeitigkeit von Markt- und Staatsversagen gibt. Und da hat man den Eindruck, dass diese Gleichzeitigkeit systemische Ursachen hat, die man aber wiederum nicht auf einer transzendentalen, utopischen Weise in Frage stellen kann. Insofern gibt es untergründig einen fast depressiv melancholischen Zug in der ganzen Geschichte.

J.M.: Was sind denn ihrer Meinung nach die bedeutendsten Unterschiede zwischen OWS und Occupy Deutschland? Handelt es sich beides Mal um die Gleichzeitigkeit von Staats- und Marktversagen oder inwiefern sind Unterschiede erkennbar?

H.B.: Die Situation ist die, dass die ganze Generation, die in die Bildungsfalle gelaufen ist. Das können Sie in gewisser Weise für die USA sagen, das gibt es in Deutschland in dieser Form nicht. In Deutschland ist die Situation ja dramatisch gut und trotzdem gibt es keine Situation des Aufatmens in Deutschland. In diese merkwürdige Zwischenfalle ist Occupy, denke ich, hineingegangen, in dem es nochmals die Situation des offenen gesellschaftlichen Reasonings verstärkt hat, dass man sich zusammensetzt, um sich zu überlegen, wie können wir eigentlich unser Wissen zusammenführen in der Konzipierung von Strategien des Exodus aus dem System. Also die Idee des gesellschaftlichen Ratschlages hat bei den Occupy Camps wieder einen gewissen Auftrieb gegeben, so habe ich das beobachtet. Gleichzeitig war das auch der Punkt, an dem Occupy verbleibt ist in Deutschland, denn vor lauter Ratschlägen im

Sinne des gemeinschaftlichen sich Hinsetzens und Überlegens, auch die Strategieschwäche von Occupy.

J.M.: Es gibt ja auch die Indignados Bewegung. Jetzt habe ich mich gefragt, warum Occupy nach Deutschland kam, wenn doch die räumliche Distanz wesentlich größer ist, und warum kam Indignados nicht nach Deutschland? Haben Sie dafür eine Erklärung?

H.B.: In Spanien hatten wir ja wieder diese Merkwürdigkeit. Es ist alles so verrückt. Da sind ein paar Leute auf so einem Platz und dann werden das plötzlich immer mehr. Das ist schon eine Geschichte, die sich urplötzlich aus dem Boden heraus entwickelt. Und das ist schon etwas, das mir vor allem bei dem Vergleich mit der Israel-Geschichte klar geworden ist. Es ist für die Leute in Spanien eine gesamte Veränderung des Lebenszuschnittes, dass es eben ganz massiv um die Frage von Wohnungspreisen geht. Also in Spanien hat das eine ganz große Rolle gespielt, dass man bezahlbar leben kann in einer Großstadt und nicht immer wieder in die Familie zurückgedrängt wird, und gleichzeitig so unglaublich viel von einem erwartet wird und man sich gleichzeitig in eine ausweglosen Situation hineingeht, was Jobs betrifft. Und das hat sich kombiniert mit einer Art menschenrechtlichen Gefühl, wir sind eine unbehauste Generation. Wir sind nicht nur eine Generation, die keine Aussicht mehr hat, die ihre Anstrengungen kompensiert zu finden sucht, sondern wir „stehen draußen vor der Tür“. Das hat es in Deutschland so nicht gegeben. Das, finde ich, trifft nicht wirklich die deutsche Situation.

J.M.: Eine abschließende Frage habe ich noch: Wie schätzen Sie die Zukunft von Occupy sowohl in Deutschland als auch den USA ein?

H.B.: Das kann man ja jetzt schon verfolgen. Das geht jetzt hinein in eine ganz bestimmte Wahlkampf Bewegung, die im Präsidentschaftswahlkampf in den USA eine gewisse Rolle spielt, aber man darf nicht vergessen, dass im Hinblick auf die USA immer deutlicher wird, dass es Bewegungen gibt, die sich feindlich gegenüberstehen. Mit Occupy ist ja auch die Tea

Party immer stärker geworden. Und dieses Bewegungspatt macht einen interessanten Hintergrund für den Wahlkampf, der zur Zeit in den USA stattfindet. Wodurch auch die Frage entsteht: Kann die Gesellschaft sich nochmals zu einer Einheit zusammenfinden oder wird der Wahlkampf ein Wahlkampf der politischen und gesellschaftlichen Spaltung? Dass unter Umständen eine Seite siegen und die andere Seite sich nicht länger halten wird. In Deutschland haben wir meiner Meinung nach eine Adaptionsbewegung vor Augen. Occupy ist hineingesickert in andere Parteilogiken hinein, wie zum Beispiel die Piratenpartei, die gleichzeitig eine Art Wiederaufkommen liberalistischer Vorstellungen ist, und gleichzeitig die Vorstellung vom garantierten Grundeinkommen, das gibt auch wieder so ganz merkwürdige Schwammstruktur und ich glaube, in dieser Diversität von Piratenpartei, auch gewisse Erneuerungsbewegungen bei der Linken und bestimmte Dimensionen in der Sozialdemokratie, das ist alles so eine Art Absorptionsprozess, so eine Art Staubsauger, von dem Occupy in Deutschland wahrscheinlich schon aufgesaugt wurde.

**Hannah Appel, PhD (Columbia University)**

May 07, 2012

Janina Mangold (J.M.): At first sight the Occupy movement might look like a reaction to the crises, however some observers suggest that it is the countermovement to the Tea Party or a reincarnation of the 1968 movement. What is your explanation for the emergence of Occupy in the US?

Hannah Appel (H.A.): I think the most important thing is that we do not foreclose any direction from which it came. I think it is a radically encompassing movement so I think that everything that you just said is true for some people. And for some people it is true for them for one day and the next day it is something else. And all the three options that you gave are reactionary responses and I think another thing that we need to take into account is the

momentum building responses, so the momentum building in the Arab Spring, momentum building in Tahrir Square, and momentum building which was happening in some public square in the United States. So I think there are some left endogenous responses, so it is part of something which is much more global, and much more positive and not only reactionary but also creating its own image of the world. And I think it is very much in dialogue with the other spaces of liberation and defense. There is one thing I would pretty radically disagree with. I think I have never spoken to anyone who would do this because of the Tea Party, so we needed to make our own Tea Party. I have never heard anybody saying that.

J.M.: And what about the 1968 movement - do you think that this is a more legitimate explanation for the emergence of Occupy?

H.A.: I do not believe in causal explanations. I think they oversimplify. What would the causal mechanism be? This happened in 68, there were activists around who sort of knew the history and wanted to recreate it. No, I do not think that. But it is not not to say that there were some people who knew the history and were fluent in them and talked about the historical precedents. Sure, of course they were around. Is that causal? No, that does not make any sense to me.

J.M.: Ok, I see. How would you describe the relation between the US and European Occupy movements?

H.A.: Certainly on the ground we hear some Occupy movements all over the world, especially when we are out on the square. There was a guy from Greece who attended one of our working group meetings who talked about what was going on there. Certainly we also talk a lot about what is going on with the student tuition hikes in Canada. This is all in form of our informal global network. But all of this is autonomous and decentralized; obviously we do not have a formal type of anything, because obviously you would need to be a formal institution.

But that is to say, certainly when people come to visit Occupy we talk a lot with them about what is going on in Cairo, in Greece, in Spain, Portugal.

J.M.: You have mentioned Greece and also Tahrir Square. What is your impression: what is the relation between OWS and the Spanish indignation movement?

H.A.: I think both of them try very much to engage in the question of austerity, so to say Margaret Thatcher's old idea from sort of the beginning of neoliberal era. The idea that there is no alternative and that economic austerity is the way forward to sustainable economics. And we still see the persistence of the idea that there is an alternative. And I think that a great majority of us whether in Greece whether in the US know that there are plenty of alternatives and we are not willing to be told that there are no alternatives anymore; no alternatives to the bank bailout, these institutions are systemically important, these are too big to fail. We know, since we are the experts. It seems their predictions have been pretty radical failures, not only their predictions, but also prescriptions. People are saying there are clearly more alternatives than austerity and we will step up and bring those into the discussion. I would call it a refusal of the idea of austerity. So between the Indignados and the US and Greece there have been direct and indirect dialogues. So what I think is interesting here in some way is the US in so far as it is the least historical precedent for this kind of organizing in the US recently. Whereas it seems to be from the outside that there is a long tradition for this kind of stuff in Greece, and Italy, and Spain and other places.

J.M.: What do you think which role already existent protest movements play, such as ATTAC?

H.A.: Certainly, I think so. People who participate in Occupy have histories in other social movement organizations, for example in Seattle or the women's movement. The synergies are not necessarily institutional or institutionalized. So I don't think we can talk about institutionalized synergies, but that is to say that many of the things that Occupy is addressing

have long histories no matter if as individuals or as organizers. So there are community based organizations, our recent May Day celebration was a large coalition of organized labor and community based organizations. So there are both synergies there, there are tensions there. You know certain people in the movement were already working with organizations like that. Certain people are more interested in working in an organization like that, certain people are not and continue to work autonomously, which means that all ways of organizing co-exist and always will.

J.M.: I am also interested in your big action on May 1<sup>st</sup>. Maybe you could also tell me something more about that please, how the preparation and the day itself went and also what will follow afterwards.

H.A.: May 1<sup>st</sup> was wonderful. It was a huge day, average estimates say we had about 30,000 people on the streets, so for the US it is a lot in one city. It started off in the morning with 99 targets going to specific corporate organizations, a lot of banks, chase group, news corp. which is Murdoch's company, Disney, so 99 different targets around mid-town. And a lot of those targets have showed me how far the movement has come within 9 months in terms of very specific and rigorous critics of mortgage bag security. [...] There was also a free university set up in Madison Square Park which attracted thousands of people. All kinds of people were speaking there, so there were 100 to 200 teachers. . [...] Overall, it was a very exciting day. The police did a very good job of messing up the march. It was a march of 30,000 people, we had agreements with the city, it was a legal march, we had terms agreed on with the police, and they routinely violated the terms, dividing the march, pushing down the march in a different street, so that was frustrating, although we kind of expected it. And then in terms of what is happening afterwards. There is a week of anti-austerity actions coming up this coming week. It is constant planning, constant meeting, constant strategizing, and

constant medium and long-term planning. All of that is still very much going on. We tried to build a momentum with May Day and we are continuing to drive that momentum.

J.M.: What do you think: Which role will Occupy play in the US election campaign?

H.A.: I don't know. I think the biggest role that Occupy can play is by extending the field of possibility around citizenship. The two-party-system in America most people feel and this is not a left or right comment. People across the political spectrum of electoral politics in the US see that system is broken and that it is bought by money and interests. So I think the role that Occupy plays is to show those of us who participate that citizenship is so much more than checking a box one or two days a year. That there are so many ways we can actually step outside of that system and make the world we want to see through our own collective power. So that this power, the so-called representative democracy, is not alienated from us. That we take it back and say this is what we want. Stop pushing people out of their homes. Stop those lending practices for student debts. There are all kind of different things that we can do outside this system.

### **Maria Byck (OWS, Occupy Museums Collective)**

May 11, 2012: In light of the circumstances at the symposium on Sustainability and Contemporary Art called "Atmospheres of Protest" at Central European University on May 11, 2012, it was not possible to record and transcribe every statement word-for-word, but the core statements are listed below chronologically.

M.B.: "The Spanish have greatly influenced our techniques. [...] Stereotypical lower class in Spain wanted to direct its anger against the government. [...] Nevertheless, the US has been the central initiator of the crisis. Even if it has started in Spain, the US created the impetus to recognize the movement worldwide. The activists have to decide for themselves what the reasons are in their own country to become active. The Occupy movement worldwide is both:

it is different and it is the same. I could imagine that the activists in Europe are a little bit more resistant to that what happens in Southern Europe. I think it also has to do with the fact that countries, such as Germany, have not been as hit hard by the economic crises compared with other places.” [...] “My relationship to the city has changed significantly the last eight months. New York has been directly built up on capitalism, and I do not think this is the case in this extreme form anymore. But I do not want to say at the same time that everyone is involved in OWS obviously. We definitely see potential that eventually a change will take place. And we are here to stay.“

**Tamara Steger, Associate Professor (Central European University)**

May 17, 2012: This transcript is a partial record of the conversation with Tamara Steger. Only her main comments which could be documented while taking notes will be displayed here.

T.S.: People have been talking individually for a long time and now they get together. OWS refers a lot to Egypt, the Arab Spring and to that region generally. The protests in the Arab countries were quite influential. [...] Greece and Spain are unique countries within Europe. The issues in Southern Europe did first not resonate sufficiently at the cultural level in other parts of Europe. [...] Occupy is together with other movements more powerful. [...] Tamara Steger also argued that the American Occupy movement so far successfully transcended any party discourse and sensitive issues, such as gay and pro-life/ pro-choice discussions. Such hotly debated issues could easily divide the movement. Moreover, Occupy does, from her point of view, not want to be co-opted by parties and their politics. Occupy wants to push the agenda, but they neither want to support political parties nor candidates, since all these issues could possibly divide them. Nevertheless, the question remains how they will resist co-optation in the long run.

## Appendix C: Extracted data

### Extraction interview 1: Frauke Distelrath (ATTAC Germany)

#### Category: Triggers of Occupy

Quotation	Source
„Zum einen hat sich Occupy ja auf die Rebellion in den arabischen Ländern berufen, aber auch die Besetzung des spanischen Placa del Sol, also auf die Bewegung Demokratie jetzt und die Indignados in Spanien.“	p. 59

#### Category: Triggers of Occupy Germany

Quotation	Source
„Für die Occupy Bewegung Deutschland ist Occupy Wall Street ausschlaggebend, die Besetzung der Wall Street und das Camp dort und die zunehmend intensivere Medienberichterstattung von Occupy Wall Street.“	p. 59
„Über den Umweg nach USA ist die Bewegung nun auch in Deutschland angekommen. Es gab natürlich auch vorher schon Kontakte und Aufmerksamkeit für das, was in Spanien und Griechenland passiert, aber interessanterweise übersprungen ist der Funke dann erst mit der Bewegung in den USA.“	p. 59

#### Category: Relations between Occupy Germany and other movements

Quotation	Source
„Es gab und gibt Kontakte der sozialen Bewegungen und der globalisierungskritischen Bewegungen in Deutschland, es gibt natürlich auch Kontakte zu den Bewegungen in Spanien und Griechenland. Im Falle von ATTAC gibt es ein europäisches Netzwerk in den anderen Ländern, den Austausch gab es schon vorher, aber einen zusätzlicher Funke ist erst im vergangenen Herbst übersprungen. Und dieser Funke ging von Occupy Wall Street aus.“	p. 59
„Es gibt einen verhältnismäßig engen Kontakt, wir haben einige Sachen zusammen gemacht. [...] Occupy Deutschland wird vor allem mit der Kundgebung und Demonstration am 15. Oktober in Frankfurt zum ersten Mal größer in Erscheinung getreten an einem dezentralen Aktionstag, der ursprünglich von Spanien aus aufgerufen wird. Das europäische Netzwerk hat sich daran von vorne herein beteiligt, das stammte schon aus dem Sommer, das Datum und auch der Ort EZB (Europäische Zentralbank). Zu diesem dezentralen Aktionstag hat man neben lokalen Bündnissen in vielen Städten erstmals eben mit lokalen Demokratie jetzt und Indignados Gruppen, wo Occupy erstmal noch gar nicht in Erscheinung getreten ist. Und dann die Planung von ATTAC Deutschland für ein Hearing in Berlin und die Aktion in der EZB. Dann kam die Aufmerksamkeit und Dynamik von Occupy Wall Street eben auch nach Deutschland, so dass lokale Occupy Gruppen entstanden sind, und hier in Frankfurt, haben Occupy auch am 15. Oktober zur EZB aufgerufen zu unserer Aktion. Wir sind dann eben sehr schnell in Kontakt gekommen und haben überlegt, wie man das	p. 60

<p>zusammen hinkriegt. Die praktische Lösung: erster Teil der Demonstration war angemeldet als ATTAC Veranstaltung, und danach war formal die ATTAC Veranstaltung zu Ende, aber wir haben Occupy dann zum Beispiel unsere Anlage überlassen, dann ging es über in die Hände der Occupy Gruppe, die die Kundgebung dann noch weiter mit dem offenen Mikrophon gemacht hat.“</p> <p>„Das Camp in Frankfurt ist sehr nah am Bundesbüro von ATTAC, sodass ATTAC sich immer mal wieder an Asambleas im Camp beteiligt hat und man kennt sich inzwischen. Das ging dann weiter, dass ATTAC mit Campact im November in Frankfurt und Berlin diese Umzingelung gemacht hat unter dem Motto „Banken in die Schranken“, wir haben in Frankfurt das Bankenviertel mit einer Menschenkette umzingelt. Das war eine Aktivität, die auf Initiative von ATTAC und Campact gestartet wurde, da waren dann eben auch Leute von Occupy mit dabei. Da hat sich Occupy eher ein bisschen zurückgehalten, die Organisation lag bei ATTAC, aber Occupy hat es mit unterstützt und mit mobilisiert. Bei den europäischen Aktionstagen im Mai in Frankfurt beteiligen sich ATTAC, linke Gruppierungen und auch viele von Occupy sind dabei.“</p>	p. 61
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**Category: Occupy's future**

Quotation	Source
<p>„Ich finde es etwas schwierig, das auf Occupy zu begrenzen. Mich würde eher interessieren: Wie geht es mit sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland weiter? Ich denke da ist die Dynamik so nicht absehbar. Es gab im letzten Herbst klare Anzeichen, dass es eine Bewegung gibt, dass das Occupy Camp, wenn man das mal so als Symbol nimmt, den harten Winter hier überstanden hat und immer noch unvermindert vor der EZB steht, ich denke, das ist ein starkes Zeichen dafür, dass es weitergeht. Aber wie groß und stark die Dynamik wird, das hängt, glaube ich, auch ganz stark von den aktuellen Entwicklungen ab. Ich finde es ganz schwierig da im Moment eine Prognose abzugeben.“</p>	p. 62

**Extraction interview 2: Prof. Dr. Heinz Bude (University of Kassel)**

**Category: Triggers of Occupy**

Quotation	Source
<p>„Wenn man sich das genauer ansieht, dann ist das immer eine merkwürdige Verbindung von lokalen Auslöserkonstellationen und globaler Resonanz gewesen. Das hat sicherlich etwas mit den Medien zu tun. Diese Struktur finden wir jetzt auch wieder bei der Wall Street Geschichte. OWS ist natürlich ohne die mediale Unterstützung gar nicht vorstellbar, das ist ein ganz wichtiges Verbindungselement.“</p> <p>„Das Globale ist sicherlich die Ernüchterung darüber, dass der Kapitalismus in sich selbst ein Krisenzusammenhang ist. Die Erkenntnis darüber, dass die Krisendämpfungslogik eher Verstärkung erzeugte. Das war so ein bisschen nach einer 25-jährigen neoliberalistischen Regierung eine Wahnsinnserkenntnis. Es gibt einen</p>	p. 62

<p>Generationen- und Kohorteneffekt, der sieht in Chile etwas anders aus als in den USA und in den USA wiederum anders als in Deutschland, aber es gibt ein gewisses Merkmal, das mit der Veränderung des Bildungssystems zu tun hat. Viele der Occupy Aktivisten haben doch so eine unglaubliche Ernüchterungserfahrung lebensgeschichtlich gemacht mit der dramatischen Erkenntnis, dass die Bildungsrendite sich für sie deutlich nicht auszahlt. Das heißt sie haben hohe Investitionen in Bildung getätigt und sowohl im Sinne eines privatisierten Keynesianismus, in dem man die eigenen Kosten für Bildung per Kredit auf sich geladen hat, als auch Anstrengungen unternommen hat, von Deutschland her gesehen in einem hoch institutionalisierten Bildungssystem, die Kenntnis gemacht, dass einen das möglicherweise gar nichts bringt. Also dieser schlagartige Verfall von Bildungsrenditen, das ist der entscheidende Zusammenhang. Eine Art basaler Ernüchterung, dass man sich betrogen fühlt.“</p>	
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**Category: Triggers of Occupy Germany**

Quotation	Source
<p>„Meine Vorstellung ist eher das Auftreten eines ideologischen Vakuums. Ich habe den Eindruck, dass wir eigentlich für Deutschland sagen können, dass die allermeisten Leute, die das auch politisch verfolgt haben und eine gewisse Sympathie für Occupy haben, sich im Grunde in einer Art Patt-Situation befinden, dass sie weder dem Markt noch dem Staat zu vertrauen vermögen. Die Occupy Bewegung ist ja auch keine offensive Verstaatlichungsbewegung für den Bankensektor. Obwohl es solche Vorstellungen natürlich gibt für die Verstaatlichung von Banken. Aber es gibt ja kein fröhliches Staatsvertrauen in der Occupy Bewegung gegen das Marktversagen. Ich glaube, das meine ich mit ideologischem Patt, dass man plötzlich zu dem Bewusstsein kommt, dass eine Gleichzeitigkeit von Markt- und Staatsversagen gibt. Und da hat man den Eindruck, dass diese Gleichzeitigkeit systemische Ursachen hat, die man aber wiederum nicht auf einer transzendentalen, utopischen Weise in Frage stellen kann. Insofern gibt es untergründig einen fast depressiv melancholischen Zug in der ganzen Geschichte.“</p>	p. 65

**Category: Relations between Occupy Germany and other movements**

Quotation	Source
<p>„Das ist interessant. ATTAC spielt im Hintergrund immer noch eine gewisse Rolle, aber ATTAC war eigentlich dabei institutionell zu verholzen. Die waren also dabei ihren Drive zu verlieren. Aber dieser basale ATTAC-Impuls hat durch diese Occupy Geschichte und durch das Gefühl, dass man eine epochale Krise des Kapitalismus erlebt, hat das noch einen Auftrieb bekommen. Wobei ich nicht sagen würde, dass die ATTAC Strukturen auf eine Laufbahn in die Occupy Bewegung hineingegangen sind – jedenfalls nicht in Deutschland. ATTAC ist eher eine Hintergrundgeschichte gewesen, aber es ist keine Rutschbahn gewesen, also dass man nur etwas entschleunigen musste, das dann von selber lief. So, glaube ich, kann man das nicht sehen. Natürlich, was sie mit Stuttgart 21 ansprechen, spielt auch eine gewisse Rolle, nämlich, dass man bei Occupy auch einen Kompetenzprotest beobachten kann. Das war auch schon</p>	p. 65

deutlich bei den Protesten gegen Stuttgart 21. Also die Struktur des kompetenten, insbesondere medienkompetenten, Protests. Das ist wirklich auch eine ganz wichtige Geschichte. Das ist also keine wilde Protestform, die die Straße für sich reklamiert, sondern ein kompetenter Protest, der relativ gut weiß, wie man mit gesellschaftlichen Verstärkerinstrumenten umgehen muss.“	
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**Category: Occupy's future**

Quotation	Source
Das geht jetzt hinein in eine ganz bestimmte Wahlkampfbewegung, die im Präsidentschaftswahlkampf in den USA eine gewisse Rolle spielt, aber man darf nicht vergessen, dass im Hinblick auf die USA immer deutlicher wird, dass es Bewegungen gibt, die sich feindlich gegenüberstehen. Mit Occupy ist ja auch die Tea Party immer stärker geworden. Und dieses Bewegungspatt macht einen interessanten Hintergrund für den Wahlkampf, der zur Zeit in den USA stattfindet. Wodurch auch die Frage entsteht: Kann die Gesellschaft sich nochmals zu einer Einheit zusammenfinden oder wird der Wahlkampf ein Wahlkampf der politischen und gesellschaftlichen Spaltung? Dass unter Umständen eine Seite siegen und die andere Seite sich nicht länger halten wird. In Deutschland haben wir meiner Meinung nach eine Adaptionbewegung vor Augen. Occupy ist hineingesickert in andere Parteilogiken hinein, wie zum Beispiel die Piratenpartei, die gleichzeitig eine Art Wiederaufkommen liberalistischer Vorstellungen ist, und gleichzeitig die Vorstellung vom garantierten Grundeinkommen, das gibt auch wieder so ganz merkwürdige Schwammstruktur und ich glaube, in dieser Diversität von Piratenpartei, auch gewisse Erneuerungsbewegungen bei der Linken und bestimmte Dimensionen in der Sozialdemokratie, das ist alles so eine Art Absorptionsprozess, so eine Art Staubsauger, von dem Occupy in Deutschland wahrscheinlich schon aufgesaugt wurde.“	p. 67-68

**Extraction interview 3: Hannah Appel, PhD (Columbia University)**

**Category: Triggers of Occupy**

Quotation	Source
”I think the most important thing is that we do not foreclose any direction from which it came. I think it is a radically encompassing movement so I think that everything that you just said is true for some people. And for some people it is true for them for one day and the next day it is something else. And all the three options that you gave are reactionary responses and I think another thing that we need to take into account is the momentum building responses, so the momentum building in the Arab Spring, momentum building in Tahrir Square, and momentum building which was happening in some public square in the United States. So I think there are some left endogenous responses, so it is part of something which is much more global, and much more positive and not only reactionary but also creating its own image of the world. And I think it is very much in dialogue with the other spaces of liberation and defense. There	p. 68

<p>is one thing I would pretty radically disagree with. I think I have never spoken to anyone who would do this because of the Tea Party, so we needed to make our own Tea Party. I have never heard anybody saying that.“</p> <p>“But that is to say, certainly when people come to visit Occupy we talk a lot with them about what is going on in Cairo, in Greece, in Spain, Portugal.”</p>	p. 70
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**Category: Relations between Occupy and other movements**

Quotation	Source
<p>„Certainly, I think so. People who participate in Occupy have histories in other social movement organizations, for example in Seattle or the women’s movement. The synergies are not necessarily institutional or institutionalized. So I don’t think we can talk about institutionalized synergies, but that is to say that many of the things that Occupy is addressing have long histories no matter if as individuals or as organizers. So there are community based organizations, our recent May Day celebration was a large coalition of organized labor and community based organizations. So there are both synergies there, there are tensions there. You know certain people in the movement were already working with organizations like that. Certain people are more interested in working in an organization like that, certain people are not and continue to work autonomously, which means that all ways of organizing co-exist and always will.”</p>	p. 70

**Category: Occupy’s future**

Quotation	Source
<p>“There is a week of anti-austerity actions coming up this coming week. It is constant planning, constant meeting, constant strategizing, and constant medium and long-term planning. All of that is still very much going on. We tried to build a momentum with May Day and we are continuing to drive that momentum.”</p> <p>“I don’t know. I think the biggest role that Occupy can play is by extending the field of possibility around citizenship. The two-party-system in America most people feel and this is not a left or right comment. People across the political spectrum of electoral politics in the US see that system is broken and that it is bought by money and interests. So I think the role that Occupy plays is to show those of us who participate that citizenship is so much more than checking a box one or two days a year. That there are so many ways we can actually step outside of that system and make the world we want to see through or own collective power. So that this power. The so-called representative democracy, is not alienated from us. That we take it back and say this is what we want. Stop pushing people out of their homes. Stop those lending practices for student debts. There are all kind of different things that we can do outside this system.”</p>	<p>p. 71</p> <p>p. 72</p>

#### Extraction interview 4: Maria Byck (OWS, Occupy Museums Collective)

##### Category: Triggers of Occupy

Quotation	Source
“The Spanish have greatly influenced our techniques. [...] Stereotypical lower class in Spain wanted to direct its anger against the government. [...] Nevertheless, the US has been the central initiator of the crisis. Even if it has started in Spain, the US created the impetus to recognize the movement worldwide. And now an international movement came out which was not from Wall Street, but it was already in the air from Tahrir Square. [...] The activists have to decide for themselves what the reasons are in their own country to become active. The Occupy movement worldwide is both: it is different and it is the same.”	p. 72

##### Category: Triggers of Occupy Germany

Quotation	Source
”I could imagine that the activists in Europe are a little bit more resistant to that what happens in Southern Europe. I think it also has to do with the fact that countries, such as Germany, have not been as hit hard by the economic crises compared with other places.”	p. 73

##### Category: Occupy’s future

Quotation	Source
“My relationship to the city has changed significantly the last eight months. New York has been directly built up on capitalism, and I do not think this is the case in this extreme form anymore. But I do not want to say at the same time that everyone is involved in OWS obviously. We definitely see potential that eventually a change will take place. And we are here to stay.“	p. 73

#### Extraction interview 5: Tamara Steger (Central European University)

##### Category: Triggers of Occupy

Quotation	Source
People have been talking individually for a long time and now they get together. OWS refers a lot to Egypt, the Arab Spring and to that region generally. The protests in the Arab countries were quite influential.	p. 73

### Category: Triggers of Occupy Germany

Quotation	Source
Greece and Spain are unique countries within Europe. The issues in Southern Europe did first not resonate sufficiently at the cultural level in other parts of Europe.	p. 73

### Category: Relations between Occupy and other movements

Quotation	Source
Occupy is together with other movements, such as ATTAC, more powerful. Prominent supporters, legal advisors, Anarchists, and Anonymous support Occupy.	p. 73

### Category: Occupy's future

Quotation	Source
Tamara Steger argues that the American Occupy movement so far successfully transcended any party discourse and sensitive issues, such as gay and pro-life/ pro-choice discussions. Such hotly debated issues could easily divide the movement. Moreover, Occupy does not want to be co-opted by parties and their politics. Occupy wants to push the agenda, but they neither want to support political parties nor candidates, since all these issues could possibly divide them. Nevertheless, the question remains how they will resist co-optation in the long run.	p. 73

*Appendix D: Prepared data*

**Category: Triggers of Occupy**

<b>Occupy's emergence can be traced back to the Arab Spring and the uprisings in Southern Europe.</b>	Source
<p>„Occupy ja auf die Rebellion in den arabischen Ländern berufen, aber auch die Besetzung des spanischen Placa del Sol, also auf die Bewegung Demokratie jetzt und die Indignados in Spanien.“ (Frauke Distelrath)</p>	p. 59
<p>“And all the three options that you gave are reactionary responses and I think another thing that we need to take into account is the momentum building responses, so the momentum building in the Arab Spring, momentum building in Tahrir Square, and momentum building which was happening in some public square in the United States.” (Hannah Appel)</p>	p. 68
<p>“The Spanish have greatly influenced our techniques. [...] And now an international movement came out which was not from Wall Street, but it was already in the air from Tahrir Square.” (Maria Byck)</p>	p. 72
<p>OWS refers a lot to Egypt, the Arab Spring and to that region generally. The protests in the Arab countries were quite influential. (Tamara Steger)</p>	p. 73

**Category: Triggers of Occupy Germany**

<b>Occupy Germany emerged because of OWS, the increasing media coverage and the impasse of both market and state.</b>	Source
<p>“Für die Occupy Bewegung Deutschland is Occupy Wall Street ausschlaggebend, die Besetzung der Wall Street und das Camp dort, und die zunehmend intensivere Medienberichterstattung von Occupy Wall Street. [...] Occupy Deutschland wir vor allem mit der Kundgebung und Demonstration am 15. Oktober in Frankfurt zum ersten Mal in Erscheinung getreten, der ursprünglich von Spanien aus aufgerufen wird“ (Frauke Distelrath)</p>	p. 59
<p>„Meine Vorstellung ist eher das Auftreten eines ideologischen Vakuums. Ich habe den Eindruck, dass wir eigentlich für Deutschland sagen können, dass die allermeisten Leute, die das auch politisch verfolgt haben und eine gewisse Sympathie für Occupy haben, sich im Grunde in einer Art Patt-Situation befinden, dass die weder dem Markt noch dem Staat vertrauen vermögen.“ (Heinz Bude)</p>	p. 65
<p>“Greece and Spain are unique countries within Europe. The issues in Southern Europe did first not resonate sufficiently at the cultural level in other parts of Europe.” (Tamara Steger)</p>	p. 73

### Category: Relation Occupy Germany and other movements

<b>The events (e.g. on October 15. 2011), through which Occupy Germany could become popular, were not even organized by Occupy.</b>	Source
„Ich glaube, dass Occupy auf ATTAC zukam.“ „Das war eine Aktivität, die auf Initiative von ATTAC und Campact gestartet wurde, da waren dann eben auch Leute von Occupy mit dabei.“	p. 60 p. 61
<b>Occupy is part of the protest events, but not the main actor.</b>	
„Da hat sich Occupy eher ein bisschen zurückgehalten.“ „Es gibt einen verhältnismäßig engen Kontakt (zwischen Occupy und den bereits bestehenden Bewegungen, wir haben einige Sachen zusammen gemacht.“ „Ich würde sagen, dass Occupy nur einer der Akteure ist. Die Initiative zu diesem Protesttag ging nicht von Occupy aus. Das ist jetzt also nicht Occupy und andere, sondern das ist wirklich ein breites Bündnis.“ (Frauke Distelrath)	p. 61 p. 60 p. 61

### Category: Occupy's future

<b>Occupy will only have a limited influence on the US election campaign.</b>	Source
“I don't know. I think the biggest role that Occupy can play is by extending the field of possibility around citizenship.” (Hannah Appel)	p. 72
<b>Occupy's future is uncertain.</b>	
“Ich finde es etwas schwierig, das auf Occupy zu begrenzen. Mich würde eher interessieren: Wie geht es mit sozialen Bewegungen in Deutschland weiter? Ich denke da ist die Dynamik so nicht absehbar.[...]. Aber wie groß und stark die Dynamik wird, das hängt, glaube ich, auch ganz stark von den aktuellen Entwicklungen ab. Ich finde es ganz schwierig da im Moment eine Prognose abzugeben.“ (Frauke Distelrath) „Ich glaube, in dieser Diversität von Piratenpartei, auch gewisse Erneuerungsbewegungen bei der Linken und bestimmte Dimensionen in der Sozialdemokratie, das ist alles so eine Art Absorptionsprozess, so eine Art Staubsauger, von dem Occupy in Deutschland wahrscheinlich schon aufgesaugt wurde.“ (Heinz Bude)	p. 62 p. 68

<b>Occupy is likely to stay.</b>	Source
<p>“We definitely see potential that eventually a change will take place. And we are here to stay.” (Maria Byck)</p>	p. 73
<p>The American Occupy movement so far successfully transcended any party discourse and sensitive issues, such as gay and pro-life/ pro-choice discussions. Such hotly debated issues could easily divide the movement. [...] Nevertheless, the question remains how they will resist co-optation in the long run. (Tamara Steger)</p>	p. 73

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